

CHARTIST

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As miners rock the Tories, Labour & T.U.C. must meet election challenge head-on:

Prepare for the General Strike!

BRING GOVERNMENT DOWN!

AS WE GO TO PRESS, HEATH'S Government is being edged against its will towards an election. By the time you read this, the date may already have been fixed.

Given even a modicum of effort by our Labour Party leaders, Heath will certainly lose. In that event, it will be seen by all that OUR movement—headed by the miners—had forced an election and toppled a Tory Government.

But how do we win the election? And what connection has the electoral struggle with the battle being waged by the miners now?

Strength Decides

The stronger our movement proves to be, the more votes we will pull to our side. The "floating voters" and unstable sections of the middle class tend to gravitate towards the winning side. That is the significance of the industrial struggle in relation to votes. In 1972 the miners gained the overwhelming support of "the public" because they showed HOW to co-erce a Government whose wage-cutting and price-raising policies are crushing salary-earners and small-businessmen too.

That is why it is essential, even for purely vote-winning purposes, for the Labour Party to back the miners to the hilt. The miners have begun to force an election on the Tories. Our leaders in the Labour Party must ACTIVELY support this process.

Narrow Mandate

How is this to be done? Firstly, we must see why the Tories are being driven to an election. It is because their ability to rule on their present mandate is being undermined. They are being forced to seek new authority on a much narrower mandate, a mandate without fudging the issues, without promises of "cutting prices at a stroke", without even the pretence of being the "trade unionists' best friend". Unable to rule on the old mandate (which they have broken time and time again), they are being forced to demand specific

"authority" from "the nation" to crush the trade union movement as a whole.

The Tories Gamble

For the Tories it is a terrible gamble. IF they win, the prizes for them will be great—the removal of social security benefits from strikers,



LABOUR'S JIM CALLAGHAN—Stop 'red-baiting' and fight the **TORIES!**

renewed powers to fine and imprison trade unionists, the authority even before long to outlaw left-wing groups by associating them with "terrorist" activities. But if they should LOSE an election fought on the issue "Who Rules Britain?", what then? In that event, the ensuing Labour Government, however reformist, would be quite unable to "curb" and "control" our trade unions to the extent the ruling class would need. It would be quite unable to prevent our movement from beginning to take real power in our factories, on our housing estates and in society as a whole. It is this fear which has deterred Heath from risking an election on this issue for so many weeks.

The only alternative for Heath would be to try all-out confrontation on his present mandate, relying less on public support for his policies than on the naked use of armed police, troops and brute force to defeat a General Strike.

This escape-route must be barred to him. And there is only one way to do it. We must make it quite clear that IF an insurrectionary General Strike is forced on us, we will match up to the occasion in full. We would regard the present Government as without a mandate and in that sense as "illegal". We would declare our perfect right as a movement to defend ourselves with all necessary means, including physical force and an appeal to the troops. We would declare our absolute right to overthrow the Government and the rule of the class it represents, not to "destroy democracy" (as our Callaghans and Wilsons treacherously suggest) but as the only way of defending what democratic rights we have. It is up to our leaders—particularly the TUC "lefts"—to make all this quite clear and to prepare our movement for a General Strike right now, not as an alternative to a General Election but as part of the process of forcing Heath to go to the country. It there is one thing that will make our rulers think twice about provoking a General Strike it is this—the fear that they might lose it.

Socialist Programme

Finally, it is absolutely essential that our Labour Party leaders present a programme for their next Government which really offers a way forward for society out of its present impasse. Production has been brought to a halt by the capitalists themselves, who would rather bankrupt the economy than pay miners a living wage. Only OUR CLASS can get the wheels of production turning again. The middle classes, small businessmen etc. must be shown this. We—not the big monopolies—are their real friends. A production plan based on common ownership would release undreamed-of sources of wealth for the benefit of all. For this programme, we need look no further than our own Constitution, the Constitution of the Labour Party, Clause Four, Paragraph Four. The process of implementing it must begin with the struggle of the miners, here and now.

McGahey's Retreat

FOR THREE YEARS, Chartists have been alone in the labour movement in campaigning for soldiers' trade union rights.

It seemed we were up against a brick wall: although we invariably found good support from soldiers, no-one in the labour movement took the question seriously at all.

The miners' action has changed all that. That one remark of Mick McGahey's—and the ruling class panic it provoked—did more to awaken workers to the issue than all our years of work put together.

But the campaign must be pressed home. The Communist Party wants to hush up the whole issue. It has pressured McGahey to retract his statements in a disgraceful way. For the information of our readers, here are the details of this retraction. The original call was made in Aberdeen on January 27. Said McGahey: "It may be that the Government will call in troops to move coal, but troops are not all anti-working class. If the Government employs troops, if necessary I will appeal to them to assist and aid the miners." In Edinburgh the next day, he developed the theme: "If troops were called in, I would speak to the troops. I do not see them as a reactionary mass. There are many working class lads in the armed forces. But it is the troops who will decide.... We shall distribute leaflets and information to them if they were called

in. But the way this Government is handling things, they might not have enough troops...."

The retraction came on the day after that (January 29): "I want to make clear I would not ask a single soldier to countermand an instruction he received. The miners will not fight at someone else's expense.... This is a wages struggle. It is not politically motivated.... I reject the terms that have been directed

against me, about overthrowing the Government. I have never used such terms in my life. Defeat the Government at the ballot box—that is our position." In an interview with the Times on January 30th, McGahey took the final step: "I would not advise the troops, to disobey orders, because this is an industrial struggle that does not involve them. It would be wrong of them to disobey orders."

Behind this retraction, of course, lay the vicious witch-hunt launched against McGahey by the Labour leaders. We are now in a life-and-death struggle with the Tories and their state machine. If the Armed forces are unleashed against our movement in the coming period, it will be to crush not only communists but the trade union movement and the Labour Party, too. It is a matter of elementary self-interest that we defend ourselves by doing all possible to ensure that when the crunch comes, the bulk of the soldiers are on our side.

SCANLON'S ROLE

MIKE DAVIS

HUGH SCANLON, AUEW chief, has again revealed the unmatched hollowness of his "resistance" to Tory policies. Following hard on the heels of his refusal to organise against the fine on his union last year, Scanlon now announces that the problem for his membership is "to get an offer to the limit of State 3, not to break it." This statement on TV's "Weekend World", along with his conspicuous silence at the TUC bosses' special conference on Wednesday 15 January, indicates the tremendous danger facing militants from this so-called "left" leader.

Not only has Scanlon implicitly

violated the decision of last year's TUC congress against all incomes policy but he has compounded this betrayal by "postponing" any action on the engineers' £10-claim until "after the crisis".

When the working class needs unity most, Scanlon throws overboard the greatest opportunity to organise united action. With miners and rail-drivers, engineers could unseat the Tories. The whole working class is a "special case", Hugh Scanlon, so start organising to ensure "No Wage Cuts" for any workers from now on.

