

CHARTIST

LABOUR'S REVOLUTIONARY VOICE

No. 19 MAY 1974

Price 5p

Labour-TUC 'Social Contract'—

A THREAT TO WORKERS

THE 'SOCIAL CONTRACT' has claimed another victim. The engineers' leaders have called off their overtime ban and have settled under the Tory Stage III. This is a blow to the whole trade union movement. The day 'left' Labour minister, Michael Foot, addressed the AUEW National Committee, it was clear that Scanlon and Co. would sell out. As a result, desisive sections of workers are paying for the economic crisis.

The Labour leaders are pushing the fraudulent 'social contract', backed up by the Phase III wage cutting machinery of the last government. The Industrial Relations Act still being law, the engineers now face seizure of all their union's assets for not paying £47,000 compensation to the scab-Con-Mech company. The industrial Relation' Court's arrogant anti-union actions give strength to the employers. How else can British Leyland's offensive at Cowley be explained?

And behind it all is the failure of the Labour leaders to launch an offensive against the employing class. In fact, Labour's back-

tracking is turning into a headlong retreat, with Wilson using his Party's minority position and its massive working class support to bite the hand that feeds him. The excuse is the need to stay in office so as to get a big majority at the next election.

The main instrument of this policy is 'Left' Foot, who has dropped his pledge on picketing rights, said that religious and 'conscientious objectors' need not accept the closed shop and gone out of his way to get the engineers to go to the Industrial Court they have fought against for over two years.

The £10 million refund to the unions is scant compensation when the AUEW can be wound up virtually overnight by the Tory anti-union laws!

Workers did not elect Labour to carry out Heath's policies. Labour has a programme—weak as it is. Why isn't it being carried out? Why is Wilson relying on the bosses instead of mobilising the Labour movement to take the power out of their hands?

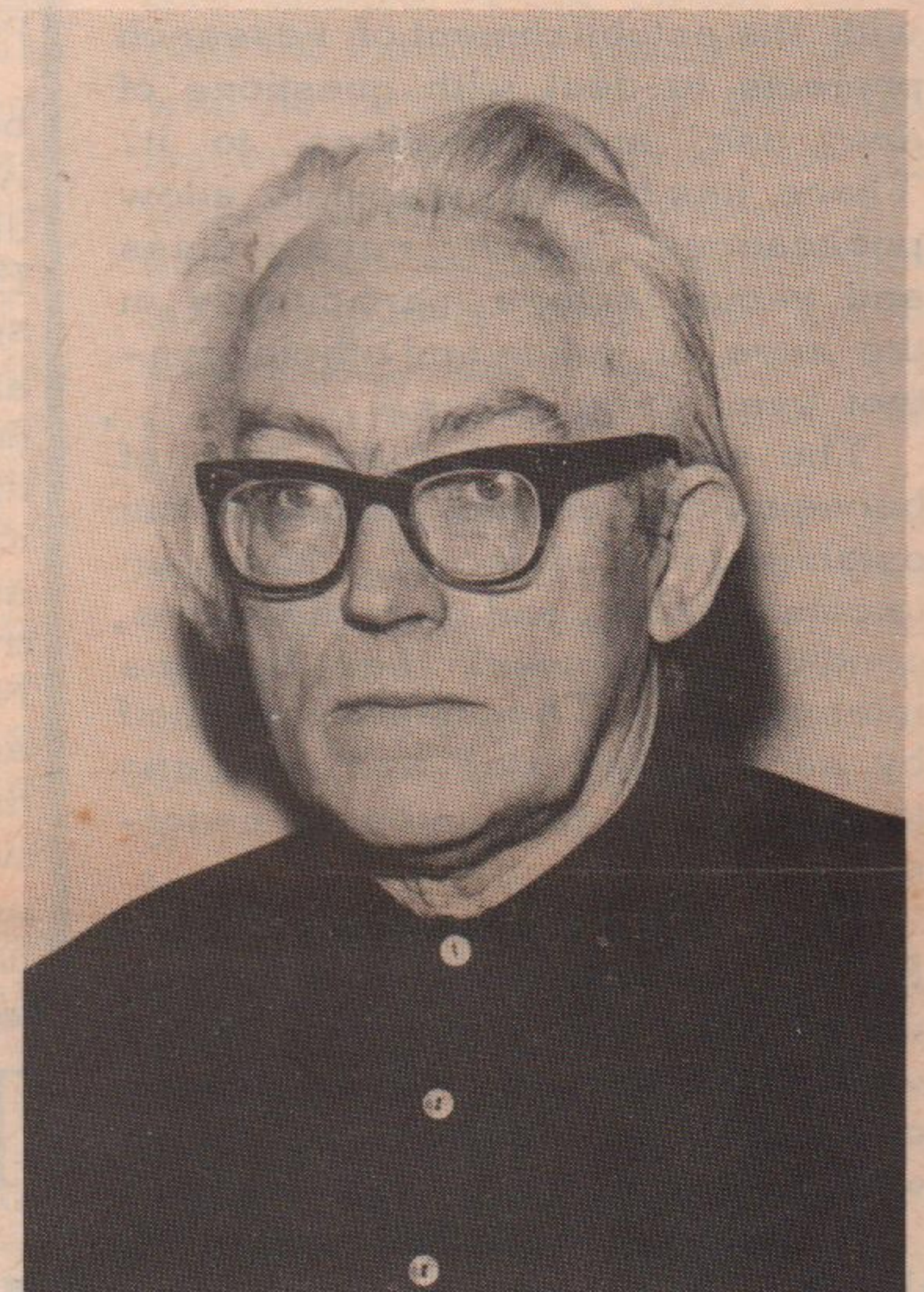
To 'give Labour a chance' is

a dangerous illusion. The employers' plans to destroy the unions have not been dropped, unlike Labour's solemn election pledges.

Foot says the economic crisis is here for years to come. It can be solved in two ways: either at the expense of the rich, through the take-over of big business without any compensation or, as the Tories want, through a bitter onslaught against the working class and its organisations.

The labour movement must halt Labour's retreat now. A recall L.P. conference is now an urgent necessity. Its task will be to call the leadership to account and plan the implementation of Labour's programme as the first step towards a socialist solution of the crisis.

Workers cannot allow Wilson and Foot a free hand. The Industrial struggle must go on. Unions like NALGO and ASLEF who are in the forefront must plan co-ordinated action to win, and link the fight to recall L.P. conference and for the end of all Tory policies currently being operated by



MICHAEL FOOT

Labour, especially state control of wages and the battery of anti-union laws. This crisis is the responsibility of capitalism. It is capitalism which must pay for it.

T. Dan Smith, Cunningham, Short:

Why Is Wilson Preventing NEC Enquiry?

THE RECENT convictions of leading North-East Labour Party men, T. Dan Smith and Andrew Cunningham for their involvement in the Poulson corruption scandal bears out the consistent CHARTIST campaign for a Labour Party inquiry. Smith and Cunningham now admit to having been paid substantial sums to persuade local Labour Councils to give Poulson development contracts. The questions raised by us at the last Party Conference and in the November 1973 CHARTIST about the position of Edward Short (deputy leader of the Labour Party) are intensified by Smith's T.V. statements about employing Short as a public relations consultant back in 1963. Smith said "I remember specifically one occasion

with Ted Short when he was going on some foreign trip when I asked him if there were any interesting housing propositions, would be let me know." Short has now admitted receiving £250 "expenses" from Smith.

Smith also implicated ex-Tory deputy leader Reginald Maudling, whose links with Poulson and Smith were close over many years. Meanwhile Lord George Brown, had the gall to turn up at the Leeds trial to describe Cunningham as 'one of the outstandingly forthright, courageous, solid and loyal men I have met throughout my political life.'

Wilson's refusal to hold an NEC enquiry into corruption in the L.P. has permitted the anti-Labour witch-hunt now being whipped-up

by the capitalist Press. The Royal Commission is no solution. It is a complete capitulation to the Tories who themselves are stained with the Lohro and Lambton scandals, and Maudling's involvement with Poulson.

The new revelations increase the importance of Independent Labour M.P. Ted Milne's lonely fight for an investigation into corruption in the Labour Party, and to Joe Ashton, M.P.'s proposal for a compulsory register of MP's business interests, like the Wilson 'land reclamation' affair. Corruption rumours are a golden opportunity for the Tory press to discredit the Labour Party. This sort of cancer must be rooted out by the ranks of our movement. How can we expect Labour and

Back Clay Cross Conference

A NATIONAL conference of constituency Labour Parties and trade unions throughout Britain to discuss the Governments' refusal to reimburse the Clay Cross councillors will be held at Central Hall, Westminster on June 8th.

The conference will mobilise support for the Clay Cross stand in order to uphold the decision of last October's Labour Party Conference, which has been abandoned by the Wilson Government.

