

CHARTIST

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BREAK OFF TALKS WITH HEATH!

THAT TREACHEROUS OLD WIND-BAG, Vic Feather, is at it again. No sooner had he got the May Day stoppage behind him—than he eagerly rushed to accept the Tory Premier's invitation to "talks" on "Phase Three". At this moment he's busy working out with Heath how best to hold down our wages.

"We have much to gain on behalf of the working people of this country", he told a Financial Times Conference before the talks began, "if we can engage in these sort of commitments with the Government."

This was what Heath wanted him to say. The "Phase Three" attacks can now be made to look like a "negotiated deal".

"It is wrong to talk about a crisis, or of overcoming crises", Feather went on. "We

are not in any crisis situation".

Again just what Heath wanted. The illusion of a "boom" with presents for everyone is being peddled by the Tories right and left.

The facts are these. The Tories have nothing to give. Their economic "boom" is about to go bust almost before it has got off the ground. They are preparing savage attacks on our living standards because their

backs are to the wall. They will not give us anything no matter how much our leaders "talk" and plead.

Talks with Heath can only serve one purpose—to help confuse and disarm the working class.

With millions of others we say to Feather and his "left" friends Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones:

- Break off talks with the Tories!
- Force the Government to resign!



Vic Feather

ROLLS ROYCE: BENN IS RIGHT!

THE RIGHT Honourable Anthony Wedgwood Benn is a prize idiot and an individual by no means to be trusted.

But on May 8 he issued a "solemn warning" to the would-be shareholders of Rolls-Royce Motors.

He told them the next Labour Government would have them all expropriated.

There followed a cacophony of ruling-class screams and squeals.

"Withdraw!" cried Peter Walker, Tory Trade and Industry Secretary. "Wild,



Wedgwood Benn

irresponsible talk!" shouted another Tory MP.

All the Labour leaders dis-owned Wedgwood Benn.

But the CHARTISTS back his threats here to the hilt. Why the hell should the Tories be allowed to sell off the one profitable sector of Rolls Royce—its motors division—to their millionaire friends?

Why should they be allowed to force the state sector to run at a loss—subsidized by the rest of us through taxes?

As for the "jobs" cry—there is only one way to

guarantee employment at Rolls-Royce. And that is to secure the company's nationalization under workers' control.

Labour Party Comrades—make sure Benn's interpretation of Conference decisions is backed up. More—ensure that this year's Conference names the company loud and clear: Rolls-Royce Motors Ltd, paid for by the public for four years, will be immediately nationalized by the next Labour Government without any compensation at all.

THE CHARTIST

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SOME PERSPECTIVES

THE MAY-DAY stoppage is over. And now, more than a month after the defeat of the February-March strike-upsurge, our movement is still taking stock.

Industrial muscle alone, it seems, can get us little further. It is as if we had hit a brick wall.

And the Tory Government itself appears cock-a-hoop. Its "confrontation" policy, it might seem, has had the desired results. The unions, now sobered, are about to "talk sense."

The Tory Government's mood is understandable. Early this year it had announced "no surrender" on "Phase 2". It had tensed itself for a confrontation as gasmen, rail-drivers, civil servants, students and hospital workers struck together. Then as "General Strike" calls had found an echo even within the TUC—it had refused to be frightened. It had stood firm and called the trade union movement's bluff.

What followed is history, but it is still worth going over. When the crunch came our leaders backed down. Instead of calling immediate indefinite action to back up those on strike, the TUC decided on a mere "protest" stoppage, delaying even that until the strike upsurge had passed its peak.

At once the strikers saw they had little chance to win. The Government's resolve hardened. Splits widened and deepened among the gas men, the civil servants, the hospital workers. The Ford workers and miners—not keen on martyrdom—voted down their militants and refused to strike. Increasingly the May Day stoppage itself looked pointless to the mass of workers

who strike only in order to win. And so when it came, though in its way an impressive demonstration of strength, May Day turned out to be not the opening of a new assault but the tail-end of a temporarily defeated upsurge.

Of course there are defeats and defeats. This one has done nothing to undermine the real strength of our movement. And the Tories have little to crow about. Their "economic boom" is shortly to go bust. From their standpoint the Industrial Relations Act has not worked. And they know the real battles with our class are yet to come.

But we must recognize a defeat when we see one. This one will have important effects.

Our movement has passed a new turning point. All those tendencies in the working class for whom "more militancy" has been the answer to every problem have received an unpleasant surprise. The idea that the "Government will always give way" has been shattered. British capitalism can give us no more. Indeed, it is attempting to take back what we have already got and deny us the rights gained in generations of struggle.

And so—as it is increasingly being seen—our task today is not to "pressure" the Government and the employers. It is to remove them. The ruling class can concede nothing—unless we threaten them with the loss of everything. And the fight for everything—for the entire financial, industrial and state power of society itself—requires a political organization and leadership.

The immediate mood will be a turn towards electoral politics—

towards the prospect of a Labour Government despite the experience of the last one. Naturally the Labour leaders—whose whole function in their eyes is to keep us within the fold of the law and of Parliament—will heave sighs of relief. But in keeping the industrial struggle "under control" in the period ahead—particularly this autumn when "Phase 3" comes into effect—Harold Wilson and his friends will have no easy job.

Prices will continue rocketing all summer and by autumn the dam of wage-curbs will be threatening to burst. The Labour leaders will have to promise a lot to prevent a new upsurge exceeding anything so far seen. But promises are what they are best at. "Why fight to bring down the Tory Government", they will plead, "if an election is to be held in a year or so in any case?" And they will promise the sky from the next Labour Government—lower prices, higher wages, more houses, full employment and so on and so forth.

