

# CHARTIST

4p

Monthly Journal of the Socialist Charter Movement. No.1 October 1972

## LABOUR,

## TAKE

## THE POWER

IN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS' time we will be inside the Common Market. While Vic Feather has been talking at Chequers and accepting Heath's £2 "pay norm", the Government has been laying its plans. The Housing Finance Act—designed to double rents within four years—has just come into operation. Inflation—the employers' answer to wage-rises—has already been savaging living standards in preparation for E.E.C. entry. Now the latest news is of a rise of 15 p in the £ in electricity charges and an increase in the prices of all cereal-based foods such as bread. Value Added Tax will add at least 10 per cent to retail costs when we enter the Market in the New Year. In this context Heath's new "agreement" with Vic Feather to keep down prices must be seen as a clever ruse to try and disarm the trade unions. The slashing of living standards is a necessary part of the policy of Common Market entry. What Vic Feather has treacherously put his name to is no more "fair" than was Barbara Castle's "Prices and Incomes Policy". It is a wage-freeze, forced on Heath by the international bankers.

As unemployment returns to over the million mark, old age pensioners face bloated fuel bills and basic food prices soar, this autumn and winter will find ordinary housewives and families in their millions beginning to despair of making ends meet. In all the working-class areas this simple question will be asked: What can we do? It is the Labour Party first and

foremost that must find an answer.

And in fact the Party is responding, in however slow and painful a way. Faced with a new mood in the working class, a profound process of change is beginning. The middle-class Jenkinsites are being squeezed hard. Harold Wilson's own position is becoming less and less comfortable. Understanding better than most where the new balance of power in the Party lies, Anthony Wedgwood Benn is shrewdly moving up against Harold from the left, appealing to the sovereignty of Conference Decisions, coming down hard against the Jenkinsites—and even talking vaguely of "extra-Parliamentary forms of democracy" and "workers' power". In the Tory press, amidst all the nonsense written on the subject of an increasingly "intolerant", "monolithic" and "one class" Labour Party, there is a definite grain of truth. The Labour Party is succumbing to the same force which has been transforming the power-balance in the trade unions and on the shop floor in recent years. More and more it is bowing to the pressure from below and being transformed from a purely Parliamentary capitalist "safety valve" into a bastion of working class strength. More and more its own democratic procedures are proving an intolerable threat not only to the procedures and dogmas of Parliamentary rule but also to the very existence of the capitalist regime itself.

Conference this year meets in the aftermath of a working-class upsurge

which has shaken the Tory Government to its foundations. While the 69 Jenkinsite MPs, the majority of Labour Councillors and Vic Feather have been running their various errands for the Tories—miners, railwaymen and dockers this year have tackled the Government head-on—and won. Only two months ago the 'Pentonville Five' week—Britain's mightiest industrial crisis since 1926—all but brought the Government to its knees. If we want an answer to the question "What to do?"—there it is. With Vic Feather and Wedgwood Benn leading from behind, our organizations in that week found themselves opposed to Parliament—in the eyes of outraged Tories—as an "alternative form of government". Not only the TUC but even the Labour Party NEC was forced to sanction the call for a General Strike. WE DECIDED TO USE OUR STRENGTH. And for the Tories, the threat alone was enough!

When George Smith opened this year's TUC Conference, almost his first words to the assembled delegates were "We must never imagine we are an alternative form of Government!" CHARTISTS say he is wrong. Comrades, Brothers and Sisters in the trade unions and in the Labour Party: WE ARE an alternative form of Government! That is just what our mighty trade union and Labour Party organizations are beginning to demonstrate—that they are an alternative form of Government, quite capable of overthrowing the existing one.