CLAY CROSS...SEE PAGE 7

Trade Union leaders to fight the Tories when they are hand in glove with them in private business enterprises?

Inside: CHILE SPECIAL FEATURE

A.S.T.M.S. Dispute

THE CURRENT dispute between the social science staff in the Drug Addiction Research Unit at the Institute of Psychiatry and its administration, again forces to the surface the old conflicts between university bureaucrats and information which conflicts with their interests.

In September, 1973, the Institute in London University began a process of eliminating academic staff who had come to the conclusion that the medical hierarchy was seriously mismanaging research into the "drugs problem". The staff were sociologists and social psychiatrists. Further, they were all ASTMS activists, and given that the first moves against them coincided with a major recruiting drive, members of the Institute, and union branch, recognized that an anti-union victimization campaign was underway.

The sociologists involved argue that there has been interference with the establishment of research projects to deal with questions of drug use and reactions to it. There has been a refusal to allow publications which reveal class and racial factors, particularly in the area of police and official control over drug users.

The staff state that this type of bureaucratic control restricts the establishment of facts, however uncomfortable, and that, therefore, conditions of work had become intolerable. The Institute replied by sacking the staff and refusing to recognize the union in negotiating the question.

The ASTMS branch involved—S.E. London Medical—has backed the position that a project funded with £700,000 of public money could not be allowed to vanish without trace and its staff sacked.

Following industrial action by the ASTMS members at the Institute, the administration has now agreed to a full independent enquiry and is considering agreement to a Negotiating Procedure with the union, which will mean recognition of ASTMS.

TEACHERS: London Allowance Link the Struggles

BY JOHN CONNOLLY (ATTI)

THE NUT half-day strike and lobby of Parliament on 29th April is to be cautiously welcomed as an intensification of action to achieve a £350 p.a. London allowance. Coming on top of NALGO's selective strikes, this represents a further blow at the Labour Government's attempt to faithfully defend the Tories' pay laws.

If the run-down in vital services—education, transport, public utilities etc.—is to be halted, the legitimate demands of the various unions involved must be met in full now—not when the Pay Board reports.

The meeting held at Congress House in March of the various unions involved in London claims, called at the initiative of the ATTI (Association of Teachers and Technical Institutions), represented a small step towards the necessary unity of the individual unions. The rank-and-file must demand that the leaders hold a further meeting to hammer out a

THE CHARTIST

Monthly Journal of the Socialist Charter Movement.

Editor: M. Davis, 82 Loughborough Rd, London SW9. 01-733-8953

THE NEWS OF THE Special Branch infiltration into the axed Strachans' engineering factory in Eastleigh, Hants, provides yet another glimpse of the spying activities of the secret police.

The allegations came after admissions by management that they permitted a Special Branch detective to operate in the factory, spy on workers and gather information on their political views. According to management the S.B. had been in contact with Strachans' since August last year, and surveillance operations were intensified during the five week occupation of the plant. Workers had been sitting-in to defend their jobs, following the decision of the parent company, Giltspur Investment, to close the factory and the sister plant at neighbouring Hamble.

But clearly the secret meetings between management and detectives, the 'commercial traveller' disguise used by the Special Branch to infiltrate the factory and spy on leading militants, plus allegations about 'political motivation' and 'outside forces', is but the tip of an iceberg of ruling class espionage and surveillance of workers and socialists throughout the country. The company accountant, Norman Grist, who had been acting as a link-man also admitted three other factories were being watched as political targets. The entire exercise has rightly been condemned by the Strachans'

workers as a serious attack on democratic rights. It is also a sinister warning to the whole Labour movement. If political police have been operating at Strachans' for over six months, how many other factories and workplaces must they be active in? The spying on workers at Strachans' is not an isolated incident but one that forms part of an integrated network of investigations being carried out by the secret agencies of the capitalist state on trade unionists and militants everywhere.

In January, the 'Times' carried an article which revealed that the American CIA was working in British trade unions and gathering information on so-called "subversive elements". It is also widely known that during the 1972 dockers' and building workers' strikes huge spying and surveillance operations were mounted to monitor the activities of the strikers. In fact the dossier compiled against building workers was used as evidence to try and imprison the "Shrewsbury" building workers this year.

In short these 'Intelligence' operations being carried out by the crisis-torn British ruling-class

indicate the detailed preparations being made to wage all-out war against the Labour movement.

The 'counter-insurgency' theories of reactionary generals like Calvert and Skinner and Brigadier Kitson, are not just idle musings but ideas that are actually being put into practice at the present time. Workers have only to look at Northern Ireland with its SAS-hired killers and bombers and spies of the Littlejohn variety to find further proof of this. These are the lengths the bankers and monopoly capitalists are prepared to go to in order to defend their wealth, privilege and power in a period of deep crisis for their system.

The complicity of the Labour Government with these operations must be ended forthwith. Fine speeches have been made by Michael Foot and other leading Labourites on the defence of democratic liberties—now is the time for action.

- Open the Special Branch files to inspection by the Labour movement.
- Take immediate action to disband the secret police.
- Expel the CIA.

TUC tells local government workers not to press claim

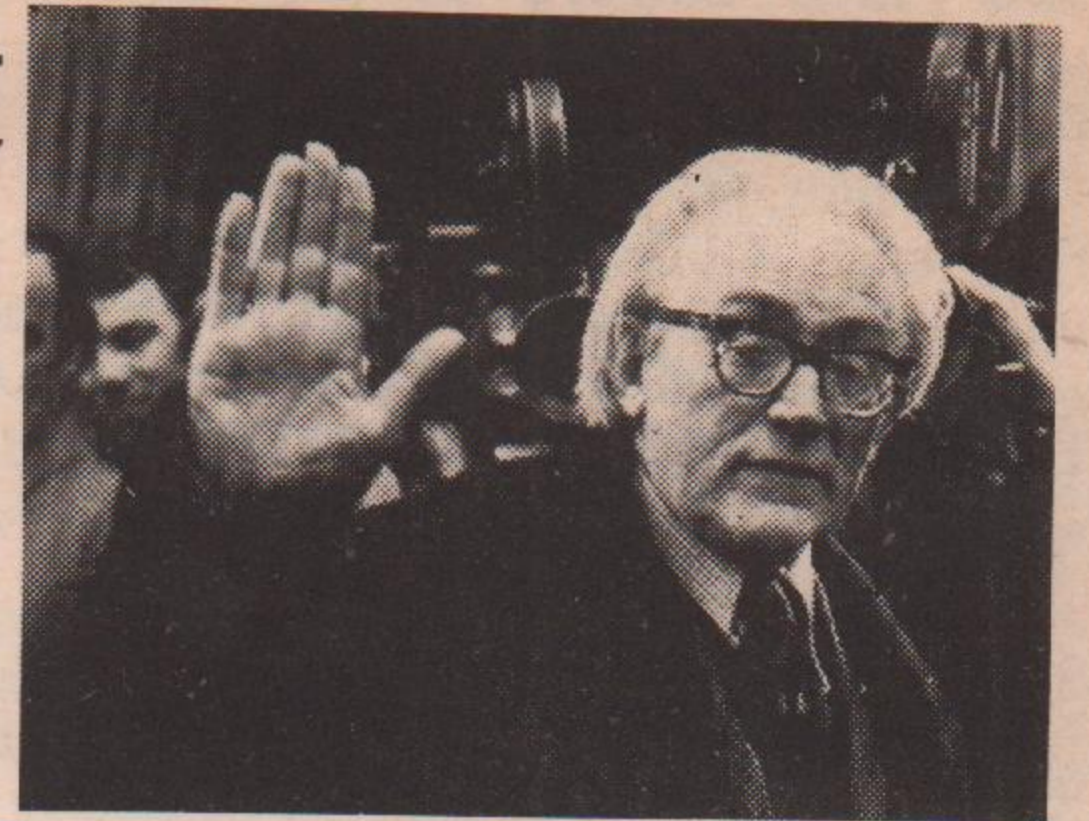
BY A NALGO MEMBER

FOLLOWING A LOBBY of NALGO members outside its headquarters, the NALGO NEC on 19th April, rejected the TUC's request to call off industrial action in support of the claim for a £400 increase in London Weighting. The TUC had told NALGO that to press the claim would endanger the 'social contract' with the Labour government. In reply, NALGO has pointed

out that the claim was lodged thirteen months ago, the Allowance was last increased in 1971 and the agreement expired in April 1973.

In a petition to the TUC, thousands of NALGO members have dissociated themselves with any 'social contract' until the Labour Government has abolished the Industrial Relations Act, the Pay Board and Phase 3. As part of its campaign, NALGO banned all voluntary duties for the local elections on 2nd May and appealed to all trade unionists not to man the election and not to cross NALGO picket lines at 'swearing-in' ceremonies. Because of the danger of legal action, NALGO was not officially picketing polling stations and the count.