Recession

Workers should beware. Yes, we want a Labour Government. Yes, the fight in the Labour Party is important.

But terrible dangers face us all if we place any confidence in our supposed "leaders". The current "boom" will prove the shortest and most disastrous ruling-class illusion in recent memory. Next year will see a drastic reversal of Government policy, with mass lay-offs and cuts in consumption and state expenditure in a desperate attempt to stem imports and right the balance of payments. With the Tories in a shambles, Labour will win the next

election—assuming the leaders make even a modicum of effort. But the new Ministers will take office in a situation of extreme economic crisis and social disorder. Being anything but red revolutionaries they will simply buckle under to the pressure of a desperate and bankrupt ruling class. They will refuse to implement Clause Four. They will refuse to take real power into their hands. They will refuse to govern the country or the economy at all. Instead they will submit to the most vicious dictates of big business and the City—who will be demanding wage-cuts, mass unemployment and an assault on the very existence of our class-organizations and right to strike. Unless we have built up a strong leadership capable of taking the reformists' place and taking power, the outlook for us all will be bleak.

And it will be no good hoping for "leaders" to drop from the skies. They won't. We've got to form our own leadership as workers ourselves. And the time to start is now. No promise of elections can permit us to let up on the industrial struggle for one instant. Were we steeled for an all-out confrontation we could force concessions from the Tories and begin to topple their Government even today. Break off all talks with Heath! Prepare the struggle for power! If our existing leaders won't act, then we must throw them out and take their places ourselves. The organization and forces which alone will carry out the future British revolution must be built in the struggle to defeat the Tories here and now.

NIXON'S THE ONE!

LIKE PUSS exuding from a punctured boil, all Nixon's dirtiest secrets are being squeezed to the surface. And amid the putrid stench and fumes, a new and cleaner epoch is emerging for the American working class.

It now looks as though Nixon won't be impeached. And, having got so far, the "liberal" American Press dares go little further. Already revelations are being hushed as the consequences of proving the President guilty begin to dawn.

But the real damage has already been done. Nothing can ever be the same again. Put bluntly, "law and order" Nixon—in small things as much as in large—has been revealed as a filthy criminal even by the standards of the American ruling class.

Obsessed with the prize of being President, he set about retaining it last year with all the idealism and political principle of a pick-pocket. Illicit bugging, burglary, forgeries,

agents-provocateurs and other enterprises were financed by graft and corruption on an immense scale and then—once the truth had begun to leak—concealed in one of the most elaborate cover-up jobs in history.

Quite apart from the original bugging of the Democrats' Watergate campaign headquarters—and several weeks after Nixon's statement on April 17 that "real progress has been made in finding the truth"—the following facts have emerged without the help of the President's own "investigation":

● The head of America's legal system, John Mitchell, was linked to the acceptance of an £83,000 contribution to Nixon's campaign funds—three days after the deadline for undeclared contributions—made by Robert Vesco (now being probed for fraud). Mitchell has now resigned, having admitted knowing all about Watergate. He was Nixon's closest associate and in

charge of the whole re-election campaign.

● Judge Byrne has revealed that he was offered the job of head of the FBI by the Nixon administration while he was actually conducting the trial of Daniel Ellsberg, whose psychiatrist's files had been burgled by two Watergate conspirators as part of an "investigation" ordered privately by Nixon. The Judge refused the bribe.

● Nixon told his former White House Counsel, John Dean, who had been encouraged to cover up for the White House staff after the break-in: "Good job, John. Bob told me what a great job you've been doing." Dean—according to the New York Times—supervised payment of over £73,000 out of Nixon campaign funds to keep convicted Watergate conspirators quiet. Now he doesn't want to be made a scapegoat and—as we go to press—is expected to reveal

at least some of what he knows.

For our American revolutionary comrades it must be a joyous sight. How can they suppress long peals of laughter as the obscene truth spurts out and besmirches the holy of holies of the American ruling class? But the laughter must be brought to a halt. The urgent job is to thrust the knife into the enemy deep while he is still reeling. How now can United States trade unionists kow-tow as before to Nixon's pious sermons on "industrial morality" and "wage-restraint"? US revolutionaries must come out of their student and other holes, throw themselves into the real organizations of the United States working class and tell the so-called "leaders" of American labour: Clean the filth from your hands! Break with both capitalist parties! Form an American Labour Party now! And fight for the full state power—or make way for others who will!

As Wages Are Held Down PROFITS BOOM

HOUSE BUILDING SLUMPS 5%

EACH OF THE LAST TWO YEARS of Tory rule has brought with it a decrease in the taxation of companies' profits made in the United Kingdom. For shareholders, it is the profits after tax which matter, and these have risen much faster than the normally-quoted pre-tax figures would suggest. The following figures show how real profits have grown as taxation has declined:

| Year | Gross Trading Profits (£m) | Tax (£m) | Profits After Tax (£m) | Per Cent Change |
|------|----------------------------|----------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1970 | 5,176 | 1,484 | 3,692 | - 4.6 |
| 1971 | 5,829 | 1,459 | 4,370 | +18.3 |
| 1972 | 6,539 | 1,397 | 5,142 | +17.7 |