There is absolutely no need for thousands of old folk to die of winter for lack of cheap enough energy need at all to let housewives be driven to desperate measures to make ends meet; no need to allow still more families to break up because their breadwinners are thrown on the dole. Such tragedies which we take for granted are not simply 'acts of fate'. They can be avoided. And if Harold Wilson, Vic Feather and our other leaders really wanted to, they could avoid them. They stand at the head of a mighty machinery of eleven million organized workers, a vast interlocking network stretching out from its centres in London into almost every pit, dock, factory and other place of work in Britain. By USING its real strength, these leaders could break off all talks with the Tories, bring down the Government right now and REPLACE IT with a Government based on the absolute dictatorship—in the pits, the factories, the housing estates—of our own class organizations. Only such a Government could implement Clause Four of our own Party Constitution and allow the economic wealth and resources of this country to be planned and utilized to the full in the interests of the people as a whole.

CHARTISTS demand this course be taken.

- NO to the COMMON MARKET!
- SMASH THE £2 PAY NORM!
- BREAK OFF all talks with Heath!
- PREPARE for the General Strike!
- LABOUR—TAKE THE POWER!

And if our leaders will not act—let them make way for those who will!

# THE CHARTIST

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Published by CHARTIST Publications.

Printed at 182 Pentonville Rd., London N.1. (T.U. all depts.)

## Breakthrough for the Charter

THE THIRD CONVENTION of the Socialist Charter movement may have been marginally less well attended than the previous two—a little under forty delegates were present at the John Marshall Hall on September 9 compared with forty-five or so in previous years. But if that was so it was only because of a boycott by a small section including the former Registrar and one or two ex-Chartist MPs. They apparently feared being in a minority (suddenly pronouncing the Convention 'cancelled' without reference to the National Organizing Committee!). On the other hand those who attended were undoubtedly the hard-core of active and committed CHARTISTS, many of them young workers, whose number has grown in leaps and bounds. Their business-like attitude and political seriousness made this by far the most impressive and fruitful Convention ever held. CHARTISTS at last took the decisive steps necessary to make themselves into a disciplined force able to act in unison and begin to lead the struggle for state power.

The morning session dealt with the lessons of the Pentonville Five events, the complete inadequacy of the old Charter organization to rise to the challenge of the present situation—and above all the urgent need to construct a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY to prepare for the conquest of power in the coming General Strike. It was agreed to implement a resolution on organization submitted by the Young Chartists, some of whose main proposals we reprint below.

In the afternoon, discussion centred around "THE SOCIALIST CHARTER—a Programme for the Labour Party", a document moved by the Editor of the Chartist and seconded by Paul Moore (delegate from Norwood LPYS). Its main theme is that dreaming up "socialist programmes" is no substitute for action: the need is to mobilize the industrial strength and basis of the Labour Party behind the existing programme of Clause IV. It was agreed that no Labour Government could carry through any form of socialist pro-

gramme unless it were prepared to SMASH the existing apparatus of state (headed by the Crown, the Lords, the Armed Forces brass etc.) and rule instead through the organizations of the labour movement itself.

A high-point of the afternoon session was the message of fraternal greetings delivered by Ron Taylor on behalf of the London Co-operative Society. Although he feared the new Constitution and discipline was "much too tight" it was, he said, an improvement on the previous "regime" which spent so much time "sticking pins in maps and mailing letters to non-existent supporters. The Labour Party was not revolutionary, he said, "but it contains a revolutionary potential—and it is that potential which we must work to realize".

The debate on Housing followed, with reports of tenants' struggles from various areas and a resolution, moved by Keith Veness and passed unanimously, instructing the new N.O.C. to launch a campaign for the coming year against the Housing Finance Act and in support of those Labour Councils still defying it.

Finally a paper on Internationalism (moved by Frank Hansen and Martin Cook) was agreed upon. We publish extracts from it on this page. One point highlighted by speakers was the cowardly and confused stance on the Irish question of the TRIBUNE group, who ended up supporting the Tory Government and the Army. Ron Heisler stressed the equal confusion in the movement on the question of the "European Security Conference". It was a "red herring", he said, and Convention agreed that it was no part of the Charter's job to support the stalinists' policy of propping up the "status quo" in Europe.

The Convention elected a new National Organizing Committee (including a new Registrar—Graham Bash), decided to bring out a monthly paper (electing Chris Knight as Editor) and appointed a committee to produce this year's BRIEFING at Labour Party Conference. From now on the CHARTISTS will be a force to be reckoned with.