The NEC's slow escalation of industrial action is exasperating NALGO members. The Islington Branch of NALGO (the only Branch on all-out strike) has demanded the NEC call out all NALGO members in the Inner London Boroughs. Isolated selective industrial action is seen as a means of demoralising members and not as the way to win the claim. The London Labour Authorities have in public continued to express their sympathy for the claim but under no circumstances they have



Foot: no to NALGO

said, will they go against Phase 3. Behind the political facade of support, Tower Hamlets Council (100% Labour) has threatened to send staff home who are on overtime ban and those who refuse to do the work of colleagues on strike.

A boost for NALGO came from the decision of the NUT to have a half-day strike of London teachers on 29th April 1974, and to ballot its members to ascertain support for prolonged strike action.

NALGO and NUT members recall the pledge of the Labour Party manifesto that a priority would be given to the restoration of services caused by the staffing crisis in London. Now they are being told, as they were by the Tories, that they must only begin to negotiate after the Pay Board reports at the end of June, with little prospect of any settlement until October at the earliest. The fight for London weighting is against the Labour Government and its adherence to the Tory machinery for wage control.

LEYLAND CRISIS COWLEY STEWARD VICTIMISED

BRITISH LEYLAND (BLMC), which netted £52 million profit last year is in acute crisis. Its chairman, Lord Stokes, forecast heavy losses this year, with sales down by £100 million. This is due to the 3 day week brought in by Stokes' Tory friends. Yet, BLMC's bosses insist workers are paid too much for producing too little. As a remedy, they have resorted to provocation at the Cowley, Oxford plant where workers' resistance has been fiercest.

First, Marina assembly lines were speeded up, in breach of agreement, from 25 to 30 cars an hour, backed up by work study. The assembly men struck. John Symonds, the Cowley plant director, issued an ultimatum: work harder or be sacked. This split the workers, who returned in confusion.

Next, management broke an agreement with internal drivers and withdrew recognition from their shop steward, Alan Thornett of the Transport & General Workers Union, who is the plant's deputy senior steward. This is a wholesale attack on union organisation. The employers claim the right to choose the workers' representatives.

Defending union rights, the BLMC combine stewards committee and the transport section drivers have backed Thornett. The 150 Cowley drivers are on strike and the plant is at a stand-

still, with 12,500 laid off.

The struggle has caused some strange creatures to surface. A right-wing group—the Organisation to Represent Moderate Opinion—is pressing for the resignation of leading militants, including Thornett. Also, with lavish publicity from the gutter press, a group of workers' wives is demanding the dismissal of militants. The Tory press is delirious about this reactionary development. Sample headlines: "Furious wives of Cowley" (Daily Mail) and "Wives strike back" (daily Express).

The victimisation fight is crucial. Stokes wants to smash resistance to speed-up, in order to make BLMC more competitive. Unless he is repulsed, BLMC workers could suffer like Ford workers did when the employers wrecked the union in the early '60's. The fight must be intensified. Jack Jones, TGWU leader, must call strike action to defend his members of Cowley, instead of advertising the TUC's class collaborationist 'social contract'. A combine-wide strike must be organised to secure Thornett's immediate reinstatement.

British Leyland is a monument to capitalist bankruptcy, though the press does not mention that. If it cannot function without jeopardising workers' jobs through planned management provocation and attacks on union rights and gains then Labour must nationalise it without compensation under workers' control and management.

ASLEF claim side-tracked into arbitration

ONCE AGAIN the ASLEF leaders are attempting to side-track drivers in their fight for a higher basic rate of pay. After two years of negotiation, including two bouts of industrial action the claim has been to arbitration.

The situation on the railways is one of increasing staff shortages particularly around the London area, with many trains being cancelled. Even the Railways Board recognised this fact when, in their submission to the Railway Staff National Tribunal, they stated that they needed to offer pay and conditions sufficiently attractive to recruit and retain the staff they need. There are now over 12,000 essential vacancies on the railways, with the main shortage being in the Guards grades. There are also over 100 unfilled drivers positions around the London area.

The British Railways Board asked the Tribunal to give careful consideration to the question of classification of drivers, a devious approach which train drivers, and ASLEF, reject. The NUR accepts the need for classification.

The ASLEF submissions drew particular attention to the increas-

ed skill, responsibility and strain which was being placed on the drivers through the higher speeds at which trains now run. The intensification of working particularly in suburban areas, which, with other factors, now means that a man who became a driver at the age of 30 and carried on until 55 or 60 had a six to ten per cent chance of being retired from work because of hyperintensive disease.

British Rail drivers and other grades are the worst paid in Western Europe. The European unions have concentrated on obtaining the highest pay rates possible for the driver and then trying to bring the rates of pay of other grades up to the drivers. A large measure of the responsibility for the situation facing rail-workers in Britain rests on the NUR leaders who have tried to use the worst paid rail workers as their guide lines for wage increases.

Many ASLEF members attended the hearings and showed their support for the case being presented. However the general feeling was that if the arbitration Tribunal failed to recommend a substantial increase in the basic rates, "1955 will look small com-



Engineers lobby employers before the Phase Three deal

A.U.E.W. VOTE MEANS

PAY FIGHT COLLAPSES

THE ENGINEERING pay dispute is now over, the claim for a basic rate of £35 for a 35 hour week having been sold down the river. The settlement followed a decision by the National Committee of the AUEW, by 27 votes to 25, to get the best possible settlement within Phase 3. As a result, craftsmen will get a £7 a week increase in two stages, the first immediately and the second on March 1st, 1975. Unskilled rates for men and women are to rise by £2.75. The demand for a reduced working week—something inflation can't take away—flew out of the window. The decision came only two weeks after the overtime ban in support of the original claim had begun.

The settlement marks a major retreat by the AUEW leaders, and one for which Union President Hugh Scanlon must take a large share of the responsibility. On the Committee he refused to make any recommendations to reject the employer's offer, and said that the union should save its energies to fight the threat from the NIRC.

The many Communist Party delegates and supporters on the Committee similarly failed to give

a clear lead to engineers or call for an intensification of industrial action. When Employment Secretary Michael Foot called for "a year of industrial peace", he met with no criticism from the 'left' leaders. Yet such calls can only politically disarm workers at a time when employers are mounting a ruthless offensive against wages and conditions and using a 15%+ inflation rate to erode living standards.

The engineers' leaders also shelved calls for a £50 week minimum rate for craftsmen. Scanlon told the National Committee that, when formulating the next claim it should take account of pension increases, rent control, food subsidies and other policies of the Government. "In recognizing the contribution these things make to our everyday life is not to deny the need for collective bargaining, but all delegates should recognize their priorities", he told the National Committee.

This can only further boost the treacherous Labour-TUC 'social contract' which is patently designed to ensure workers pay for the inflationary crisis of capitalism.

DONALDSON ATTACKS A.U.E.W.

"ON 28th MARCH THE COURT made an award of £47,000 as compensation for unfair industrial practices on the part of the union. We have evidence that a spokesman for the union reacted by saying that the money would not be paid, and that all possible steps would be taken to prevent the award being enforced. Although such an attitude is certainly unreasonable and might also be regarded as arrogant and irresponsible, it is a clear sign of ignorance of the Court's power and purpose. If such ignorance

is compared to what will happen now." But ASLEF leaders should be making clear to drivers that so long as the Labour Government continues to retain and use Tory wage controls, all-out strike action on the lines of 1955 will be a pre-condition for winning the full claim. The Wilson-Buckton deal before the General Election has allowed inflation still more time to eat into drivers wages. Now is the time to act.

exists, it is right that we should dispel it at once."

ible, it may have been an instant and So said Sir John Donaldson, President of the National Industrial Relations Court, as he ordered the AUEW to pay the award of £47,000 to Con-Mech Engineers by April 29th, and threatened the union with the seizure of all its assets, if it failed to do so.

In response to this, Michael Foot, Labour's Minister for Employment, has advised the engineering union to reverse its policy of refusing to appear before the NIRC, and to attend the court's next hearing of the Con-Mech case. This is a scandalous abrogation of Foot's own responsibilities. Why hasn't he ensured that the Industrial Relations Act was repealed, and the NIRC scrapped, immediately, instead of leaving trade union to be subject to the dictates of Donaldson and Co. till at least the middle of June? Why doesn't he pledge the Labour Government to repay all the fines taken from the unions by the NIRC?

LABOUR:

CANCEL THE WARSHIPS NOW!

- NOT A PENNY, NOT A GUN FOR THE CHILEAN GENERALS!
- OPEN THE DOORS TO ALL POLITICAL REFUGEES!
- BREAK ALL DIPLOMATIC MILITARY AND TRADE LINKS NOW!
- SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE!

