CHARTIST

LABOUR'S REVOLUTIONARY VOICE No.9 5P

TAKE OVER THE MONOPOLIES!

NEC Calls for Extensive Nationalization'

LABOUR'S NEW 'PROGRAMME FOR BRITAIN' CALLS FOR THE nationalization of "some twenty-five" of Britain's most profitable firms. This is to be a start towards creating "a society based on co-operation instead of competition; where production is for peoples' needs, not for

private profit". There are those who say the plan won't win Labour the next election. They are talking rubbish. It is ONLY with a clear break from the policies of the Wilson Government that Labour CAN win. To gain the support of the working class, Labour must

- OPPOSE the giant monopolies
- REFUSE to do their business for them any more
- REFUSE to continue curbing wages and boosting prices for the sake of their profits
- SUPPORT all workers now in extracting pay-rises from them against 'Phase 3'
- DENY them the right to close down plants and cause thousands of lay-offs as they please
- INSIST on equal pay immediately and a £30 National Minimum Wage
- INSIST on production for need instead of profit

and in this way show the whole working class that they CANNOT deliver the goods and MUST be taken over

THESE ARE THE 25!

The following are Britain's largest 25 companies ranked by sales:

| ı | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--------|
| | 1 British Petroleum (£3,153M) | 13 Dunlop Holdings (| £585M) |
| ı | 2 Shell Transport & Trading | 14 Shipping Industrial (| £578M) |
| l | (£2,900M) | 15 Guest, Keen and Nettlefol | |
| ١ | 3 British-American Tobacco | | £565M) |
| ١ | (£1,850M) | 16 Reed International (| £502M) |
| ١ | 4 Imperial Chemical Industries | | £472M) |
| ١ | (£1,500M) | | £463M) |
| ١ | 5 Unilever (£1,400M) | | £453M) |
| ١ | 6 Imperial Group (£1,300M) | Assign to the first transfer transfer to the first transfer transfer to the first transfer t | |
| ١ | 7 British Leyland (£1,200M) | | £446M |
| ١ | 8 General Electric Company | 21 Great Universal Stores (| |
| ١ | (£924M) | 22 British Insulated Callender | |
| 1 | 9 Courtaulds (£680M) | | £443M |
| 1 | 10 Esso (£677M) | 23 Allied Breweries | |
| - | 11 Ford (£590M) | 24 Distillers Company | |
| 1 | 12 Associated British Foods (£585M) | 25 Ranks Hovis McDougall (| £407M |
| | | | |



HAROLD WILSON (ABOVE), LEADER OF THE LABOUR PARTY, WANTS TO RETURN TO THE DISCREDITED POLICIES OF HIS 1964-1970 ADMINISTRATION. COMPLETE-LY OVERRIDING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR PARTY, HE ANNOUNCED IT WAS "INCONCEIVABLE" THAT HE WOULD FIGHT THE NEXT ELECTION WITH THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALIZATION PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1973.

INSIDE:

LABOUR PARTY IN CRISIS



THE CHARTIST

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LABOUR'S PROGRAMME

AT A TEN-HOUR meeting on the night of 30 May, the Labour Party's National Executive Committee made a decision.

It was not a very revolutionary decision. But by seven votes to six, it resolved that the next Labour Government should nationalize twenty-five leading manufacturing companies.

The companies were to be selected, not on the grounds of their particular bankruptcy or inefficiency but, on the contrary, "on the basis of the use to which their resources could be put". They would be selected from among Britain's profitable firms.

It was the nearest the NEC dared get to the instructions given it by Labour's Annual Conference last year. Conference had specified an Enabling Act by the next Labour Government to nationalize, with minimum compensation and under workers' control, Britain's major monopolies as a whole.

Compared with this programme, the NEC's decision was mild indeed. Not only did it limit itself for no apparent reason to the figure of twenty-five firms. It also directly defied Conference by reneging on the commitment to workers' control. And instead of specifying an Enabling Act and minimum compensation, its perspective was clearly one of piecemeal "purchasing" at the prices current on the Stock Exchange. It was a thoroughly muddled, timid and reformist decision altogether.

But even this was far too strong for Harold Wilson. It was, he announced, "inconceivable that the party or its leader would go into a General Election on this proposal, nor could any incoming Labour Government be so committed."

Support

In terms of the Labour Party Constitution, it was an astounding statement. Whatever proposals the NEC might put to Conference, whatever Conference itself might decide, Party the Leader was giving notice that he, personally, had already decided what would be in Labour's programme and what would not.