FORD CLAIM:

Don Flynn, Dagenham T & G

ONLY ONE WAY TO WIN

TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES on the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee have lodged a Phase 3-breaking claim with the company.

Calling for an all-round flat-rate increase, amounting to £10 per week, a 35 hour week, elimination of the 4-year service qualification before achieving the rate for the job, the abolition of Grade 'A' (cleaners, janitors, petrol-pump attendants, etc.) as a separate wage structure and for better lay-off provisions—the claim goes only some way to improving the position of Ford workers presently on the bottom

run of Britain's 200,000 car-workers.

The 1973 claim ended in a debacle when the leading convenors abandoned the task of organising a national strike for the claim in favour of localised "guerilla" tactics.

This year, the rank and file at Fords must learn the lessons of the miners' struggle: that the road to victory lies in a struggle to kick out the Tories. They must to kick out the Tories. They must demand that their leaders made preparations for a fight to the finish immediately!

LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE BACKS

SHREWSBURY 3

Graham Bash

A NATIONAL DAY OF action to be held in mid-March—that was the main result of the recall conference of Liverpool Trades Council, held on February 2nd to discuss the strategy for the release of the three building trade workers gaoled at Shrewsbury. Over 750 delegates from Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committees, trade union branches and trade councils throughout the country attended.

Whilst the majority of delegates present supported the resolution for the day of action, many delegates felt that the campaign should be broadened. John Flowers, a delegate from Todmorden Trades Council said: "You do not counter these attacks by one day strikes and demonstrations, but by a campaign to throw out the Tories, and the class they represented."

Bill Hunter (AUEW Liverpool) explained that the working class is faced with the question of who is going to govern—them or us? "One day stoppages are just a protest. The question is—who is going to govern. You cannot release the three or defend our rights unless you are prepared to bring down the government and lead our class in steps towards power."

ASLEF DRIVERS FIGHT ON

WITH THE RAIL DISPUTE now moving into its second month, just as the miners' struggle heads towards an all out confrontation, ASLEF members must watch the actions of their Executive very carefully.

The first two weeks of January saw the train drivers tightening up on the policy of non-cooperation and banning overtime until—particularly around London and the South East—very few trains were running at all.

Executive Surrender

But when the British Railways Board started sending men home, the ASLEF Executive immediately backed down. This was despite the determined action of their members, who downed tools as soon as the first man was sent home.

The train drivers leaders claimed that this retreat was just a change of tactics. They pointed out that management—in an attempt to split the ASLEF membership—had hit hardest at the militant depots, whilst allowing the less militant ones to keep working.

But it must be asked: How were management able to succeed in splitting the drivers? Why were they able to do it? The answer lies in the chosen tactics of non-cooperation. Instead of uniting all drivers in united activity these tactics actually cause depots to act



Ray Buckton

individually—the more militant depots being forced to carry the others on their shoulders.

When British Rail were terminating inter-city trains at Watford and issuing "special" diagrams like confetti, after weeks of careful preparation, what counter-measures came from Arkwright Road? None!

Two Alternatives

There were two possible responses to British Ralls' action—All out strike action, or retreat. The ASLEF leaders including the union President, Bill Ronksley, a member of the Communist Party,

chose the latter course. Only two E.C. members out of nine voted against the retreat.

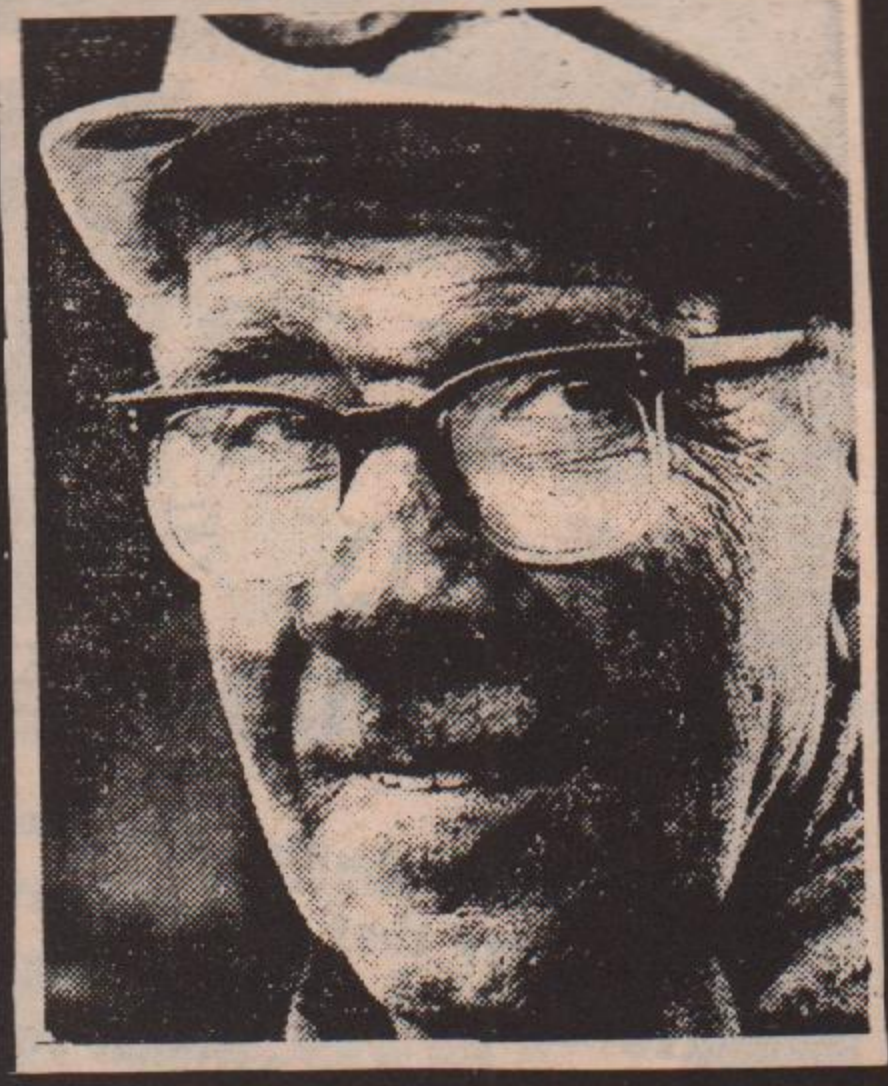
In fact it was mainly due to the efforts of Bill Ronksley that the retreat was "sold"—as a "new tactic"—to angry delegates from the Southern Region, who lobbied their leaders on the 15 January.

The drivers' demand for a basic weekly wage of £40 can still be won. But only if a new leadership is built within the rank and file. Such a leadership must either force the Executive members to step up the industrial action, or replace them and go ahead on an unofficial basis. But unity must be forged with the miners, and with the other railway workers.

One Union

If the current dispute is proving anything, it is the need for unity of all railway workers into one industrial union. Despite the vitriolic abuse being hurled at train drivers by NUR leaders (like Weighell and McRitchie) many NUR members are deeply dissatisfied with the offer which has been accepted by their leaders.