The Financial Times has analysed the results of 302 public companies whose account year ended between July 15 and October 14, 1972 and who published their reports before the end of March this year. They show that while trading profits rose by a 'mere' 12.4 per cent, net profits rose by no less than 23 per cent. In a number of industries the increases were of more than 40 per cent:

| Industry | Change in Net Profits Per Cent |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Motor Distributors | + 61.2 |
| Household Goods | + 47.0 |
| Electronics Radio & TV | + 43.2 |
| Property Companies | + 41.6 |
| Building | + 41.0 |
| Hire Purchase | + 39.9 |
| Food Manufacturing | + 38.8 |
| Clothing & Footwear | + 30.4 |

On a slightly different point, readers may remember the advice of the SUN newspaper to the hospital workers and others on March 14: "The Sun has a message for the strikers, the go-slowers, the disruptionists: Get Back to Work". The owner of News International (which includes the Sun and the News of the World papers) is, of course, Rupert Murdoch. His interest in the well-being of British capitalism is quite understandable: even his pre-tax profits almost doubled last year from £5 millions in 1971 to £9.12 millions. These people aren't holding down our wages for nothing.

Butter Up

THE TORIES' special social subsidy on butter will be worth 2½p per week to the five million people who get it. This is in line with the decision of the Common Market Council of Ministers in March that member states could if they wished dispose of fresh butter at about 8p per pound cheaper than shop prices to those on Social Security. What determines shop prices, however? They have been forced up throughout the Common Market by the deliberate policy of withholding stocks to create a 400,000 ton "mountain" of butter, half of which was sold to the Soviet Union in a deal last month at the knock-down price of 8p per pound. So they raise the price to astronomical amounts by withholding stocks, and then, out of the kindness of their hearts, let a few old age pensioners and others on social security have a pound a month at "10p off". The recipients are supposed to feel grateful.

THE LATEST Government figures (published early this month) reveal a five per cent drop in total house-building starts, both public and private, in the major English conurbations between 1971 and 1972.

Throughout the country, completions of council dwellings in the first three months of this year were 28 per cent down on the figure for the same period of last year.

According to earlier figures produced by the National Economic

Development Office, Government policies—including the Housing Finance Act—were causing the biggest slump of council house building for 28 years. In 1967 under the Labour Government nearly 204,000 council houses and flats were built. Last year the figure was down to 123,000. The NEDO forecasts a figure for 1975 of only 115,000 dwellings built, which will be the lowest number since 1947.

Needless to say, this slump—with a corresponding boom in the private sector of building—is causing no worries to the mortgage companies, property-developers and construction industries. On the contrary, they are all making money hand over fist.

Wimpey's (the builders) profits were nearly doubled from £8.01 millions in 1971 to £14.28 millions in 1972. The property-developers have again received massive increases. To name only two recently announced results: Fairview Estates' pre-tax profits almost doubled (1971 to 1972) and North British Properties almost trebled (first half to January 1973 over same period previous year).

Among other industries involved, Ready-Mixed Concrete boosted its profit 37 per cent to £15.63 millions in 1972 and even the London Brick Company's figures in the same period were up 14 per cent to £7.58 millions.

The building which is going on, of course, is taking place in the field of office-blocks, luxury maisonettes and so on. In London, fewer homes were built last year than in any period since 1965. Yet in the same city there are well over 100,000 families on council waiting lists, with 12,000 families homeless altogether.

Sparks Fly

IF THEY CAN'T RELY on the Electricians' Union—then who in the trade union movement can the right wing rely on these days?

At their biennial conference early this month the 420,000-strong Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union gave their arch-scab General Secretary Chapple a firm smack in the eye. The following was the resolution they passed, after the most frantic manoeuvres by Chapple had been foiled:

"This Conference re-affirms the 1971 policy conference decision on deregistration, and calls upon the Executive Committee to join in the fight for a stronger and more united TUC policy to defeat the Act.

Conference calls on the Parliamentary Labour Party to repeal this law when it becomes the government, and to pledge that no Labour Government will interfere with any of the hard-won rights of the trade union movement."

Voting was 268 to 235.

WHOSE LAW?

LAST MONTH MARPLES RIDGWAY, the multi-million pound building company, pleaded guilty at a Magistrates Court at Bracknell, Berks. to a breach of the Construction (General Provisions) Regulations of 1961 which concern safety procedures. The Company's offence had led to the collapse of a partly-built bridge on the M4 motorway near Reading last October. Three workmen had been killed. One young worker had died with a steel bar embedded in his skull (as a horrifying photograph in some newspapers had shown). Trade union representatives at the time had accused the Company of skimping safety regulations for the sake of quicker profits—on the calculation that millions were to be made and that even a few deaths could not cost them more than a trifling fine (the law being more interested in property than lives).

At the Court at Bracknell, Marples Ridgway was in fact fined £150. This works out, of course, at £50 per life. The Company was not reported to have found difficulty in paying, and the shareholders were understood to be satisfied with the net gain made on the job.

FACTS AND FIGGURES

VIC FEATHER and his fellow-renegade trade union leaders who are engaged in talks with the Government are reported to be hoping for "fair play" from Heath's Pay Board.

The CHARTIST has investigated the composition of this Board to determine the number of trade-unionists represented on it. Here is the answer:

None.

Big-business, on the other hand, is quite fairly represented. Among the six members of the Board are the following:

Ken Johnson (Deputy Chairman), a senior executive with Courtaulds.

Geoffrey Gilbertson, General Manager (Personnel) for ICI.

Michael Bett, Personnel Director for GEC.

