

CHARTIST

4p

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FREEZE PRICES, NOT WAGES!

AS THE POWER-WORKERS act, the TUC's attempted deal with the Tories is already in ruins.

"Wages are not going to be held back by a few rosy promises about prices" said Jack Jones. "The Government should bring in a price-freeze law". But while accepting "curbs" in principle, the Tories are really letting prices soar. Rent-rises, electricity charges, the new money-crisis devaluing the pound, Common Market entry—all show the utter stupidity of expecting anything from the Tories "in return" for a freeze on wages.

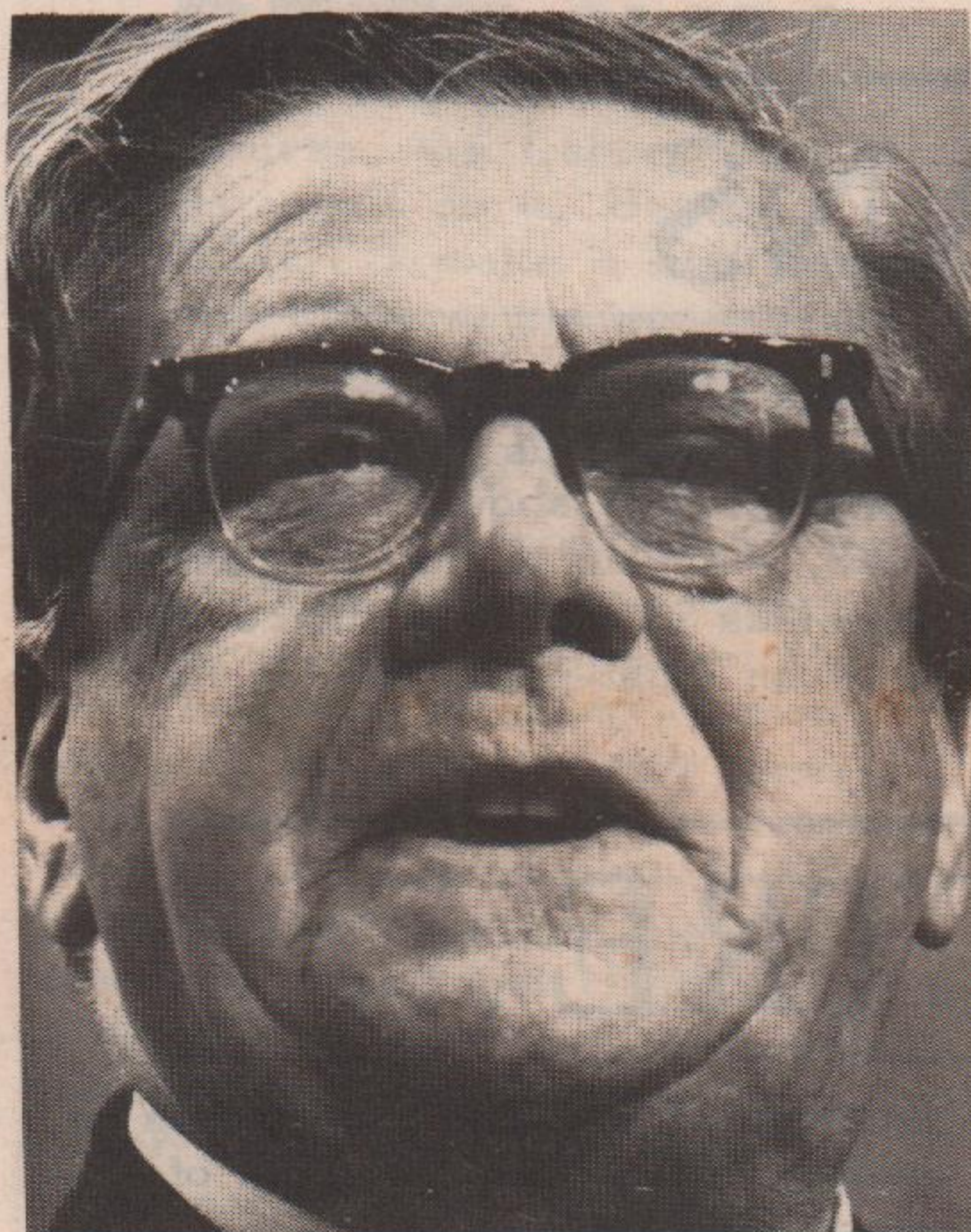
Now the labour movement stands before the greatest crisis in its history. Heath's only purpose in holding the doomed talks was to win a propaganda point against the unions and use "public opinion" to pressure the TUC leaders into compromising themselves. The TUC fell into the trap. Today the Tory Press

is throwing the whole blame for price-increases on the unions for failing to abide by a deal.

The smear campaign against the "sparks" is only the beginning. If the Tories feel we're divided enough and enough "public opinion" is on their side, they will go all-out to smash our unions. They will even provoke a General Strike to bring in the troops and crush our whole organized strength.

Only the firmest stand now can deter them from that course. Their weaknesses—exposed by the miners and dockers—must be understood. Their rule is today based on only one thing: the TUC and Labour "leaders" who prop them up. Without that, Britain's tenants, trade unionists and workers in their millions would be able to sweep out the Tories right now.

Why don't our leaders act? When you think about it, it's an amazing way to carry on. The



VIC FEATHER

TUC and Labour Party leaders have never been in a stronger position. They have got Heath to come crawling to them, begging for help in pegging wages.

But what do they do? How are they backing up their calls

for higher pensions, a rent-freeze and statutory price-controls? With marches and demonstrations? With industrial action? No.... With promises to give Heath something in return.

The TUC should DEMAND a statutory price-freeze. And, instead of offering something in return, it should back up this demand with industrial action aimed not at the table-crums of the capitalists but at their power.

The Labour and TUC leaders have the strength. CHARTISTS demand they use it—now!

- No restraint on wages whilst the bosses remain in control!
- No further talks with Heath!
- An immediate statutory price and rent freeze!
- £25 National Minimum Wage with pensions no lower!
- A General Election now!

Provided our movement prepares seriously for the coming General Strike, the Tories can be forced to concede.

WE'RE NOT PAYING!

by Bill Thompson

WHEN COUNCILS THROUGHOUT the country (including almost all the Labour ones) began putting up rents at the beginning of October, the message from tens of thousands of tenants was clear. "We're not paying!" A one-day strike in Liverpool backed by dockers, car and engineering workers was the start of the rent strike on Merseyside, with an enormous body of tenants refusing to pay the increase. In Kirkby, Birkenhead and Fazakerly, tenants are refusing to pay anything at all!

'Commando'

In Manchester the Tenants' Action Group's "flying commando" has had tremendous success in

disrupting the efforts of the Labour-controlled councils' rent-collectors and organizing a massive withholding of the increase. And the message is the same from throughout the North West and across to Newcastle, South Shields, Barnsley, and from South Wales, Exeter and Bristol. In London, the largest rent strike is in Greenwich, where tenants are picketing the rent offices.

Labour Backs Down

While tenants and trade unionists are fighting, most of the Labour Councillors whom they elected to represent them are proving outright betrayers of their interests. These Labour "leaders" prefer to collect rents for the Tories rather

than take the lead in a struggle to bring them down.

In the Manchester area, before the Tory Government spelt out its threats, Labour Councils voted not to implement the "Fair Rents" Bill. But then, one by one, they backed down—in Ashton, Oldham, Salford, Stockport and Manchester itself. Only Eccles remains firm. "We don't want to face the penalties!" complain these petty careerists. When five dockers were imprisoned, the labour movement forced the Tories to let them out. If the Tories dared try attacking Labour councillors throughout Britain, they would be swept out once and for all. But our Labour stalwarts prefer not to be martyrs but to make martyrs

of the tenants who voted for them.

The members of Lincoln Labour Party showed what to do with allies of the Tories in our own ranks—kick them out. One of the most effective ways for tenants to get back at the councillors who voted for implementation is to join their Labour Parties and take them over by weight of their numbers. We could then expel them from their positions and put an end to the position where such individuals are allowed to stand in the name of our movement only to implement vicious anti-working class legislation. Until the Labour Party has been cleansed of such people, tenants will be continually betrayed.

THE CHARTIST

Editor: Chris Knight, 7 Park View, Olive Rd, London NW2.

