

CHARTIST

LABOUR'S REVOLUTIONARY VOICE No.36 NOVEMBER 1975 Price 6p

Defeat TUC bid to halt jobs Lobby

ALL OUT 26 NOVEMBER

THE NORTH West Regional TUC Lobby of Parliament against unemployment is to go ahead on November 26th, despite frantic efforts by TUC General Secretary, Len Murray, to prevent it. While massive support for the lobby builds up daily, Murray has sent out a circular to all trades councils and affiliated unions advising them not to participate.

Murray claims that the lobby "has been escalated by other groups into a national lobby" and that it "will undoubtedly have an anti-government character." Someone should tell Murray that unemployment is a national problem. As to "anti-Government" demonstrations, what does he expect... when the Labour Government has presided over an enormous increase in unemployment and betrayed its 1974 election pledge "to restore full employment". Even Murray's elastic imagination could hardly describe the present position as "full employment."

The prime concern of the TUC leadership is to foist the £6 pay limit on workers and to silence any protest that might ask where that policy leads. Correctly, the N.W. Region TUC has rebuffed Murray's attempted stab in the back. But, the lessons must be drawn. Murray's worry is that workers will see that the £6 limit does nothing to halt unemployment but actually helps it increase. That is why he is intent on protecting Wilson's right-wing policy.

MISERY

In the 1920s workers' leaders accepted wage cuts. That did not stop the misery of the '30s. Nor will cuts in real wages save jobs today. Equally, then the TUC stabbed the jobless in the back. Murray is at it again in 1975. Workers can accept no responsibility for this crisis of capitalism... there will be no smooth return to the 1930s.

The great groundswell of support for the lobby proves that. With trains coming from Scotland, S. Wales, Liverpool, Manchester and the North-East, the march will show that the rank and file will fight if the leaders won't. Instead of sabotaging the struggle for the right to work, the TUC should be leading it. Unfortunately, it collaborates in wage-cutting and useless "consultation" with employers who actually WANT unemployment.

The campaign must go forward. Everywhere, the Labour Party and trades councils must begin to organise Unemployed Workers' Committees which can link up with employ-

ed workers in the struggle for jobs and decent wages. At the same time, it must be said that the calls for "import controls" and "reinvestment" cannot be a fighting programme for the right to work. "Import controls" divide workers and give no guarantee that capitalist owners will not continue to throw us out of jobs. "Reinvestment" is a utopia when employers cannot main-

tain their profit rates. A programme of workers' action is needed, including such demands as:

- Work-sharing with no loss of pay.
- A 35-hour working week.
- A guaranteed minimum wage of £40 a week, tied to a rising scale of wages.
- A programme of public works to create jobs at unions rates.
- Open the books — expose profiteering behind redundancies.
- Workers' control of hiring and firing.
- Nationalisation, without compensation, of all firms declaring redundancies.

Around this sort of programme a real fight can be developed and the retreat in the trade union movement halted, because these demands attack the root cause of unemployment: private ownership of the means of production. Our leaders were put in their positions to prevent workers from being the system's victims. We must make all Labour MPs and trade union leaders take up this fight here and now by organising the most enormous lobby on 26 November. It must be the launching pad for a movement to end the scourge of unemployment and defeat Wilson's right-wing policies.

FRANCO'S RULE AT AN END!

By Chris Knight

DICTATOR FRANCO is dead. His regime—which the former Civil Guard chief Carlos Iniesta once boasted would last 1,000 years—can survive only for a few weeks or months at most. The political torture police, the "Guerrillas of Christ the King", the "blue" generals and executioners like Civil Guard boss Campano, the Falangist die-hards and the hangers-on and relatives of the dead Caudillo stand stricken with dread. Even the dictator's chosen successor, Prince Juan Carlos, knows that there must be some kind of "change". Yet even the slightest loosening of the 35-year-old reign of terror is certain to lead swiftly to a revolutionary conflagration.

In the next few weeks, Juan Carlos will do all possible to preserve the decaying fabric of the regime, and may even retain the Arias Government for some time. On the other hand, he is certain to alienate himself rapidly not only from the "left" and "liberal" currents in the ruling class but from the hard-line rightists as well. What is he to do, for example, about further executions already in the pipeline? Police in Barcelona hold two Maoists charged with having murdered a policeman on September 14. Under the present two-month old "anti-terrorist law", they should be executed automatically. If the



Franco

new King were to relieve them, there would be an outcry from the police and army chiefs who are the only real guarantors of the Monarchy's power.

Yet the Spanish working class is too strong and the middle class too divided for any return to repression to succeed. The Maoist police-killings are only a peripheral nuisance compared to the real threat which faces not only the remnants of the dictatorship but the very existence of Spanish capitalism itself. The working class is now not only enormous in numbers (55 per cent of the population, compared with 25 per cent during the civil

war) but it has perhaps never been more confident and militant than it is today. Figures tell part of this story: almost 8 million man-hours lost in strikes in the first six months of this year (nearly twice as many as for the same period last year), despite the illegality of trade unions and draconian punishments for strike-leaders. But, more significant still, some major strikes have been for political as well as economic demands. This is especially true, of course, of the Basque country: a general strike for the release of political prisoners was supported by 100,000 workers on June 11. But almost all over Spain, industrial disputes gain political overtones as workers demand ordinary trade union rights, freedom of assembly, a minimum wage of 800 pesetas (about £30) a week, a halt to lay-offs and other measures. There has been a growing tendency for strikes to become local and even regional general strikes, and in elections to the underground workers' organizations, groups to the left of the Communist Party (generally-recognized as the most "moderate" in Europe) have been gaining strong ground.

Hardly less ominous for the regime, wide layers of the middle and professional classes

(Continued on page 6)

Greater Manchester: Future Ghost area?

JOHN WILSON

THE COLLOSAL crisis facing Britain's major cities is highlighted in a shock-report released this month by the Greater Manchester Council (GMC) Planning Department. The report, produced almost entirely before the full effects of the current slump were felt, paints a grim picture of the prospects for the city over the next ten years. This is especially true of three main social areas: unemployment, poverty and housing.

Firstly, on jobs, the report states that between 1961 and 1971 about 100,000 jobs disappeared in the Greater Manchester area and that this tendency has accelerated over the past 2 to 3 years. Then comes a prediction that the number of people looking for work will continue to grow by between 78,000 and 127,000 by 1986, with unemployment already at 6.2 per cent now.

Projections

The projections on poverty are no less shocking. According to the planners, one family in five—20%—does not have an adequate income to purchase the bare minimum of food, shelter and clothing, with elderly single people and couples with 3 or more children suffering most. The report added that many households had a weekly income of LESS THAN £16... this in a city with the highest cost of living in Britain!

Nor is this all. The housing problem dwarfs the other two in its magnitude. The report says that at least 88,000 houses are considered unfit for human habitation and another 250,000—25 per cent—of all housing in the Greater Manchester conurbation—are considered to be below officially accepted standards. Apart from the extremely poor physical condition of many dwellings, other severe housing problems exist including homelessness, multiple occupation (5 per cent of homes are shared) and overcrowding.

Worsening

What really emerges from the report is the fact that the conditions of life for workers are actually worsening and will carry on doing so as the Labour Government imposes public spending cuts ordered by the bankers and monopolists—people who are not unemployed but never work, people who have several homes and who have never known poverty. For the bankers and employers, poverty, unemployment and slum housing is something reserved for the working class.

Labour Party members, trades unionists and other working class activists must take serious note of the problems cited in the GMC report, problems by no means peculiar to Manchester, and add them to their arsenal of struggle. The pauperisation often mentioned by socialists is beginning now. So must the fight back for a mass struggle to replace the profit system which creates such evils.

THE CHARTIST

Monthly Journal of the Socialist Charter Movement.

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Labour Conference 'gives a year' to Wilson

"I ASK THE great trade union leaders: Why did they, in negotiations with the Government on the social contract, let down their members?"

So asked Ian Mikardo at a Tribune meeting held at the Recent Labour Party conference in Blackpool. The answer appeared to be self-evident. The major trade union leaders—men like Jack Jones, David Basnett and Joe Gormley—had decided to give full support to the plans of the Labour leadership to transfer the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the working-class. Against a background of 1¼ million unemployed and tearaway inflation—the trade union block votes were used to support the £6 pay limit & further cuts in social services.

MAJOR AIM

The major aim of the leadership in the economic debates was to convince the working class that they had a responsibility for the crisis and, accordingly, 'should give a year for Britain'. Few suggestions were made for actually defending workers living standards. Some efforts were made to convince Denis Healey to give more money to relieve unemployment. Yet the government itself has admitted these measures are little more than a token gesture—capable of creating 20,000 jobs at the most.