The capitalist press went ecstatic with joy-particularly the papers which fraudulently claim to support Labour. "Wilson Puts the Boot In!" screamed the SUN, which explained that at last Harold had displayed qualities of true statesmanship by having "cut the feet from under the wild men of Labour's National Executive."

Roy Jenkins also hurried to the Labour leader's side. "Mr Wilson's statement demands my very strong support", he declared, "I'm against dogma on this public ownership issue."

And "Aims of Industry" promised Wilson its 'support' with a new anti-nationalization campaign on

the lines of the "Mr Cube" propaganda of the 'forties.

It was clear that Harold Wilson had friends everywhere in the right places. But in the labour and trade union movement, the result was to fan the flames of a furious revolt.

The words of leading "left" MPs and trade union leaders were doubtless only a pale reflection of what Party activists throughout the country felt. "Mr Wilson", charged Renee Short MP, "is attempting to preempt Labour Conference decisions in an unseemly manner". She wondered "if Mr Wilson is afraid of being clobbered again by a modern Mr Cube". Norman Atkinson MP complained that Wilson's first response to the programme had been "an assurance to the City and industrial interests." And then Party Secretary Ron Hayward made it fairly clear that he felt "unhappy" about Wilson's statement, which he considered "unecessary."

Issues

But what are the issues involved? When Jenkins says he is against "dogmatic"nationalization he means this. He means he's against nationalizing to gain power for the working class. He wants us to "examine each case on its merits." In other words, we're to take over companies only if they are "failing the nation." If they are massive loss-making white-elephants, we can have them. If they are huge profitmakers like the Prudential or ICI or British Leyland-we can't. That would be "dogmatic".

Michael Foot, too, is against what he calls on the front page of TRIBUNE (June 8) "oldfashioned fundamentalist ideas". He too wants us to take over only "particular" industries in cases "where the public interest required."

Both of these bankrupt reformists in their slightly different ways are only interested in piecemeal "improvements" of the capitalist system. That's why they're against taking over 25 profitable firms. There would be no point in taking them over unless the objective was the "dogmatic" or

POLITICAL one of tackling big

business for its POWER.

Crisis

And these people know-as all in the Labour Party should knowwhat would happen the moment a Labour Government took steps along such lines.

Immediately all hell would be let loose. It would be said that the Labour leaders were "Bolsheviks" (a recent letter in the TIMES described Wedgwood Benn's policies as

communism"). All the legal experts in order not to surrender. A would say Labour's Bills were the old, conservative levers an "un-constitutional".

cipitate a "Constitutional Crisis". would have to be formed to tak For who is really sovereign in their place and gain the upper hand law? The Labour majority in the Commons? Or the "Queen in outline-would be required: Parliament"? All her "advisors" would remind the Queen that it was her "exceptional" duty in this "unprecedented Constitutional crisis" to refuse the Royal Assent Labour Government's nationalization Bills.

Even under the last Labour Government there was talk in the ruling-class press on this point. When Gordon Walker wrote a book early in 1970 saying the Crown could no longer refuse 3. Confiscation of ALL majo Royal Assent to an Act of Parliament, a number of Tories protested. In the Sunday Telegraph the Tory MP Charles Curran wrote that such "sweeping statements fail ... to recognise the reserve power of the Crown in a revolutionary situation. Like a bee's sting, this could be used once only. Yet it might change the course of our history". (Sunday Telegraph 19.4.70)

Paralysis

The ruling class as a whole takes this for granted. The Monarchy has not been retained for nothing all these years. A Labour Government which tried to really take the power from the capitalist class would find itself blocked. It couldn't take over firms "gradually" and "gently" so that the ruling class perhaps wouldn't notice (which is what the authors of Labour's programme seem to hope). Our opponents aren't that stupid. The moment they even slightly suspected Labour was embarked on a programme of taking power, they would immediately mobilize to bring down Government. They would take their stand on the very FIRST industry proposed for nationaliz-

The Government would suddenly find all its levers and instruments of power becoming paralysed in its hands. The Courts, the top civil servants, the bureaucratic Whitehall machinery, the great banks and Treasury officials, the mass media, the police, the Armed Services-all these would rally to "defend the Queen and Constitution" against "Bolshevik tyranny". And what could the Labour Government do? It would be no use crying indignantly that the Queen had no "right" to refuse the Royal Assent! Again it is not for nothing that the Armed Forces swear allegiance not to Parliament but to the Queen.