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THE

STRENGTHENED

THE SOCIALIST CHARTER emerged enormously strengthened from the experience of the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool. With our allies we succeeded in strengthening the left's hold on the N.E.C. and pledging the Party to a programme of nationalization and workers' control which—as Frank Hansen points out in our centre spread—would amount in practice to a social revolution.

Not only that. We demonstrated that the effective expulsion of the TRIBUNE MPs, trade union bureaucrats and assorted centrists from the Socialist Charter not only hadn't weakened us in such

"mundane" tasks as the production of the daily BRIEFING service for delegates. It actually strengthened us. The movement's new discipline and sense of purpose enabled it to provide a far better-produced, more lively and informative service than ever before.

Finally, the meeting we organized on the Thursday of Conference week demonstrated one thing if nothing else: not only are we the only revolutionary tendency on the left of the Labour Party—we are also the ONLY visibly disciplined and organized force.

PLANS

OUR GROWING STRENGTH AS an organization is reflected in the increased size of the CHARTIST.

A monthly six page paper will be the result of the YOUNG SOCIALIST and the CHARTIST joining forces in December.

This is a special eight-page issue enabling us to give adequate coverage to Labour Party Conference. We plan to buy a press and premises in the near future and to print an eight-page monthly by May.

A SPECTRE ...

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH editor Peregrine Worsthorne is among the more knowledgeable and far-sighted of hard-line Tory journalists in Britain today. His articles in recent months have been indicating many of the deepest fears of the class he represents. In the October 22 issue of his paper he turned to Ireland.

In revealing his nightmare vision of Irish prospects, he painted a picture of possibilities for socialists which few marxists in recent years have dared to dream of. Here we won't try to pick out fact from fantasy in Worsthorne's thoughts. Let's just see how our Tory opponent sees his worst fears to be coming true.

"The old idea was that if ever the British Army were to find itself in the situation of being shot at by both sides, this would be the moment for Britain to wash its hands of Ireland and, with a sigh of relief, allow Protestants and Catholics to fight each other.

But it is now by no means certain that this is the real pattern which would emerge from a British withdrawal, since the revolutionary mood and language of the new Protestant leaders suggests a class orientation much more than a religious one, as does the mood and language of the new Catholic Provisional leadership with which it now has so much in common. The final result of British withdrawal, in short, might be something much more akin to revolution than civil war, with the fate of Ireland being

determined much less in terms of national unity than in terms of class upheaval.

This is the truth which British statesmen must now grasp, and explain to our allies. Our Army is not engaged in a colonial action or in defiance of Irish nationalism. It is engaged in an operation aimed at containing violent revolution.

The Communist parties seem all too well aware of this, and are now sharing their subversive attentions among both Protestants and Catholics, sensing the full potentialities of the new situation wherein, for the first time, there is as good a chance of turning the Orange flag red as the Green."

It may seem amazing that Worsthorne should see in the rise of Protestant militancy a working-class revolutionary force. In fact, of course, it is an extreme right, potentially pogromist force against which the Republican population must defend themselves arms in hand. And in the situation following Craig's "kill" speech, it is the elementary duty of Labour in Britain to give full military support to both wings of the Irish Republican Army in defending Catholic areas against the danger of a massacre.

Nevertheless, ultimately there can be no solution to the Irish problem than the outcome Worsthorne most fears. Perhaps it takes ruling class spokesmen of this sort to awaken us—if not to the immediate realities of the situation—at least to its possibilities.

AS THE CLASS STRUGGLE sharpens, we CHARTISTS are finding ourselves increasingly accused of "ultra-leftism". It is madness—say our opponents both in the Labour Party and in the revolutionary movement—to raise the "question of power" as an immediate issue facing the working class. The possibility of taking power will not arise except out of a long process of crises and upheavals. To talk of taking it now reveals a total lack of historical perspective. We are "confusing the first month of pregnancy with the ninth". And so on and so forth.

How very sensible all this seems! How obvious it is that we are not in a revolutionary situation, that barricades are no-where to be seen and that soviets have not been set up! So how can the CHARTISTS keep on talking about taking power? Why don't they orientate themselves around the situation as it really is—instead of around the theoretical possibility of a General Strike sometime or other in the future?

REALITY

In fact this "commonsense" approach is superficial in the extreme. It takes external show for reality. And while in "normal" periods a political body founded on that basis can seem realistic and even imposing—the first breath of any real social crisis blows the dust from under its feet to reveal it suspended in mid-air.

For the CHARTISTS the task is precisely to base ourselves on the situation as it really is. But for us, the events of the miners' strike, and the even mightier upheaval over the imprisonment of the "Pentonville Five", provide the firmest data for an understanding of this situation. These events were not peculiar aberrations, extraordinary episodes deviating from the "norm" of more peaceful class-relations. On the contrary they alone were able to tear away the outer show of normality which so easily deceives us—and to afford glimpses of what has become the true "norm" of class relations in Britain as a result of the struggles of the past few years.

CHECKED

This hidden "norm" is precisely a developing—as yet embryonic—situation of dual power. The Tory Government with its apparatus of class rule is being checked in its tracks. It has been unable even to begin to move against any important section of the working class—without provoking an all-out confrontation with the labour movement as a whole. Because of the strength of the revolutionary movement—or rather, because of the revolutionary potential within the working class itself—it has felt un-prepared and unwilling to face such a confrontation.

Even the middle classes largely supported the miners during the coal strike. Had the Tories tried to stand firm—which would have meant trying to re-open power-stations with troops—who could have guaranteed their survival or even the survival of their class? Against a massively popular movement like that, the use of the Army would have been risky in the extreme. After all, it would have taken only one small unit, somewhere at some time during the increasingly violent conflict, to become infected with class-consciousness and refuse to budge when ordered....

TRAGEDY

The Government decided not to risk it. But caving in to the miners made all the more necessary a rallying of forces for a new stand. No-one can say the Tories failed to put up a brave fight. Their temporary standard-bearer Sir John Donaldson fought for his class with a bravado equalled only by Ted Heath in his early months of power—before experience had taught him some sad lessons. This next battle was to be the supreme testing-point for the politics of "confrontation".

It was a deep tragedy for the Tories that the working class were not to be bluffed. Instead of fearing a General Strike, they perversely seemed to welcome one, despite the historical experience of 1926 of which all and sundry were eager to remind them. Everything the Tories gave, the working class threw back in their faces—in double measure! Even the TUC and the Labour Party National Executive Committee felt forced—to avoid losing all credibility—into backing the General Strike call aimed at releasing the "Pentonville Five". Had the Tories resolved to stand their ground can anyone doubt what the immediate outcome would have been? An absolutely solid, all-out General Strike made official by the Trades Union Congress and backed at least with the "name" of the Labour Party. A strike which, once it had got under way, would have rapidly overspilt the limits of a struggle to "Free the Five".

Massive occupations of factories. Huge demonstrations. Barricades of buses and lorries (an effective one was in fact erected by the dockers outside Pentonville Prison after they had marched there from Tower Hill). Meetings at which the most "extreme" left-wing proposals would have gained applause and organizational support. Semi-paralysis of the state apparatus. Talk of sending troops. Send in troops against a strike sanctioned by the TUC and Her Majesty's Opposition Party? And how many troops would be needed for that? And what about Ireland? And could they be relied on—those uniformed iads speaking with the same accents as the strikers?

QUESTION OF POWER

by CHRIS KNIGHT

But again, how to avoid using troops? Even any hesitance in sending them in would outrage the extreme right, reveal the state's impotence, start the Army ranks thinking and grant yet new confidence to the working class. It would be almost an incitement in itself to the revolutionary organizations to begin assuming government functions in town after town....

The Tories have driven us to the very edge of the precipice—and drawn back. They hope by postponing the evil hour to gain time in which to prepare. But history is cruel to doomed ruling classes. In actual fact, as time goes on the Tories will find themselves—given only a modicum of rational policy on the part of the revolutionary movement—not better prepared but in a worse shambles

If they wanted to, these leaders could break off all talks with the Government and present it with a challenge it could not survive. They could (a) insist on an immediate and statutory prices and rents freeze, (b) demand a £25 national minimum wage, equal pay for women, full employment, a crash housing programme and an immediate General Election, (c) back up these and similar demands with industrial action and concrete preparations for a General Strike and (d) precipitate a "confrontation" situation in which the working class would be united and invincible, the ruling class would be paralysed—and power could be easily and even no doubt bloodlessly seized.