A second idea, passed by Conference, was for selective import controls. The motion was moved by the textile workers union and supported by some 'left' union leaders, such as Clive Jenkins (ASTMS). This idea plays directly into the hands of those who believe in a nationalist solution to the crisis. There can be no solution to the problems of British capitalism at the expense of the working class on an international scale. It is a poisonous suggestion to counterpose the welfare of British workers to that of workers in other countries. Quite apart from this the proposed import controls are utopian. Import controls leading to retaliatory action could only result in a lessening of the share of world markets for British capitalism. The result could only be more short-time working and lay-offs for workers in Britain.

The failure of the Labour leadership to provide any defence for the working class extended to international issues. Manipulation of the

agenda prevented any discussion on Ireland—and in particular of an emergency resolution calling for the withdrawal of British troops from the north. Similarly, amendments expressing solidarity with Portuguese workers and soldiers in their revolutionary struggle were not debated. Instead an uncritical welcome was extended by the leadership to Mario Soares. Two days before his conference appearance, Soares had supported the expulsion of workers from occupied radio stations.

On some issues the leadership did receive setbacks. Two-thirds of constituency delegates consistently voted for motions calling for extensive nationalisation. It was these delegates who removed Denis Healey from the NEC. Two motions, on housing and the National Health Service, were carried against the wishes of the NEC. The housing motion called on the government to reverse all cuts in housing expenditure and give compulsory powers to local authorities to take over empty property.

END NHS CUTS

The best resolution passed this year was moved by NUPE. It called for the nationalisation of the drug companies, the abolition of all private practice, an end to all cuts in NHS spending and, most importantly, recognised the right of all women to abortion and contraception on request.

Important as these victories were it became clear that the leadership was prepared to let them through. The government believes it can safely ignore these decisions during the coming year. What convinced them of this was the inept performance of the 'official left' during the conference.

Following months of virtual silence since his removal as Industry Secretary, Tony Benn concentrated on his proposals contained in the NEC document 'Labour and Industry'. Despite press interpretations of his speech as an attack on Wilson, Benn identified himself with the £6 pay law by paying tribute to those workers who had accepted rises within the limit. Benn failed to mention that the proposals he advocates—including increased power and financing for the National Enterprise

Board and new state controls over investment projects—contradict present government policy.

Throughout the conference, Benn & the Tribune MPs proposed no course of action to defend jobs or wages. In the absence of any threat from the 'official left', Wilson concentrated his speech on attacking those who dared to use their labour movement positions in the interests of the working class. In an ill-disguised attack on Newham N. E. Labour Party, Wilson criticised the "self-appointed Samurai" who dared to challenge the right of Labour MPs to a life-long tenancy in safe seats. Ignoring the fact that Reg Prentice spent most of his time attacking trade unionists and sharing platforms with men like Edward Heath, Wilson attacked his removal as a clear result of infiltration. It was left to party Secretary Ron Hayward to correct Wilson's dubious interpretation of party democracy. Clearly an MP must be accountable to the local membership who have a right to remove an MP if they are dissatisfied.

NEWHAM

Newham came under attack because they dared to act. Similarly, in the cases of Clay Cross and the continued imprisonment of Des Warren, the leadership fought shy of any support for real working-class activists. All this contrasted with the warm welcome given to Eric Tomlinson, Dennis Skinner, MP and Tony Kelly when they appeared at meetings in Blackpool.

The message from conference is clear: the struggles against the leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions are indissoluble. All struggles against attacks on living standards, social services and jobs must be unified. The struggle against the right-wing in the LP cannot take place in isolation from these struggles.

It is the duty of all activists in the Labour Party to ensure that their local party gives its full and active support to all workers struggles in its area and nationally. This means drawing the local labour movement into Labour parties and involving them in fights against the cuts in housing, education and social service spending. Active support for strikes against the £6 limit and for workers occupying in defence of jobs.

LAST MONTH, the Labour controlled West Yorks County Council put up bus fares yet again—for the 3rd time in less than a year, and for the second time in three months. This means that in one year, many bus fares have doubled.

Yet almost at the same time, the same County Council recommended that the government spend £150 million on a new motorway—the 'blue' route to the west of Leeds. The £150 million for the motorway is enough to make buses in the whole of West Yorkshire free for the next five years—and there are about a million and half bus journeys a day made in West Yorkshire.

Who benefits by these policies? Those in favour of the motorway

TRANSPORT SCANDAL IN WEST YORKS

are the Road Haulage Association, the British Road Federation and their local 'front' organisations. Who do these organisations represent? They represent the owners of private lorries, the road construction industry and the oil companies. All these interests will benefit by the building of the motorway.

The massive increases in fares represent a direct and savage attack on working class living standards and makes a mockery of previous Labour policies.

The old Labour City Council in Leeds used to have the policy

Ken Patterson (Leeds SE. CLP)

of dispersing council housing from the crowded city centre to the outskirts of Leeds, where a much better environment was possible. Central to this policy was the provision of cheap and frequent bus services. That policy is now being wrecked. When it costs 50 pence for one person to make a return journey to the city centre, many working people will just not be able to afford to go out.

Labour County Councillors in West Yorks must be asked—just whose interests are you serving?

BY JOHN CONNELLY

A.E.C. workers fight closure

2,500 WORKERS at British Leyland's AEC factory in West London are now facing imminent redundancy. This is the conclusion shop stewards have made following management's talk of the need to make 'immediate savings of 3,000 man-shifts' each week. In other words, 600-700 jobs. For the past nine months or so, workers have been faced with periodic short-time working, though up till now the impact on pay packets has been cushioned by lay-off pay. By mid-November, many workers will find the 12 days lay-off pay allowed by management in each year (beginning September 30th) has ended.

At the same time, British Leyland management appears to be following a policy of deliberate economic sabotage. Trucks and lorries produced in the plant are not being sold, and car parks, spare ground and even the recreation ground within the plant are dotted with truck chassis. Meanwhile, shop stewards have discovered from workers elsewhere that orders are being refused

'mild and bitter' at Tory Conference

BY DAVE WILSON

FOR AN AILING Tory Party, whose leadership is split on how to deal with the working class, Margaret Thatcher, it seems, is just what the doctor ordered.

Since last year, the Tory ranks have ditched the "Selsdon Man" image projected by Heath in favour of the militant middle class image of Thatcher. "Magnificent Margaret" was the 'Daily Mail's' verdict after her first Conference speech as Party leader.

The Tory ranks are infatuated with their new leader, as the never ending flag waving, cheering and standing ovations proved.

Delegates to this four day orgy of anti working class prejudice called for a return of hanging and flogging. Sincere congratulations were offered to General Franco for standing firm against "Marxist terror." Also dug up was the hardy perennial about cutting strikers' social security. Thatcher's closing speech was the highlight of this reactionary gathering.

Thatcher launched into an attack on socialism, moderate and extreme. Her scornful remarks about the Labour government's record were but a door by which she entered into an attack on the Labour Party: "I sometimes think the Labour Party is like a pub where the mild is running out. If somebody doesn't do something soon, then all that will be left will be bitter, and all that's bitter will be left."

No Tory worth his/her salt can refrain from attacking the unions for more than five minutes. Thatcher is no exception. The new idea at the Conference was to take over the unions by learning the rule books...the transition from ballroom floor to shop floor.

"Individuality and the right to be unequal" were the keynotes to Thatcher's oration.

Her philosophy, a programme of even more savage cuts and mass unemployment, is now the programme of the Tory Party whose success in any election would be more due to Wilson and his betrayals than to any credibility on Thatcher's part.



on the grounds that the trucks cannot be produced.

Behind all the scheming of management lies the secret "confidential" clauses of the Ryder Report which outline detailed proposals for "rationalisation" of British Leyland. It seems certain that AEC, which in 1970 produced 25% of the total profit of British Leyland, is one of the plants they aim to close. AEC's archaic plant and equipment has seen little investment since the 1930s. Recognising this fact, shop stewards in the factory have formed an Action Committee to fight the closure.

On Wednesday 23rd October the Action Committee organised a demonstration and rally in Ealing Town Hall, attended by about 800 people. This first step in the fight back gained the support of all the local trades councils, Southall District Committee of the AUEW, Park Royal Vehicle Builders' Shop Stewards, London Airport Shop Stewards, local Labour Parties, and many other labour movement organisations. At the rally, local

councillors and GLC councillors voiced their "support". However as Roger Butler, AUEW District Secretary, pointed out, only the AEC workers, themselves, actively backed by other trade unionists, locally can effectively stop the closure and combat unemployment in general. Whilst these councillors can give verbal support to the campaign, their actions in implementing cuts in housing, education and social services are adding to the rising unemployment rate locally.

One sinister aspect of the rally was the appearance of the National Front "London Workers' Branch". The existence of an NF factory branch at AEC has long been a thorn in the side of militants in the factory. Their appeal of "Jobs for British Workers" is bound to have a certain attraction to more backward workers who may be convinced that if the large number of immigrant workers in the factory were sacked their jobs might be saved.