INTERROGATION-centres and concentration camps. That's what frigates are used for in Chile since the coup. And that's what the Labour Government is hell-bent on supplying to the Chilean military junta today. The ships are useful to the military gaolers because, amongst other things, the tortured bodies of inmates, once dead, can be thrown overboard and quickly disappear.

Treachery

The depth of the treachery of Wilson and Callaghan in this matter almost defies description. The Chilean junta seized power last September in perhaps the bloodiest coup in the history of Latin America. Not only did the generals brazenly overthrow a democratically-elected Government which had the overwhelming backing of the working class. They bombed the Palace of President Allende from the air, massacred students wholesale in some universities, shot on the spot thousands of workers guarding their factories in the industrial districts, outlawed the Chilean "TUC" (the CUT) along with all trade unions and left political parties, slashed wages, lengthened the working week—and imprisoned, tortured and slowly executed many hundreds of men and women for no crime other than that they'd belonged to a political party which had supported the previous democratically-elected Government.

Britain - Junta's Ally

In the months after this massacre, Tory Britain stood out as the special friend of the blood-stained generals. Out of all the embassies of the Common Market countries, Britain's was the only one in Santiago which refused asylum to those seeking to escape torture and death at the generals' hands. Fleeing trade unionists and socialists were met at the embassy doors with armed guards and policemen who turned them away to their deaths. Britain continued to supply the generals with Hawker Hunter jet fighters—the very planes used to bomb workers' districts and the Palace of President Allende during the coup. Chilean naval personnel continued to be trained in Britain, particularly in the use of equipment supplied by this country. Two Chilean navy destroyers (the Riveros and Williams) have been undergoing extensive refits at the Swan Hunter yard on Tyneside. And now, to cap everything, the Labour Government is going ahead with the sale to the

junta of two frigates and two submarines.

Labour's Name

Have Wilson and Callaghan the slightest mandate from the labour movement to do this? They have none. 1973 Labour Party Conference agreed unanimously that a Labour Government would ban all arms shipments to Chile. All statements by Labour leaders up to the election affirmed this stand. By reversing it now, our leaders are shamelessly besmirching the Labour Party's name in the eyes of workers all over the world.

Back Heffer

They must be stopped and called to account. Full support to Eric Heffer in his denunciation of the deal! It was Heffer's



ERIC HEFFER

action above all, in breaching the reactionary principle of 'Ministerial collective responsibility', that has opened up the split from the top and given leadership to the revolt from below. Would Party Secretary Ron Hayward have dared denounce the deal had Heffer not spoken out? Probably not—or at least not in such clear terms. Now the ground has been cut from under the feet of the right wing in Labour Parties and trade unions throughout the country.

Mass Campaign

The Scottish TUC has unanimously condemned the deal. Liverpool dockers are stepping up the backing of all arms shipments to Chile. Rolls-Royce workers at the East Kilbride plant in Scotland have blacked all work on eight Avon jet engines sent from Chile for servicing. A massive campaign is beginning to unfold to ensure that not one ship, plane, tank or weapon ordered by the junta leaves this country.

Chris Knight

CHILE: M.I.R. MILITANT SPEAKS

The interview below was given to the CHARTIST in Europe by an accredited spokesman of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), whose name is withheld for security reasons. A second part of the interview will appear next month.

Q How difficult is it for comrades such as yourself to escape Chile?

A For those attempting to escape repression, there are 2 ways to get out of the country. First by means of asylum in a foreign Embassy or U.N. refugee camp. Not all the Embassies have behaved in the same way. Some, like the British Embassy, for example, following the instructions of the Conservative government at that time, turned down every

plea for asylum. On the other hand, embassies were not very safe places either. More than once the military shot at people in the embassies, as occurred in the Argentinian one for example, where they managed to kill a comrade. In any case, the possibility of obtaining asylum is now finished because the Junta put an end to the safe conduct passes a month ago. Official versions confirm that 8,726 people have left the country in this way, without counting the 250 people that are still in embassies in Santiago today and who have been refused safe conduct passes.

The other way is by trying to leave the country as if you were going on holiday or business abroad, but the Junta has multiplied the controls on travellers

The M.I.R. and the CHARTIST

The MIR is the party which, during the period of Allende's Government, was persistently denounced by the reformist Communist Party for organising peasants and shanty-town dwellers, 'subverting' the ranks of the armed forces, initiating armed workers' defence groups and demanding the arming of the working class to forestall a coup.

In a recent publication, the MIR correctly attributes the defeat of the Popular Unity Government to "the historical mistake of reformist policies" In particular:

"During a period of intensification of the workers' movement and the ensuing social polarization, a persistent search for an alliance with a fraction of the bourgeoisie weakened and disarmed the power of the workers' movement and transferred its strength and initiative to the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries."

Unfortunately, it seems the MIR itself is now engaged in just such a "persistent search for an alliance with a fraction of the bourgeoisie", for in the resistance struggle today it is limiting its "immediate objectives"—in the interests of an alliance with "progressive" Christian Democrats—to a bourgeois 'minimum programme'. After the above passage we read:

"The immediate objectives against the dictatorship are: To encourage the struggle for a minimum platform that would put forward the re-establishment of democratic freedoms and defence of the masses' living standards, developing a campaign for an increase wages according to the 100% of inflation. The formation of a political front for the anti-gorilla resistance, including all the forces of the left and a sector of the Christian Democrat Party."

This is indistinguishable from the "Popular Frontism" of the Communist Party! There is only one way to win, eventually, that

sector of the working class which today supports the Christian Democrats. It is NOT to patch up a programmatic agreement with the CD leaders—any of them. On the contrary, it is to fight resolutely with the poorest sectors of the peasantry and with the working-class vanguard on the basis of their class demands, which are immediately anti-capitalist, and must alienate even the most 'radical' of the Christian Democrat leaders if firmly pressed. Only along this road will it be possible to break the widest sectors of the oppressed from their present leaders as the precondition for a successful outcome of the struggle against the Junta. Of course, this does not preclude unity in action with dissatisfied sectors of the bourgeoisie or its parties against the Junta at any particular stage. On the contrary, it is the duty of a revolutionary leadership to exploit to the utmost all splits within the enemy class. But programmatic unity and 'political fronts' of any kind, which MUST involve concessions to bourgeois interests in the immediate struggle, can only dampen and demoralise the independent class-activity of the working class and pave the ground for new, yet more catastrophic defeats.

SOLIDARITY

It should be emphasised that CHARTISTS completely solidarise materially with the MIR militants in their struggles against repression, that we have the deepest admiration for their record of organisation, resistance and self-sacrifice both before and after the coup, and that—despite fraternal criticisms—we greet these comrades as fellow fighters of the working class. It is through the honest clash of ideas within this framework that the revolutionary movement internationally can clarify its positions and, by degrees, gain the unity and strength to learn from its defeats and conquer the world.

and many who tried to get out this way have simply disappeared. But the problem is not only escaping from Chile: the main problems are where to live, how to get a job or scholarship, etc. etc. Thousands and thousands of Chileans are 'parked' at the moment in different countries and especially Latin America hoping to solve this problem urgently. We really appreciate and found very positive the declaration of Mr. Callaghan and his government, differing openly with the previous government, when he stated that the situations of these comrades would be studied.

Lastly, we would like to explain the position of the MIR. None of its militants are allowed to leave Chile: they all have to stay and struggle there. Only by permission and for concrete tasks can a militant leave the country. This is not an exhibitionist attitude as some have tried to imply; it is a political decision. If we have warned during the three years about the coup, we can hardly leave the country after it. We think that it is of great importance to be coherent—not for 'external effects' but for what coherence means from a political point of view for the continuity of the struggle in Chile.

Q What mistakes did Allende make? Did not the U.P. doom itself when it agreed to work within the framework of the bourgeois state, holding that this would 'lay the basis' for the transition to socialism? Shouldn't it have made its immediate programmatic objective the socialization of the economy and the working class conquest of state power?

A What happened in Chile could happen to any capitalist country with a bourgeois democracy when the ruling class sees itself threatened and cornered by the advanced organisation of the masses.

To our understanding, the only way to neutralise or destroy this 'natural reaction' of the ruling class is by leaning on the mass movement and especially on the working class, strengthening

and developing its level of consciousness and mobilization, encouraging new forms of organisation capable of becoming real alternatives of power to face the bourgeois state, preparing the mass movement to assume all forms of struggle which are necessary in order to defend and impose its interests.

We were not against the use of certain instruments to which there is access within the bourgeois institutions, which are by no means few in number when you are actually a constitutionally elected government. Nevertheless, we consider that this 'use' has its limits and that definitely, the main struggle is together with the mass movement, using the situation of actually being the government to fortify the mass movement in its struggle for power and not subordinating it to a supposed glowing infallibility of the Government.