New State

There would be only one thing "hard line the Labour Government could do

apparatus of power proved un And that would immediately pre- usable, so a NEW apparatu

The following steps-in broa

- 1. Emergency joint Labour an TUC Conference to act a replacement of "Queen i Parliament" in debating an enacting legislation.
- 2. Guarantee of trade unio rights to Soldiers, Sailor and Airmen, giving power to arrest officers engaged i anti-Government activity.
- monopolies through trade union mobilization and occup ation of plant.
- 4. Abolition of Monarchy.
- 5. Complete re-organization Labour Movement on basis elected workers' councils.
- 6. Defence of expropriated pro perty with barricades, work ers' defence units etc. a and where needed.
- 7. Take-over of mass-medithrough the trade-unions con cerned.
- 8. Take-over of major publi buildings, communications points etc.
- 9. Seizure of full state power on above basis and implementation of production plan.
- 10. Appeal for support from European and world working class.

It is because it would involv taking steps along these lines that we can be ABSOLUTEL' CERTAIN that NONE of th present Labour leaders will i fact extend nationalization on an scale into the profitable sector of industry. And since they won! break the power of the monopolies they will allow themselves to b ruled by them.

Leadership

That is why we say to our comrades in the Labour Party: if you are serious about the nationalization programme of the NEC-if you REALLY want our movement to start taking over the profitable monopolies—then the time to make preparations is now It will require an iron-hard and determined revolutionary leadership of the labour movement and its Government. There is only one tendency in the Labour Party which is committed to providing such leadership and preparing for the future tasks here and now. We may be small, but events in the Labour Party are moving our way. If you are serious about the struggle for powergive us your support.

FOOD PRICES ROCKET

FOOD PRICES ARE NOW SOARING at a staggering pace. Figures published by the GROCER magazine show they are now rising faster than at any time since the Tory Government introduced its phoney "freeze". Between May 1972 and May this year, the rise was a massive 18.3 per cent. This compares with a rise of 3.4 per cent between May 1971 and May 1972—when there wasn't supposed to be a freeze! If we take each month's figures since the "freeze" was supposed to have started, and compare them with prices in the same month the year before, we get the following picture:

December 1972 + 8.5 %
January 1973 +11.8 %
February +12.8 %
March +15.1 %
April +19.0 %
May +18.3 %

CHARTIST June 1973 Face Four

In other words, the rate of increase has been accelerating hard since the "freeze" started. The "freeze" has been hitting pricerises the way a fire-hose spraying petrol hits the flames.

Chartists Win

CHARTISTS Adrian Ratcliffe and Denis Knight were elected Labour Councillors in the Tunbridge Wells District elections on June 7.

I.S. banned

THE CURRENT SPATE of attacks on left-wing groups in trade unions was opened by Roy Grantham, the General Secretary of APEX.

Annual Conference (Scarborough, May 12-14) counted only two delegates prepared to speak in support of the proscription of the International Socialists and the banning of the militant rank-and-file group in the union, APEX Action. Speaker after speaker in fact rose to oppose the Executive on this issue. But Grantham still managed to "save the day" and persuade a majority of the delegates to back the platform, smearing the militants as splitters and wreckers in the usual way.

T.S.S.A.

OPPOSITION to the Railway Field Organization—a plan by the railway management to cut back on jobs and move offices about—was decisively crushed at the Conference of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association last month.

The delegates, two-thirds of whom represented railway clerks, rejected a call for non-co-operation.

Two members, both of 30 years standing, were expelled from the union for forming an "anti-Field Organization" which they had done openly, sending leaflets to the Executive.

The union's president, Tom Bradley, who advocated the expulsions, forgot to mention during the Conference one of his own recent "unconstitutional actions".

Having got away with voting with the Tory Government over the Common Market in 1971, he felt confident enough more recently to overturn a Labour Party Conference decision on the National Executive of the Labour Party.

The decision reversed was the reimbursing of Labour Councillors
surcharged for resisting the Tory
Rent Act by not raising rents—
which in Bradley's eyes encourages
"anarchy".

ICI's union policy

HIGH ON THE LIST OF BRITAIN'S 25 top companies ripe for nationalization is Imperial Chemical Industries. We can expect a good deal of opposition from the Company, however. Just how much can be guaged from its reaction merely to an attempt to unionize its white-collar staff.

A memorandum from heads of department sent out a few weeks ago says "it would be a serious breach of our position if this note were to be read by anyone other than the individual to whom it is addressed and his personnel officer." The reason for the

ROYAL BURDEN

ONE ISSUE not mentioned in the Labour Party NEC's new "Programme for Britain" is the Monarchy. Princess Anne's engagement, however—and the announcement that her allowance on marriage will be raised from £15,000 to £35,000 per year—provoked Arthur Latham, Willy Hamilton and a number of other Labour MPs to question why we fork out so much cash for its upkeep.