James Blair Cunynghame, Chairman of the National and Commercial Banking Group and of the Royal Bank of Scotland.

The remaining two members are Derek Robinson (Deputy Chairman) a senior research officer at the Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics; and Sir Frank Figgures, the Chairman, former Secretary-General of E.F.I.A.

Sir Frank's job, of course, is to keep your wages down "in the interests of the lower paid". He is believed to be against any attempt to cut his own salary in this noble cause, however. He gets £16,000 per year or over £300 per week.

Nuclear Handout

ROBBING the poor to pay the rich. A further example of this Tory maxim of Government has emerged with the handing over of the future of Britain's nuclear industry—built up at great public expense—to Sir Arnold Weinstock of the General Electric Company. He is to be given a half share in the £10m capital of a new, single nuclear design and construction company supplanting the present two consortia. The other companies in the business will have a 35 per cent share of the capital to be divided between them. A 15 per cent Government holding is to be retained through the Atomic Energy Authority. As Anthony Wedgwood Benn

complained in the House of Commons:

"Research and development costing well over £500 millions has been paid for by the tax-payer; yet now all this is to be handed over without Parliamentary approval in return for a £1.5 million stake in a company which will be privately controlled."

We hope we're not alone in thinking it's a scandal. With so much public money poured into it already, the new company (along with Sir Arnold's outfit as a whole) makes an excellent target for immediate expropriation by the next Labour Government without any compensation at all.

After May Day... Unite ALL labour organizations

THE PROGRAMME THE CONQUEST OF POWER!



Photos by CHARTIST photographer Bill Thompson.

in the fight for: **A LABOUR GOVERNMENT!**

OF NATIONALIZATION!



(32) This Conference declares that the planned development of the productive resources of society is the key to building a socialist Britain.

Conference recognises that the gross inequalities of society, the disparity between the regions, unemployment and poverty can only be removed when the decisive sectors of the economy are taken into public ownership. Conference calls upon the National Executive Committee to formulate a socialist plan of production, based on the public ownership, with minimum compensation, of the commanding heights of the economy; such a programme to include the following measures:

- (a) The re-nationalisation of all hived off sectors of publicly owned industries, without compensation;
- (b) an enabling bill to secure the public ownership of major monopolies;
- (c) public ownership of land, building industry and finance houses;
- (d) setting up of industrial enterprises in areas of high unemployment.

Conference believing that such a programme can only succeed with the active participation of trade unions and working people in general, calls for a plan for the democratic control of industry through workers' control and management.

Moved by SHIPLEY C.L.P. Seconded by BRIGHTON KEMPTOWN C.L.P.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION London 1973. Addressing the rally in Hyde Park: bottom left, Frank Allaun, MP; top right, Lawrence Daly, National Union of Mineworkers General Secretary; this picture, Ruth Jones, Norwood Labour Party Young Socialists. Left: Composite 32, passed 3,501,000 votes to 2,497,000 at the Labour Party Annual Conference, Blackpool 1972.

DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

On April 16 three organizations—the International Socialists, Socialist Labour League and International Marxist Group—correctly organized a joint meeting in opposition to police raids three days earlier on the homes of a number of militants including Coventry members of the International Marxist Group. CHARTISTS call now—as we called at that meeting—for the organizers to maintain such unity in action and to take immediate steps to involve the wider labour movement. An attack on each is an attack on all. In the coming period unity in defence of our basic rights—whatever our political differences—will become a matter of life and death.

TORIES PREPARE FOR DICTATORSHIP

● The right to picket is being withdrawn. In a test case the Queen's Bench Divisional Court last month ruled that although we have a statutory right under section 134 of the Industrial Relations Act to picket peacefully, we can't picket lorry drivers to persuade them to turn around. This is because "such an action constitutes wilful obstruction of the highway contrary to section 121 of the Highways Act, 1959."

Heavy Squad

● Specially-trained police "anti-picket" squads are being formed. We had the first taste of them in March. On March 19 a picket line of 100 electricians striking against "Phase 2" were attacked as they tried to prevent scabs entering the St. Thomas' Hospital site on the Thames embankment. They were hit so savagely that two had to receive treatment in the hospital casualty department. The picket line was overwhelmed, and a Laing's coach-load of scabs entered the site. Earlier (March 9) a similar police heavy squad had turned out at a private wharf in Hull to intimidate dockers attempting to stop the unloading of timber by un-registered labour. Unfortunately for the police, the dockers numbered 2000 and after a three-hour confrontation the management was forced to climb down. A somewhat different example of new police tactics was evident in Shrewsbury on March 15. 24 building workers—members of the T&G and UCATT—were charged under a "conspiracy" law of 1875. About 1,000 dockers, steelmen and building workers came to demonstrate outside the courthouse. The police took the opportunity to stage an exercise in counter-insurgency. All traffic into Shrewsbury was met with a complete roadblock. 1,000 police went into action, erecting steel barriers around the courthouse, lining up in three-deep columns to intimidate the demonstrators and patrolling the streets with savage Alsatian dogs.

Shoot to Kill

● Special "shoot-to-kill" units of police are being secretly established throughout Britain. Armed with the latest automatic weapons and often operating in civilian clothes, they act under the authority of the Special Branch. As was shown when the "Special Patrol Group" killed two Pakistani demonstrators armed with toy guns in the Indian High Commission in February, their policy is to shoot first and ask questions afterwards. The first such groups were set up in December 1972 without Parliamentary debate or any announcement from Home Secretary Robert Carr. All are given intensive training with firearms using human-shaped targets. Each group consists of an inspector, three sergeants, a woman constable and 28 constables.