Q But wouldn't you agree that you soft-pedalled in your public attacks on President Allende's policy of wooing the Generals, of guaranteeing not to 'interfere' in the internal structure of the Armed Services and so on?

A No. One thing is what Allende says in Parliament. Another thing is what the parties actually do. I don't think Allende himself could have said anything different. The task of clarifying to the masses the character of the armed forces and the actual work with the armed forces were of vital importance to the political parties. The MIR didn't stop warning throughout the three years that the bourgeoisie would not sit in their houses waiting for the arrival of socialism, that the bourgeoisie would attack and would use the instrument that it created for this: the Armed Forces. The MIR did not stop denouncing the plots and actions of the putschist militarists. Neither did we stop attacking the conciliators between the Government and these putschist gentlemen. During the 3 years the MIR used a campaign directed specially to the Armed Forces, especially to the soldiers, non-commissioned officers and troops. When the connection of the putschist military with the right wing became more

public, especially in the last 6 months, the MIR intensified its campaign calling upon the non-putschist military to disobey their officers' orders and to line up with the people.

The MIR initiated, within the limits of its resources, work with the democratic and progressive sectors within the Armed Forces. In the navy, for example, a few weeks before the coup, many sailors were arrested and tortured. Their only crime was their fidelity to the legal government and their disposition to put an end to a putschist offensive. Miguel Enriquez Carlos Altamirano and Oscar Garretón, secretary generals of the MIR, SP and MAPU respectively, were accused of promoting subversion in the navy. The three left-wing leaders acknowledged their participation in various meetings with sailors and based their attitude on the necessity to stop and destroy those that were really acting illegally: the putschists.

It was important to defend the government and its stability, and the MIR did this, but bearing in mind clearly that the real stability of the government depended on fortifying the mass movement. During the 3 years of Popular Unity, we never stopped criticising the reformist deviations that finally led to the temporary defeat of the mass movement and the fall of the government. Within its resources, the MIR also initiated an alternative within the mass movement, together with revolutionary sectors of the Popular Unity, which would be able to impose itself upon the reformist deviations and confront the right wing threat. This alternative did not become sufficiently strong and the concrete proof was that as a result the coup was successful. Our self-criticism is in this sense and not in any other.

Q How is the struggle against the Junta being organised in Chile now?

A Well, at this moment the character of the struggle is mainly defensive. The main task is to reorganise the left wing parties and adapt them to clandestine conditions, re-organising the mass movement and especially the working class, the only class capable of leading the resistance struggle.

Another important task is to develop all possible means of

ideological struggle against the Junta, which at this moment is controlling the whole of the mass media. We think that in Chile today objective conditions are beginning to appear in which it will be possible to form a large social and political bloc, under the leadership of the working class, which could overthrow the Junta. The foundation of this bloc must lie around 2 tactical tasks: the struggle for the living conditions of the masses and the struggle for the defence of democratic liberties, which in this situation, (it is important to state directly) are tied to the interests of the working class. Beginning and organising what is today the feeling of the majority against the Junta, the resistance movement will be able to pass to more advanced forms of struggle and to culminate with the armed struggle of the masses—the overthrow of the Junta and the conquest of power for the working class. The important thing is to develop all possible forms of struggle, co-ordinating and prioritising, depending on the correlation of forces.

Q Many criticisms have been made of the MIR for seeking agreement with the Christian Democrats. How would you answer this?

A As I have already emphasised at this moment it is important to reorganise the working class. Only from this standpoint is it possible to approach the question of alliance. We are not looking for an alliance with the Christian Democracy, nor do we consider that the Christian Democracy, as a party should be incorporated in the resistance. Nevertheless we cannot deny that the C.D. can count on important popular support, especially from petit bourgeois elements but also from the workers. It has also has leader cadres who, ever since the coup, have expressed their open opposition to the Junta. We feel that it is the task of the left to attract these sectors towards revolutionary positions and the resistance movement. We believe in working with the rank and file of the social support of the C.D. In the first place, and in the perspective of what I've said before, with their working class sectors, but also with the petit-bourgeoisie to the extent that it enters into growing contradiction with the Junta.

27.4.74.



Santiago, September 11, 1973.



WORLD ROUND

PORTUGAL

Prelude to Workers' Revolution?

AT FIRST SIGHT, Portugal's 'revolution' seems puzzling. A left-wing army coup? A reactionary monocol General releasing workers' leaders from prison?

But the explanation is really quite simple. As always in a military dictatorship, all conflicting

political and class forces in Caetano's Portugal had to fight matters out primarily within the armed forces themselves. Portugal's business community had become increasingly dissatisfied with the disastrously expensive wars in Africa. They hoped for a compromise which would let them concentrate on the Common Market as a better source of profit.

In his now-famous book, Spínola gave voice to this prevailing mood. Meanwhile other Generals feared the threat posed by even the slightest military let-up in Africa. To concede a military near-defeat there, they realized, would also undermine the authority of the

military in Portugal itself.

These same Generals, moreover, sensed the dangers of any kind of "liberalization" in Portugal, whose middle class is extremely weak in relation to the potentially explosive forces of the working class and peasantry.

Under pressure from these far-right generals, the Caetano regime resolved to nip the threatened revolution in the bud. General Spínola was dismissed. A purge of "liberal" army officers was begun. Self-preservation—and the need to contain the anger of the lower ranks—now dictated that these officers hit back, even though to do so meant going far beyond their original aims.

To assure success meant exploiting the grievances of Portugal's 9 million population. There was plenty to work on. Consuming half the annual national budget, the African wars have been starving the country of schools, hospitals and social services, and pushed the 1973 trade deficit to the unheard-of figure of £470 million.

Inflation has hit Portugal especially severely, and workers' pay and conditions are amongst the lowest in Europe. University unrest has become persistent; but discontent has been strongest of all in the working class, from whom of course come the rank-and-file of the armed forces.

General Spínola was not prepared to rest on the working class to consolidate a coup. Neither was any other General or officer above the rank of captain. So the initiative slipped to the junior officers, closer to the working class "other ranks", whose restiveness was threatening to get out of control. The young officers organized the coup and secured Spínola's endorsement of it after the event.

By releasing political prisoners, arresting members of the DGS (secret police), legalizing political parties and so on, the rebels assured themselves of the support of the working class and swiftly clinched their victory.

The consequences of this political revolution will be immense. It could prove the first stone in an avalanche of revolution in Africa which will sweep the South African and Rhodesian regimes off the face of the earth. For Spain, Europe and the whole western capitalist world, the consequences could be as great.

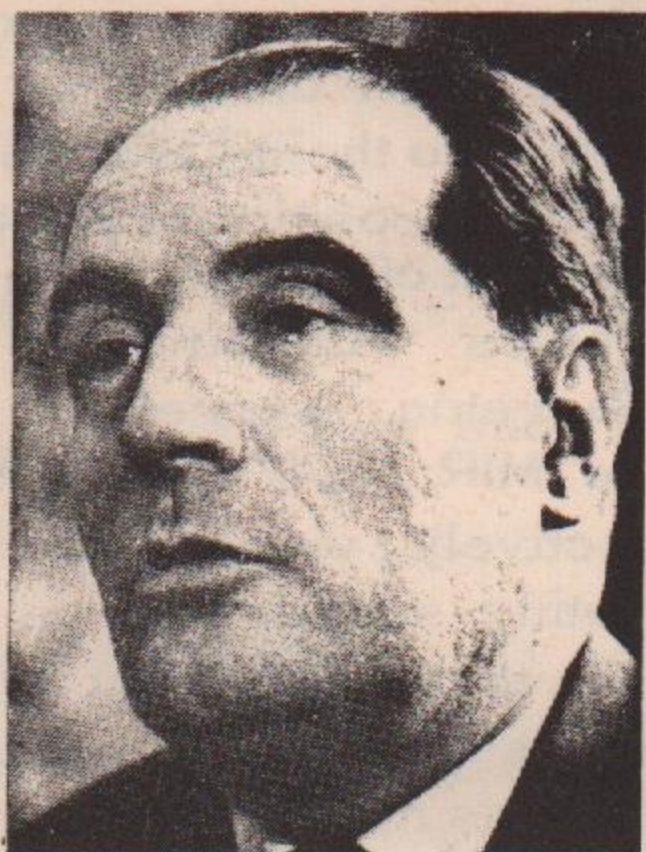
In Portugal itself, the task of conquering full power is now posed immediately before the working class. The workers' mass parties—the Socialist Party and the Communist Party—must AT ONCE break from their alliance with Spínola. No support to the Junta! No entry into the Provisional Government! An IMMEDIATE Constituent Assembly! Form committees of servicemen in the Armed Forces! All officers to be elected! Disband the standing army! All arms, all finance, all industry and all power to the mass workers' parties and organizations! Any other policy will lead to a right wing military coup and a massacre along Chilean lines.