The following were the increases given to members of the Royal Family last year:

THE QUEEN up from £475,000 to £980,000 a year DUKE OF EDINBURGH £40,000 to £65,000 ,, QUEEN MOTHER £70,000 to £95,000 ,, PRINCESS MARGARET £15,000 to £35,000 ,, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER £35,000 to £45,000 ,,

The Prince of Wales gets £105,000 tax-free—half the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. Princes Andrew and Edward get £10,000 a year to £20,000 each until they marry and then £50,000 a year. In addition, in the financial year 1971-72, the following payments were made: Royal Yacht £839,000; Queen's Flight, £700,000; Royal Palaces, £974,000. The Queen's personal fortune is thought to be about £50million.

nel officer." The reason for the desired secrecy is fairly clear. The Company's white-collar staff are now being balloted about their views on unionization, and the memorandum reads: "The company must maintain—at least up to the ballots—a position of public neutrality". But despite this "public" position, "the company would like to influence staff opinion—to the extent that this is legitimately possible—so that the

staff common interest groups reject the respective union claims for collective bargaining arrangements."

The company sees unionization as "an unhelpful development", and says it doesn't welcome unions for its white-collar workers because "they fundamentally

do not share the company's in-

terests and objectives."

impending ballots of the super-

visor and scientific and technical

General & Municipal



ABOVE: The Islington No 1 Branch of the General and Municipal Workers' Union debated instructions from the London Regional Office of the Union not to carry banners on demonstrations. They eventually decided to defy the instructions and take banners on the May Day demonstration in London. They were somewhat surprised to see themselves on the front cover (above) of the Union's journal a few weeks later.

TO MARK the end of his despotic reign in the General and Municipal Workers' Union, Lord Cooper was recently given a special banquet by his grateful officials.

It was a sordid business, accurately reflecting much that is most wrong with the trade union movement as a whole.

The guest list included Vic Feather, whose position on the TUC owed much to Cooper's adroit manoeuverings. Present too was W. Cambell Adamson, boss of the CBI. Harold Wilson managed to drop in for a while to bid farewell to the man he knighted for his contribution to industrial harmony. And the invitations stretched to brothers Chapple and Callaghan, who doubtless remember the days when Cooper's block vote was enough to ensure their election at Annual Conference to the Labour Party NEC.

The face-stuffing session was held at that well-known tradesunion centre in Park Lane in London's West End—the Grosvenor
Hotel. Incidentally, the hotel has refused to recognize or negotiate with its employees. Guess which union they belong to? Yes, right first time. The National Union of General and Municipal Workers.

Whilst on the subject of the G&M, it appears that at last a real opposition to the leadership is emerging, although as yet only in London.

A meeting of Inner London activists recently decided to set up an action committee to fight for change in the union. It will now hold regular monthly meetings and attempt to build a real force in the union. Represented at the first meeting were workers from municipal authorities, hospitals and gas depots.

Any NUGMWmember reading this who is interested in joining, please write care of the address on this paper—your letter will be forwarded to the convenor. Under rule 43(7), the organizors of this group are liable to expulsion—so there is a need for some secrecy, however galling this may be to everyone.

LABOUR'S FOR BRITAIN

BRITAIN'S ECONOMY, says Labour's new programme,

"is now completely dominated by a hundred or so giant companies. Fifty years ago the 100 largest manufacturing companies produced 15 per cent of net manufacturing output. By 1950 their share was still only 20 per cent. But since then the pace of concentration has quickened—and their share by 1970 had risen to as much as 50 per cent. Yet even this is not the end of the process. For by 1980-just seven years away-these 100 giants are likely to account for no less than two thirds of net output in manufacturing."

What does this mean? It means, says the document,

"that the next Labour Government will preside over an economy where the power of decision will rest with a small number of leading companies in the PRIVATE sector".

In other words, even though the Government might want to run the economy in the interests of working people—it would not have the power to do so.

The same situation prevails in the sphere of financial institutions. "The Banks and Insurance Companies", says the programme,

"represent a tremendous concentration of power, with ramifications throughout the whole of British industry. Financial institutions own over

MONOPOLIES RULE

a third of all equity. This power is unacceptable because there is no public accountability or control over its use."

Once again, the Labour Government might want to raise pensions, to guarantee the right to work, to launch a massive house-building programme and take other measures for the working classbut it just wouldn't have the power. Real power in the country is represented by wealth. Even with a majority in Parliament, the Labour Party would have to bow to this power unless it were prepared to challenge it. "The central question therefore," says the programme,

"is who wields economic power in Britain".