The following are some of main points of the organizational resolution which was passed at the Convention:

(a) That the SOCIALIST CHARTER MOVEMENT be transformed—as conditions permit—into a disciplined mass party affiliated if possible to the Labour Party;

(b) That its object be action throughout the trade union, co-operative and labour movements aimed at the conquest of power by the working class and the implementation of Clause IV, part IV of the Labour Party Constitution;

(c) That it be organized on the principle of democratic centralism—i.e. full freedom of internal discussion but unity in action once decisions have been reached by majority vote;

(d) That membership be either (a) associate, open to all sympathisers, who may receive all publications and be kept informed of activities for a fee of £1 or (b) full membership open only to those willing to abide by the discipline of the organization;

(e) That full members shall pay 5 per cent of their income in dues (unless special circumstances justify a lower rate);

(f) That CHARTIST Members of Parliament shall contribute their entire parliamentary salary and receive back an allowance to cover needs and expenses.

# NO To The

HAVING RECEIVED ITS THIRD reading in the House of Lords, Heath's "European Communities" Bill now awaits only the Royal Assent on October 16 to become law.

The blame for this labour movement defeat—suffered despite victory after victory on the industrial front—lies squarely on the shoulders of the Labour leaders:

- FIRSTLY the Jenkinsites, 69 of whom in defiance of Conference and a united labour movement crossed into the Tory lobbies a year ago when the Government could have been brought down;
- SECONDLY Harold Wilson and his supporters who, far from disciplining the Jenkinsites, in effect encouraged them to scab by conceding the principle of entry while opposing only the "Tory terms" (tantamount to haggling over HOW MUCH the working class should pay for the Heath Government to enter);
- THIRDLY the "Labour Left", who correctly opposed entry in principle but as an alternative joined arms with Tory traditionalists in championing a "Sovereign Britain" relying on the Commonwealth link or "standing alone".

In their different ways, the TRIBUNE MPs and the Jenkinsites have provided excuses for each other. The open class-treachery of the Jenkinsites has enabled the TRIBUNE MPs to feel smug. But above all, the pro-marketiers have been allowed a field-day on the question of internationalism. The only form of it in the Labour leadership has been theirs—the internationalism of the multi-national monopolies whose mouthpieces the Jenkinsites are. As for the internationalism of the working class—a class whose interests are rooted not in the British "nation" or in Parliamentary "Sovereignty" but in its own class struggle against capitalism on a world scale—it has had no champions among any Labour MPs at all! The TRIBUNE Lefts have opted instead to support the "patriotic" sections of British business which fear the competition Market entry would bring. The Jenkinsites' most powerful arguments—the need for European planning of resources, the certain bankruptcy of a Britain which "stood alone" etc.—have simply been left uncontested. If the trade union movement has been disarmed and defeated on the Common Market front despite its victories on others, that is the reason why.

## FOR A NEW

(An extract from  
the new SOCIALIST CHARTER)

# INTERNATIONAL

By creating a world market, capitalism has made every nation dependent on all the others, binding the continents together once and for all.

In this situation, to imagine we could reach socialism through a "British road" would be childishness if not sheer lunacy. Admittedly our road to the conquest of power will be in a sense a "British" one—a strategy shaped for us at least in part by the national peculiarities and traditions of our own labour movement and ruling class. But seizing power and building socialism are two distinct tasks. The second will require a period of time. But to gain this time in a hostile capitalist world will be impossible for us without a new and mighty workers' INTERNATIONAL to defend us politically and militarily and to spread our revolution abroad. So the building of such an International is an essential part of our work in this country in preparation for the coming General Strike, the conquest of power and above all the retention of state power in order to build a socialist society. There is only one road to socialism and that road is international.

We must start from where the First, Second and Third Internationals—all of which performed necessary historical tasks—left off. It was under the First International (founded in London in September 1864) that the ideas of working-class internationalism initially took root, first in Europe and then almost throughout the world. It was under the banner of the Second that many of Europe's mightiest trade union and labour organizations were built. And it is to the founders of the Third International above all that we owe the existence today of the "communist world". States such as Russia, China, Cuba and North Vietnam represent—like our mighty trade union and labour organizations in the West—a

constant challenge to the existence of capitalism despite their defects and leaderships. They are an enormous weight on our side of the class balance of forces on a world scale.