BETRAYAL

Of course, the Labour and TUC leaders won't do it. But the CHARTISTS make it quite clear: with our allies in the movement we will fight them with all we've got while they refuse to take that course. The point is that these leaders have no "objective" excuse. They cannot tell us—no matter what their centrist allies might say—that the possibility of overthrowing the system isn't there. It is, as the events of the past year have amply shown. It is precisely because the question of power is posed that Heath is obliged to rest on the labour movement—through its leaders—in order to survive. The reformist leaders cannot tell us that the existing economic system is "too strong", that it is still capable of expansion and development, that they have "no choice" but to fall in with Heath's plans. All of this is pure and simple rationalization and betrayal. It is precisely the impossibility of further development of Britain's productive forces on the existing basis of ownership that has brought this Tory Government into being with its mission to slash living standards and break



"Free the Five" march, July 1972.

the bargaining power of the working class. The Tories have now reached a dead-end, while the working-class movement is more powerful than ever before in its history. The labour and TUC leaders therefore have the means to act and to take the power: they only lack the will. It is precisely that discordance between means and will which makes their behaviour not an "objective necessity" but a betrayal.

Do we say, then, that the building of barricades, the establishment of soviets and the seizure of power are all immediately possible? For us, of course, no. We are not the slightest bit "ultra-left" in our position. We understand perfectly that we will have to experience a whole series of crises and upheavals before we have built up a revolutionary party which is capable of seizing state power. Precisely because—despite our demands—the reformist leaders will prop up the existing state power to their very last gasp of breath, the whole process will entail much suffering and have a long drawn out character.

The Labour Party will continue its lurch to the left—but under a leadership which will keep abreast in order the better to retain control for a sell-out in later years. The Tories, now that they have gone into reverse with their "interventionist" policies, must before long give way to a reformist Labour Government more qualified to take such policies to their conclusions and secure the vital TUC support. The next Labour Government, however, will be a Government of extreme crisis. To retain its hold over the working class it will be compelled to resort to far-reaching measures of nationalization which—while designed to be in the existing system's ultimate interest—will in fact outrage whole sections of the property-owning class. Army officers, newspaper proprietors, top judges and civil servants, self-appointed guardians of public morals and others will begin talking ever more openly not only of "Queen and Country" but also of "Emergency measures" against the "unconstitutional" Labour Government to "restore law and order". Under the whip of the counterrevolutionary threat, spurred by the fear of an imposed coalition or even some form of military rule, the labour movement itself will resort to its own defensive measures in support of the Labour Government. The present embryonic situation of dual power will reach full bloom as the rank-and-file bodies of the trade unions and the Labour Party begin to dominate industry and the big cities, becoming increasingly elective and increasingly like the workers' councils or "soviets" through which state power was seized in Russia in October 1917.

In this atmosphere and environment, the most determined, far-sighted, disciplined and audacious revolutionary party will grow in leaps and bounds, absorb into itself the best of the various "marxist" sects and centrist mass currents and acquire the strength to deliver the final blow. In five years? Ten years? Fifteen years time? It is not possible to say. But of one thing we are certain: it is on the programme now being followed by the CHARTISTS that the British revolution will be won.



ABOVE: LABOUR LEADERS AT PARTY CONFERENCE 1972. These people could now bring down the Tory Government and the system it upholds.

They lack not the means, only the will to take the power.

With prospects of this kind in mind, the Tories thought better of "confrontation". At the end of that historic week in July the mere threat of "violence" and "revolution" in the minds of the ruling class had released the Pentonville Five. It was NOT mere "militancy" which had done the trick. Had they been faced only with the threat of industrial action or a series of "protest" strikes the Tories could have soldiered on and ridden the crisis through. It was the convincing demonstration of the newly-discovered, recently-aroused REVOLUTIONARY will and potential of the working class movement which made "soldiering on" an impossible risk and forced the Tories to retreat. A small—very small—yet in Tory eyes not quite insignificant component element of this revolutionary potential was the work done by CHARTISTS in recent years in support of the soldiers' movement for trade union rights. This movement's support can no longer be dismissed. For the past year or so it has been one among the many factors in the calculations of the ruling class. It will assume greater significance as time goes on.

than ever, while the intervening period will be of inestimable value to the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

In their efforts to buy time the Tories and their class have begun conceding limited points to the working class. Hence they have outraged the Powellites by agreeing to the idea of price-controls, state aid to maintain employment and similar "socialist" heresies. These are all part and parcel of the frantic overtures which the Tories are now making to the reformist leaders ON WHOM THEY NOW REALIZE THEY ARE UTTERLY DEPENDENT FOR THEIR CONTINUED SURVIVAL IN POWER. Far from being a sign of strength, the Chequers talks with the TUC reveal the absolute helplessness and state of desperation to which the Tory Government and ruling class have been driven. We have said it before and we say it again: without the continuous and deliberate activity of the labour leaders in propping them up they could not survive another day.

Are we saying, then, that state power could be seized here and now? Yes, we are saying just that.

Labour Party Conference Adopts Socialist Programme:

by Frank Hansen (DELEGATE, HARROW WEST CLP)

BLACKPOOL 1972 was the most significant Labour Party Conference for a generation. Never before have we witnessed such a powerful shift to the left. According to Composite Resolution 32, which was passed by 3,501,000 votes to 2,407,000, we now stand as a Party for a "socialist plan of production, based on the public ownership, with minimum compensation, of the commanding heights of the economy" and "a plan for the democratic control of industry through workers' control and management." Labour's programme now, if implemented, would amount to a social revolution.

NATIONALIZATION

- Overall, Conference committed the Party to the nationalization of
1. "the land" (Comp. 40)
 2. "all hived-off sectors... without compensation" ,,
 3. "the major monopolies" (Comp. 32)
 4. "the building industry" ,,
 5. "the finance houses" ,,
 6. "the oil industry" (Res. 141)
 7. "the entire docks industry" (Res. 174)
 8. "shipping" ,, ,,
 9. "road transport" ,, ,,

REFORMS

- It decided also on a whole series of sweeping changes including:
- "the complete integration of the private sector of education";
 - "the restoration of free school milk";
 - "a mandatory comprehensive system for all";
 - "the abolition of the existing examination system" (all Comp.45)
 - lower retirement age, 35-hr week without loss of pay, longer holidays (Comp. 46);
 - the abolition of all Health Service charges and private practice (Comp. 41);
 - £16 per week pension for a couple, £10 for an individual ("as a step towards a policy of equating pensions with the TUC minimum wage target" Comp 25);
- and many others.

SHIFT

Remember the late 50s and early 60s when the right-wing "Gaitskellites" were on the offensive and screaming for the abolition of Clause 4? Who in those years could have believed that within a decade Conference would be demanding such drastic measures of social reform?

A profound shift in the balance of class-forces has occurred within the Labour Party. It reflects not only a disillusionment with the miserable class-collaborationist policies of the last Labour Government. Equally it reflects the pressure of the organized working class as it comes into conflict with this Tory Government and demands its removal from power. Clearly this is only the beginning of a process which must lead eventually to the replacement of the existing Party bosses with a leadership prepared to challenge the ruling class for the economic,

financial and state power of the country. It is a damning indictment of all those "revolutionary" groups which stand outside the mass labour movement, impotently fulminating against the Labour leaders and crying "follow us!" It is high time these comrades joined the struggle to overthrow the existing leadership and build a disciplined revolutionary party both willing AND ABLE to mobilize the working class for the seizure of power.

DISORGANIZED

The material in the Labour Party is there. The rank-and-file are rapidly moving towards the ideas of the revolutionary left. It was their pressure which forced shadow cabinet member Eric Heffer to urge Labour use of industrial action to defeat the Tory Government. "When tenants are defying the Housing Finance Act and trade unionists are defying the Industrial Relations Act—the place of our Party is with the working class!" he cried to tremendous applause. It was these ordinary delegates' pressure and applause which prevented the platform from daring to oppose resolution after resolution calling for nationalization, workers' control and a fundamental transformation of society.