Train drivers must now consider ways to achieve unity with guards and signalmen. They must discard their present craft unionism. Many guards' depots have clearly indicated their desire to join ASLEF. The train drivers should enrol them into membership.



MINERS: A POLICY FOR VICTORY

Miners have voted 81 per cent for a strike. The Heath government is now on a collision course with the strongest and most determined section of the working class.

Stratagems Failed

Heath and his Ministers have tried every means—bluff, manoeuvre, blackmail and lies—to weaken and isolate the miners from the rest of the Labour movement. They have:

- **BLAMED** the miners for the 3-day week, mass layoffs and the economic crisis of British capitalism.
- **LIED** over coal-stock figures.
- **ENFORCED** the 10.30 TV shut-down and other unnecessary electricity cuts.
- **LIED** about the amount of the Coal Board's offer to the miners (see box).
- **WHIPPED UP** a "red scare," accusing miners and the NUM leaders of being "wreckers."
- **PRETENDED** to offer the TUC and miners' leaders new "talks" for purely propaganda and time-wasting purposes, with no intention of putting "more cash on the table."
- **SOUGHT TO INTIMIDATE** miners by the State of Emergency Declaration, the Heathrow Airport manoeuvres and threats to use troops.

But all to no avail. Heath's bid to stall a strike until the Spring has come to nothing. Instead, miners have responded to Heath's vicious attacks with a vengeance. They have voted for an all-out strike knowing full well what may lie in store for them—a long siege, the possibility of being driven near starvation by the withdrawal of social-security payments, the possibility even of the situation developing into a General Strike.

A Political Fight

The battle is now on. If this has become an all-out POLITICAL struggle to bring down the government, it is only because the Tories have made it so. It is the Tories who have outlawed collective bargaining. It is the Tories—with their talk of "who rules the country?" —

who have made this an issue less of wages than of political power. If this becomes a VIOLENT battle, it will be because Heath has ruled out all peaceful methods of struggle. It is Heath who has opted for a brutal show of force, mobilising the troops and arming the police before a single miners' picket line had been formed.

The recent Pay Board wage "relativities" report underlines the need for an intransigent attitude to the FULL CLAIM. If

to prevent another "Saltley" or "Longannet"-type mass picket—the imprisonment of the "Shrewsbury 3" is just a foretaste of what the Tories have in store. The moment the overtime ban was announced Home Secretary Carr warned in Leicester of his determination to prevent mass picketing by "stopping the masses from forming" in the first place. To this end he had prepared, he announced, "for police forces to make co-operative arrangements with their neighbouring forces so

out squarely behind the right of all servicemen to belong to a trade union.

General Strike

Arthur Scargill—Yorkshire Area President of the NUM—has already made statements which have been interpreted as a call for a General Strike. But what neither he nor any others on the left are doing is preparing to win a General Strike should such a situation arise.

We can't allow the TUC to be left in charge of such a strike. We can't allow such a strike to be headed by any leadership which refuses to understand what would be involved: namely, an inevitable clash with troops, an insurrectionary struggle and a situation in which our class either gains full state power or is defeated for a whole period, as in 1926. Murray, Jones, Scanlon and the rest must either PREPARE for the coming General Strike or be removed.

Labour's Power

Gormley, Daly and McGahey have been forced into this battle since the Tories have quashed—for the present—the straws of compromise. Now the chips are down. Even the wretched pledge by TUC leaders to submit to "Phase 3" if the miners were made a "special case" could not satisfy Heath's desperate need to impose wage-cuts on our class.

But provided the whole working class is united in action behind the miners, we can break the Tories' backs. The Labour Party is theoretically bound to Clause Four of its own Constitution—the common ownership of the means of production. Now is the time to fully back the miners, force an election, take office and take FULL POWER in order to implement this programme. But our existing Labour Party leaders have no intention of doing any such thing. To use Labour's real strength, an alternative revolutionary leadership must be built. We in the Socialist Charter are committed to this course. Only the planning of production on a Socialist basis with real WORKERS' CONTROL of all nationalised industry, can offer a way forward for society as a whole and a secure future for miners.

Total pay rise offered by NCB: £44.75m per year
No. of miners involved 197,000
Average weekly wage increase £4.36
FROM WHICH DEDUCT
Income tax £1.31
National Insurance 22p
Loss of purchasing power of miners' wage by inflation—April 73 to March 74 £2.22
Increase in purchasing power of miners wage if offer accepted 61p

the membership is being called on to make heavy sacrifices, there can be no let-up by Gormley, Daly, McGahey and Co. in the struggle for £35—£40—£45 and a 35 hour week. Inflation is ensuring that anything much below the full claim would mean a CUT in miners' real earnings well before March 1975. It is nonsense to suggest that the fight for the full whack is "unrealistic"—given a bold lead, miners can bring this government to its knees, and finish the job left undone by the 1972 strike.

How to Win 1.

BLACKING—The fight will not be easy. The government and the Central Electricity Generating Board have conserved considerable coal-stocks, and the US and Stalinist Polish governments are collaborating fully with the Tories in the provision of coal. The over-riding responsibility of all trade unionists is to back up the Transport and General Workers Union and ASLEF lead in blacking all import and transport of coal or substitute fuel. The NUM has given warning that the power stations themselves will be picketed. Every trade-unionist and socialist must back this action bodily and financially.

2.

PICKETING—This government has already armed itself legally

that at short notice they can send reinforcements to help those under pressure." To assist the police, flying anti-picket squads, organized by a "central-picket control-point" at Scotland Yard, have been established and trained. How do we answer these threats? Firstly, the picketing must be on an even more massive scale than in 1972—numbers are vital. They cannot arrest us all—and indeed, if even one miner is arrested, there will be no coal dug until he is released! Secondly, the mass pickets this time—unlike in 1972—must be organized not merely under NUM auspices but under the full authority of the TUC itself.

3.

WINNING THE TROOPS—The Tories have made quite clear their readiness to use troops, armoured cars, Special Constables and Territorials to "maintain essential supplies", and break picket lines. How do we meet this new challenge?

NUM Vice-President Mick McGahey sent shudders down ruling class spines when he warned he would appeal to any troops sent in against miners. This is the Tories' weak-spot: their Armed Forces are far from reliable—many soldiers would refuse to attack their own class. But McGahey's back-peddling shows that much is to be done: leafletting troops must be organized NOW, and the TUC must come

TROOPS APPEAL BY PIT LEADER

Many soldiers 'are sons of the working class'

THE Communist vice-president of the miners' union said yesterday that, if necessary, he would appeal to troops to help colliery strikers. Amid mounting indications that the miners will vote heavily in favour of a national strike, Mr Mick McGahey said the Government might call in troops to move coal "but troops are not all anti-working class."

He added: "Many of them are miners' sons—sons of the working class... If necessary I will appeal for them to assist and aid the miners."