10,000 MARCH AGAINST EDUCATION CUTS

ON OCTOBER 21st, an estimated 10,000 workers, students and teachers demonstrated against education cuts in a march organised by Council for Educational Advance and The South-East Region of the TUC. While industrial workers were on the streets in an angry rejection of Labour's policy, the NUT executive characteristically saw to it that teacher involvement was minimal and restricted to after school hours. The intervention of the wider trade union movement is a significant step forward in the fight against the collapse of the education service, through the cuts imposed by successive governments.

Since the 1973 oil crisis, education has been a victim of cuts in public spending. The Tory government, with "milk-snatcher Thatcher" swinging the axe, chopped £182 million off the education budget in response to the employing class's ritual cry of "cut public spending." Her actions met verbal opposition from the Parliamentary Labour Party which was busy dolling itself up with a "left" image. However, since the election of the Labour government, the Tory policy has been carried forward. That is why children in Leicester cannot get school dinners and why teachers are joining Labour's growth industry, the dole queue. In London, alone, 2,000 teachers are unemployed.

A year ago, chancellor Healey produced an interim budget allow-

ing for a growth rate of 4% in education spending. Against rising inflation this was a cut and caused a drastic halt to expansion of the education service. Worse, it was the green light for Tory Councils to sacrifice education at the rate-payers' altar.

Since then Healey has lopped £76 million off the £150 million projected for improvements to schools in England and Wales... a 50% cut! Now, Education Minister, Fred Mulley, has stated that the growth rate will be restricted to a pitiful 2%, that not all newly qualified teachers will find jobs and that local authorities should consider cuts in nursery education, and school improvement plans. No doubt Mulley is glad that his plans have met with total acceptance from local authorities, Tory and Labour. Estimates for next year are cuts of £100 million and for the next three years, £500 million. This will mean fewer teachers, crowded classrooms, fewer books, resources and facilities, poorer school meals and a deterioration in the quality of education.

The depth of the present cuts is revealed in information collected by the Council for Educational Advance:

- Buckinghamshire: 1,000 jobs threatened by a £5 million proposed cut.
- Croydon: increased pupil-teacher ratios "being considered"
- Cambridgeshire: potatoes with

Although they were prevented from marching, they lobbied the meeting (aided by police protection). It is clear that in the coming struggle for jobs part of that struggle will involve wiping out that racist cancer.

Viewed in the context of unemployment in West London as a whole, the closure of AEC would be disastrous. In recent years, numerous factories in the area have closed, the most recent being the Rockware glass factory. Former factories are being turned into warehouses, providing rich pickings for the landowners but little in the way of jobs. The area is fast becoming an industrial desert. As Dick Dixon, chairman of the AEC Action Committee said, "unless the fight against closures and cuts begins now, West London could become the Jarrow of the south."

Action Committee

The West London Trades Councils Joint Action Committee, originally convened on Sunday 19 October to discuss unemployment, has decided to make defence of AEC the focus of the campaign. Preparations are being actively made to mobilise for the November 26th Lobby.

It seems certain that a one day stoppage will be called for in all factories and workplaces in the area. Shop stewards committees and local labour movement organisations have been invited to participate in this campaign. With effective leadership, a mass movement can be built up drawing other groups of workers in support of AEC, and providing the potential for a generalised campaign against cuts, closures and unemployment and for the right to work.

by Graeme Atkinson (N.U.T.)

- school dinner only twice a week.
- Avon: 2½ million to be slashed off education.
- Gwent: plan to cut £750,000 spending off transport, furniture, libraries, etc.
- Lancashire: new school building projects cancelled.

And there far more to come. Up to now, the NUT leaders have restricted their efforts on cuts and teacher unemployment to "investigating the situation." They have drawn attention to the danger of redundancies amongst teachers, but seem to have no policy for fighting sackings. The "left," led by CPers like Max Morris and Sam Fisher, have done little to rouse feeling and organise around these issues. Fisher is standing in the forthcoming union election for vice presidency but puts no alternative to the right wing. The only candidate with even a semblance of a fighting policy is "rank and file" supporter, Dave Picton, who should be given critical support. But electing lefts will not be enough to halt the cuts. Only a public service united front of all local government workers pledged to resist with industrial action will begin to do that. Therefore, the main task for socialist teachers is to create a public service alliance that can make such a policy of active militant resistance to cuts a reality.

IN FEBRUARY 1974, the Labour Party was returned to office on a reform programme which indicated the desirability of some changes in the structure of the capitalist system in Britain. In the run-up to the General Election, we were told by Wedgwood Benn and other Labour lefts, that the Labour Party would inherit a crisis when it came to power, and that this crisis would be the reason for socialist change and not the excuse for postponing it.

No one, either in the left or right wings of the labour movement, dared oppose these ideas in 1973. Even now, in 1975, the notion of "defending the Manifesto" (of 1974) is the rallying call of the left wing in the Labour Party. But the Wilson Government has completely abandoned all the fine-sounding pledges about an end to wage-control, restoring full employment and the standards of health, housing and education under the 'Welfare State'.

POSTPONE

Today, the Labour Government is doing precisely what it attacked the Tories for doing in 1973. It is using the crisis of the capitalist system as an excuse to postpone socialist change. In collaboration with the trade union leaders, particularly Jack Jones and Len Murray, the Wilson team are enforcing wage restraint through the £6 maximum pay limit and drawing up plans for a £3 billion cut in social spending. We are being told workers "must give a year for Britain" because of spiralling inflation, now running at 25% a year. According to the Wilson government's White Paper "The Attack on Inflation", price increases are caused largely by increases in workers wages. In the leaflet which "Her Majesty's" Government dropped through our doors, H. Wilson uses the big stick of unemployment to threaten us "that one man's wage increase is another man's price increase and may also cost him his job." The public expenditure cuts will help create severe unemployment in the public sector. But is it true that wage cuts will stop inflation?

WAGE-RESTRAINT

The view that wages cause inflation is widely held, not only amongst Tory politicians, Fleet Street journalists and certain hack economists, but also many people within the Labour and trade union movement itself. This is why Len Murray has been featured alongside CBI Director General Campbell Adamson in Government advertisements, extolling the virtues of 'wage restraint'. Even the Tribune Group, who could muster less than half its 80 members to oppose the £6 limit in Parliament, have only gone so far as to state that wage increases are not the major factor behind inflation.

This is obviously a long way from insisting that wage increases play NO PART in causing inflation: which is the only view compatible with scientific socialism. Because the leading Tribune-ites have not been prepared to make this categorical statement against the Wilson-Healey view of the question, they have not been able to inspire their supporters in the labour movement with the political confidence required to embark on a struggle against the £6 wage limitations.

That wages are in some way responsible for inflation is a view with a certain superficial attraction. It makes it possible for the Labour Government's publicity department