● SPYING techniques—such as 'phone tapping—are being refined and practised on a vastly increased scale. Home Secretary Robert Carr revealed on February 1 this year that 1,250 telephone warrants—nearly three per day—were issued in 1972 to the Metropolitan Police (who cover the London area alone). That is double the number issued two years ago. It also represents an increase of 1,000 per cent on the number issued annually between 1938 and 1956.

Writes Peter Burden, chief crime reporter of the Daily Mail:

"Throughout the country, police officers visit the Post Office "intercept" offices and listen to tape recordings of 'phone conversations. The police can get any part of the conversation type-written.

"Phone-tapping is authorized by the Home Secretary. But the police are putting in so many requests that the job is being delegated to other officials.

"Sometimes 'phones are tapped before the Home Secretary has seen the authorization. But each request is ultimately seen by him".

The significance of this has been bluntly spelled out by Richard Brighshaw—General Secretary of NATSOPA—in the latest issue of his union's journal:

"It is fair to assume, on the basis of years of experience by the general labour and trade union movement, that telephone-tapping is a habit and a general procedure by government agencies. It is as certain as can be that the telephones of every major trade union in the country are permanently tapped by some process. The technicalities, as is well known, have been raised to a high level.....

"The trade union movement at all levels, based upon the working people of this country with their experiences of our rulers over a long period of years, should polish up their counter-telephone tapping procedures on the basis of the understanding that all their phones are tapped".

Security Committee

● The Tories have used the central London bomb explosions as a excuse to establish a permanent joint military, police, secret service and civil service "security committee" under the chairmanship of Earl Jellicoe (head of the Civil Service Department). This—like its famous predecessor in 1926, the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies (OMS)—will have as its principal aim the co-ordination of police, army and blacklegs in defeating any future General Strike. It is directly responsible to the Prime Minister and has been allotted a full-time staff, special officers and a large budget

authorised by the Civil Service director of Securicor) just after Department. Its announcement was the publication of the N.U.M.'s made by Robert Carr (former decision to ballot its members.

COMMON MARKET

A STATEMENT OF POSITION

THE SOCIALIST CHARTER regards this country's membership of the Common Market as an attempt to solve the deepening crisis of British capitalism at the expense of the working class. Whatever its benefits to the largest monopolies, to the working class and to the small businessmen the EEC offers nothing but spiralling living costs and economic ruin.

Notwithstanding its electoral defeat, we congratulate Lincoln Labour Party's stand on this question. The defection of Taverne to stand against the official Labour candidate represented the logical conclusion of the outright class treachery of the Jenkinsite MPs who voted to keep the Tory Government in office on the Common Market issue.

We also welcome the resolution passed at last year's TUC Conference opposing Common Market entry in principle. We affirm, however, that this stand cannot be firmly acted upon while the fight against Common Market membership is based on the defence of so-called "national independence" or "Parliamentary sovereignty". For all the Prime Minister's speeches, Britain is not "one nation". It is two. The Britain of the monopolies, of the banks, of Parliament, the Courts, the Armed Forces brass and the Crown—this Britain is not ours. It is "theirs"—the Britain of our exploiters. We have no interests whatsoever in its "independence" or "sovereignty". On the contrary, it is in our interests that this Britain be overturned and destroyed.

We oppose the Common Market not as an attack on a "sovereignty" which our class has never known. We oppose it as an attack on the organizations of the working class itself. Our allies in the fight against it are not Enoch Powell and the National Front, but the organizations of the European Labour Movement—the Trade Unions and mass workers' parties, including the ranks of the French and Italian Communist Parties.