Daily Telegraph, January 28

CARR'S THREAT TO USE TROOPS

Throughout the world, experience has shown that there are two familiar preludes to the execution of a military coup. First, the Armed Forces abandon their supposed political neutrality, becoming involved in industrial disputes, the "fight against subversion" and so on in the home country. Second, the CIA move in. We are under no illusions that a coup is an immediate prospect. But, both the above developments have begun happening in Britain.

On January 24th, the exchange published below took place in Parliament.

MR. ALLAUN (Salford East, Lab)—Following the events at Heathrow, will the Home Secretary give two firm undertakings—first, that there will be no combined military and police operations in industrial disputes or against peaceful political demonstrations; and second, that there will be no discussions between Scotland Yard and the Defence Ministry regarding the new centre which has been set up to deal with picketing.

MR. CARR—The new centre is an information room at Scotland Yard to give information to the police forces about plans for any mass picketing and so forth which might arise. (Conservative cheers.) There is no secret about that, and nothing secret or sinister about it. There is no military connexion with it at all.

This and other governments are most loath to make any use of troops in industrial disputes. That is a tradition followed by both governments in this country.

When on the rare occasions

that troops have to be used, of course I cannot guarantee, no more than any government can guarantee, that police may not be operated as well.

If it is necessary to keep a situation in order, the police may be on the law and order side and the troops may be driving vehicles or something of that kind. It would be wholly improper to give any blanket undertaking that one could never have police and troops operating at the same time.

MR. WIGGIN (Weston super-Mare, Con)—Will Mr. Carr reject the philosophy from the Labour benches that there is something immoral about calling in troops to help the police in aid of the civil power? This has long been a well-established principle in the United Kingdom.

There are more than 50,000 Territorial soldiers at the disposal of the regular forces. Will he consult the Secretary of State for Defence to see if the law can be altered to allow those troops to be called upon, in circumstances like those at Heathrow, to do some of the more mundane chores?

MR. CARR—It is a long established principle in our constitution and practice that troops can be called in to aid the civil power. I hope nobody disputes this.

MR. BARNES (Brentford and Chiswick, Lab)—Should not the Home Secretary be careful of those elements in the police and military attracted by the theories of Brigadier Kitson and who welcomes opportunities, especially at times of political and industrial tension, to wheel out tanks for whatever reason?

MR. CARR—No, I do not accept this at all.

C.I.A. IN UNIONS

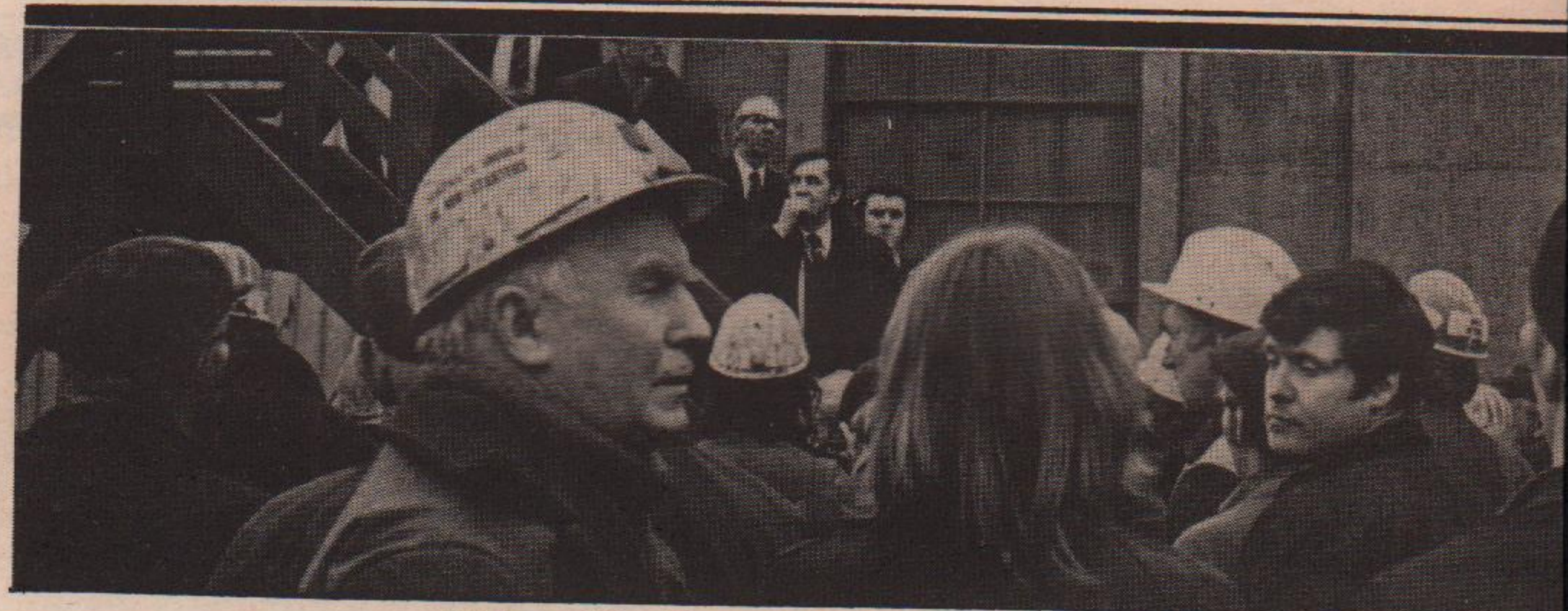
The news was first broken in the pages of the TIMES. In its January 18th issue, it wrote:

"Between 30 and 40 extra American intelligence men have been drafted into Britain since the

present state of emergency... One purpose of their transfer has been to gather information on so-called 'subversive elements' operating within the trade union movement."

WHO IS

THE MINERS ARE IN NO MOOD TO SUR... drivers, transport workers, dockers and the... pledged their support. Unless the Heath Go... (with or without an election), we will be draw... wards an all-out General Strike. Such a stri... could not be limited to peaceful, defensive or pur... It would become insurrectionary of its own acc... sense, this process has begun. Home Secre... used (below, left) to rule out the use of troop... to these troops has already been made, whic... officials are treating as "seditious". Are we... very end in this? Are we ready to answer t... Rules Britain?"—which the Heath Government... the right, the CHARTISTS present our prog... eral Strike. If we are to use such a weap... resort we have no choice—we must know full... volves. If we are not prepared for an arme... have no business blundering into a General Str... fight, on the other hand, we must begin the... power.



Union Meeting at the Pit-Head, Solway Colliery, W...

WHY YOU M

LAST YEAR, ALL OF OUR wages, on average, were cut by nearly 3p in every pound. This year, they will be cut by at least 4p.

The figures are worked out not by a left-wing group, but by the Cambridge Faculty of Economics and the London Business School. They refer, of course, not to money-wages but to real wages. Each wage-rise means that you pay more in tax and insurance. Deduct this, and deduct also the amount taken by rising prices, and the results are the wage-cut figures shown.

The Tories and their class are having to drive our living standards down. In order to compete with their foreign rivals in the cut-throat world trade war which is developing, they have simply no choice. They must cut our wages in an effort to sell cheaper and push their profits up. Bankruptcy faces them if they fail.