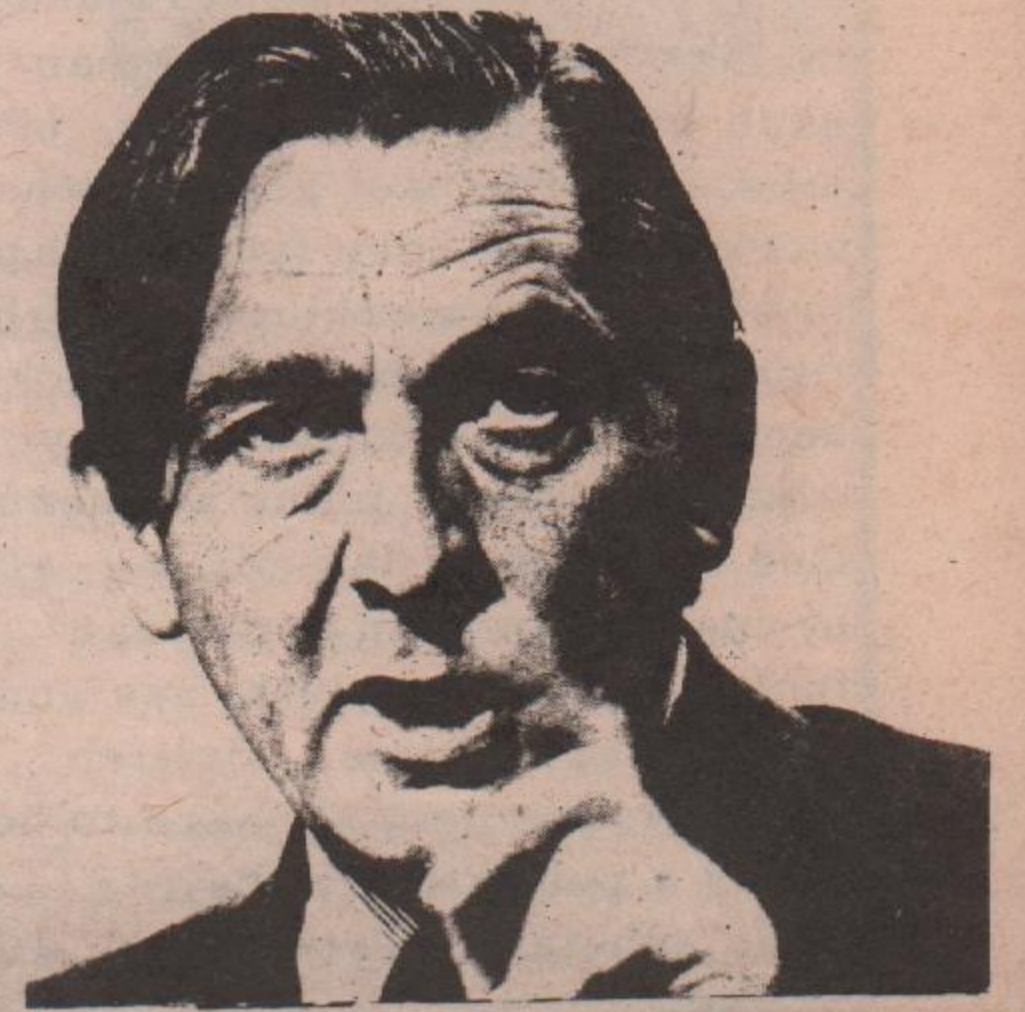
DO WAGES CAUSE INFLA

to appeal to the "commonsense" of many workers. After all, the employers' say that wages are a "cost" which has to be passed on to the customer in order to preserve profit margins. Indeed, from the point of view of the individual capitalist, this seems undeniably true. But the employer is "forced" to put up his prices by a combination of factors, like world price movements, commodity speculation, shortage of raw materials etc, conspiring to increase costs. The "individual" capitalist blames a symptom of inflation for its cause.

From the point of view of the worker, a wage is the price that he or she receives for the sale of a cert-

ain amount of labour power. Wages are nothing more than a price which is paid for a specific commodity, the sale of labour power, but a PRICE nonetheless. And as a wage is the name for the price which is paid for the commodity labour power, it follows the same laws as the price of any other commodity. It depends upon the price of the weeks' groceries, on the level of rent, fares, gas and electricity rates — on the cost of living in general. And when inflation forces up the price of these commodities which the worker requires in order to live and maintain a family, then it follows that the price of labour power must rise as well.

DON FLYNN EXAMINES THE MY



MURRAY AND

"extolling the virtues

25 per cent a year. Most Western European countries experience a rate of inflation which is measured in double figures.

The chief cause of inflation in the Western capitalist world has been the rapid expansion of state intervention since the war. The state itself was forced to become a major directing and investing force in the national capitalist economies after the war because of the scale on which a complete overhaul of the productive forces was required. In continental Europe, Germany, Italy and France had been left totally devastated by the war. Over 50% of their national capacity had been destroyed by the bombings, blitzes

The state and inflation

THE 'CHARTIST' denies categorically that wages are in any way a cause of inflation. Rather we insist that increases in wage levels are primarily a symptom of the present inflationary crisis of capitalism, an attempt to maintain the real value of workers' labour power.

The Labour government has time and time again stated that it cannot embark on its programmes of social reform, expansion of welfare services, full employment etc, until it has got inflation under control.

But the only means of controlling inflation that has been adopted is the £6 wage limit. Clearly, the Labour

government is attempting to end the disease of inflation by treating the symptoms and not the causes. This is bad medicine for the whole labour movement.

But what then is the cause of inflation if not wage increases? In answer we must firstly note that inflation is an international problem, affecting all countries in the capitalist world. Until recently, Japan had the highest rate of inflation of all the highly industrialised nations, running in the region of 30 per cent annually. Amongst the rest of the Western economies, Britain and Italy are high on the list with rates of 20-

AFTER THE consolidation of the right-wing at the Labour Party Conference last month, two key issues face working people:- the £6 pay limit and rising unemployment. If defence of working-class living standards in the next few months, depends on the efforts of the Labour Lefts, then the outlook must be said to look very bleak indeed.

At Labour Party Conference, last month, Tony Benn paid his "tribute to those who have accepted the £6 pay limit to their wages, this year," whilst Michael Foot defended, with all the eloquence at his disposal, what he called a "limitation on collective bargaining", as a necessary sacrifice on the road to the socialist millenium.

Meanwhile Tribune, and the public spokesmen of the Tribune Group, have at each opportunity attempted to evade the issue and the public showdown that clear opposition would involve with Wilson and the Cabinet. As the September Chartist reported, less than 40 Tribune MPs opposed the wage-freeze in Parliament and since then, Eric Heffer has dismissed the issue as "irrelevant". More recently, the 'Guardian' has been able to report that "the argument in the Labour Party over the Government's £6 a week pay limit now seems to be dead." The article then went on to state that the Tribune Group had given its "reluctant but formal endorsement to the new incomes policy."

The Tribune-ites have apparently decided to turn their attention to the rising unemployment figures. If Tribune leaders show as much commitment on this as they have shown in fighting the £6 limit then 2 million unemployed seems on the cards.

Tribune evades £6 f



Jones (extreme right) interrupts Mikardo (centre, standing), while Foot pretends he's not there

How is it that the Tribune Group, immensely strengthened by the two elections in 1974 and with a clear majority on the National Executive Committee (NEC), have staggered from defeat to defeat WITHOUT a major battle with the right-wing. First Eric Heffer, then Judith Hart were driven out of the Cabinet. Wilson got the referendum vote he required and now, wage-cuts and mass unemployment are being imposed on the working class. Meanwhile the Tribune Group peddles its panaceas of cuts in defence spending, import controls and increases in public expenditure.

As commitment to working class interests and defence of the present Labour Government increasingly come into conflict, the Tribune Group itself is becoming increas-

ingly torn apart.

The present weakness of the Tribune lefts stems from the sudden passing over of their base of support in those unions, like Jack Jones', TGWU, that have moved left in recent years, to the side of Wilson and the right-wing. Having never mobilised outside Parliament the Tribune-ites have found themselves stranded, cut off from their traditional backers in the big unions. It was this that sparked off the bitter scenes between Jones and Mikardo at the Blackpool Tribune meeting with both accusing the other of having let the movement down.

However, the replacement of Denis Healey by Eric Heffer on the NEC reveals that a potential basis of support does exist in the constituencies for a serious fight against

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...H BEHIND THE £6 LIMIT



ADAMSON

...wage restraint"

...nd invasions. It took a \$10 billion overhaul, in the shape of the Marshall Plan, to put European capitalism back on its feet again. But when this had been achieved, (largely because of the betrayals of social-democratic and Communist Party governments), the industries created in W. Germany, France, northern Italy and also Japan, were based on the latest technological developments in plant and machinery, as well as advantageous organisation which enabled large, centralised and integrated companies to operate most efficiently.

But it is important to note that this 'economic miracle' of reconstruction would not have been possible if

...ight

By Geoff Bender

...he right-wing. Can the Tribuneites mobilise this?

At present, in conjunction with a section of the LPYS, a campaign is being launched by the Tribune Group "To Defend the Manifesto." Though all attempts to mobilise the rank-and-file of the labour movement against the present leadership must be welcomed and defended, serious militants will be asking is the Manifesto the right basis for such a campaign? Is it not after all the Manifesto with its "social contract" which tied the trade union leaders to the Labour Government and which is at the root of the current situation?

There are pledges in the Manifesto which it is important to hold the Government to: extension of nationalisation, opposition to incomes policy, and commitment to full employment. Nevertheless the Manifesto and the first social contract by popularising the notion that 'private' or voluntary restraint and austerity regarding incomes, would lead to increases in the social wage, paved the way for the present situation where both 'private' and 'social' wages are being slashed.

If the Tribune Group seriously want to lead a fight against the present policies of the Wilson Government then they must not be allowed to evade the question of the £6 pay limit. Only by placing the struggle to smash the £6 limit at the centre of the fight against the Wilson leadership can the Tribune lefts utilise the strength of trade union members and all those coming into struggle to defend living standards, jobs and the social services.

it had been left to the resources of private industry alone. The reconstruction of industry in Europe and Japan required the intervention of the American state—in the form of enormous dollar and military aid—which was to have important consequences for the development of capitalism in the following 30 years.

In Britain, the Labour Government elected in 1945 was forced by working class pressure to construct the 'Welfare State', providing health, housing and education services independently from private enterprise. Similarly, the state was forced to step in and nationalise those sectors of industry which had proved completely bankrupt in private capitalist hands, namely, coal, rail, steel, gas and electricity. This was all state intervention to guarantee the profitability of private capital, and it depended on the expansion of public spending.

EXPANSION

This expansion had come through the creation of artificial value not backed by real productive value, in the form of increased taxation, increases in the money supply, and budget deficit financing. All these methods of raising capital for the state have the effect of decreasing the rate of profit in private industry. As a consequence of this, the private capitalist is forced to compensate for the falling rate of return on his investment by either increasing the productivity of his labour force or, simply increasing the prices of the commodities he produces. The former, increasing productivity, requires massive amounts of capital investment in order to introduce new technology, plant, machinery, tools, computers etc, into the production process. Therefore, the tendency has been for prices to rise faster than any significant increase in the productivity of labour.