By Chris Knight

FRANCE

GAULLISM IN CRISIS

by Martin Cook



Francois Mitterand

THE COMING French presidential elections show that Gaullism is almost on its knees, split in several directions with no idea how to go on. These splits, due both to political divisions and personal ambition, prevented the late President Pompidou nominating an accepted successor before his recent death. Thus there are two main right-wing candidates. The "liberal" ex-Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas and Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, now also posing as a great reformer (calling for equal pay for women, better pensions and social services) in a vote-catching gimmick.

Meanwhile, the relative economic 'boom', which kept the Gaullist UDR a solid majority in the 1973 parliamentary elections, has vanished amid rocketing inflation, blamed by the Government on the so-called "energy crisis".

All this gives the left its best chance since General de Gaulle's system of personal rule was established under threat of an army coup in 1958. The 'Union of the Left' candidate, ex-liberal Francois Mitterand of the Socialist Party, needs at all costs an overall majority on the first ballot before the right can pool its forces for the run-off. There is

a real chance of this but no thanks to Mitterand. He is busy building an image as a "moderate", watering down the Left Union's programme so it's hardly better than the Gaullists', and conducting behind-the-scenes talks with Chaban Delmas. Mitterand's willingness to continue the regime of personal power based on the hated Fifth Republic Constitution, has not met with any major criticism from the Socialist Party or Communist Party leaders. Eagerness to maintain the alliance with the Left Radicals ensures this.

The French Communist Party seems quite happy to tag along with Mitterand's wretched shilly-shallying. It has never demanded that the Left candidate should be C.P. leader Georges Marchais, though the C.P. have a bigger base in the French labour movement. It is trying to prove itself 'respectable' to the capitalists and the 'floating voters'. But meanwhile, at a time of escalating strikes against inflation and redundancy, the C.P. led CGT trade

union has put on a show of militancy. This is mainly reserved for local, defensive struggles against redundancy—particularly at the Rateau turbine factory at La Courneuve in the Paris 'Red Belt', where an all-out sit-in strike was called. What the CGT leaders do not do is mobilize large sectors of workers in the key industries in an offensive to smash through inflation and guarantee jobs for all. This would inevitably mean going beyond the normal trade union routine and linking with the directly political battle to bring down the Gaullists. It would also challenge the whole basis of capitalist rule in France, something the CP and SP leaders are not prepared to do.

The best way to ensure a thumping left majority in the elections—and thus open up a real political crisis—is not to play down workers' struggles, but to organise them for an assault on the real power of French capital. The national bank workers strike and others should be extended and intensified. With such a movement against the bosses, sections such as the shopkeepers and small farmers (now being coven to the wall despite frantic protests) can be won to the workers' side.

NORTHERN IRELAND

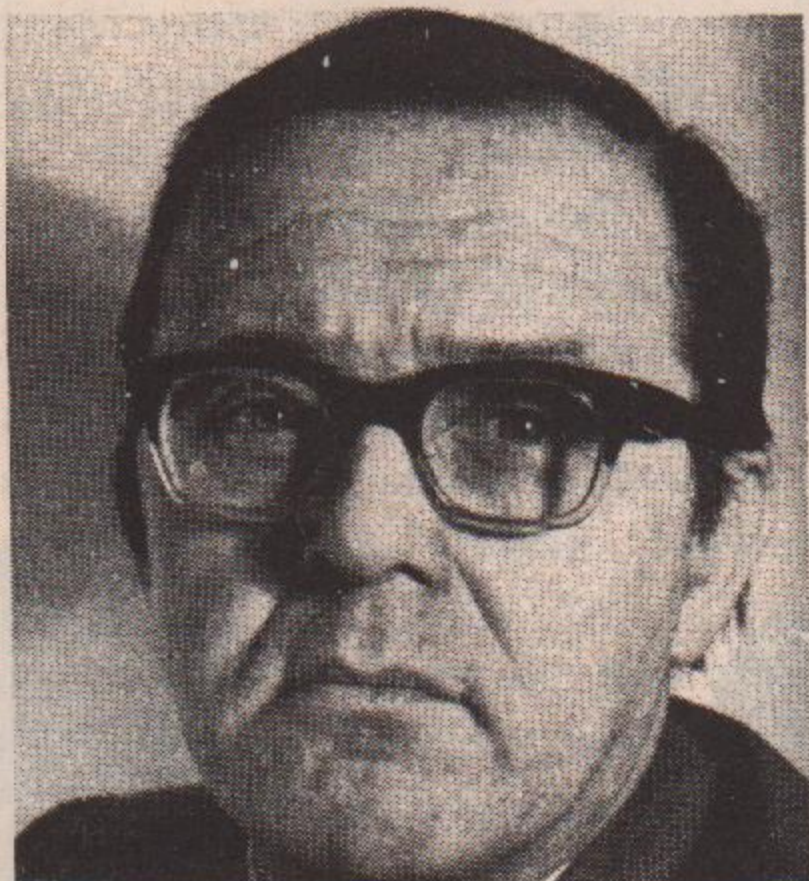
Last month, Merlyn Rees, Labour successor to Whitelaw and Pym as 'Ulster Supremo' made a major Commons speech on the Sunningdale Agreement. He singled out the Provisional I.R.A.'s opposition to this reactionary pact. By reference to "the men of violence" Rees sought to obscure the centuries old struggle of Irish men and women against the attempts of British ruling class to subject and pacify them.

Rees went on: "It would be a tragedy if the terrible deeds of the Provisional IRA led others to lose faith in peaceful political action."

But the exposures of Special Branch activity in relation to the infamous Littlejohn Affair and the recent Lennon murder reveal the contempt for "peaceful political action" of the British authorities.

It was through Tory Ministers Lord Carrington and Geoffrey Johnson-Smith that the convicted bank-robbers, Kenneth Littlejohn and his brother Keith were recruited to the Special Branch. They were contacted at a time when Kenneth was wanted in

Lennon Murder—who are the real 'men of violence'?



Rees

connection with the robbery of the Midland Motor Cylinder Co. on August 28th, 1970. These men were then sent to Ireland to carry out and implicate the IRA in robberies, fire-bombings, kidnappings and espionage.

And now the murder of Kenneth Lennon points yet another accusing finger at the British "establishment" who so cherish their sacred law-and-order. Lennon's statement, if true, utterly confirms what class-conscious workers have always

maintained: that the capitalist state machine will stoop to any means of violence and terror to maintain its domination and suppress workers' struggles.

Lennon's claim that he was black-mailed by the Special Branch to involve himself in the affairs of the Sein Fein and call upon them to have no "faith in peaceful political action" brands these Special Branch law-enforcing hoodlums with Merlyn Rees's own words, "...men of violence".

It is now imperative that the activities of these secret political police be investigated by the entire Labour movement in the vital interests of basic democratic rights. We unhesitatingly call on Labour's Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, to:

- Open the Special Branch Files on the Lennon and Littlejohn affairs immediately!
- For an open Labour movement enquiry—not a police cover-up job!

FROM TOLPUDDLE TO CHARTISM

Part 3 of a series on
'The Struggle for Revolution in Britain'

by Graham Atkinson

OUR PREVIOUS ARTICLE traced the formation and development of the 'Grand National Consolidated Trade Union', the first general union of the working class. The union also actively tried to gather agricultural labourers under its banner. This involved considerable difficulties because of the fact that their conditions of life isolated and scattered these workers. They were the weakest link in the union, as the events of Tolpuddle showed.

Tolpuddle Martyrs

Tolpuddle was a tiny village in Dorset. There, two brothers, George and James Loveless, fought to set up and build the 'Grand National'. It was there that the ruling class launched its attack. Six labourers, including the Loveless brothers, were framed and accused of administering an illegal oath. For the 'crime' of trade unionism they were sentenced after a short trial, to seven years' transportation to Australia. This vicious assault on these workers precipitated a massive response in the working class. Great demonstrations and protests were organised on a nationwide basis. The savage sentences took on a significance which the bourgeoisie could never have expected. The whole working class movement was roused. In London, 100,000 workers marched to Kings Cross in a demonstration of solidarity with the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Agitation was carried out in all the major industrial

cities, places where many of the workers were only one generation from the land. Unfortunately, the campaign was not successful though it did point to the future. This is primarily attributable to the fact that the working class was still in the process of formation.