But why, you may ask, are we having to pay for the crisis of their system? Why are we allowing our wages to be cut? Here the answer is simple—and this is where the miners come

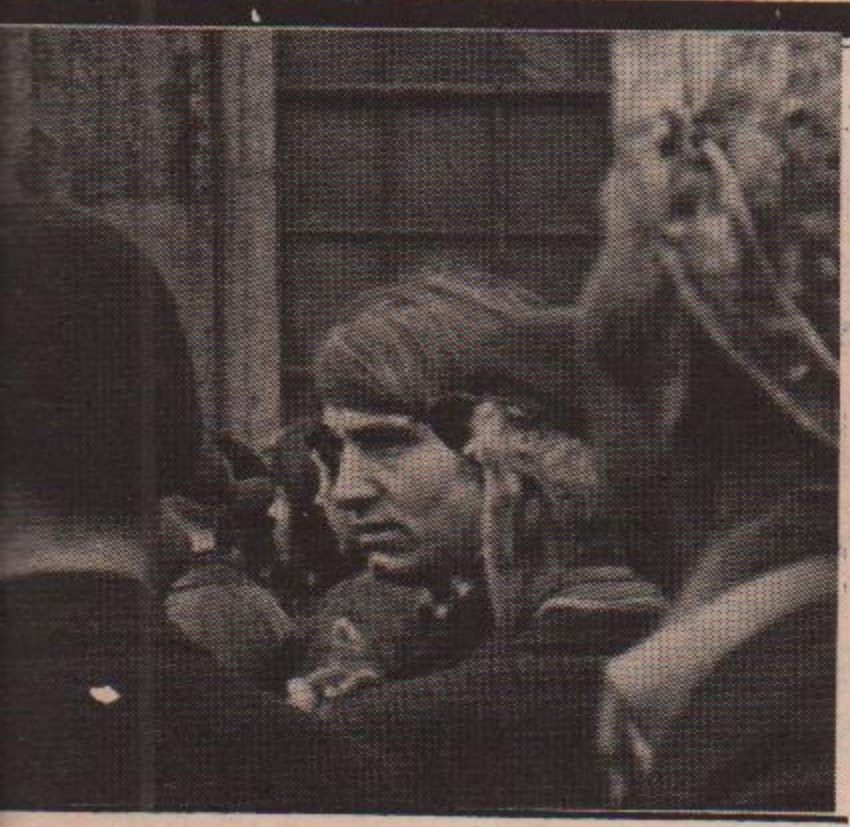
in. Apart from the miners, no-one else has said "No!"

Last year, our trade union and TUC leaders didn't do their job. When Heath said he was freezing our wages, they agreed. When Heath decreed: "One pound plus four per cent", they accepted that, too. In exchange, Heath promised to freeze prices and curb profits. And what happened? In the first six months of last year, gross dividend and interest payments went up by a staggering 42.8 per cent. Throughout the year, prices soared 10.3 per cent. And food-prices rose 19 per cent. Real wages, as a result, were cut by 2.8 per cent.

And that's not just a statistic. Who among us doesn't know that we are buying less, eating less meat, cutting down on the meagre comforts we thought we were entitled to? That old aged pensioners are literally starving? That rickets is re-appearing among schoolchildren in our industrial centres? The fear is returning that before long there will be millions of us facing real hunger, unable to afford shoes on our children's feet, facing the conditions we were told were

TO RULE BRITAIN ?

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T.U.C. PREPARE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE! LABOUR TAKE THE POWER!

MOBILIZE THE WORKING-CLASS. Mount an immediate national campaign for a £30 national minimum wage; equal pay for women; a freeze on rents and prices; a crash house-building programme; repeal of the Industrial Relations Act; repudiation of all E.E.C. agreements and the breaking off of further negotiations with European capitalists; an immediate General Election.

These demands to be pressed with the full weight of the T.U.C. and Labour Party and backed up by one-day 'general strikes' aimed at forcing concessions where possible and rallying support for the indefinite General Strike.

CAMPAIGN ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME. Make clear that the next Labour Government, whatever the manner by which it comes to power will gain the means to implement the above demands by nationalizing all major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

DEMOCRATIZE THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. Away with bureaucracy: Subject ALL officials to immediate right of recall. No official to receive more than a skilled workers' wage.

BEFORE ANY INDEFINITE STRIKE IS CALLED:

1. **CONVENE IN ALL LOCALITIES** joint meetings of Trades Councils and Labour Party G.M.C.s to discuss the aims of the strike. An emergency joint Conference of the Labour Party and T.U.C. to be held on the eve of the strike itself.

2. Draw up plans for alternative machinery for distribution of food and maintenance of essential services under the direction of the labour movement.

3. Prepare leaflets for distribution by pickets to troops. Secure official backing now for the servicemen's Trade Union rights movement.

IN THE EVENT OF A GENERAL STRIKE SITUATION ARISING: No return to work in exchange for the offer of elections—any elections must be held DURING THE STRIKE, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Establish workers' defence units based on the trade unions for the purpose of maintaining order in place of the official police, who are under the exclusive control of the ruling class.

All policy to be based on the clear understanding that not reform but power is in dispute. Victory will require:

Extension of strike to include (a) the occupation of factories and (b)—as soon as conditions permit—a full return to work under the control of the labour movement.

Working class take over of communications: give full backing and protection to trade unionists in (a) refusing to allow the dissemination of ruling-class propaganda and (b) making the mass media available to all sections of the working class for the free expression of views.

THE T.U.C. AND LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES, MEETING IN PERMANENT SESSION, TO ASSUME—AS CONDITIONS PERMIT—THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, AND ENSURE THAT THE OLD RULING BODIES AND THEIR SYMBOLS—THE STOCK EXCHANGE, HOUSE OF LORDS, CROWN, LAW COURTS, CIVIL SERVICE, ARMY AND POLICE HIERARCHIES ETC.—ARE EFFECTIVELY SUPPRESSED AND THEIR BUILDINGS TAKEN OVER.

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

JUST SUPPORT THE MINERS

gone since the 'thirties and never would re-appear.

Only the miners have stood up and said "No!". In resolving to smash "Phase Three", they have struck a blow on behalf of us all. They have created a situation in which we can force back the Government, prove ourselves stronger, stand up for ourselves and insist that the Tories and their class pay for the crisis of their system, not us.

YOUR GAIN

What will a victory for the miners do for YOU? It will do this. It will ensure that in your union, the way is opened to lodge a realistic claim, to gear it to the cost of living, and to back it with action against a divided and weakened Government. But much more important even than this, the **POWER** of all our employers, landlords and other exploiters will have received a shattering blow. Through our Labour Party, Co-op, trade union and other organizations we will be increasingly in a position to insist on our right to govern the country.