At present power is wielded by the owners of industry, of finance and of land. The aim of the Labour Party, says the programme, is

"to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families."

The fight for equality, according to the programme,

"can only mean radical SOC-IALIST measures, going well beyond mere tinkering with taxation and social spending".

Events have shown that reformism cannot lead to socialism. "The experience of Labour Governments", the document states,

has made it increasingly evident that even the most comprehensive measures of social and fiscal reform can only succeed in blunting the unacceptable and unpleasant face of a capitalist economy, and cannot achieve any fundamental changes in the power relationships which dominate our society. Social reform of itself cannot bring about effecttowards ive progress equality if the causes of inequality are to be attacked at their roots, economic power must be transferred from a small elite to the mass of the people.

Labour's aims—the guaranteeing of economic growth, of full employment, of regional development and so on-

"can only be achieved by a conscious effort to PLAN the development of our economy. The key to our planning effort is the domination of the economy by a few leading firms. For by concentrating our

efforts on to these firms-and especially the 100 or so major firms in manufacturing—we can ensure that our planning is kept both manageable straightforward. We will harness directly the energies of these giants "

This will be done through a proposed NATIONAL ENTER-PRISE BOARD which will,

"for the first time, provide an instrument for exercising control in the area of profitable manufacturing industry."

To carry out its tasks, says the document,

"some twenty five of our largest manufacturers (Category 1 firms) would be required, very early in the life of the Board. These companies would be selected on the basis of the use to which their resources could be put."

WHATEVER ITS FAULTS, the NEC of the Labour Party represents a good deal more in our movement than either Harold Wilson or the Shadow Cabinet.

As Renee Short MP put it:

"The Shadow Cabinet represents only a tiny minority of the party; that is those Labour MPs who vote for it, whereas the NEC represents the whole movement's constituency parties, trade unions and affiliated organizations."

We say to Wedgwood Benn, Judith Hart and their NEC colleagues: a.most the WHOLE labour movement will be behind you if you

- STAND FIRM on the commitment to take over the 25 companies
- INSIST on its inclusion in the Labour Party manifesto
- PREPARE the whole labour movement to implement your programme once Labour is in office.

Organization! Industries and

The take-over of the 25 companies would be a totally different matter from all previous nationalizations in this country. For the 25 are to be PROFIT-MAKING concerns. The NEC's document proposes a National Enterprise Board which would be wholly state-owned and whose activities would be "confined to the profitable areas of industry".

We've never done this before. No Labour Government has ever brought PROFITABLE industries into public hands. We've only shouldered the capitalists! losses for them-coal, railways,

LABOUR PARTY IN CRISIS

by PAUL MOORE

THE ISSUE OF THE LABOUR Party's programme threatens to bring to a head the developing split in the Party. It has laid bare the contradiction between two irunder capitalism; reconcilably opposed forces. On the one hand—the trade union and labour rank-and-file, who have shown themselves at every stage willing to fight the Tories. On the other-a clique of Parliamentarians and bureaucrats who have

The fighting spirit of the rankand-file has shown itself in a whole series of events over the past year:

held back that fight wherever they

possibly could.

- The decision of last year's Annual Conference to nationalize all the major monopolies with minimum compensation and under workers! control;
- The removal of pro-Market MP Dick Taverne by Lincoln CLP, and the refusal by North East Derbyshire Labour Parties to re-nominate Councillors who implemented the Housing Finance Act.
- The almost un-precedented strike-wave of the gas workers, hospital workers and others early this year, which culminated in the March 5 Special TUC Conference and forced Vic Feather to call the May-Day 24-hour strike.

On the other hand, this has been the record of the Parliamentarians

- They've consistently defended the discredited policies of the last Labour Government, including the "principle" of a "Prices and Incomes Policy"
- They ve sabotaged opposition to the Common Market by (1) opposing the Tories on the reactionary issue of "Parliamentary sovereignty" instead of striving for unity with the European working class and (2) allowing 69 Labour MPs to vote with the Tories in Parliament and 20 to abstain;
- They ve stabbed in the back the only Council-Clay Crosswhich is resisting the Housing Finance Act, by an NEC reversal of Labour Party Conference's decision to reimburse
 - councillors surcharged.
- They've done all they can-in collaboration with the TUC right wing-to obstruct the development towards a General Strike to bring down the Tory Government and ruling class.