But today, while there is an international working class movement more powerful than anything which has existed before, there is paradoxically no guiding force at its head, no real socialist International. The "Second" or "Socialist International" still exists in name. But it is a mere shell without content, a farcical rostrum for ultra-right Common Market ideologues of the George Brown type. It never recovered from the betrayal of August 1914, when its leaders in each country—instead of linking arms across frontiers to organize fraternization and resistance to the war—criminally voted for war-credits and supported "their own" ruling classes in the ensuing carnage. No force can ever revive this corpse. The Third International no longer exists even in name. It was disbanded by Stalin—a logical culmination of his theory of "Socialism in One Country"—in 1943.

With the First, Second and Third Internationals defunct, our movement today faces a difficult task. A new one must be built. But for this to be a viable force, it will have to embrace not merely thousands but millions and tens of millions of workers at least in the advanced industrialized countries.

Apart of course from their desire to prop up capitalism, there is nothing to stop our trade union and labour leaders in the West from taking the initiative now. There is nothing to stop them from:

- Declaring solidarity with the "communist world" against NATO and the capitalist big powers;
- Giving unconditional support to all those revolutionary forces throughout the world which are struggling against privilege and imperialism;

# Common Market

## for the SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

by  
**Frank Hansen**

The TRIBUNE MPs and "Her Majesty's Communist Party" must take the lion's share of the blame. The fight against the pro-market-ers is the fight against the force they represent: the internationalism of Capital. The EEC is an organization of giant multi-national Corporations eager to collaborate

against their US and Japanese rivals and anxious to play off workers in various countries against each other. It can be fought only in the way shown this year by the miners and dockers—who secured all-European action to halt coal supplies from abroad and ensure that blacked ships were deprived of alternative

ports. The struggle against it can succeed only as part of the fight for a new trade union and socialist International strong enough to resist and defeat the multi-national corporations on their own ground.

In the meantime labour movements throughout Europe must work to break up this alliance of capitalists as best they can. The British Labour Party can give a lead by pledging to repudiate all agreements so far made and to withdraw from the E.E.C. at the first opportunity.

But it must link this up with the repudiation of agreements with the British capitalists too, mobilizing to bring the Tory Government down and convening NOW an all-European Conference of Labour Organizations to discuss uniting the Continent on a working-class basis.

The battle is far from lost. True, the Tories' legislation has been passed. But, as the enormous class battles over the Government's pay norm and its Industrial Relations Act demonstrate, successfully passing legislation may bring about only the lull before the storm. When the Tories actually begin to implement their paper decisions we can expect the anger at price-rises to mingle with the tenants' and industrial

struggles and produce an explosion to make even the 'Pentonville Five' week seem like a vicar's tea-party. But to take advantage of it means waging—with the weapons not of patriotism but internationalism—an irreconcilable struggle for the expulsion of the 69 Labour traitors.

In this context, the decisions taken by Labour Party Conference are vital. An opportunity will be provided to force out the Tories from office. Already Taverne has been excluded from fighting Lincoln again. At Conference he is making a personal plea—probably along the old Gaitskellite lines of "fighting to save the Party I love" etc.—which will no doubt bring waves of ecstasy from the Tory press and much talk of "brave men of conscience". It is the duty of Conference to make it quite clear that it is not prepared to tolerate "representatives" who defy Party democracy and cross the class line to prop up Tory Governments.

That will clear the way towards the creation of a Labour Party strong enough to sweep out the Tories, take over the industrial and financial power of this country and lay the cornerstone of a United Socialist States of Europe.

# INTERNATIONAL



JOSEPH STALIN

To please his allies, Roosevelt and Churchill, he wound up the THIRD INTERNATIONAL (founded by Lenin and Trotsky after the Russian Revolution) in 1943.

steps towards the creation of the future International in certain fields. In recent years the activities of giant multi-national corporations such as ICI and General Motors have compelled even some of the most conservative trade unions to begin acting in concert across frontiers and oceans.