It is not just that a Labour Government, almost certainly, would be brought into office in the aftermath of a miners' victory. More important, our industrial and political strength as a class would be such that we could begin dispensing with the mere Parliamentary trappings and illusions of power which Labour Governments have been content with in the past. Why shouldn't our organizations control hiring and firing in each plant? Why shouldn't we inspect the company's books? Why shouldn't we begin ruling in industry itself?

NOT JUST THE CAKE

What is at stake is not a mere re-distribution of wealth from one section of workers to another. As far as we CHARTISTS are concerned, it is not even a question of re-distributing from rich to poor. That must be done, but not merely to get "their slice of the cake" in our hands. The point is that in the capitalists' hands, the economy is ceasing to produce. We want not just the cake but the bakery. For this in our hands—the collective hands

of our entire class—would permit no unemployment, no enforced idleness, no running of industry at 60 per cent capacity or less (the pattern of recent years), none of the planlessness and wasteful chaos we see throughout the economy today. Under the capitalist system, those who do the hardest work get the least money, while those who do least get the most. Thus a miner (on surface work) receives a basic wage of £25.60 per week (entitling a man with three children to claim Family Income Supplement!). Meanwhile Prime Minister Heath gets a take-home pay of £266 per week. If our class ran the economy, we would produce for our own benefit, not others'. We would have an 'incentive' to work, to automate and to enjoy our work—and production would double and treble within a few years.

OUR OWN GOVERNMENT

If Labour won the next election, we would insist that we had every legal right—given a majority of seats in Parliament for our movement—to take over the state and

the economy. True, this right would be disputed by the Armed Forces tops, the Crown and the whole employing class. We realize that they would soon accuse the Labour Government of permitting "breaches of the constitution", letting the unions "get out of control" and so on. We realize they would soon start plotting a military coup. But to have "legality"—or at least, our movement's legality—on our side would prove an enormous advantage. With an attempt to depose the democratically-elected Labour Government, we would insist on our absolute democratic right to organize a counter-insurrection to defend that Government. We would insist on our movement's right to prevent "another Chile", to disarm the Tories and their class, to smash their state machine and to establish our own class rule. Even today, this course—the conquest of power by our movement and class—is the only one open to us if we are to avoid being crushed for a generation. It is a course which, while not fully knowing it, the miners have already begun to take.

ARMED MEN, FOREIGN SPIES MOVE IN

Graham Bash



"THERE IS A WIDESPREAD belief that, to an extent, the weekend's surprise developments at Heathrow were a public relations manoeuvre aimed at accustoming the public to the sight of troops on the street.

It is known that the Ministry of Defence has contingency plans, often under review, for moving in servicemen to take over areas of industry vital to the running of

the country. Obvious first priorities would be the moving of coal and other essential supplies."

The London Evening Standard, commenting on the mobilization of troops, police and tanks around Heathrow Airport, January 8. As we go to press, four weeks later, the Heathrow 'occupation' is still being maintained. On January 24, operations were stepped up as troops from the Blues and Royals took over a 50ft tower at a sand and ballast site one mile from the airport boundary line. Max Hastings of the Standard, in an article headed "How Far Would the Army Go?" (February 1) reports a Battalion CO as follows, answering a question on the reliability of the troops in an industrial dispute:

"Over a short period, I can't

imagine there would be any problem—soldiers always like something new that gets their picture taken and they do the job they're given. But if we were engaged in shifting supplies for weeks on end and there was large-scale workers' hostility to our doing it, I think that at the very least one would get restlessness among the chaps. Of course, a lot would depend on how the matter was handled—you don't send Welsh units to do the job in Cardiff any more than you send Irish units to Ulster now. It puts their loyalty under too great a strain...."

The following are the remarks of former CIA agent Miles Copeland, interviewed by the TIMES in connection with its information about an influx of CIA agents into Britain since the beginning of the

"State of Emergency" declaration:

"Rightly or wrongly, the top men in the CIA believe that the present spate of strikes in Britain has far more sinister motives than the mere winning of extra wages. They believe that the aim is to bring about a situation in which it would be impossible for the kind of democratic government you enjoy here to continue.... There is no doubt at all that it has agents operating inside the British labour unions, but it is unlikely that they would ever be found out.... The CIA has been trying to convince the British for some time about the power of subversives within the unions. Any increase in their establishment here will enable them to make their point with more force"

LABOUR, FIGHT TORIES, NOT 'REDS'

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS has burst like a bombshell in the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The flimsy "unity" between Left and Right achieved under the auspices of Michael Foot at last year's Conference has been ripped apart. The hottest of all issues has proved to be this: Can the miners be supported even at the cost of undermining the Social Democrats' cherished Parliamentary democracy? Or, if it comes to the crunch, must "the Constitution" at all costs come first?

It was Mick McGahey's "troops" appeal which lit the fuse. "The battle the NUM is fighting", wrote Jim Callaghan and party secretary, Ron Hayward in a hurried press release after McGahey's statement, "is to get a proper wage—nothing else... We utterly repudiate any attempt by communists or others to use the miners as a political battering ram to bring about a general strike or to call on troops to disobey orders in the event of a strike. That is silly and dangerous nonsense." In an early day motion introduced into the House by Wilson, Short, Callaghan, Houghton, Mellish and Varley on January 29, the Labour leader-

ship invited both followers and Tory opposite numbers in Parliament to repudiate "recent statements by the vice-president of the National Union of Mineworkers foreshadowing an appeal to the forces of the Crown."

Whose side are these people on? All miners are forced to ask this question, and many must already be concluding: Callaghan and his cronies are stabbing us in the back. What right has Callaghan to claim he speaks for the miners, particularly when the last Labour Government supervised the biggest run down of the mines in the term of any Government in history? The miners have done more to rock this Tory Government than all of the Parliamentary questions and oppositional motions of the labour leaders put together. Instead of attacking the miners' own elected representatives, and instead of splitting our movement in order to curry favour with the Tories, shouldn't Callaghan, Wilson and the Labour leaders by supporting the miners right down the line? Shouldn't they be making use of the Tories' difficulties to get them out?

The Tories are aware that a defeat for them now, would mean the end of "Phase 3"—the end, in

other words, of their ability to impose wage-cuts on the working class. That is why they have been prepared to lose £540 million in lost production for every week of three-day working, rather than pay the extra £40 million needed to concede the miners' claim in full. And that is why a victory for the miners would be a victory for the whole working class.

In this situation, where do the leaders of our movement stand? The whole Parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party claim to support the miners in their fight. But when it comes to the crunch what do they propose we do? Whether the miners win or lose depends on one thing: whether or not they can stop the movement of coal. The Tories are quite clear what their task is: to prevent mass picketing on the scale of the miners' strike of 1972.

The Tories have prepared a co-ordinated police-military campaign to maintain coal-supplies and other essentials to power-stations. In his appeal to the ordinary soldiers as "sons of the working class", Mick McGahey voiced the feelings of every miner who is seriously concerned to win this battle. Those Labour MPs who censured this appeal have revealed their "support" for the miners to be a sham.