Straddling the gap between the two opposing forces all this time have been the TRIBUNE "Lefts". Some of these are among the most dangerous and treacherous individuals in the movement. Take the so-called "darling of the Left", for example, Michael Foot. Foot says he is against "dogma" on the nationalization issue. So he



Michael Foot

with Wilson and the right wing against the proposed take-over of 25 profitable firms. There is one thing which Foot is dogmatic about, however. That is-not the right to work, the struggle for decent housing, the fight for workers' control or any such thingbut "the Sovereignty of Parliament". He speaks passionately on this subject, his only rival in the field being the Right Hon. Enoch Powell, MP.

At last year's Labour Party Conference, it was Foot who took the lead for Wilson in preventing any disciplinary action against the Jenkinsite splitters. He championed their right to their own "consciences" and pleaded for "no witch-hunts".

In his fight against the NEC's nationalization proposals, Wilson's most valuable ally by far has been Michael Foot. He can argue that if Foot-the so-called "conscience of the Left"-is against "dogmatic nationalization", then

INDUSTRY'S AIMS

THE RIGHT-WING employers' organization, "Aims of Industry", planning to spend up to £500,000-its biggest ever campaign-in an attempt to discredit and obstruct the Labour Party's proposed nationalization of 25 profitable companies.

The organization says moneyraising will be no problem. Already, three or four of the top 25 companies who had not previously contributed to "Aims" are alleged to have begun pouring in funds.

The campaign will start next month with newspaper advertisements featuring a cartoon character. The cartoon is seen as a successor to "Mr Cube", the sword-waving warrior for "freeenterprise" under which Tate & Lyle fought against being nationalized in the late nineteen forties.

THE STORY OF Mr. CUBE

ment which threatens their power.

Mr Cube, a "sugar-lump man" spouting anti-nationalization slogans, appeared each day on over 2M sugar packets, on 100,000 ration-book holders distributed free to housewives by Tate & Lyle and on all Tate & Lyle delivery trucks.

Similar material was inserted into "factual" brochures on the sugar-refining industry sent out diers in the Army. Stories or scheme". news items concerned with sugar The Labour Government backed without a violent struggle.

important one to remember be- try" filled 15,000 column inches the monopoly. The Press and cause it illustrates the lengths to in 400 newspapers-approximately the Tories went wild with joy, which the big monopolies will go £200,000 worth of space. The and it was widely assumed that in order to bring down a govern- head of the Jamaican Industrial this "clobbering" of the Labour Trades Union, Mr W.A. Bustamente, was induced to denounce sugar nationalization in comments advertised in more than 100 newspapers. Also the services of Richard Dimbleby were engaged. He recorded interviews 'contented Tate & Lyle employees'. Finally, in September 1950 the National Union of General and Municipal Workers lent its hand.

to 4,500 schools. Six mobile vans Representing Tate & Lyle emtoured the entire United Kingdom ployees, it negotiated a fake and more than three thousand profit-sharing agreement to back only the beginning. In the coming speeches and lectures were del- up the company's contention that ivered to factory and working "labour relations at Tate & Lyle men's clubs, youth and univer- could hardly be improved by sity organizations, women's clubs, nationalization which, of course, schools and even groups of sol- would destroy the profit-sharing

THE STORY of Mr Cube is an and sponsored by "Aims of Indus- down on its threat to take over Government was a major factor in its electoral defeat soon after.

The reason for all the fuss of course was that sugar-refining, unlike coal and rail (which had been nationalized without any real with trouble) made vast profits.

> If such an outcry was raised merely on account of one profitable monopoly, it is easy to imagine the fury with which the ruling class will fight against the taking over of 25 profitable firms. The campaign of "Aims of Industry" is years we will see a gathering big business conspiracy against the Labour Party and a future Labour Government. There is not the slightest chance that our opponents will surrender power

THE NEC!

they've always been prepared to let us do so. That is why nationalization in the past has been so easily discredited in workers' eyes. It was all done by the ruling class-who made sure that outright reactionaries were in charge of the nationalized boards-as a means of buttressing their system. Out of it, they got cheaper coal, transport and steel for their industries at public expense. If you work in one of these "publicly-owned" industries, you are being exploited not by a private capitalist owner but by the capitalist class as a whole through its state. What's the difference? You might well ask!

COMPLETE TRANSFORMATION

When we take over the capitalists! liabilities in this way, we are not challenging their power at all. We are strengthening it. But to take over the capitalists' real assets—their source of profits would be another thing altogether. It is this which makes the NEC's proposal important. All the oftrepeated objections in the labour movement to nationalization-that it's "inefficient", that the workers have no control, that it's a mere form of bureaucratic or state capitalism-no longer apply. They are based on the experience of coal nationalization, of British Rail, of LOSS-MAKING industries taken over FOR the capitalists. To start biting into the profitable sector of industries would involve a complete transformation of all social relations in society, in each industry and in

TAKE DIER 11 25

The panic shown by Harold Wilson, Roy Jenkins and the Tory press over the NEC's programme can easily be understood. If the proposals in it were IMPLEMENTED-which could not be done in the form envisaged—the whole class balance of power in British society would be threatened or even overturned. With the top 25 companies in public hands, Britain would have the largest stateowned sector of any advanced industrial nation outside the so-called "Communist block". It would be a blow at the roots of the power of big business and put the working class far on the road towards full state power and control over the economy.