But no amount of "objective necessity" or "rank-and-file pressure" will force the stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies to forge a real democratic-centralist International capable of uniting the world working class. If such an International is to

be built, we must build it ourselves—we the "Fourth Internationalists" in every country. That is why CHARTISTS are already developing fraternal links with comrades in the United States, in Germany and in many other countries of the world. As long as our existing "leaders" persist in their splitting activities and betrayals, we will continue our work—begun by Leon Trotsky in 1938 and interrupted in the "boom" period since the war—to construct and construct the Fourth International whose hands will lie the future of mankind.

## Report from America

Peter Clement writes from Cincinnati

GEORGE MEANY, HEAD OF the AFL-CIO, has suspended the Colorado AFL-CIO labour council for endorsing the candidature of McGovern in the Presidential elections.

This is the most recent incident in a disagreement amongst trade union bureaucrats which started when the executive council of the AFL-CIO (the United States' "TUC") decided on July 19 to refuse to endorse McGovern.

Since then McGovern has convinced some union leaders that he will reduce the pressure on labour and that he is able to control the radical (especially the young) workers whom they are beginning to fear. These leaders met in Washington in August to form a committee to help elect McGovern. This is headed by Joe Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America and Joe Keenan, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. About half of the AFL-CIO's 13.6 million membership is now affiliated to this committee. United Auto Workers under Leonard Woodcock have joined. So have

breakaway sections of unions such as the big St Louis Teamsters' local (whose union nationally has endorsed Nixon). The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers (who together represent 2.1 elementary and high school teachers) are also supporting McGovern. The 1.4 million United Steelworkers decided after heated arguments at a recent conference to remain 'neutral'.

Where union leaders have backed Nixon some very shady behind-the-scenes bargaining has usually occurred. For example, Nixon's releasing James Hoffa, ex-president of the Teamsters' Union, won him that union's support. And the fear of being caught up in bribery scandals in the construction industry more than likely provoked New York building trade union officials to endorse Nixon.

McGovern's programme calls for wage controls and strikebreaking legislation against railroad workers. But Meany's 'neutral' position is

(Continued next page, col. 3)

- Preparing in each country for a General Strike and seizure of power;
- Convening an International Conference of Labour Organizations—inviting representatives of workers in the "communist" states—to establish a new trade union and labour International.

We demand our leaders take these steps. We place the responsibility for action where it belongs—on the shoulders of those who head the communist and labour movements of the world. But "demands" not backed up by action will get us no-where at all. In the West our trade union leaders may be forced to take limited

# IRELAND: Troops Out!

Chris Knight

THERE IS NOT A SINGLE RESOLUTION on Ireland on the agenda for Labour Party Conference this year! And the question is not so much as mentioned in the N.E.C.'s so-called "Green Paper" policy-statement. It is as if Labour thought it did not need a policy, being able to acquiesce in whatever Heath and Willy Whitelaw were doing.

Yet in Ireland itself—with the "all-party talks" having achieved nothing and been boycotted by those representing most Catholics and most Protestants—the position of the Tories has become hopeless. And the tasks of the Republican, Trade Union and Labour organizations are that much more urgent.

In Britain our task is—before all else—to break with the Tories and Unionists, defend unconditionally the Irish Republicans and mobilize support both outside and inside the British Army for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Irish soil.

In Ireland, the working class Protestants can and must be won. Their honeymoon with the British Army may still not quite be over. But in the streets and slums of Protestant Belfast the killing of two of their number by the Paras last month will not be forgotten. The successful General Strike against the stationing of troops around power-stations indicates the kind of working-class strength which must ultimately be harnessed by the Republican movement.

Of course, the people who have been calling the Paras "trigger-happy thugs", "sadists" and "animals" are the very loyalists who ecstatically cheered these same Paras for their "heroic" slaughter of 13 "Papists" in January this year.