Exactly fifty years ago, an earlier Scottish member of the Communist Party—J.R. Campbell—editor of the "Workers' Weekly" (the Morning Star's forerunner) published a "Don't shoot the workers" appeal to troops in the heated build-up period to the 1926 General Strike. This had proclaimed: "Let it be known that neither in the class war not in a military war will you turn your guns against your fellow workers." For this crime of "sedition" he was arrested under the "Incitement to Mutiny Act" and imprisoned—only to be released as a result of mass

working-class pressure on Ramsey MacDonald's first Labour Government. The Tories responded with a renewed "red scare" in the form of the fraudulent "Zinoviev letter" and it was Labour's vacillations in this witch-hunt which contributed to the victory of the Tories in the subsequent General Election.

The lessons for today are clear. Only by breaking decisively with the Tories' "red-scare" games, can Labour come forward when its opponents' fortunes are at their lowest ebb and ensure its victory in a General Election. The Labour NEC must disown and secure the retraction of the attacks on McGahey at once. The present situation gives Labour the most advantageous conditions in which to ride the wave of popular support for the miners' struggle, to provide firm leadership to this fight, to force out the Tories by proving the Government's inability to govern and to lead the working class towards power.

Who Is Doing the Confusing?

ON SUNDAY, January 27, members of the Socialist Charter movement, accompanying the banner of Vauxhall Labour Party Young Socialists, attempted to join a demonstration against the Tory Government organized by the "Workers' Revolutionary Party". They did so on the basis of supporting the WRP's slogans of "defending workers' rights" and "throwing out the Tories."

However, the organizers of the march refused to allow our comrades to participate, on the grounds that they objected to the

Vauxhall banner's slogan (calling on the labour movement to fight to take over industrial and state power). It was said that this would "confuse the working class."

We think workers might be more "confused" as to why the WRP leaders thus refuse to engage in united activity on the basis of limited agreement on specific issues. We call on WRP members to condemn this gross violation of workers' democracy, which amounts to an attempt to stifle the free exchange of ideas on the left.

CHARTIST

Socialist Charter Movement

The task of building a new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Movement to defeat the Tories and their system becomes more urgent every day.

The Socialist Charter has set itself that task. We have recently acquired premises. These need to be decorated and furnished with office equipment.

We need £500 to achieve this, and we need it by 31 July 1974. All donations should be sent to Chartist Publications.

Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Chartist Publications, 120 Cazenove Road, London, N.16.

Editor: Chris Knight.

CENTRISM & THE GENERAL STRIKE

U.S. Spartacists Attack Chartists

“Leninists do not, like the anarchists, endow the words “general strike” with magical powers; we distinguish a one-day mobilization to protest a government policy, for instance, from an insurrection to achieve state power. A general strike in Britain today should have the *limited, defensive* aim of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down. Should such a strike be victorious, even under reformist leaders and despite their inevitable attempts to sabotage the struggle, it would then open up a revolutionary situation.

Two ostensibly revolutionary organizations, the IMG and the *Chartist* group are now calling for a general strike to overthrow the capitalist system. That an insurrectionary general strike is foreseen is made quite explicit in the *Chartist* (December 1973) front page editorial:

“Above all, we will need a bold appeal, made with all the authority of our movement's commanding bodies, to the

working-class ranks of the armed forces....

“Along this road, we can smash Phase Three, defeat the Tories and conquer state power for our class.”

To pose the question of seizing state power (i.e., achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat) in Britain at this time indicates either a belief that the Wilson-Jones-Murray leadership of the labor movement can be *pressured* into overthrowing the capitalist system, or that this can be done spontaneously over the head of the recognized leadership of the labor movement. The IMG tends toward the latter approach, displaying a near-syndicalist indifference to the powerful reformist Labour Party/Trades Union Congress leadership. The adventurist line of *Chartist*, on the other hand, reflects its illusion that the Labour Party, as presently constituted, is a potential soviet which could seize state power after electing a revolutionary leadership.”

WE PUBLISH ABOVE AN excerpt from the 18 January issue of a left-wing paper with a small circulation in the United States. “Workers' Vanguard”—organ of the “Spartacist League”—has chosen in a lead article on Britain's crisis to attack the CHARTIST's policy on the General Strike, calling us “adventurists”. We publish our reply below. This is not because we attach great significance to the group in question, but because the attack on us is representative of a very widespread theoretical confusion on the General Strike which a polemic of this kind may help to clear up.

Our Reply

Dear Comrades,

Our organisation entered into discussion with yours in 1970. We did so because we believed it essential to conduct the work of building a revolutionary leadership in Britain within the framework of the struggle to build the Fourth International. We saw your small tendency as perhaps the one closest to the traditions of orthodox Trotskyism within the United States.

Over the past two years, however, we have been becoming increasingly concerned about your sectarianism. We have more and more suspected that it was simply a “hard front” concealing an ultimately centrist, political standpoint. Your latest article on Britain (*Workers' Vanguard*, January 18) has confirmed this view.

For your advice to us as revolutionaries in Britain adds up to this: do not prepare for an insurrectionary General Strike. Even though the troops are being mobilized (as you point out), we need make no attempt to take on the Armed Forces. For the General Strike is to be only a “defensive” one, with quite “limited” aims.

You speak of “distinguishing” between a one-day protest-strike and an insurrectionary General Strike to conquer power. It is a real distinction to be made. But where exactly do you stand on this? Is your “defensive” General

Strike to be merely a one day “protest”? Such a strike was attempted in Britain last 1st May under the auspices of the TUC—and got us no-where at all. What is already beginning to become posed now in Britain is something infinitely more powerful, unpredictable and dangerous than this. To talk merely of a one-day “protest” in our present situation is really beside the point—on one has this in mind when mention is made of a General Strike.

The possibility of a General Strike in Britain is very much now “in the air”. And it is almost universally realised—at least in right-wing Labour and ruling class circles—that such a strike would become insurrectionary very soon. Your whole position is based on the assumption that the question of power is not posed in this country. Accordingly you say, there exists, in our situation, some “middle way” between a one-day “protest” General Strike and a strike which would pose the question “who rules?” We deny that such a “middle road” exists. A General Strike is either indefinite, or it is not. If a time-limit is set, it would be ludicrous to insist on more than 24 hours. If no limit is set, then the whole power of our movement must be unleashed to win. The strike will then involve factory-occupations, the use of troops, insurrectionary clashes and the stark alternatives for our class: seize power, or suffer a severe defeat.