The inflationary crisis which now grips capitalism is a product of the incompatibility of state intervention and direction of the economy, and privately-owned capitalist industry geared to maximising profit rates.

MIXED-ECONOMY

The demands being placed on the Labour government for greater nationalisation and workers' management of the economy on the one hand and on the other, for slashing cuts in public spending while "private enterprise takes a free hand", represent these opposing forces fighting out the issue in society. The ideal of a middle-ground "mixed economy" cannot be credibly defended nowadays, when the causes of the current crisis are precisely this "mixed economy" of state-owned industry and private enterprise.

By holding down wages and cutting back on public spending the Labour leadership capitulates to the demands of the capitalist class. Their method of solving the inflationary crisis requires the complete dismantling of the Welfare state and a return to the conditions that existed at the turn of the century. We say that the working class solution to the crisis requires a break from policies of state-managed capitalism and the stamping out of all private industry through nationalisation of the entire economy. On the basis of a socialised planned economy under workers' management the way will be open for eliminating inflation and unemployment and all the other scourges of the capitalist system.

MCAPP Conference: Organise to defend N.H.S.

by ANNA GALVANI

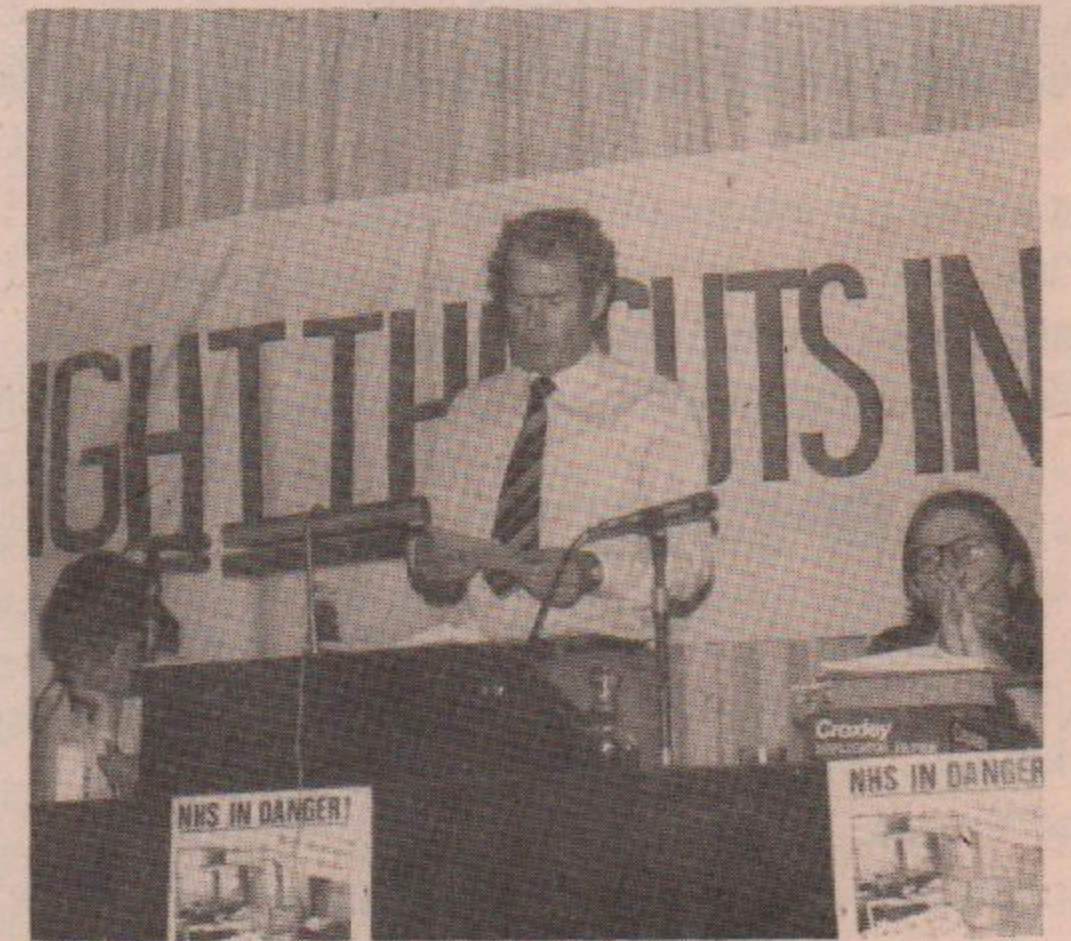
THE MEDICAL Committee Against Private Practice Conference held at the beginning of October laid bare the full extent of present cuts in the National Health Service, with Government policy beginning to take its vicious toll, and management moving onto the offensive as it applies in a variety of ways, the surgical knife of big-business interest. Profit must come before people and above all, in the case of the NHS, profit must come before the health care of the working-class.

Staff leaving to take up other employment will not be replaced nor will old or worn-out machinery. Wards and even whole hospitals are to be closed, overtime is to go, whether essential or otherwise. Added to this, one delegate reported that 50 out of 60 much-needed consultancy posts in the West Midlands have been frozen.

COHSE have estimated that the NHS is short of 80,000 nurses yet in the past four months nurses and staff-nurses have been made redundant in East Glamorgan and Portsmouth. All this is happening at a time when large amounts of money are being made available for private practice - £80 million is being pumped into a private health care firm named Allied Investments; the backers include the American finance capital giants, the Chase Manhattan Bank. Obviously, they feel that the investment is worthwhile.

As the NHS is attacked from all sides private enterprise waits in the wings hopeful of vast long-term profits. If the NHS is run down to become a shadow of its former self then pressure may well grow from the stand on your

own two feet brigade as the level of NHS health care coverage declines. No doubt encouraged by Margaret Thatcher's "right to be unequal" utterances, the prospect of a private insurance based scheme, taking over from the NHS will become the policy of the enemies of the working-class.



Jack Collins (NUM) chairs MCAPP

The MCAPP conference provided an excellent forum to organise the fight against the attacks on the NHS. These attacks and the existence of private practice are attacks on the social wage of the whole working class. The 500 delegates and visitors representing all sections of the labour movement, showed that these attacks have to be met by a class-wide response, and not by health workers alone.

Local conferences should now be mounted to discuss the situation and organise the fight back from a position of knowledge of the planned cuts and the kind of political strategy needed to fight them. Only on this basis can mass action be assured.

SAVAGE 'CUTS' ORDER

BELOW we reprint a copy of an internal circular to the Consultant Staff, Medical and other Department heads, of the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, detailing proposals for savage cut-backs in that hospital. All over the country such circulars are being issued behind the backs of hospital workers. To mount a fight-back against the Castle-axe on the NHS we must have full knowledge, through trade union committees, of all the planned cuts presently being introduced through secret discussions and letters.

"You will remember that I wrote to you on the 7th July drawing attention to the need for economy in the present financial year.



"At its last meeting the Finance Committee received a list of possible savings, but concluded that the

"true" savings, i.e. actual cuts in service, amounted to about £36,000 only. In the light of this information the Committee reaffirmed its earlier decision that a reduction of at least £70,000 must be made in the budget for 1975/6.

"As mentioned at the last meeting of Group Heads of Departments, I have therefore been instructed to ask you, yet again, to let me have firm proposals for making savings within your Department, even if by doing so the level and quality of the service to patients is affected. Examples of such measures are: closing beds and sections of departments, not filling existing or imminent staff vacancies; cutting out overtime worked by essential staff; and stopping or severely curtailing supportive services such as pathological investigations. All possible measures, no matter how drastic, must be carefully considered particularly those where consequent savings can be readily assessed, e.g. not filling vacancies.

"Would you please let me have your suggestions by 9th September so that a revised list can be collated and submitted to the Finance Committee at its next meeting, when it will decide which proposals should be accepted and implemented." From: PW Dixon, House Governor.

PORTUGAL

SOLDIERS REPULSE GOVERNMENT CLAMPDOWN

by Martin Cook

THE PORTUGUESE Revolution has begun to rush at almost breakneck speed towards the inevitable confrontation. The working-class counter-offensive to the new right-wing Sixth Provisional Government of Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo has so far been largely successful. On October 14th, Army C-in-C Gen. Carlos Fábão gave in to the revolutionary soldiers of the CICAP Transport Regiment of Oporto who had been occupying an artillery barracks in protest against an attempt to disband them. The terms of settlement represented a crucial victory for the left in reinstating the regiment.

SPECTACULAR

This was only the most spectacular of a series of actions by militant rank-and-file soldiers in defiance of Admiral Azevedo's Socialist-dominated government. At the end of September, most of the troops sent in to suppress the radio stations controlled by the workers ignored their orders & broadcast their support. Attempts are now being made to get broadcasts started up at Radio Renascença, whose transmitter has been occupied by the notorious right-winger Jaime Neves. These commandos, together with the anti-aircraft artillery regiment at Cascais, are about the only troops in the key Lisbon military region considered to be solidly reliable by the Government.