True, the Wilson leadership nevertheless emerged intact at the end of Conference. But—as this article hopes to show—this was far more owing to the absence of any disciplined revolutionary organization on the left than to a lack of basic class consciousness or "socialist ideas" on the part of delegates.

MANOEUVRES

Despite all the socialist talk, the concrete tasks in the Labour Party remain enormous. In view of the almost unprecedented militancy of the delegates, who could ever have imagined that Jenkins and his fellow Labour traitors would survive this Conference almost unscathed? Yet both Wilson and Jenkins were able to hail the Conference as a victory. Jenkins is receiving invitations to re-appear in the shadow cabinet. And, out of the seven crunch debates, the Wilson leadership emerged more or less victorious in six—Housing, Common Market, Ireland, Foreign Policy, Party Organization and Economic Policy. The question we must ask is how the right-wing were able to extricate themselves on all these major issues.

One factor was the Chairmanship. Behind the trendy facade of Chairman Wedgwood Benn with all his talk of "participation" and "democracy", this was one of the most undemocratic Conferences of all time. It proliferated with shabby manoeuvres such as the "request to speak" card system which ensured that the platform could "pick" those whom they wanted and exclude known militants. The "Party Organization" debate, which could have been the key session of Conference, fell flat precisely because



WEDGWOOD BENN

issues such as the behaviour of Taverne, Conference control over MPs (which would have focussed on the Jenkinsites), bans and proscriptions and the TRIBUNE group's proposal to elect Party leader at Conference were excluded owing to "lack of time". The scandalous attempts of the NEC to emasculate resolutions by "accepting" them with "reservations" will be dealt with later in this article.

Another method the leadership used to avoid trouble was simply to move "left" in words in order to maintain control. For example, rather than lose a vote, the NEC fully supported resolution 174 which demanded the "nationalization of the entire docks industry... under workers' control" and "a national plan of transport based on the nationalization of the shipping and road transport industry under workers' control". At times there seemed a mad rush of Labour leaders stomping over each others' feet to get to the microphone first with left-wing phrases.

The truth is that our "leaders" in the Party were more than willing to pay lip-service to "socialist principles" if it enabled them to maintain their dominance and thereby (a) avoid committing the Labour Party to any real struggle against the Heath Government NOW, and (b) prevent a head-on collision between the rank-and-file and the Jenkinsites. Although Wilson had seemed to be in something of a tight corner before Conference began, he was extremely successful in extricating himself from any concrete commitments. As a SUNDAY TIMES headline put it on October 8: "with three bounds, bold Harold was free".

By the end of the week, not only had Wilson and his allies defeated a Composite instructing "all Labour Councillors not to implement the rent rises demanded

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by the Government in their Housing Finance Act". And not only had they retained their old compromise formula of "renegotiating the terms" on the Common Market. They had also managed to save the day for the Jenkinsites (their invaluable allies against the left), even feeling able to drop hints about receiving them back into the NEC and the shadow cabinet!

In the light of the outcry against the Jenkinsites' treachery in voting for the Tories last autumn, and bearing in mind the intensity of the struggles against the Government since then, it was a truly remarkable escape act. Indeed it might have put Houdini himself to shame—except that Harold only broke free with vigorous help from outside.

"RESERVATIONS"

This help came from the TRIBUNE MPs. Some of it, to begin with, failed to work. Take, for example, what happened on the first day of Conference. In the closing stages of the Housing Debate in the afternoon, Tribune MP Frank Allaun gave the NEC's recommendations as to how delegates should vote. Composite 37, he said, was accepted "in principle". It urged "support" for Labour Councils defying the Housing Finance Act. As for the part of the resolution which specified its support—calling for the next Labour Government to retrospectively relieve councillors who suffered any penalties through their action—the NEC, however, had "reservations". On this "understanding" the Composite was then put to the vote and duly passed.

Apparently the NEC had in this way established the un-precedented right to change any resolution without recourse to the views of Conference and without any proper amendment procedure.

NOW LET'S IMPLEMENT IT!

Conference declares that the planned development of productive resources of society is the key to the future of Britain.

Recognises that the gross inequalities of society, between the regions, unemployment and poverty, are the result of the failure of the capitalist system. Conference calls upon the NEC to formulate a socialist plan of development on the basis of public ownership, with minimum interference with the commanding heights of the economy; and to include the following measures:

1. Nationalisation of all hived off sectors of publicly owned industries, without compensation;

2. A Bill to secure the public ownership of major industries;

3. Nationalisation of land, building industry and finance.

4. The nationalisation of industrial enterprises in areas of high unemployment.

5. Believing that such a programme can only be achieved through the active participation of trade unions and workers in general, calls for a plan for the democratic control of industry through workers' control and management.

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

PROGRAMME!

3,501,000 to 2,497,000.

However, the whole procedure was challenged from the floor and the following morning Wedgwood Benn as Chairman was forced to admit that "reservations" had first to be accepted by the mover of a resolution before they could be incorporated in any vote. The mover refused to accept, the NEC therefore advised rejection of the whole Composite—and the full resolution was passed by 4,174,000 votes to 1,000,000.

But what is important is that this was a victory despite the TRIBUNE group. Speaking to explain the NEC's "reservations", Tribune MP Frank Allaun had said: "We cannot promise either as a Party or a future Labour Government to relieve councillors who suffer penalties.... Labour councillors must act on their own responsibility". True, he was presenting the collective position of the NEC. But that was no excuse for failing to state at that point what he had declared at the TRIBUNE "Brains Trust" the day before: that his own personal position was one of defiance of the Act backed up by industrial action if necessary. Apparently for the TRIBUNE group "collective responsibility" does not apply to the Jenkinsites where it is a question of Conference and the rank-and-file asserting their will against the leadership. But it does apply to them, when it is a question of the leadership trying to hoodwink and confuse Conference and the rank-and-file.

CLAUSE 4

But a still bigger demonstration of rank-and-file strength came at the end of the same morning. Pat Wall of Shipley CLP moved Composite 32:

WHAT THEY SAID

'No deals with the Government! Get them out!'

CLIVE JENKINS

'We can accept no incomes policy unless we break out of the whole framework of the capitalist system and plan the economy on the basis of the nationalization of all major industries'

ERIC HEFFER

'There will be terrific eruptions from the workers.

We must demand a General Election, and remove this Government,

We cannot negotiate with these people'

RAY BUCKTON

'We're all Clause 4 men now!'

RON HAYWARD

'How are we to acquire the political power to do what has to be done?'

WEDGWOOD BENN

"Big business had more power in their hands than any labour minister has ever had. Our leaders must take the power on behalf of our own people", he declared. "Big business interests threatened the last Labour Government with a strike of capital. I admire the ruthlessness of the ruling class. If only we were a quarter as ruthless, no power on earth could stop us."

The applause was deafening, and even the platform had to join in. Again the N.E.C. did not dare directly oppose the resolution, so they tried their new-found trick once more. And for the second time in one morning they were delivered a smack in the eye. "We like the resolution very much" said Mikardo. "As Ron Hayward said yesterday, we're all Clause Four men now!" But while accepting the idea of "nationalizing the monopolies" the NEC weren't so sure about workers' control and management, and hoped to fudge any commitment on nationalizing the building industry and finance houses by referring to their "talks with the TUC" and "study groups" working on the Green Paper. The issue went to a card vote when Pat Wall refused to accept these "reservations". The NEC was smashed—3,501,000 to 2,497,000.

MARKET

But while TRIBUNE MPs Frank Allaun and Ian Mikardo tried to rescue Wilson but failed, TRIBUNE trade union bureaucrat Jack Jones was somewhat more successful.

Despite the electric atmosphere of Wednesday morning's session, the Common Market debate had already been decided in the smoky backrooms of the Blackpool Imperial Hotel. There Jones had agreed to abstain his 1,000,000 votes on the NEC's compromise

formula—in return for a pledge from Wilson not to oppose the "stiff terms" resolution of the Boilermakers. The result, of course, was that while the NEC's statement was overwhelmingly passed, the Boilermakers' resolution got through by only 468,000 votes. The labour leaders will therefore no doubt claim that since their statement had the larger majority, no restrictions (abolition of the Common Agricultural Policy, of Value Added Tax etc. etc.) specified by the Boilermakers can be placed on "renegotiations".