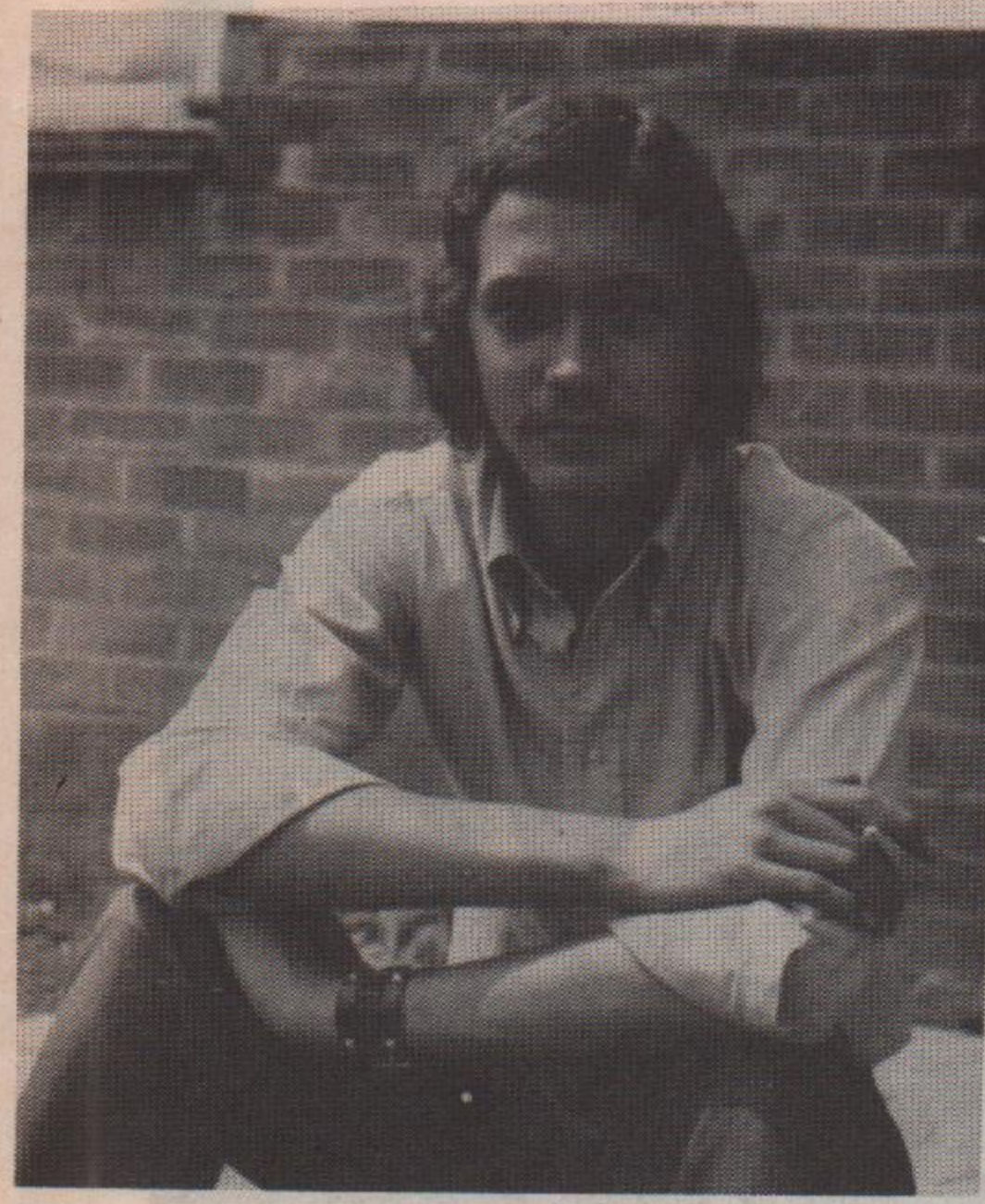
And our alternative to Common Market membership is not the reactionary Utopia of a Britain which stands alone. It is the struggle of European Labour to unite Europe under our own class rule—the fight for the Socialist United States of Europe. The SOCIALIST CHARTER declares that the national boundaries dividing Europe ARE obsolete. They DO hamper the development of production. They MUST be broken down. We understand, however, that this is a task which cannot be left to our class enemies. The unity of Europe can only be achieved under the rule of the European Labour Movement itself.

The Common Market is not, and never can be, a step towards real European unity. At the first real clash of national interests it will begin to break up. Already we have seen clashes over fishing, monetary unity and—above all—the Common Agricultural Policy. These will all intensify in the developing world economic crisis.

We further recognize that for all the earlier threats made by our Labour leaders about withdrawing from the Market, they have in reality no intention of carrying out such a fight. No future Labour Government will really carry out a struggle against this European monopolists' club unless at the same time it breaks from the monopolies in this country, nationalizes them without compensation and under workers' control and establishes a workers' Britain as a base from which to struggle in alliance with the European Labour Movement for a Socialist Europe—embracing West and East of the continent.

We call on the NEC of the Labour Party to mount an all-out campaign—including demonstrations and rallies—against membership of the Common Market. This campaign to be linked with (a) the fight to remove the Jenkinsite traitors from the Labour Party and (b) an initiative from the TUC and Labour Party in organizing an all-European conference of Labour organizations to prepare and implement a strategy for joint international struggle against the attacks of European capital. We demand that the next Labour Government, immediately upon assuming office, (1) withdraws from the EEC regardless of any "new terms"; (2) breaks off all relations with the major monopolies in both Europe and this country by in Britain implementing Clause Four and (3) links up with the organizations of European Labour to break up the institutions of the Common Market and lay the basis for the Socialist United States of Europe.

DISTRICT ELECTIONS: Tunbridge Wells Candidate Speaks



man of the Finance Committee, and Simmonds, who's Housing Committee Chairman—have just decided to buy up a load of property. McNab's asking for planning permission to build 60 flats on some land near the Golf Club and four flats and eight homes by Manor Park. Simmonds wants to build ten flats and garages in Pembury Road. Why was the land never taken for Council building? What can tenants expect from a Housing Committee Chairman who's a landlord himself? There are a lot more questions to be asked. If I'm elected I'll be using the Council Chamber to ask them. Also there's the scandal about the Tories' plans to sell off the water-works to a private company. I think this should be investigated too, and fought tooth and nail.

Tories' hold, and the fight locally on the housing question for example—can't be separated from national issues. But if we know our facts and put our case well, we can expose the Tories and that is the main thing. Even the local press, biased though it is, can have to report some of what we say. There are so many scandals everyone should know about. For example there's the car dump outside three houses on the North Farm Industrial Estate not far from here. Children have to play amid the rats and the cars piled up outside the house windows almost to the roof. There is mud everywhere, the noise of workmen breaking the cars and smoke and smell of burning paintwork which comes in the windows. Why should the people in those houses have to put up with all that?

Leaders

Q: Are you in agreement with Labour policy nationally?
A: Last year the Shipley Composite was passed at Annual Conference. We've got to ensure that its implemented. If the people we've got as our leaders aren't prepared to do this, we must show that we're prepared to push them aside and replace them with people who will.