This followed other incidents in late September, for instance when a revolutionary officer, Captain Fernandes, diverted at least 1000

G-3 automatic rifles to the armed wing of the PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party), one of the many extreme-left groups. On September 25th, a massive demonstration including several thousand uniformed soldiers surrounded the military prison at Trafaria and secured the release of two militants of the Soldados Unidos Vencerão organisation (SUV).

In fact it is the SUV (meaning Soldiers United Will Win), which has been responsible for these incredible gains, bringing over whole sections of the military ranks over to the side of the workers, even in the relatively reactionary North and Centre. The MFA (Armed Forces Movement), which had been a dominant force in Portuguese politics since the April 25th Revolution, has now completely fallen apart under conflicting pressures. Many of the unreliable radical officers who had been prepared to side with the working class and the struggle for socialism have drawn back now that they see the crunch is coming. Instead, however, radicalization has spread to the lower ranks, organised by SUV and by the disabled war veterans of the ADFA. Some of the Northern soldiers on SUV demonstrations against reactionary officers were supporting the burning of left-wing parties' offices a few months back.

SUV did not arise spontaneously. It is the counterpart of the



FUR (Revolutionary United Front) - an alliance of the left parties willing to fight for socialism, and against the stabilisation of capitalist rule and a new right-wing dictatorship. This is a historic break from the narrow sectarian traditions of the far left, even though the FUR is still weakened by its inability to relate to people who

still have illusions in the Socialist Party, for instance. The new movement has largely by-passed the Communist Party, discredited through its arrogance and bureaucratic methods, which appears unable to decide whether it supports or opposes the present Azevedo regime!

'DUAL POWER'

The fact that large sections of the army now support the workers means that a tense and unstable situation of "Dual Power" exists. Azevedo, backed to the hilt by Socialist leader Mario Soares (Wilson's great friend), can make calls for 'authority', 'discipline' and 'sacrifice' until he's blue in the face. But he cannot implement a real crack-down without starting a civil war, which looks more and more like an immediate prospect. Some left-wing groups are going underground, rather than surrender their arms. The Government's attempts to set up more reliable military units hinge mainly on the return of the 20,000 troops in Angola.

Military actions are not enough. The SUV must be paralleled by the development and centralisation of ALL the existing councils of workers, tenants and soldiers—in particular the Popular Assemblies. This is now under way in Lisbon and Oporto. In Britain we call on all sections of the labour movement to give their support to the Portuguese workers revolution by affiliating to the Campaign of Solidarity with the Portuguese working class, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2.

FRANCO CONTINUED

(together with many priests and even bishops) have been expressing sympathy for the workers' demands. Perhaps most ominous of all, there are certain signs of splits in the Armed Forces—not as deep as in the Portuguese armed forces prior to April 1974, but likely to widen rapidly in the period ahead.

For the Spanish ruling class Franco's death came at almost the worst possible time. Despite set-backs, the revolution in Portugal is still under way, and likely to be given fresh strength by events in Spain. The economies of all the West European states are deep in economic recession, with severe effects in Spain. In political terms, within Spain itself, Franco's death has provided the climax to a traumatic series of crises which have rocked the regime throughout this year as a result of strikes, Basque nationalist attacks, police-killings, the Moroccan Sahara dispute and the wave of international protests over the military execution (with barely the pretence of a proper trial) of five Basque and other alleged terrorists.

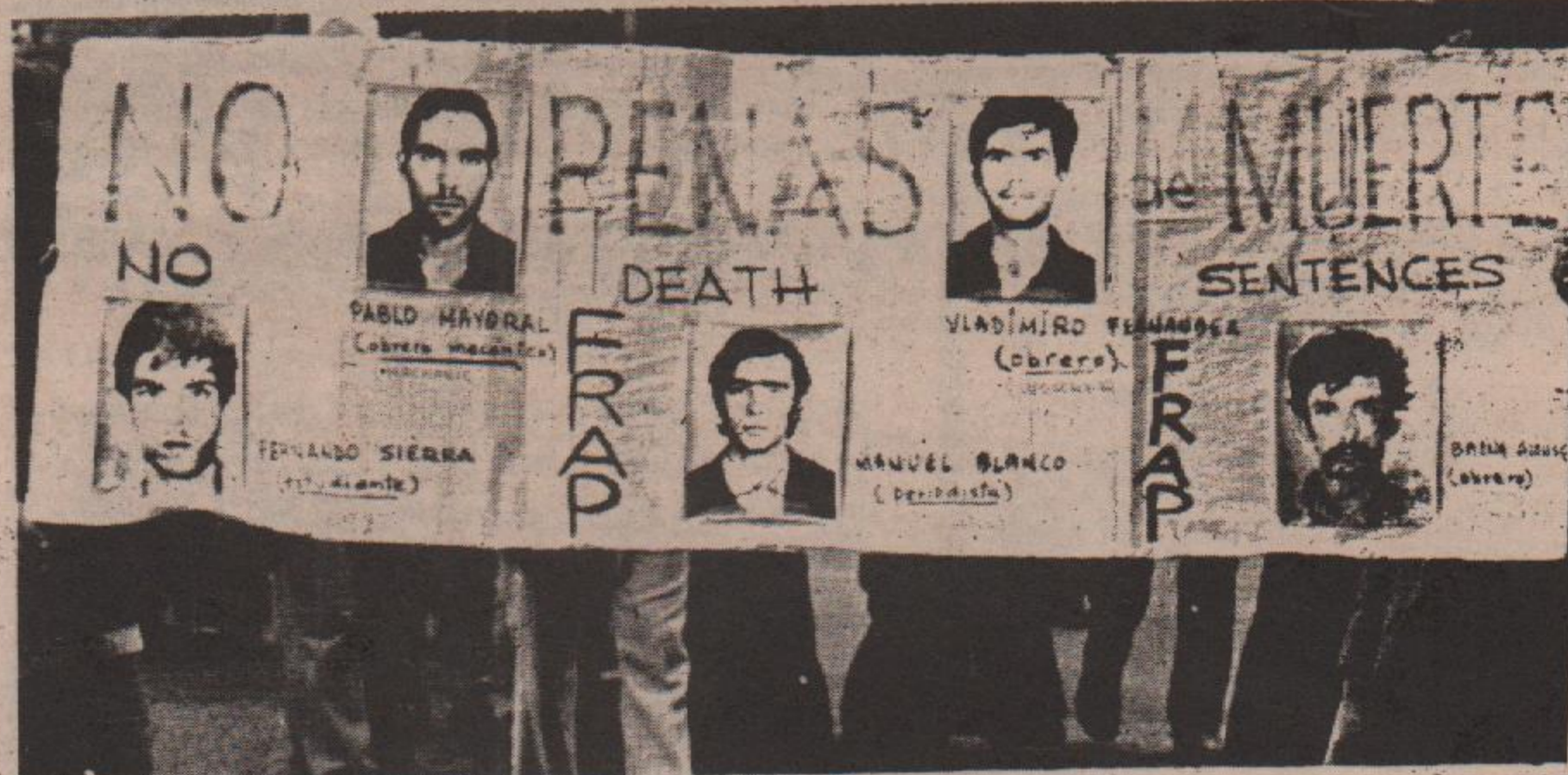
In view of the impossibility of continuing to rule—in the face of

all this—in the same old way as before, Juan Carlos will be forced to "liberalize" to a certain degree. Already in the past year there has been a mushrooming (in disguised forms) of various liberal and "democratic" capitalist parties which will be permitted to function on a restricted basis and under conditions laid down from above. We may also expect these parties to give some support to the Communist leaders since it will be on their "moderation" that Spanish capitalism will depend to a large extent. The capitalist parties will certainly not join the Communists' "Junta Democrática" (with the exception of a few small groups) despite the fact that this body's programme contains no measures of socialist expropriation at all.

BUREAUCRACY

But many employers and their politicians fear that the outlawing of trade unions is only assisting the revolutionary left, preventing the Communist and Socialist "moderates" from forming a bureaucracy capable of containing the militancy of the working class. For this reason, it is very likely that trade unions will be cautiously legalized and certain imprisoned industrial militants released from gaol.

The real point, however, is that—since events in Portugal have



once again been showing—in semi-backward countries of this kind in this epoch there is no possibility at all of capitalists and workers co-existing under any form of democratic regime. Spain's capitalists are far too weak to be able to tolerate trade union rights and an organized working class for any period of time. Without a terroristic dictatorship to buttress them, the capitalists will rapidly find their power ebbing away even given the most grovelling pro-capitalist policies of the workers' leaders. Immediately, the employers will begin planning ways of restoring the dictatorship they need. Just as Spain's ruling class will concede reforms only under the threat of revolution, so it is only an immediate full-scale revolutionary offensive which can prevent these reforms from being snatched back. That is why it is so criminal for the

Communist (and Socialist) leaders to create illusions as to the existence of a "liberal" section of the capitalist class which can be relied on to defend "democracy". Although there are splits in the ruling class today (which must be exploited), this is only thanks to the immediately revolutionary threat posed by the militancy of the working class. If the working class misses its chance to seize power in the period of crisis now opening up, then in the reaction which follows, all sections of the capitalist class will unite to re-install a dictatorship. If the Communist and Socialist leaders cannot see this—and launch an immediate joint struggle for power—then they must be replaced by others who can. Very great events are about to unfold in Spain. The fate of Europe and perhaps of the world could depend on their outcome.