NO REVOLUTIONARY

That is why the NEC's programme is revolutionary in its implications. But that again-of course—is why there's not the slightest chance of anyone on the present NEC launching more than a token fight to implement it. Anthony Wedgwood Benn-despite being called by the TIMES last year the "Robespierre of the British revolution"—is not a revolutionary at all. In the interests of his plan to become leader of the Labour Party, he's prepared to push leftwards up to a point. But when he sees where it's all leading-he'll draw back in a hurry! The same goes for Judith Hart and all the "left" leaders.

FINANCING

Their lack of seriousness is

example, its talk of the National Enterprise Board "financing" its acquisitions of property through "its own retained profits". It sounds very good. But it assumes that the Board has already got some lucrative industries in its hands. But if we're going to "purchase" these to start with, where's the money to come from?

It has been worked out that the sum needed to purchase the 25 top companies at current Stock Exchange prices would be about £12,000,000,000. Suppose we were the Government. Where would we find this sum? To try getting it by TAXING THE WORKING CLASS would be political suicide.

Already the capitalist press is using just this prospect as its main weapon to stir up workers! hostility to the nationalization prosals. Labour's "wild men", screamed the SUN, are out to "force" on Wilson

"a plan for nationalization of top companies like British Leyland and ICI At a cost approaching TWELVE THOU-SAND MILLION POUNDS of your money".

The idea is a non-starter. The working class won't tolerate paying out that kind of money to the parasites of the City. Either the companies are CONFIS-CATED from their owners, or it will be impossible to take them over at all.

IMPLICATIONS

The NEC "lefts" just don't the implications of understand their own muddled programme

They don't understand that if you're going to start nationalizing profitable industries, you're doing something revolutionary. And if you're doing that, then the old "purchasing" methods of reformist nationalization are altogether out of place. You've got to mobilize the working class in action behind you. You've got to base yourself not on Parliamentary procedure but on the industrial strength of the labour movement itself. And since you're breaking the Constitution in any case (at least, the ruling class will say you are), you might as well go the whole hog in order to win. That means:

- NO compensation to the millionaires
- NO reliance on the Tory civil service chiefs, Courts etc. in implementing the legislation
- NO arbitrary limitation of the programme to 25 monopolies—take over the lot!

Finally, above all, you must understand that what you're engaged in is a struggle for power. The ruling class will throw everything at you: the Lords, the Crown, the Press, the Armed Forces-their whole apparatus of state. To take the power from them, you'll have to destroy this apparatus and base your administration on the rule of the labour movement's own organizations. If you aren't prepared to do that-then stop fooling yourself and your supporters and drop the programme of nationalization right now because you can't put it into practise.

GREECE: COLONELS' LAST THROW?

ON THE 23rd OF MAY, an attempt by royalist Greek naval officers to mutiny was foiled by the military dictatorship. The rebels had intended to sail three ships to the island of Syra and from there appeal to the army and air force to revolt in favour of the monarchy. C. P. (KKE) meekly welcomed The plot was discovered and foiled, and prime minister Papadopoulos retaliated by officially abolishing the monarchy and declaring a republic. The regime seems less secure than at any time since it took over in 1967.

Throughout recent history, the Greek ruling class has rarely been able to afford "democratic" niceties such as elections, a free press or trade union rights. Far from developing the strong economy necessary to smooth over social conflicts, it has acted as the local agent, first for British and then American imperialism and maintained the country in peasant backwardness.

The old alternation of 'Constitutional Monarchy' and

barbarous dictatorships was broken by World War Two. In 1944, as the German troops withdrew, the communist dominated ELAS resistance forces came to control almost the whole country with massive popular support. Yet the the 'democratic' British army and obeyed its instructions to lay down their arms. The resulting brutal and incompetent right wing government soon provoked a new uprising, the civil war of 1946-9. This was again sold down the river by Stalin, who had agreed in the infamous Yalta carve-up that Greece should belong to the "West".