In actual fact, of course, as arch-Eurocrat Mansholt has made quite clear, no "renegotiations" will be permitted in any case. The only resolution on the agenda which took account of this and opposed entry on principle was resolution 415 of the AUEW. But this was narrowly defeated (by a mere 118,000 votes—the equivalent of a small union). While its acceptance would have done more to strengthen the left than any other single resolution, those who spoke for it were mostly on the extreme right of the anti-Market Labour spectrum, and in its wording it could quite easily have been drafted by the National Front or the Monday Club. It opposed entry simply because "the Treaty of Rome denies national independence to the British people". Small wonder that the class-forces harnessed in the previous day's Clause Four debate were not kindled, and that many delegates, alienated by the narrow nationalism of the resolution, decided to abstain or vote against.

Neither did any of the speakers seize the opportunity to express delegates' feelings about the Jenkinsites—let alone call for their expulsion from the Party. When it was heard that Roy Jenkins was not going to speak the Conference Hall resounded with boos, jeers

and cries of "coward". But the long-anticipated clash with Roy and his pals never materialized thanks mainly to the efforts of TRIBUNE MP Michael Foot. In a speech which certainly appealed to delegates and won him a standing ovation he said we shouldn't ask the Jenkinsites to "recant their views". This was hardly the point, since no-one has insisted they change their minds. If they want to hold the views of International Capital and vote with a Tory Government that's up to them. Some of us just don't see why they should be allowed to do it in the name of the Labour Party. A firm lead here could have galvanized the whole of Conference and laid bare one of the major issues facing the labour movement. Ironically it was left to Wedgwood Benn to steal the thunder when he launched a furious attack on Taverne in his closing speech. This evoked such a massive response that the mind boggles at the thought of what could have happened had the left raised the internationalist and working-class issues of the Common Market question and attacked the remaining Jenkinsites under the slogan "One down—68 to go!"

It is precisely now, as the labour movement and the employing class are set on a collision course, that the Labour left are exposing themselves as completely and utterly bankrupt. The fiasco of their attempt since 1968 to run the Socialist Charter movement has left them without even the pretence of an organization to counter the machine of the Wilson leadership and the Jenkinsites. Let's have no more excuses about the need before we can act, to get the "ideas" of a socialist programme accepted first. The need is for an organization to make sure Labour implements the programme of Clause Four we've now got.

SAVE OUR RAILWAYS!

by

CHRIS TAYLOR

and KEVIN MOORE

(NUR)

YOU'VE PROBABLY HEARD of the Whitehall plan to halve our railway system—from 11,600 miles of track to 7,000 miles or less. The confidential Department of the Environment report has provoked a public outcry since it was exposed by the Sunday Times last month.

Under the proposals, 8,000 of us who work on the railways will lose our jobs—IN ADDITION to the 26,000 already to be made redundant in the next decade under existing British Rail plans.

Do you think this "streamlining" will increase travelling times, comfort or efficiency? Not at all. The plan is not aimed to suit you—"the travelling public"—in any way. Those of you living in large areas of Scotland, Cumberland, Lincolnshire, East Anglia, Central Wales and the West of England (see map) will be without rail services at all.

You will have to go by road. 16,000 more cars and 600 more buses, the report estimates, will come on to the highways as a result of the closures. The roads will suddenly become far more congested. In addition to passenger traffic, 62 million tons of British Rail's yearly 196 million tons of freight will be transferred to heavy lorries, which will travel an extra 450 million miles on the roads. The report estimates that car accidents causing injury would rise by 380 per year by 1981, with an extra 85 bus accidents yearly causing injuries.

The number of us to be killed in the additional accidents has yet to be finally computed. But whatever the figure is, we can be quite sure that it will be fully justified on grounds of "financial saving".

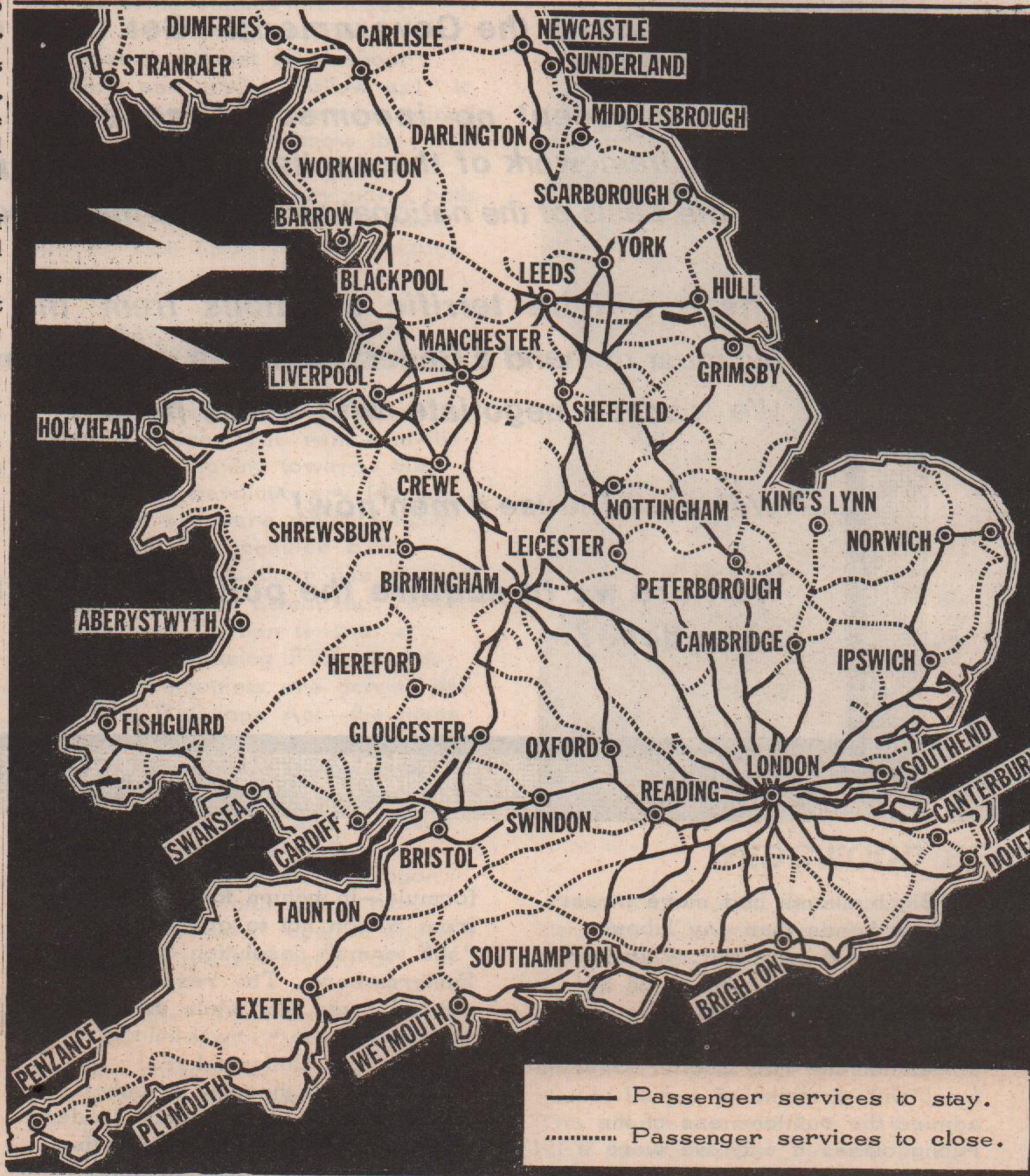
SAVINGS

Say the Department of the Environment officials:

"Finding an acceptable solution along commercial lines will not be easy. But the alternative appears to be to accept that for social, economic, environmental or political reasons major changes in the present railway are unthinkable. This would mean that large and ever-increasing revenue subsidies to the railways would be inevitable. We do not see how the acceptance of this position could be justified."

Their cuts are aimed to alleviate a position in which, they say, the Railway's deficit of £40 million this year could rise to £70 million next year and more than £100 million by 1976.

Probably we don't have to explain to you what the motives for the "savings" really are. You need not think long to realize that the more our rulers savage the railway system, the more money they will make out of haulage on the roads, manufacturing cars, constructing motor ways, selling us petrol and so on. They couldn't care a fig about what they call "the nation", about the transport system as a whole or about the masses of people like us who are forced to suffer the escalating devastation, noise, fumes and accidents of private road transport for the sake of their profits. They are just interested in cutting "unnecessary Government expenditure".