Optimistic

Q: Finally, how do you predict your election results?
A: Our sweeping gains in the county elections reflect the climate. People have only to compare their wage packets every week with the shopping bill to see which is rising, and by how much. No amount of talking can change facts as blatant as this. I'm optimistic we'll win here overwhelmingly and also that we'll win a future General Election. I think the Labour Party must see that the country is now behind it, and is waiting for it to take the initiative and take the power.

Scandal

Q: But what concretely can you do on the council?
A: We've got to be realistic. We're a long way from breaking the

The Labour Party has demanded its removal from the vicinity of the houses but the Tories say it would cost too much. As usual money comes before people. In any case, why shouldn't the owner be made to pay to remove his own dump?

ADRIAN RATCLIFFE is a candidate for the Labour Party in the Tunbridge Wells District Elections to be held on June 7. Aged 22 and married with one child, he is a print-worker at the Whitefriars' Press, Tonbridge and an F.O.C. in the National Graphical Association.

We interviewed him earlier this month at his home.

Class Conscious

Q: What are people thinking about the Labour Party?

A: I suppose local people here—like everywhere else—judge the Labour Party by those in Parliament. But our own local party is probably more class conscious in the traditional sense than any of the Parliamentarians. Mainly that's because people like myself still have to go out to work; we still face the same problems as those who vote for us. If the price of butter goes up, we feel it—whereas the MP wouldn't unless he made a special point of it for his propaganda. The party here is trade-union based and has given support whenever there's been a strike on—the dustmen, the postmen and others. And we did our best to get people out on May Day. But those who say "there's no difference between the parties" are right—in a sense. Whether it's Labour or Tory they notice no difference in their standard of living. These people are crying out for a Labour Party which served the working class in the same way the Tories serve their class.

Change

Q: Won't people still say "You're the same as all the rest"?

A: There'll be those who say that. There will be those who will say "The bloody Labour Party's done nothing for me." And as I say they've got a point. I feel guilty when people tell us in the Labour Party: "The only time you come round is when you're after our vote." And there's the people in our own ranks who think that once you're a councillor you're a member of some kind of exclusive club. But we're changing all that. We want to make sure everything's open, so the Tories can't take one step without us exposing them, without everyone knowing. I want to see public meetings called by the Labour Group for this.

For example a couple of Tory Aldermen—McNab, who's Chair-

LABOUR PARTY
SOUTHERN REGIONAL
CONFERENCE
EASTBOURNE
APRIL 14-15 1973
by Cllr. Denis Knight

"THE NEXT LABOUR Government must represent the whole country" said Denis Healey MP in a "one nation" appeal to over 200 delegates on behalf of the NEC. "It is only possible to control the economy, to control wages and prices if you have the understanding and consent of the people".

Some understanding of Labour's own rank and file might have been more to the point for Healey at this meeting. The delegates could barely suppress their hostility. Healey made a slight shift left. "There are elements within the capitalist system", he conceded, "that do not meet the needs of the people". Still no response. "Labour's task", the speaker concluded in a final bid for sympathy, "is to reconstruct the social and economic system... it will become necessary in the future to extend public ownership from the unprofitable to the profit-making sectors of industry and the services". We gave this a round of applause.

Wretched

Healey disappeared as speedily as he had arrived, leaving no opportunity for us to question or combat his wretched statement. The Conference lasted two days. Sunday's were the more serious of the debates. A Composite (No 4) condemning railway cuts and urging an integrated road and rail transport system was carried. More significant was the following resolution moved by the National Union of Railwaymen South-West District Council, on Party Organization:

Arising from Government interference in industrial matters and the manipulation of the economy against the interests of Trade Unionists and Working People, it becomes impossible to define what is an industrial or political matter, National or Regional. We therefore urge Conference to amend rules to permit the Industrial Section wider terms of reference in submitting resolutions of a general character.

This resolution, needless to say, was opposed by the E.C. Finally the NUR delegate—thinking this was the only way to preserve his resolution in any form—allowed it to be "remitted" to the E.C.

Reg Underhill, National Agent, spoke on the elections. Labour, he reminded us, had won 1,803 seats. In addition to the GLC we now controlled 18 County authorities. He stressed the importance—in his view—of the recent TUC-Labour Party accord and the move towards joint policy for the Party manifesto. Tory housing policy, he said, had taken the demands for nationalization of the land, the banks and the insurance companies out of the realms of sloganizing and ensured that they were now widely seen as relevant to the present needs of society.

Throughout Conference, the EC seemed very much on the defensive. We publish below a resolution which was carried after a card vote (235,000 to 126,000) despite the opposition of the EC. The efforts of Frank Judd MP to

defend the Parliamentary Labour Party were received scornfully by the delegates.

A hard and detailed resolution moved by the National Organization of Labour Students and seconded by Bert Monks was overwhelmingly passed.

teeth

Another good resolution on education was moved by June Birchall, the delegate from Brighton Pavilion CLP. The EC on "constitutional" grounds deleted reference to nationalization and the Housing Finance Act, but the preamble was carried. On this resolution, Don McGregor (an activist for the old Socialist Charter now on the EC) played a very treacherous role. He opposed certain aspects of the resolution (for example the "freeze on rents") from a super-leftist "socialist" vantage-point (on the basis that socialists are against paying any rent at all) whilst being most careful to support the EC in taking out all the teeth from the resolution.

This Conference re-affirms its belief that the over-riding policy making body of the Labour Party is, and must remain, the Annual Conference.