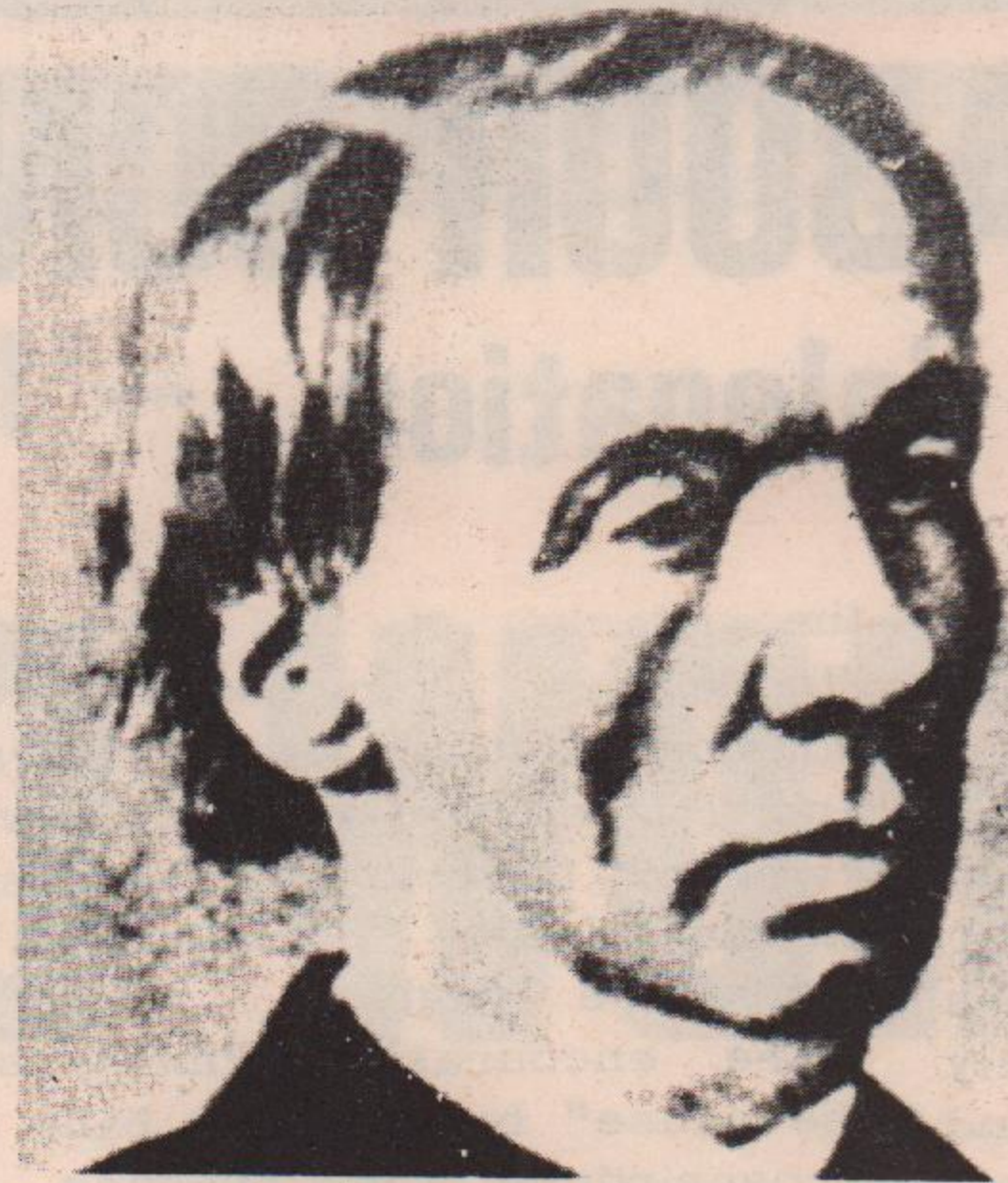
Bourgeoisie

Equally in 1834, the Bourgeoisie was still a rising class. A whole period as a progressive class lay before it. Today, the only progressive class is the working class. Nevertheless, the lessons of 1834 are not lost on the labour movement today. Today, as in 1834, protest and determination are totally inadequate. However, in 1834 protest stemmed from the weakness of the working class in its formative period. Now, it is a safety valve used by the Labour and trade union leadership to defuse the class struggle.

The Tolpuddle events demonstrated vividly that the employers were on the move. Having created the first provocation, the second was not long delayed. This was the 'Derby Turn Out' where members of the 'Grand National' were presented with a demand that they sign a pledge to leave the union. Despite fierce resistance, the workers were defeated.

Setbacks

These setbacks engendered a tremendous crisis within the 'Grand National'. Robert Owen, the utopian socialist, who had



ROBERT OWEN

made a great contribution towards founding the union, was now a serious impediment to the development of the workers' movement. He disallowed sharp criticism of the employers and was an ardent initiator of moralising schemes for currency reform, protective guilds, ideal commonwealths and utopian colonies. Although Robert Owen's ideas were a major advance, through their conclusion that changing society means changing man and the key to that change is the working class, they were still based on abstract concepts of Right and Justice. They did not take account of the working class as a material force which would change society. This contradiction was the motor of bitter fight inside the union. It became so fierce that it began with Owen closing down the union journals to prevent left-wing rivals from getting a

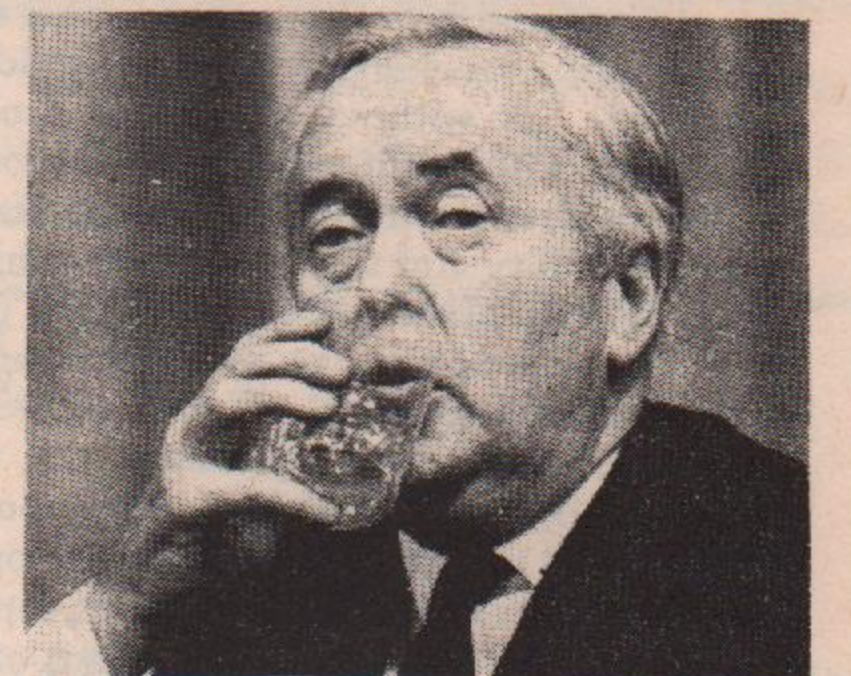
hearing and ended with the collapse of the union. This was an expression of the fact that the real movement of the class had gone beyond Owen's utopianism. The demise of the 'Grand National' was the birth of Chartism.

Spiral

The apparent return to the situation that existed before the 'Grand National', with no class-wide organisation suggests a setback of disastrous proportions. This was not so. In fact, in its next stage, the movement would emerge at a far higher level. This expresses the dialectical movement of history. As Lenin explained 'Human Knowledge is not (or does not follow a straight line, but a curve which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral' (Philosophical Notebooks p.363). The development of the class struggle had negated the 'Grand National' and had moved into a period where the working class had no organised movement. This period in turn was negated by the next stage in the struggle of the working class, Chartism. The period of disorganisation, of apparent relapse, which lasted two to three years, was the driving force to the next stage of class organisation. The working class saw that revolutionary unionism, in itself, was inadequate. New methods and forms of struggle were necessary. These found their expression in Chartism, whose rise and lessons will be the subject of our next article.

CLAY CROSS — WILSON SPLITS THE LABOUR PARTY

by Paul Moore



Wilson: fines must be paid.

THE ELEVEN COUNCILLORS of Clay Cross, who fought the Tory Rent Act from the beginning to the end of their stay in office, have received their reward from the new Labour government. The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, OBE, FRS, MP., has told the House of Commons that their £7,000 fine must, and will, be paid.

Last October's Labour Party conference told a different story. Edward Short, deputy leader of the Labour Party accepted the following amendment for the National Executive:

"Conference further agrees that upon the election of a Labour government all penalties, financial and otherwise should be removed retrospectively from councillors who have courageously refused to implement the Housing Finance Act, 1972."

"Everybody", said Short, "in the Labour movement and outside, is in full sympathy and admiration for the stand that David Skinner and his colleagues have taken (at Clay Cross)." Everyone did not extend as far as Reg Prentice who spoke out against "sillier forms of militancy". Nor to his leading fans Reg Goodwin and Ashley Brammall of the GLC, who demanded by letter that Wilson sabotage the conference decision (see right.)