ABOVE: Where passenger services will end if official planners get their way.

They mean expenditure like that on hospitals, schools—or railways. Expenditure for which they must help pay in taxes without receiving any immediate profits back for themselves in return.

These are the class of people who fought against the idea of a Free National Health Service—arguing that medical practices and hospitals ought to be run (as they still are in America) as money-making enterprises.

These are the class of people our movement had to fight tooth and nail to make education free and for everyone, instead of being the privilege of those who could afford to pay.

And today, these are the people who will slash our railways to nothing and will—for exactly the same reasons—fight to the bitter end to prevent the introduction of a FREE TRANSPORT SYSTEM, which is the only alternative to their plans.

Of course the railways must "lose money". Just as hospitals, ambulances, fire engines and schools "lose money"! But these "money-losers" are necessary for the survival of the community! So—it is becoming increasingly clear—is a FREE public transport system.

In terms of the savings to society, its benefits—like those of the other social services—would almost infinitely outweigh the costs. People would use the railways much more if they were free. The roads would begin to clear of private cars. Buses would be able to move again. Pub-

lic transport would be operating at capacity instead of half-empty. General efficiency would be multiplied. Traffic noise and pollution would diminish. And vast resources now spent on the motor industry could be diverted in stages to overhead mono-rail projects and still more ambitious schemes.

But all of this requires the working class seizure of power. Under the existing social system, any scheme for the abandonment of fare-paying would put thousands of us—clerical staff, ticket-collectors and others—out of work. Our unions simply won't have it. The Advanced Passenger Train is already threatening us with massive redundancies which we are having to fight with all we've got. But under our own class rule, once full employment was absolutely guaranteed, the savings in labour-time would have a totally transformed meaning. A 30-hour week on the railways—and before long even a 20-hour week with no loss of pay—would be welcome to us all. We don't want work for work's sake. We want jobs and a livelihood. Threaten us with loss of these and we'll say NO to any "labour-saving" plans of British Rail. Guarantee us our livelihood and we'll be the most ardent fans of all the most up-to-date automation and modernization schemes which science can devise

TAKE OVER!

Since our strike victory in May,

the B.R. Board has been finding it harder and harder to keep down. Despite the sell-out attempt of the union leaders (particularly Green of the NUR) militancy has perhaps never been higher.

As for the proposed service-cut railwaymen are simply not going to stand for them. Already our union leaders have gone some way in denouncing the plans. Sid Weighell, NUR Assistant General Secretary said after the Sunday Times exposure: "This is an act of revenge by the Government because we gave them a black eye earlier this year. An attempt to destroy this valuable national asset will be fought tooth and nail by the NUR." What ACTION he had in mind has not yet been revealed, however.

But among railmen, some of us are beginning to draw our own conclusions. Factory-occupations by other workers have shown us one way forward. The fight for our job as railmen is also:

- the fight of all workers for the RIGHT TO WORK;
- the fight of all passengers to PRESERVE THEIR NATIONALIZED RAILWAY SYSTEM;
- and the fight of our whole trade union and labour movement to BRING DOWN THIS EMPLOYERS' GOVERNMENT.

No-one will look to our interests unless we take things into our own hands ourselves. That is perhaps the most obvious lesson of every strike. But much the same applies to Governments too. We can say firmly: NO Government will modernize whilst guaranteeing full employment, introduce a free public transport system as a social service or guarantee our living interests as workers and as a class—UNLESS WE OURSELVES, producers and consumers, operators and passengers, are actually running the railway system and the social system as a whole.

As the wider labour movement enters into an all-out collision with the Tories and as the conditions for a General Strike begin to arise, some of us are preparing to play our part. We say ALL railwaymen must be ready when the time comes to follow the example of other workers' occupations and actually seize control of the railway network to save their jobs.

In the long run it is simply the only way. Not in isolation, but in conjunction with the whole of our movement—the machinery of power headed by the TUC and the Labour Party—we must organize to seize the stations, junctions, signal boxes and trains, elect workers' committees (with passengers' representatives) to run them, re-arrange the time-tables, re-open closed lines, take back dismissed workers and guarantee jobs to all existing employees including clerical staff. On that basis, through the establishment of a Government resting on the rule of our own class, we could refuse to collect fares any longer and operate the railway system for the new state power as a social service. The railways will then operate for a transformed economy geared not to private profit but to people's needs.

WHAT IS CENTRISM?

Chris Knight

IF YOU FOLLOWED LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE ON television, you may have noticed a good number of speakers who seemed considerably to the left of Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo and the other TRIBUNE MPs. You may have heard, for example, the speech of Ken Coates on Party Democracy, or Harry Selby on U.C.S. and workers' control. Or you may have heard what was undoubtedly the best speech of the entire Conference—that of Pat Wall on Clause IV. These elements in the Labour Party speak in the language of class-struggle. They do so to such an extent that they are generally looked upon as "revolutionaries" by those to their right in the Party.

In actual fact they would be revolutionaries were it not for one thing: their resolute refusal to match WORDS with DEEDS and to build a democratic-centralist revolutionary party to carry through the working class seizure of power. They would be revolutionaries but for their refusal:

- (a) to raise the question of a revolutionary party within the Labour Party;
- (b) to organize among the armed forces;
- (c) to prepare practically for the seizure of state power in the coming General Strike;
- (d) to take part with socialists in other countries in the work of constructing and reconstructing the new (or "Fourth") International.

On every one of these questions these people hedge and squirm, agreeing "in principle" but keeping quiet about it in practice, falling back on ardent talk of "socialism" and contenting themselves with smug pride in their "correct ideas" or their "growing influence" in the labour movement.

In keeping with the traditions of the revolutionary movement, we term such people "centrists". The centrist wavers between reformism and the proletarian revolution. He knows what is wrong with the capitalist system and its reformist quacks. He often has even a good intellectual "understanding" of marxism. But he still retains from his background or political past the psychology of the middle-class and its agencies in the working class movement. He may be outraged to be told that his approach bears religious characteristics. But, even if only in his subconscious—and despite his formal adherence to the class-struggle—he systematically evades the most difficult questions, seeks to solve practical problems by purely theoretical means, adopts formulae which seem to him emotionally satisfying even if in practice they lead to no action whatsoever, and generally looks to salvation in being possessed of the correct state of mind.

The most perfect example of a centrist tendency is the MILITANT group. In theory they will agree with everything you say. Soldiers' Trade Union Rights? Yes, we've got it in our programme. Revolutionary Party? Yes, yes, yes, we're building it all the time. Preparation for the General Strike? Yes, the best preparation is to campaign for socialism. The Fourth International? Yes, we're it, you know.

In practice it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that this group does nothing at all. That is why, although they are two or three hundreds strong and have almost totally dominated the Labour Party

Young Socialists for several years, scarcely anyone in the broader labour movement has even heard of them or knows of their existence!

They have conducted no fight at all for the expulsion of the 69 Labour traitors from the Party. Despite their size, they have not been prominent in any industrial work. Not a finger has been lifted for the soldiers' movement in practical terms. Not one word is ever said in public to combat prominent fellow-centrists (such as Eric Heffer) who speak on their platforms—whether on the question of their hostility to the building of a revolutionary party or anything else.

The question of the General Strike is never mentioned at all by these people unless you put them on the spot. And even then they say they are against a General Strike "because we would lose it"! The fact that this very danger is just the reason for warning of the inevitability of a General Strike in the coming period and PREPARING NOW is conveniently forgotten. They rationalize the oversight on the ludicrous basis that calling for nationalization in itself constitutes adequate preparation.

An inevitable consequence of their position on the General Strike was that during the "Pentonville Five" week they politically scabbed. In alliance with Vic Feather they did their best to turn what was already an incipient revolutionary threat to the state—back into the harmless channels of a 24-hour "protest" stoppage. Had they been in charge the strike would have been called off once the 24 hours were up—regardless of the outcome!

The centrist's stumbling block is the question of power. He "doesn't disagree" with you when challenged. He just evades the question wherever possible and prefers to dwell on pleasanter things.