Hungary 1956: Workers' councils versus Soviet tanks

THE HUNGARIAN Revolution was a momentous and controversial event in working class history. Spokesmen for capitalism and reformism regard it as a gallant, if ill-fated, anti-Communist uprising. Supporters of the Soviet leadership see it as a fascist attempt to restore capitalism in Hungary. The 'Chartist' rejects both views and, on the 19th anniversary of the Hungarian Commune, is presenting its own account in answer to the united slanders of capitalism and Stalinism.

AFTER YALTA

In 1945, after two decades of fascism under Admiral Horthy, Hungary was liberated by the Red Army to the great enthusiasm of the workers. Europe had already been carved up at Yalta by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill and Hungary was acknowledged as a Soviet 'sphere of influence'. But Stalinist rule was not immediately established. In the 1945 election, the Socialists and the Peasant Party gained a majority with the Communist Party (CP) polling 17 per cent of the vote. Property was nationalised, but democracy was too much in evidence for Stalin who decided, in 1947, to 'Sovietise' Hungary.

Using the Red Army, the CP manoeuvred its left opponents out of office and into jail. In 1954, Rakosi, a leading Hungarian Stalinist, boasted of how he cut his opponents' liberties away "like slices of salami". The words "All Power to the Working People" were enshrined in the 1949 Constitution... and stayed there. Trades unions were transformed into instruments of oppression, imposing harsh work norms and acceptance of low wages and long hours. Having alienated the workers, the CP was invaded by all kinds of careerists and opportunists. Even ex-fascists were given good jobs in the state bureaucracy.

PURGES

Honest workers and Communists were jailed, purged and often executed. This was the era of 'Titoism' and 'Zionist plots'. Stalin ordered show trials throughout East Europe. Lazlo Rajk, a popular Communist hero and survivor of Belsen, was made to confess to being a 'Gestapo agent' in a faked trial. The hated AVH secret police terrorised workers in a manner not far removed from Nazism. The workers found this intolerable and waited for a signal to move.

Between 1953 and 1956, Stalin's death, the East German workers' uprising and Khrushchev's 20th Congress speech denouncing Stalin's crimes encouraged the workers. The Stalinist regime could go no further. Stalin was dead but Stalinism was carried on by his servants who

BY PETER GOLD AND DAVE WILSON

were still in command and only denounced him to preserve their positions and privileges. In Hungary, the rule of Rakosi, Farkas and Gero continued, backed up by the hated AVH. Workers and oppositionists entered the path of independent struggle.

Writers and intellectuals formed the 'Petofi Circle' and campaigned for anti-Stalinist reform. The 'Spring Thaw' after Khrushchev's secret speech sparked off mass riots and demonstrations in Poland, forcing the Stalinists to purge the secret police and grant minor concessions.

Emboldened, the 'Petofi Circle' and sections of workers advanced a similar anti-bureaucratic reform programme. Purge victims like Rajk were rehabilitated and some prisoners released. Rakosi had to resign for "health reasons" and was replaced by a more 'liberal' stooge, Erno Gero, who did not satisfy the workers. 100,000 downed tools and poured into the streets on October 23rd, demanding that the radio stations broadcast their democratic demands. These were: Government changes, a free press and free elections. The AVH replied with machine gun bullets and grenades.

WORKERS' COUNCILS

The next day, street fighting broke out. The Government, claiming danger of 'a fascist and imperialist plot', called in the Red Army against the workers. Now, the real nature of the Revolution was revealed. All over Hungary, the workers spontaneously formed Workers' Councils as a weapon of struggle against Stalinist rule. Every major town outside Budapest; Győr, Miskolc, Magyaróvár, was in the hands, not of the bureaucracy nor mythical 'fascists', but armed revolutionary workers' councils. Dual power had developed between the Stalinists and the councils.

After the October 23rd events, a popular and 'liberal' Communist Imre Nagy, was installed as Premier. His government included Socialist and Peasant Party represent-



Armed workers confront Soviet tank in Budapest street.

atives. But however genuine Nagy's intentions and mass support, his administration was centrist, stuck between reform and political revolution, towards which the mass struggle was heading. The Government created illusions that the Kremlin would make peace and withdraw troops, leaving Hungary to 'build its own socialism'. Only a government of the workers councils, under revolutionary communist leadership, could have accomplished this through a political revolution against Stalinism.

Both Stalinist and capitalist historians ignore the workers councils because they both argue—for different reasons—that the revolution was anti-socialist. No Communists were hanged or shot but plenty AVH thugs were. While the bosses' press reaped a propaganda harvest from the bloody Soviet suppression of Hungary, the 'Communist' press displayed only its bankruptcy. The British CP's 'Daily Worker' sent one of its most able reporters, Peter Fryer, to Budapest 'to get the facts'.

POLLITT, DUTT, GOLLAN

Fryer reached Hungary but his reports did not reach the pages of the 'Daily Worker'. The CP leaders, Harry Pollitt, R. Palme Dutt and John Gollan opted for the Soviet line just as in the 1930s, when they justified the betrayals of the German and Spanish workers, the Moscow Trials, the Nazi-Soviet Pact and Trotsky's assassination. Typical was the report that "Counter-revolution staged an uprising in the hours of darkness on Tuesday night," creating the impression that USA-paid ex-fascists were overthrowing socialism. Hungarian workers told Fryer that they wanted no return to capitalism. They showed him the AVH's torture chambers. The 'dead communists' were AVH murderers who had turned their guns on a working class fighting for liberty. The British Stalinists rejected Fryer's reports of a genuine workers revolution.

On his return, Fryer related that CP leader, Pollitt, had told one

critical member, "My advice to you is to keep your mouth shut." The 'Daily Worker' continued defending Stalinist bureaucracy against socialist democracy. Describing Nagy's regime, it said, "The corridors of Hungary's Parliament are filled with heel-clicking Horthyist officers and former land owners." When Soviet troops moved to crush the revolution, the 'Daily Worker' applauded with the headline: "Red Troops called in to halt White Terror."

Hundreds left the British CP as it dragged communism through the mud yet again. Some, correctly, moved towards Trotskyism. Others abandoned socialism altogether.

'FINAL SOLUTION'

By the end of October, most of Hungary was under the control of the workers' councils. The army had sided en masse with the workers who had organised Free Radio stations to broadcast revolutionary, anti-Stalinist propaganda. The first wave of Soviet troops fraternised with the workers. On October 30th, many 'contaminated' units were withdrawn from Hungary and all Soviet troops pulled out of Budapest.

The Soviet Stalinists, led by Khrushchev, decided on a 'final solution'. Fresh regiments, full of stories about Hungary being 'a nest of reaction', surrounded the major towns and cities. On November 4th, Soviet tanks began to shell Budapest. After a couple of heroic weeks, the Hungarian Commune was drowned in blood. 20,000 Hungarians and 4,000 Russians were killed and despair with socialism was world-wide.

SALUTE

Capitalist restoration was never a possibility in 1956. Police rule was dislocated and workers' power exercised through democratic workers' councils and workers' control and management in the factories and collieries. The trembling cowards in the Kremlin knew this and hated it because it might have reached their doorstep, as one day it surely will. Hence, they dissolved the workers' councils and jailed and shot their leaders.

The Hungarian workers carried the torch of proletarian revolution. The Czech workers rekindled its flame in 1968, showing that Stalinism's days are numbered. Their fight was not in vain as the coming destruction of capitalism and Stalinism in Europe will prove, when workers will make the traditions of the Russian Revolution a burning reality by establishing their revolutionary power. The death knell of Stalinism has been sounded. We salute the martyrs of the Hungarian Commune who did so much to sound it.



A giant statue of Stalin is toppled by Budapest workers. But Stalin's heirs took their revenge...