Conference is gravely disturbed at the political antics of the Parliamentary Labour Party and requests that the National Executive Committee of the Party look at the position of the PLP relating to the Party Constitution with a view to preventing the kind of abuse which has been made of the spirit of its wording.

In the view of this Conference the PLP has undermined the Constitutional authority of the NEC and in so doing has raised doubts in the mind of the Party membership as to who controls the Party.

For the Party to retain its credibility as a radical alternative Government, the NEC and the PLP must support Conference decisions by framing policy within the context of these decisions, and by promoting socialist policies in Parliament and the country. Conference instructs the NEC accordingly, and in doing so, makes particular reference to Composite Motion 37, carried at Blackpool in 1972.

young socialist NEWS

CHARTISTS CLASH WITH LEADERSHIP AT LPYS CONFERENCE

A CLEAR DIVISION emerged at Housing Finance Act and against this year's Labour Party Young even the most "left wing" of our Socialists' Conference.

The split was not over the dem- stop short of the struggle for power. ands contained in most of the As each case arose, the Militant resolutions or in the "Programme leadership turned out to be in ag- for Britain" put forward by the reement with us "in principle" but National Committee majority (sup- against any action now. For many porters of the paper 'Militant'). delegates the most shocking example On the question of the overriding was the leadership's response to need to nationalize the major mon- a CHARTIST emergency resolution opolies there was absolutely no demanding a campaign against the dispute. What was in dispute was "suspension" from the Labour the strategy needed to implement Party of Dave Douglass. The our socialist demands. 'Militants' had known full well

Frank Hansen from Harrow about the case for eleven weeks and West YS, a CHARTIST delegate, agreed "in principle" that Davie's warned against the illusion that case was "irrefutable". Moreover resolution-passing and Bills in both parties to the dispute were Parliament would be enough. No present at Conference itself. Yet Labour Government, he said, could they rejected any call for Dave put our programme into effect "un- Douglass' re-instatement. less it were prepared to mobilize the working class to occupy and take over the factories. The old state machine would have to be smashed and state power seized and based on the organizations of our own class."

CONTRAST

A clear contrast with Ted Grant, theoretician of the 'Militant' group, who told Anthony Wedgwood Benn in a debate: "Nationalizing the monopolies would be easy. An Enabling Act in Parliament would do it"—and left the matter there.

Throughout the Conference, CHARTISTS insisted that the fight for a new leadership in our movement had to be waged now in the struggle against Transport House expulsions, against the Jenkinsite traitors, against the Councillors who collaborated with the Tory

A HEALTHY SIGN

They rejected our motion and—in order to appear to be doing something—hurriedly drafted and passed another one promising an "investigation" and opposing bans and proscriptions in principle and "as they arise". It was crystal clear to everyone they wished the matter had never been raised.

Sixty people attended a special CHARTIST meeting, however, where Dave Douglass could put his case with his usual humour and force. The attendance and support for this meeting was the healthiest sign in the whole Conference. A clear indication that not everyone is content with the way our YS leaders are "leading", and that a start has been made on building a leadership which will match its words with deeds.

LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

For details of meetings write to your branch secretary

Brent East: Graham Bash 7 Park View Olive Road NW2

Norwood: Paul Moore 62 Selsdon Road SE27

Streatham: John Quirke 6 Mount Ephraim Lane SW16

Vauxhall: Brynley Heaven 68 Brook Drive SE11

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out of uniform. Order from
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LAMBETH LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday 31st May (please note change of date)

8pm Brixton Training Centre - close by the Town Hall

NO BANS AND PROSCRIPTIONS

IN GOOLE, YORKSHIRE, Dave Douglass—a young militant in the National Union of Mineworkers—has been "suspended" from membership of the Labour Party.

His Young Socialists branch recently ran a mass tenants' campaign while 2,000 tenants were on rent strike. Harold Sims, the Yorkshire Regional Organizer, allegedly considered the enthusiasm of the YS in this campaign an "embarrassment" to the Labour Party. There were rumours about an expulsion of the entire branch. "However", Dave told us, "the right wing didn't have much chance as we were within a grasp of controlling the management committee."

GODSEND

Then came a godsend to the paid functionaries. "The 'News of the World' started a series of articles called the 'Strife Makers', where I featured—without my consent obviously. This gave them an excuse to try and get me expelled on the grounds that my views weren't compatible with the Labour Party. The News of the World quoted from "Mineworker" paper I edit, published during the miners' strike, where we called for unlimited General Strike and said that the flying pickets would have to become armed, and that in the event of the strike going on a long time, there were plenty of supermarkets which

could be expropriated. The News of the World took these lines and blew them up. I was also on the TV around this time."

SUSPENDED

The Regional Office wrote to Dave's ward party warning that he was a "Trotskyist". "In between time I was elected the NUM delegate to the GMC. I went along and all of a sudden a right-wing member got up and said I shouldn't be in the Labour Party. It was put to a vote and narrowly defeated but meanwhile I was to be "investigated". At the next GMC they passed a recommendation from the EC to "suspend" me. They even voted 15-13 not to allow me in the room to put my case."

CAMPAIGN

The SOCIALIST CHARTER make it clear that we have many deep political differences with Comrade Douglass. We make it equally clear that we will defend him as a matter of principle, for to do this provides the only means of combating the extension of such witch-hunts to other left tendencies in the Labour Party. We urge Labour Parties throughout the country to forward resolutions to the NEC calling for (a) an end to bans and (b) the reinstatement of Dave Douglass into the Labour Party.

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