But CHARTISTS do not take the same line as TRIBUNE in all this. We don't think Army brutality is O.K. as long as it is Protestant workers who are suffering. We by no means think that the arrest of Protestant workers' leaders or the dismantling of UDA road-blocks are jobs for the British Army.

Tribune's Irish policy is simply a muddled reproduction of the policy of the "Social Democratic and Labour Party", i.e. of self-righteous middle class Catholic liberalism. The leaders of the SDLP include:

Ivan Cooper, director of a building firm which refuses to employ union labour;

John Hume, former factory manager who still thinks shop-stewards who lead unofficial strikes should be imprisoned; and similar unsavoury types. The appeals of this thoroughly anti-working class clique for more action by the Tories and the Army against Protestant workers stem from a simple fact. Their political programme of "fair shares for all", while promising very little to the Catholics, appears as an enormous threat to the Protestants. Since it provides no basis for building sufficient houses and abolishing unemployment (only a socialist plan of production could guarantee these), it can only mean Britain (helped by Dublin) cajoling the Protestant community into giving up some of the little it has got. It confirms the Protestants' worst fears, pushing them to the extreme right.

CHARTISTS—in Britain and Ireland—are not interested in robbing one section of workers to secure justice for another. They are not banking on the chimera of reforms within the existing social system at all. Only the revolutionary republicans, freed of their petit-bourgeois nationalist and reformist leaders and re-organized to fight for power through the trade unions and labour movement, can provide a solution. They must exploit the growing alienation of Protestant workers from British Imperialism, win their confidence by offering them cast-iron guarantees against any attempt to co-erce them into the South and recruit them to the programme of nationalization and the creation on that basis of enough jobs and enough houses for all. Meanwhile the struggle to resist the loyalist murder gangs is their job, not Britain's Army's.

## Retreat at T.U.C.

by Graham Bash

Despite a number of left-sounding gestures, there was a major retreat by the TUC at Brighton this year.

The tone for the whole Conference was set by the opening remarks of TUC President George Smith, when he said, "The Trade Union movement must never imagine that it is an alternative form of government: To the miners, to the railwaymen, and to the dockers, in the forefront of the struggle to bring down the Tory Government, this kind of servility is an insult and a betrayal."

It is true that in a whole number of ways the tremendous upsurge in the Labour Movement was reflected at TUC, albeit in a distorted manner. Thus we had the spectacle of the 32 unions being suspended for failing to deregister under the Industrial Relations Act, the defeat of right-wing Jack Peel in the elections for the General Council, the lifting of the ban on Communists to the Annual Conference of the Trade Councils, and also a resolution passed against the recommendation of the General Council, opposing Common Market entry in principle.

But in the crunch debate on Industrial Relations Act, the TUC rejected its former policy of "non co-operation", turned down the composite motion moved by Hugh Scanlon of the AUEW.

and gave union leaders full authority to appear before the National Industrial Relations Court, and pay its fines and penalties.

The main responsibility for this setback lies squarely on the shoulders of the "left" trade union leaders themselves and their supporters in the Communist Party—for in reality, their policy of merely "non co-operation" means pretending the Act does not exist.

But the Act does exist! Backed by the full force of the state machine, it is a threat to the very heart of our movement. It is only by breaking off all talks with the Government and the CBI, mobilizing the industrial strength of our movement and preparing for an all-out General Strike to bring down the Tory Government and destroy the power of the big financiers and industrialists—that the TUC can mount any effective fight to smash the Act. But this course Scanlon, Jones and co., ruled out from the start, thereby playing completely into the hands of the right-wing.

So Trades Union Congress 1972, showed once again the miserable cringing of the trade union bureaucrats before their Tory masters. A relentless struggle against these leaders is the task facing the Labour Movement.

## COUNCIL TENANTS:

# did you know?

- The Government aims to "save" £300 million a year by introducing "Fair Rents". What the Government saves, you pay.
- Your rents are to be DOUBLED over the next 3-4 years.
- They have already increased 65 per cent on average between 1964-'7
- The total annual Government subsidy to owner-occupiers is over £1,000 million, compared with only £157 million to council tenants.
- Of your rent, 65 per cent goes into the pockets of money-lenders as INTEREST CHARGES ALONE (on loans taken by the Council).
- 20 per cent goes in actual loan repayments, while a mere 15 per cent goes in running costs.
- The Housing Shortage condemns one quarter of the population to slum or near-slum housing conditions (SHELTER estimate). Harry Hyams made £15 million by building a London office block ("Centre Point") and keeping it empty from 1966 until today.