At the MILITANT meeting at Labour Party Conference, Ted Grant, one of the leaders of this group, made the following statement: "If they really wanted to, the next Labour Government could take the power from the ruling class peacefully and through Parliament." True, when challenged by CHARTISTS he qualified this. He added the words "in conjunction with industrial action". But that is still incorrect and dangerous. The question of the armed power of the state wasn't raised.

The difference between centrism and bolshevism is brought home starkly when we compare such cowardly drivel with the words of Leon Trotsky:

"Only a workers' party freed from pacifist cataracts in its eyes can see itself and explain to the proletariat that the real transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another depends in immeasurably greater degree upon the British Army and the British navy than upon Parliament."

NOT TO HIS LIKING

THE SOLDIER'S FRIENDS

FRIENDS of the "Soldiers' Trade Union Rights Movement" whom I encountered at this year's Brighton TUC conference are also here distributing literature about this latest manifestation of democracy.

Perhaps it need not be taken too seriously. I suppose the head of MI5, whoever he is, knows about it.

What slightly bothers me however, is that the Labour party has so many daft elements nowadays that this group may win more support than people might expect.

The STURM men say it will

be difficult for the "working class to take power without winning the soldiers to our sides."

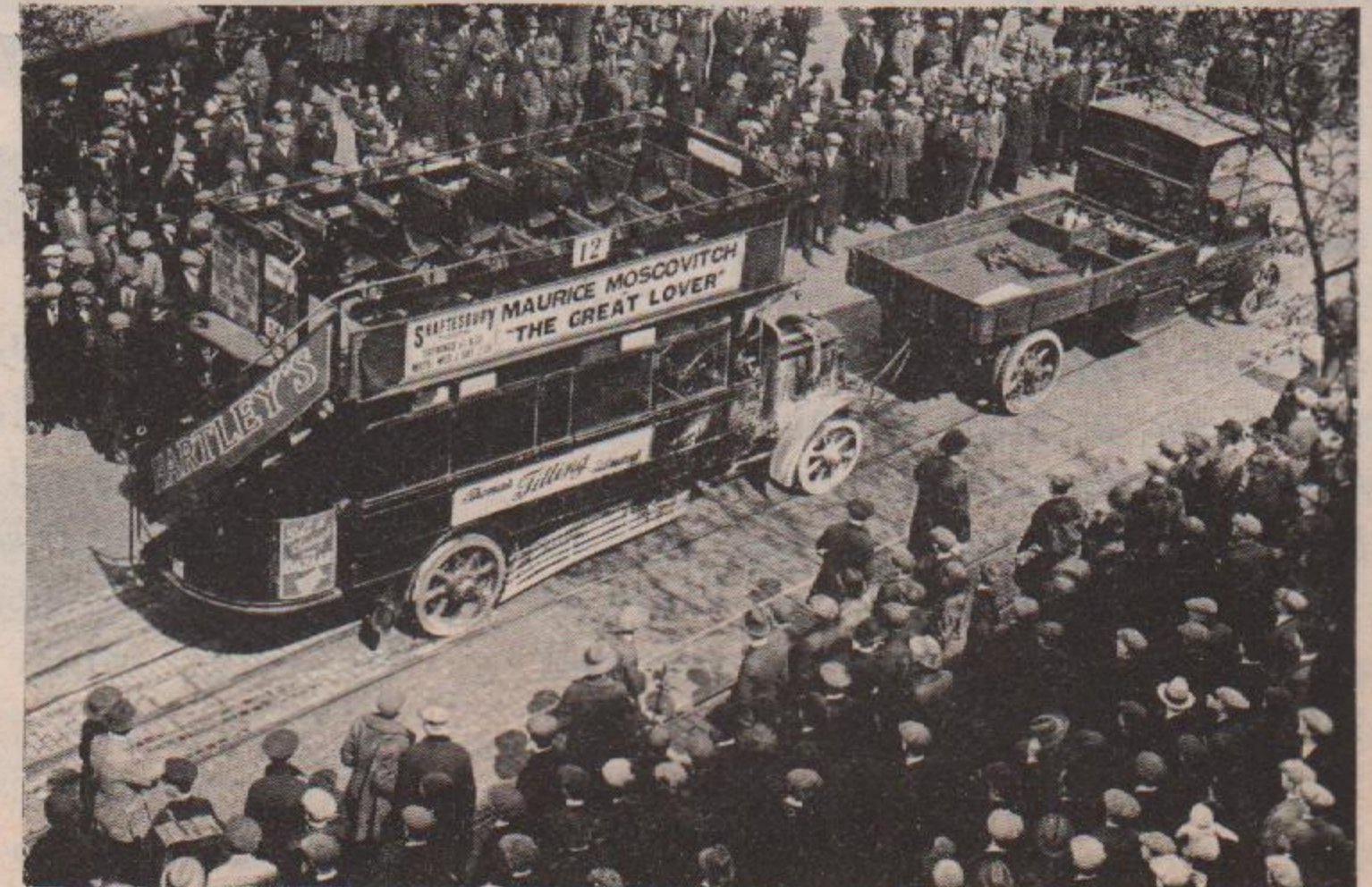
What that really means is that they want members of the armed forces to be able to appeal to their shop stewards against being told by an unelected officer class to unload perishable cargoes and that sort of thing during some future national emergency.

Having the armed forces around thus to help in maintaining the essentials of life in the present system of society is obviously not to their liking.

Frankly, as one who has never regarded it as inconceivable that a Red could get under my bed, I do not like the look of this.

CHARTISTS cannot speak for the Soldiers' Trade Union Rights Movement, who have their own political views. But we are pretty sure they won't bother much that Robert Carvel "doesn't like the look of" their struggle for the basic right to organize. Tories like Robert Carvel aren't supposed to like the look of it.

BOOK REVIEW



A bus, immobilized by strikers, being towed away

THE GENERAL STRIKE by Chris Farman

Hart Davies, £3.50

IF YOU THINK OUR LEADERS today are bad...then read through the pages of this book and see what their predecessors were doing in 1926.

In the months before the General Strike, as Farman writes, "they proceeded on the assumption that the best way of avoiding a clash with the Government was not to prepare for one". Meanwhile in the nine months between Red Friday and the outbreak of the strike the Government was laying its plans. Vast quantities of food, coal and petrol were stockpiled. Raids were made on Communist Party offices and leading militants (including 200 South Wales anthracite miners) were arrested and imprisoned. And the strike-breaking "Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies" was built up brazenly with Government support.

As the strike itself got under way, National Union of Railwaymen Secretary Jimmy Thomas burst out in the Commons: "I know the Government's position. I have never disguised that in a challenge to the Constitution, God help us unless the Government won...but this is not only not a revolution, it is not something that says, 'We want to overthrow everything'. It is merely a plain, economic, industrial dispute..."

Compare this with the lead the Tories gave to their class. According to the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, the Government "found itself challenged with an alternative Government" in the shape of the TUC. The TUC leaders themselves were "threatening the basis of ordered

Government, and going nearer to proclaiming civil war than we have been for centuries past...it is not wages that are imperilled; it is the freedom of our very Constitution". The representatives of the ruling class—unlike those of Labour—understood fully what a General Strike meant. As Churchill emphasised: "It is a conflict which fought out to a conclusion can only end in the overthrow of Parliamentary Government or its decisive victory." Exactly. George Lansbury put it well later when he said "Of course, the General Strike must be revolutionary. The strike of 1926 was led by a General Council who did not realize this when they reluctantly authorised the struggle. And they drew back from it as soon as they understood its full implications".

The TUC called the strike off not because it wasn't succeeding but because it was succeeding too well. The day after their sell-out there were 100,000 more workers on strike than before.

There are lessons here for groups such as the International Socialists and the Socialist Labour League. It is no use calling for General Strikes aimed at freeing people from prison or securing General Elections. A General Strike whose aim is anything less than the overthrow of the Constitution and the conquest of state power is doomed to fail.

Farman's is in many ways an excellent book. Unfortunately, the price is diabolical—£3.50 for less than 300 pages. If you can't afford to buy it, make sure your library stocks a copy.

by Graham Bash

SMASH TAVERNE LABOUR TRAITORS—OUT!

by PAUL MOORE

THE BY-ELECTION AT LINCOLN caused by the resignation of Dick Taverne is no ordinary one. It is a test case for the fight against the Common Market, and affects the very existence of the Tory Government.