Wilson meanwhile, bided his time, not expecting to be in office for a while. There can be little doubt now that his position was in practice similar to Prentice, Goodwin and to Tony Crosland, his right hand man on housing. In his recent book 'Socialism Now' Crosland insists that the state apparatus is the only instrument of social reform, and not

only says that the law is neutral, but that 'the law has been the means by which the weak obtained redress against the strong.'

Crosland thus ignores 150 years of working class struggle against the law, ignores the total domination of the judiciary by men who come from the same public-school background as the employers and bankers.

Moreover, by co-operating fully with the state against the rank and file of the Labour movement Wilson and Crosland prepares defeat for us all. For every advance for 'the law' means a weakening of the working class organisation, and a strengthening of the state apparatus, headed by the judges, generals and civil service chiefs—and therefore a strengthening for the employing class as a whole.

"...we are particularly concerned about the resolution carried at the last Party conference, on the recommendation of Mr. Edward Short, P.C. for the N.E.C., that 'upon the election of a Labour government, all penalties, financial or otherwise should be removed retrospectively from councillors who have courageously refused to implement the Housing Finance Act 1972.' We wish to ask you whether you and the Shadow Cabinet will make it clear at the earliest opportunity that a future Labour government will not carry out this pledge."

Letter to H. Wilson (27.11.73) signed by Sir Reg Goodwin, GLC leader, along with 23 other right-wingers.



YS CONFERENCE '74

“RECALL LABOUR CONFERENCE” says Chartist delegation

With over a thousand delegates and visitors at this Easter's YS conference at Clacton, it looked like a real combat force to take on the labour bureaucracy and the Labour government's retreats. Yet the documents and resolutions before conference merely condemned capitalism and advocated socialism. Speaker after speaker told of the misery of the situation in their area. From here the Chartist delegation challenged on all the major issues: economic and social policy, Ireland, the international and organisational debates. The Brent East resolution, with a revolutionary programme of defence against

the attacks of the state, was "too early"; Norwood's specific housing proposals were "abstract" and Rotherham and Goole were "wrong" to bring up the attacks on the Young Socialists in the Yorkshire region. Vauxhall were encouraging "martyrs to the cause" by opposing bans and proscriptions in practice and supporting anti-corruption MP Eddie Milne. For Wycombe to stand for national self-determination for the Irish people was "meaningless". Phil Elliott of Woolwich attempted to get the YS to tackle the most important campaign of conference - the demands on Labour to implement

even the programme adopted by annual party conference....

"The Parliamentary Labour Party is renegeing on Labour Party Conference decisions. The LPYS must hold them to these decisions. We must demand an emergency Labour Party conference" said Phil. But the platform preferred to give Labour a chance. That same evening David Skinner, hot from Clay Cross, announced from the Militant platform a delegate conference on Clay Cross at which, he said, he would be demanding an emergency re-call Labour Party Conference!

Several hundred students attended the National Union of Students mass picket and rally at Essex University on April 24th. The dance hall was reoccupied (and will be a useful centre for organising picketing). The disciplinary hearing scheduled for that afternoon were postponed when those conducting the "trials" found the entrance to the "courtroom" blocked by students. We interviewed one of the students who had been arrested and awaits trial.

"We decided to picket the University to get three expelled students reinstated and prevent the remaining disciplinary hearings being held. The students had been victimised by the university authorities following the NUS "day of action" on the Grants campaign last November. We insist that the union as a whole was responsible for those actions and not 36 individual students.

barricades

For the first few days the police didn't come. But on March 18th police were brought in to escort essential computing equipment through the picket line. Fifteen students were arrested for obstruction. Now that the police knew what was going on 400 of them turned up two days later and 90 students were arrested. I think Sloman (the university Vice Chancellor) didn't expect so many arrests, he expected us to back down. We approached Colchester Trades Council for support successfully. They directed union drivers not to cross our picket. We received telegrams of support from rank and file organisations and money from the Derbyshire miners. But the small amount of support we had from the campus unions originally has changed to opposition. They offered to black incoming goods if we took down the barricades but failed to keep that promise when that was done. Yet the picketing has been fairly effective: no oil for heating has got through and there are shortages in many other areas. Obviously, to continue the picket, we need to regain the active support of Essex students. But if the picket becomes unsuccessful we'll have to use tactics whereby the 105 arrested students can participate. (Those arrested face jail if caught picketing again).

'independent enquiry'

What is at issue here is the right of a Students' Union to defend itself. If we lose, other university authorities will know they can victimise without repercussions. Prentice (Labour Minister of Education) must initiate an enquiry independent of the university and the administration. One lesson we've learnt is that large numbers of students don't stop the police entering the campus."

Norwood's defeated amendment to the main document of the YS leadership

This Conference welcomes the improved presentation of the nationalisation proposals contained in the document 'Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme'. However, it notes the document's complete failure to measure up to the requirements of the present situation. In particular, Conference insists that a programme must be rooted in an analysis: the document contains no serious analysis, and misses the most significant feature of developments in Britain in the recent period.

Conference affirms that it was no accident that the Tories fought their election campaign on the issue 'Who Rules?'. However much the leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party may attempt to evade it, this has now become the issue round which all others turn. It will remain so until it is resolved decisively, either by the Labour Movement conquering power, or by a Chile-style counter-revolution.

Despite Labour's lack of an overall parliamentary majority, it must be grasped that the trade unions just won their greatest-ever victory. Never before in this country has an industrial struggle brought a government down. To the question 'Who Rules?' the Tories have received a brutal answer. A force is arising within the state which is stronger than the state itself.

At the same time, the nation, economically, is grinding to a halt. And the ruling class—increasingly demanding coalition—has begun to realise that it can no longer continue to rule in the same old way.

Conference declares that in this situation the policies being pursued by the Labour leaders are a recipe for disaster. Even the mild nationalisation proposals of Labour's Manifesto have been ditched. Yet without control of production, none of Labour's other main proposals can be fulfilled. The profit motive can no longer maintain the minimum production levels required to prevent brutal cuts in the living standards of working class families. For Labour to accept responsibility for this would be criminal. Yet this must inevitably result from the policy of maintaining office while renouncing power.

Conference has no sympathy for those who support the present policies under the pretext of 'maintaining unity'. There can be no unity in the Labour Movement except on the basis of class action against capitalism. On the other hand we dissociate from 'revolutionaries' who would talk of bringing the Labour Government down. On the contrary, the task is to bring down the Tory, industrial and financial opponents of the Labour Party, and to bring the Labour Government from office to power, replacing the leadership on this issue as necessary. Conference declares that the harshest criticism of the Labour Government must go hand-in-hand with the strongest support for it against the employers and bankers.

Conference instructs the LPYS National Committee to campaign accordingly on the following demands:

1. Repeal pay laws now.
2. No incomes policy under capitalism.
3. No retreat on the manifesto.
4. For an enabling Act to nationalise the monopolies.
5. Break with the employers, bankers, and their parties.
6. All industry, all finance, all power to the Labour Government.

The forces which will be required for the overthrow of capitalism have already begun to be set in motion. It is the task of the LPYS to ensure that they are harnessed for the conquest of power. The National Committee is instructed therefore to back up its demands by campaigning throughout the country, in defence of the picket line, exposing corruption in the Labour Movement, leaflets to troops, etc. in defiance of the existing Labour leadership and securing the maximum unity in action with other working class and socialist tendencies inside and outside the Labour Party.

LAMBETH NORWOOD LPYS

WHAT'S ON

* DEMONSTRATION against racialism. May 18th. 1.30pm. At Recreation Ground between Lumb Lane and Westgate, Bradford.

* TROOPS OUT! Conference on the British army in Ireland and its projected role in Britain. Sat 11 May. Details 28 Lammas Pk Rd. London W5. Speakers include David Bolton (NUM) Mike Cooley (AJEW) and Eamonn McCann (IS).

* Hammersmith North YS are campaigning for the withdrawal of the army from Northern Ireland. Delegate conference coming later this year.

* FILM SHOW and discussion. Thursday June 6th at 264 Rosendale Road SE24.

* MIXED HOCKEY on Brockwell Park. May 19th 1.30pm at 264 Rosendale Road.

* CLAY CROSS conf... June 8th

YOUR YS BRANCH

For details of branch activities, write to local branch Secretary, c/o 82 Loughborough Road, Brixton, SW9.

Brent East: Sally Humphries.
Tunbridge Wells: Glenda Ratcliffe.
Wycombe: Ann Snell.
Norwood: Paul Moore.
Streatham: Elaine O'Neill.
Vauxhall: Kevin Moore.
Woolwich: Phil Elliott.
Rotherham: John Connelly.
Stockport: Dave Barratt.