You, the tenants, subsidize the property of the money-lenders, dealers, landlords and building companies. Only a LABOUR GOVERNMENT prepared to NATIONALIZE this property without compensation can end the housing shortage and produce all the homes we need at rents and prices people can afford.

## Terrorism of the Oppressed

AFTER THE EVENTS in Munich and the killing of the Israeli Agricultural Counsellor in London, it was no surprise to see the Tory press in full cry with its pious condemnations of "terrorism". More serious, however, has been the attitude of Harold Wilson and of the Labour leadership.

So quick off the mark were they, it seemed they were shouting "terrorists!" almost before the deeds were done. And yet from these same leaders not so much as one word about the Israeli "search and destroy" raids into Syria and the Lebanon and the murder of women and children by the score.

We must be clear on this issue. The Press which joined in the orgy of tears over Munich speaks for the same ruling class which in decades of colonial rule has butchered hundreds of thousands of innocents throughout the world; the same which

supports American Imperialism's crimes in Vietnam, upholds Unionist violence in Ireland and stands foursquare behind the Zionist state of Israel whose very existence is based on the expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland. We can have nothing to do with its hypocritical outburst of sorrow.

Instead we must recognize the real tragedy of Munich—its demonstration of the utter despair to which the Palestinian guerrilla movement has been driven. Unlike class-action, the terrorism of "Black September" is clearly incapable of threatening the imperialist power-structure in the Middle-East in any way. Serving only to bind the Israeli working class ever more surely to the Zionist state, it merely reveals the terrible weakness of the anti-imperialist forces in the area. That is the real tragedy of the Palestinian terrorists.

Graham Bash

## Chartism Today

"THE BRITISH PROLETARIAT may and must see in CHARTISM not only its past, but also its future. As the CHARTISTS threw overboard the sentimental preachers of "moral force", rallying the masses under the standard of revolution, so the British proletariat will be confronted with the task of thrusting out from its midst the reformists, democrats and pacifists, and of mobilizing under the standard of revolutionary change. CHARTISM was unsuccessful not because its methods were incorrect, but because it came too early. It was only an historical

overture. The (Russian) revolution of 1905 also suffered defeat. But its traditions revived after 12 years, and its methods triumphed in October 1917. CHARTISM is not by any means liquidated. History is liquidating Liberalism and is preparing to liquidate the pseudo-Labour pacifism just in order afterwards to resurrect CHARTISM on new, immeasurably broader historical bases. There you have the original national tradition of the British Labour Movement!"

Leon Trotsky

"Where is Britain Going?"

## U.S. Report (Continued from page 3).

not due to McGovern's bad record on Labour. It reflects his opposition to the anti-war groups whom McGovern has brought into the Democratic Party and his fear whether they can be kept under control.

Meany's statement that he will "seriously consider" forming a labour party is only a half-hearted threat to the Democrats—as such statements have always been in the past.

Since Nixon now seems certain to win the election, McGovern will not be given a chance to demonstrate the bankruptcy of his programme and his inability to meet his promises to the poor, the black and the unemployed. Consequently many illusions in him may be maintained. But already his rightward movements since his endorsement

have alienated many of his followers. Even at the Convention he did an about-face on the abortion issue which had won him the support of the Women's liberationists. His recent statements hinting at the need for U.S. intervention in the Middle East to crush Palestinian liberation fighters together with his military spending programmes to keep U.S. imperialism "second to none" reveal him more and more for the capitalist politician he is. He will prove unable to keep the explosive discontent of America's youth and trade-unionists within the framework of the capitalist two-party system. It will break free—and in the process create not merely a Labour Party of the kind Meany may talk about, but a Party capable of leading the mighty American working class to the conquest of power.