Logic of General Strike

You will retort, of course, as follows. You are in favour, not “at this stage” of an insurrectionary general strike, but of a small, demonstrative, defensive one. Trotsky had to anticipate just such a cretinous objection from French Stalinist Thorez in his “Whither France?”. “Might not Thorez retort”, asked Trotsky, “that he had in mind not a real general strike, but a little strike, quite peaceful, just exactly suited to the personal requirements of the editors of *Humanite*?” Trotsky's answer applies neatly to yourselves: “The entire history of the working class movement”, he writes, “proves that every Gen-



Leon Trotsky: ‘The leaders must continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not, they must not venture to speak of the general strike. But by renouncing the general strike, they renounce thereby all revolutionary struggle.’

eral Strike, whatever may be the slogans under which it occurs, has an internal tendency to transform itself into an open revolutionary clash, into direct struggle for power.” And he goes on: “The leaders of the proletariat must understand this internal logic of the general strike, unless they are not leaders but dilettantes and adventurers. Politically this implies that from now on the leaders will continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not, they must not venture to speak of the general strike. But by renouncing the general strike, they renounce thereby all revolutionary struggle....”²

Whose ‘Adventurism’?

We would suggest it is not our policy but yours which is genuinely adventurist. You are calling for an immediate General Strike, whilst denying the insurrectionary implications of this demand. You are calling for a step which in practice would mean a headlong course towards insurrection—whilst denying that any insurrectionary tasks are posed. What could be more irresponsible than that?

Our organization has refused to name a date for a General Strike. We have refused to demand that the TUC call such a strike “now”. We have always insisted that the immediate task is to take preparatory steps—an appeal to the troops, organization of picket-line defence, establishment of committees of action etc. We have always insisted that if we are not prepared for an armed insurrection, then we are not prepared for a General Strike—and so we'd better start moving fast.

Labour and Soviet Power

Finally, you refer to our “illus-

ion”, as you put it, “that the Labour Party, as presently constituted is a potential soviet which could seize state power after electing a revolutionary leadership”. To put the record straight, our position is as follows. If state power is to be seized, no-one—certainly not the Labour Party—is going to do it for us. We must build a democratic-centralist revolutionary party to do the job ourselves. We see our organisation as the embryo of such a party. The seizure of power, however, depends on the support of the overwhelming majority of the working class. And it depends on the mobilisation of organs of state power of the soviet type. These can only arise as the highest organs of a future united front of the whole working class. The struggle within our existing co-op, trade union and Labour Party organisations today is a struggle not only to replace the existing leaders, but also to subject all leaders to the immediate right of re-call from below. It is a fight to smash the bureaucratic structure of our movement and bring it under the direct control of all sections of the working class. To the extent that we succeed in this, and to the extent that our mass organisations—under revolutionary leadership begin to challenge the existing state machine and deprive it of power, they will indeed have begun to take on functions equivalent to those of the Soviets through which the Bolshevik Party seized power in Russia in 1917. We are quite aware that this will prove a task requiring more than a few months' of revolutionary struggle and that “as presently constituted” the Labour Party is less an instrument of the working class than an obstacle—indeed the chief obstacle barring it from power.

Yours fraternally,

Chris Knight

SMASH RACIALISM!

YS calls Bradford demo

The last few weeks has seen the Tories deliberately heading towards an all-out confrontation with the TUC in their effort to suppress the working class of this country. The miners, however, are determined to fight this battle to the finish and a full strike is now inevitable.

The Tories and the capitalist class are, above all, frightened of the power of the trade unions and if Heath and his "hawks" cannot suppress the working class, they will do everything to divide it.

Thus we have already seen in their attempt to blame the miners of this country for the economic chaos, a product of the capitalist system itself. Another way to divide the working class is to employ a trick much favoured by the Monday Club and National Front i.e. the creation of prejudice against immigrant and black workers.

Racism divides the working class and undermines class unity in the common struggle to rid ourselves of the true enemy - the capitalist class.

The Labour Party Young Socialists leaders are at last arranging a demonstration in Bradford on 16th February against racism and all racist supporters. Bradford is an area where the National Front is particularly strong; and in fact some opposition to the demonstration came from our own Labour leaders who don't want to offend racism in the workers' movement itself. People like Bert Twigg, who has already made his name known in the Goole constituency party when he and others suspended Dave Douglass from the party for left wing activities. It is crucial that we recognise the enemy within our own party. Come and support this demonstration not only to stand clearly against racism and all those who support it, but to expose this and every aspect of our own leaders who uphold Tory policy.

Saturday 16th February 1974
Assemble 1.30pm Recreation Grnd
between Lumb Lane & Westgate.
3.00pm St Georges Hall.

YOUR YS BRANCH

For details of branch activities write to:

- Brent East: Kevin Knight, 7 Park View, Olive Road, NW2
- Donbridge Wells: Glenda Ratcliffe, 9 Greggs Wood Road, Sherwood Estate, Southborough, Kent
- Wycombe: Geoff Bender, "Wyvies", Pinewood Road, Sands, Bucks
- Horwood: Paul Moore, 61 Selsdon Road, SE27
- Streatham: Elaine O'Neill, 47 Amesbury Avenue, SW2
- Wauxhall: Pauline Simpson, 21 Hamlet Court, Cottington Close Est, SE11
- Woolwich: Phil Elliott, 82 Woodhill, SE18
- Rotherham: John Connelly, 22 Bradgate Rd, Rotherham, Yorks
- Stockport: David Barratt, 42 Lisburne Lane, Offerton, Stockport

Heard of train drivers? Well who hasn't, yet what about the other railway workers; the station men, and the trackside workers, the technicians & P Way (track maintenance men) and others? Listening to Sir Sidney Green and his side kicks anyone would think they're a fairly contented lot. As long as we get the pay structure review through, all will be rosy. Stuart, a young assistant technician with B.R. thought otherwise. He is struggling on, surviving doing the Friday and Saturday night overtime, and is typical of the young railway worker struggling through the bureaucratic swamp, trying to live and learn...



"First of all I'm not learning anything where I am, yet they won't move me. I've put in for training and its full up, but when I try for job (promotion) they turn me down because I haven't got enough experience." Training wasn't the only grumble: "No man should have to work overtime, we should work a sort of shift if necessary to cover the work and then this would create full employment" he said.

And funnily enough his ideas on ASLEF weren't exactly what Sir Sidney had been preaching in the press either; "ASLEF are fighting for a basic wage, and if our Union was like ASLEF we'd be all right, although the attitude of some drivers does get us" he said.

More specifically, on the Pay Structure Review, Stuart, along with all the other lads, mainly supported it, but thought that it wasn't enough, especially as he might eventually lose out on it. And what if the Pay Review or the April pay claim was rejected by the Tory Pay board?

"Well, then I'm prepared to go on strike, a general strike if necessary although it must be well organised, we married blokes with kids can't last out long with no money" he said. "But I'm all for the miners too, we should make sure they win. With it becoming more and more clear that the Tory Pay Board aren't going to give the sort of basic wage that even the NUR leaders are demanding, a confrontation seems inevitable. The young workers in industries like the railways will have to become the activists and the organisers, forcing their leaders not to give in, and fighting to replace those who do. To do we must bring all our mates into the branches, turning them into organising units, rather than the sterile agents of Head Office."

WE'RE COMING TO CLACTON!

LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONFERENCE 1974

TURN THE YS AGAINST OUR REFORMIST LEADERS
TUC PREPARE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE
BRING DOWN THE TORY GOVERNMENT LABOUR TAKE STATE POWER