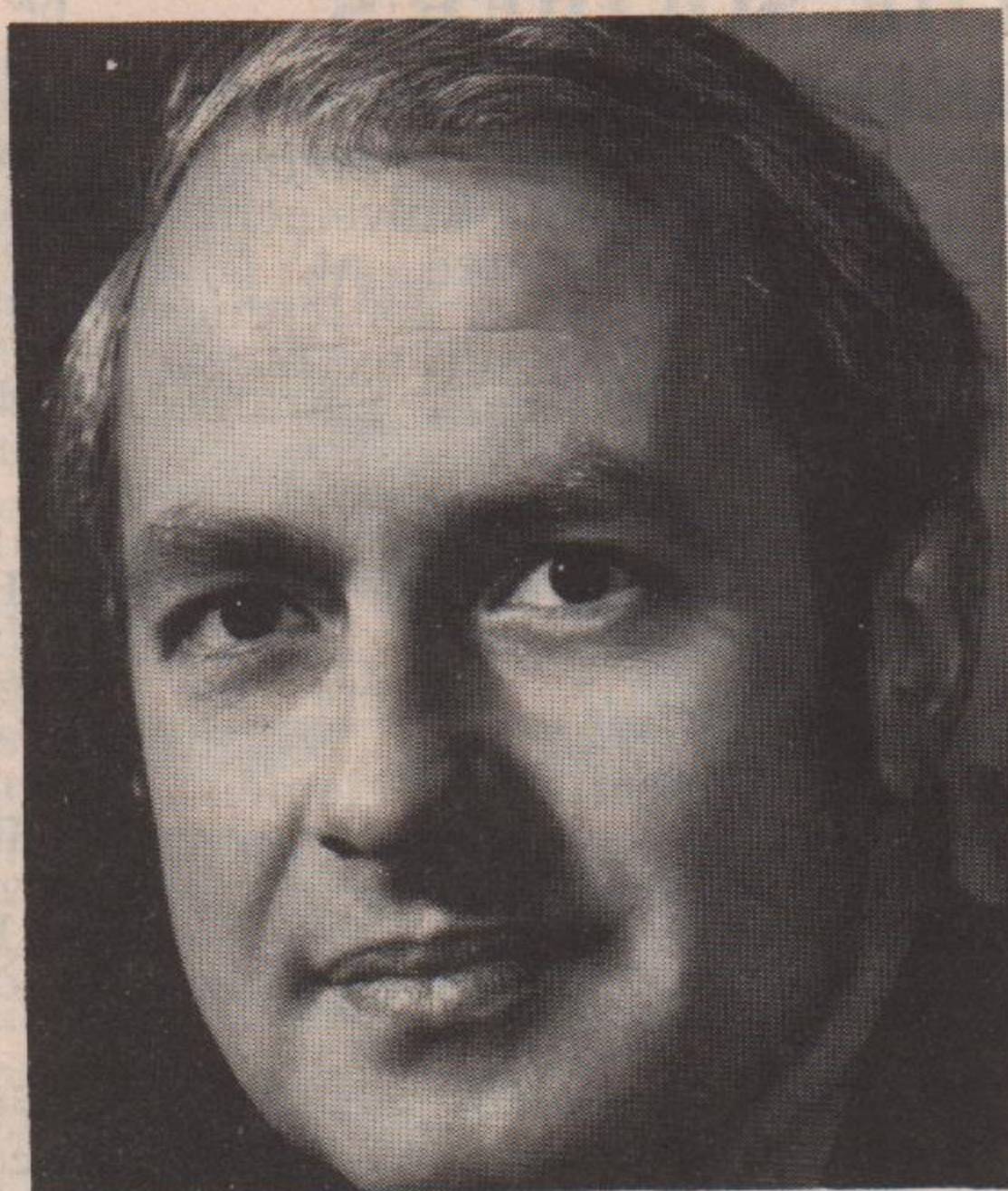
Taverne, who was rejected by his local Labour Party for voting with the Tories, recently resigned his Parliamentary seat and announced his intention to fight it again. This time, he will stand as a "Democratic Labour" candidate against the official Labour candidate, showing his attitude to the Labour Party: "If it doesn't guarantee a good career, I'm not interested!"

Ever since October 1971, when 69 Labour MPs led by Roy Jenkins voted for Common Market entry, the Press has heaped praise upon these "men of integrity".

The papers expressed their gratitude in this way to those who preserved the Tory Government in office at a time when it could have been brought down.

They didn't forget to add a few kind words, however, to Harold Wilson, the man who "prevented a split"—in other words prevented the rank-and-file from expelling Jenkins and Taverne from the Labour Party (as should have been done months ago).

Even now, when his Tory policies are open for all to see, Taverne is left to do as he likes. Having escaped being kicked out at this year's Labour Party Conference, he is still allowed to go about holding a Labour Party membership card. How far does one have to go before being expelled from the Labour Party?



DICK TAVERNE

Since the 69 scabbed last year, Lincoln Labour Party have stood almost alone in actually doing something with any of these traitors. Harold Wilson, Wedgwood Benn, Michael Foot and even the "marxist" Labour Party Young Socialists at national level have all in their different ways sought to avoid a confrontation which would have pushed out the right wing rump.

Wilson spent the Labour Party Conference doing an excellent job as defence lawyer for Jenkins, who did not dare speak himself at Conference for fear of provoking a confrontation and being howled down by the delegates. In a witty speech, Wilson said that the delegates should be fighting the Tories, not each other. He didn't explain how you can fight the Tories when your own leaders are helping them stay in office. But that wasn't a big surprise, coming from the man who spent

years doing his best for the bankers and businessmen by trying to get Britain into the Market himself, and only changed sides when he saw that he would lose his position of leadership if he didn't.

Michael Foot of the TRIBUNE group wasn't far behind in pleading for "no reprisals" and doing a cover-up job for the pro-marketeters. He just had different reasons—it wasn't fair. Speaking of disciplinary action he said in the Market debate "We can't use these methods".

But the Common Market is not about "fair play". It is part of a ruthless plan by the Tories to boost profits and drive down wages. The Common Market vote was a matter not of conscience but of class interest and any leader opposing that interest should be OUT.

Although at Conference it was not always easy to tell, the leadership of the Labour Party Young Socialists is supposed to be further to the left than the TRIBUNE group. They called at Conference for nationalization (which the N.E.C. were doing as well). But when it came to the

Market debate, they joined in the general chorus of those who said they were "against a witch-hunt" to drive out the Jenkinsite traitors like Taverne. "Militant" supporter Lynn Walsh said it was all a question of "ideas, not individuals". So as long as the correct "ideas" were all agreed—i.e. resolutions on Clause 4 were passed—it didn't matter about Tories remaining in the Labour Party.

PATCHED UP

So Conference ended with the split patched up, and a great opportunity was lost to drive out the right wing. The marketeters put their heads on the chopping block, but no-one took up the axe.

However, despite the lack of any national and co-ordinated action against the Jenkinsites, at least Lincoln has acted and Taverne is out. Now the Lincoln comrades need full support from every tenant, trade unionist and Labour supporter who wants to see the back of this Government. A victory for Labour in Lincoln will be a real blow for the Tories!

Tory M.P. doubts reliability of troops.

WE KNEW OUR CAMPAIGN in support of the Soldiers' Trade Union Rights Movement was having an effect. Camps throughout Britain have had to be posted with notices forbidding soldiers to read the leaflets CHARTISTS have been distributing to them at railway stations weekly for the past year. Soldiers have also been instructed in the same orders to report on any of their comrades distributing the leaflets.

CHARTISTS in London have found that the response from soldiers at railway stations—always more or less cheerful—has in recent weeks suddenly become more serious and interested. Reports from the soldiers' movement itself give a similar picture of increasing

support from the inside. It seems the decision to combat the movement has in fact only served to increase its support.

Still, we didn't know things had got to the point where Tory politicians were beginning to doubt the political "reliability" of their Army... until we saw a report in the TIMES on October 21. Mr John Biffen, Conservative MP for Oswestry, speaking in his Constituency on October 20 advocated creating a special military body (a "trained reserve force" in his words) separate and apart from the Army. This would be for use in "any future challenges to lawful authority". It would, he said, "minimize the likelihood of having to use the Army in civil disturbances". Say no more.

VAUXHALL LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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