YS branches back TOM

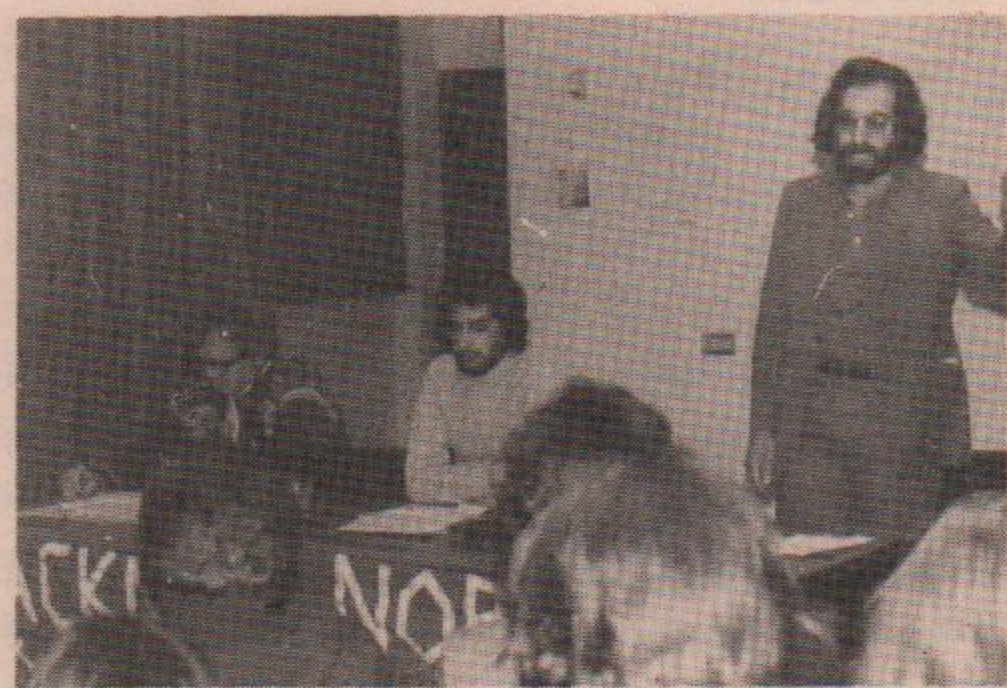
THE TROOPS Out Movement campaigns within the Labour movement for the two demands TROOPS OUT NOW! and SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE. These demands mean insisting that British workers recognise the role of their own army in Ireland.

The Troops Out Movement places the role of the British Army in the North of Ireland at the centre of its campaign. We say the army grinds down the nationalist community, maintains the confidence of Loyalism, aids and abets the para-militaries, and ultimately keeps the whole of Ireland in the grip of British Imperialism.

The most recent events in the north, the split within the United Ulster Unionist Council and deepening rift between the Loyalist paramilitaries provide the clearest confirmation of the fact that the Loyalist movement is inherently unstable and prone to fragmentation. The immediate withdrawal of the Army would certainly provide the BEST CONDITIONS for the total defeat of Loyalism and the routing of an Orange "UDI".

The Socialist Charter agrees with the TOM that there is a great desire amongst many Labour Party members for a serious and thorough-go-

ing discussion on all the issues involved in the war in the North of Ireland. An example of this fact was the support given to a debate organised by the Hackney North and Stoke Newington LPYS between the TOM and Bob Labi from the National Committee of the Young Socialists. Over 50 people turned up for this debate and an extremely lively discussion followed.



LPYS - TOM DEBATE IN HACKNEY

We call on all LPYS branches to seriously discuss the issues at stake in building a campaign on the issue of Ireland in the labour movement. We call on the LPYS to open up a discussion with TOM at all levels, branch, regional and national, about the way forward -- and how we can end the role of British imperialism in Ireland.

ABORTION: Oppose the re-establishment of the Select Committee

By LIZ ADAMS

AS THE PARLIAMENTARY session comes to a close, Mrs. Barbara Castle has set the tone for the next round of attacks on women's rights to safe legal abortion.

She has accepted the third report of the Select Committee which was considering White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill. The continuing life of this anti-abortion committee will be decided by a free vote in the middle of November.

Mrs. Castle's uncritical support for the Select Committee's proposals shows that she endorses the anti-abortionists' determination to make it more difficult for women to get abortion. Certainly the opposition benches roared their approval at her promise last week to tighten up the law on abortion, as indeed they would. Implementation of these proposals will:

- 1) Impose bureaucratic control of all abortion referral agencies. This will make many charitable agencies (used by 50% of women needing abortions last year) sitting ducks when the next round of restrictions are considered. Trying to help women when they wanted an abortion, according to Labour MP White, should be punishable under the law by fines or imprisonment.
- 2) Restriction of abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy. Women already have to wait too long for abortions. This clause will be used by some doctors to deliberately cause "delays" until it is "too late."

Even those member of the Select Committee, Labour MPs, who opposed White's Bill, capitulated and supported these restrictive proposals. No good can come out of this, or any other Select Committee. If a new committee were set up, the majority of members would almost certainly still be anti-abortionists, and that will mean another White Bill next session.

NOW is the time for Labour Party members to organise lobbies of their MPs to urge them to oppose the re-establishment of the Select Committee.

NAC CONTINUES THE FIGHT

ON EIGHTEEN and nineteen October, the National Abortion Campaign held its first national conference to discuss future strategy. Nine hundred people were present, from NAC groups, trade unions, and Labour Parties up and down the country. Meanwhile SPUC rounded up many thousands of its flock on Sunday and applauded the Select Committee's fine work! A majority at the NAC conference approved that NAC should continue to operate as an open structured campaign to rally as many forces as possible who are prepared to fight any attempts at restrictive legislation, and confirmed that NAC's perspective will be to develop and extend support in the labour movement and through local NAC groups to prepare for a massive offensive mobilisation when the time is ripe.

LABOUR'S Left Wing is now under direct attack from the Tory press. First it was Tony Kelly from Newham Labour Party who got the full treatment from the Daily Mail and Sunday Times. Then the Observer ran a full length article 'exposing' the Militant tendency. Last month it was the turn of the Chartists.

Following a Chartist public meeting in Leeds on the subject of "After Newham, What Next for Labour Left" with Tony Kelly as a speaker, the local Tory press really went to town.

"'Get M.P. out' bid unmasked in Yorks," "How the Chartists stalk their victim" screamed the headlines of the local Evening Post. There followed an incredible story that the Chartists, who apparently had engineered moves to oust Reg Prentice in Newham had now picked a new victim—Stan Cohen, the pro-Common Market Labour M.P. for South East Leeds. The 'plot' it seemed, was masterminded by Graham Bash, described as a 'disciple' of Tony Kelly, and Graham Durham who was 'Mr. Bash's lieutenant'.

The allegations were, of course, LIES - from beginning to end. Graham Bash wrote to the Leeds Citizen, weekly newspaper of the Leeds Labour Party and spelt out the following points.

- Graham Bash was not a "disciple" of Tony Kelly, and had in fact only met him twice.
- Mike Davis, Chartist editor, who was reported as saying at the public meeting, "We've got to get Cohen out," had scarcely even heard of Stan Cohen.
- Above all, there was no plot and there had been no moves taken to get rid of Cohen.

There was not a plot, just fundamental political differences with the MP that had been raised openly within the party. What was the substance of these?

The most sinister aspect of the whole affair is that the Tory press were clearly helped in the

EP exclusive

'Get MP out' bid unmasked in Leeds

The coup by extremists in Newham East, who Overseas Development Minister Reg Prentice has been put out in the cold, has given new impetus to the Chartists — the Left-wing pressure group. GRAHAM WILES brings their activities in Leeds to the open for the first time. See Monday's EP for more disclosures.

How the Chartists stalk their victim

A Leeds M.P. has been picked out as a new target by the extreme Left-wing group. The plot to oust Mr. Prentice was exposed.

"expose" by press leaks and behind the scenes manoeuvres from within the Labour Party itself. As Graham Bash wrote in the Citizen, "We can only view with distaste the behind the scenes maneuvering and press leaks that have occurred. The aim is obvious - to discredit the Labour left. But do these people not realise that they are discrediting the whole Labour Movement by these methods." The Labour Left must now be on its guard against these kind of attacks. As rank and file Labour Party opposition grows against the policies of Healey and Wilson, the harassment and abuse from the Tory press and Labour's right wing can only get worse.

ASTMS NEC LOBBIED OVER WOMEN

FOLLOWING the decision of the 1974 and 1975 National Women's Workshops of ASTMS, which represents delegates from all sixteen of the Union's divisions, the NEC was requested to form a National Women's Advisory Committee. This request was turned down flat on the grounds that such a committee would only ghettoise the problems of the women members of the union, by creating a new section. However, when this decision is examined against the background of the existing conditions of many women, it is evident that it is merely an excuse. For women are already ghettoised by family ties, 'child-rearing', pre-

paring meals and shopping etc, and is aside from the general economic issues of increasing redundancies and lower wages.

The NEC, above all, should be aware of these special problems. At Oxford University Press, they have sanctioned a 2 week long dispute ASTMS members, the majority women, have claimed increased time off work for maternity and paternity leave.

The future role of National Women's Advisory Committees would surely be to ensure that the case of these members, and similar disputes are not left isolated from the general membership.

CHARTIST PUBLIC MEETING

AFTER NEWHAM - WHAT NEXT FOR LABOUR LEFT?

Main Speaker **Tony Kelly**
(Newham N.E. CLP)

NORTH LONDON
8:00pm Monday 17th Nov.
CO-OP HALL
129, Seven Sisters Rd. N7