Not until the late 1950s did the workers movement recover from the bloodbath of the civil war. Working hours lost through strikes rose from 1.6 million in 1959 to 22 million in 1964, To head off this movement, the American CIA promoted the phoney "liberal" Centre Union Party, which was swept to power in the 1964 elections. universities) and workers (illegal The rapid failure of this government strikes) have been heroically

led to a growth in support for the left wing EDA, and to a situation where the army coup of 1967, when King Constantine went into exile, seemed the only solution for the bosses.

Despite all sorts of demogogic appeals to national culture and Christianity, the colonels have completely failed to whip up the social support of peasants and the middle classes to really smash the workers movement. They even alienated business circles and royalist generals who had been planning their own dictatorship. Bungling and inefficient, Papadopoulos and his crew of torturers only survive by the brute force of the army and the absence of any real lead from the workers' leaders, particularly the C.P. The C.P. itself recently split down the middle between Moscow liners (Kolliyanniis faction) and open right wingers (Partsaldid, Theodorakis).

Meanwhile both students(occupying

taking on the colonels' junta. Even the church has been defying the regime. The abortive mutiny is a symptom of widespread unrest in the forces. In five years 3000 army officers have retired. Well over half of these are KNOWN to have been sacked for political reasons. This sort of thing puts Greece's effectiveness for NATO purposes in grave doubt.

In a last ditch attempt to stave off revolt, Papadopoulos has announced parliamentary elections to be held before the end of 1974 - supposedly to inaugurate a 'strong state democracy' on French lines. But we have to be clear that in Greece especially under the effects of intensified economic competition in the world market - social antagonisms will not allow a peaceful return to democracy as put forward by the C. P. Any real relaxation of the dictatorship could only unleash a titanic class struggle ending either in workers power or another terrible defeat.

MARTIN COOK

CAPITALISM'S REAL FACE

THE SCANDALS OF LAMBof Poulson-these have let us glimpse the real face of the Brit-'compensation' he was to ish ruling class.

When Heath spoke of the "unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism", he did NOT mean that his Government would actually DO anything about companies like Lonrho. Rather like Peter Walker's empty phrases about taking action against the property speculators, Heath's words will be quietly forgotten. To the Tory Government, the Lonrho affair was 'unacceptable' only because Duncan Sandys, Tiny Rowland and Co. were so indiscreet as to allow themselves to be exposed.

Duncan Sandys might have put ton and Jellicoe, of Lonrho and his foot in it, but at least he was successful in Tory terms. The receive \$136,000 in addition to the £800 a week he got anyway as Chairman-was for services rendered in pressuring the South *African Government to drop fraud charges against the company. And as a staunch patriot and supporter of the Empire, he ensured it was to be payable in the Cayman Islands -a well known tax haven frequented by many of Sandys equally patriotic friends. And at the Lonrho shareholders meeting on May 31st, many of these turned up to make sure that Tiny and Duncan got a slap

But even the stench over Lonrho was put in the background by the Lambton affair. It was Lord Lambton who:

- Introduced the Obscene Publications Bill into the House of Commons in 1957.
- Said in the House of Commons in 1968 that it was "desirable to increase the penalties which can be levied against authors and publishers who write and sell caught, it seems that he must the basest of literature.

The fact is that the likes of Lambton and Jellicoe have been telling us to tighten our belts and accept cuts in our living standards

whilst they have been

frolicking in debauchery at up to £500 a go, spending the wealth which the working class have produced. And Lambton and Jellicoe are only the tip of the iceberg. Heath for all his dedication to "finding the truth" has deliberately drawn a curtain over the third and possibly fourth minister involved. As for the outcast Lambton whose only crime in Tory eyes is that he was now retreat to the lonely exile of his enormous coal shipping business and to the thousands of acres of farmland he owns.

It's about time we shook all these parasites off our backs.

> FRANK HANSEN

WATERGATE

(THE FOLLOWING article was re- has swum towards a sinking ship." ceived early this month from CHARTIST Peter Clement in Amer- of the two capitalist parties is enica. John Dean's latest allegations may have made the opening sentences questionable, but we think the article well worth publishing in any case).

VIRGIN IN A BROTHEL

Unless sufficient evidence is allowed to come to light linking Nixon to the Watergate scandal and its cover-up, it seems as though Nixon has-for the present at least-weathered the storm. Even though public opinion polls show that 50 per cent of people interviewed believe he was involveda Cuban peasant remarked "who heard of a brothel where the madam was a virgin"-leading Republicans and Democrats have gone out of their way to back Nixon up. In the middle of the crisis Democrat John Connolly switched to the Republican Party. It was, as a Democratic Senator put it, "the first time in recorded history that a rat

The truth is of course that neither joying the present crisis.

on the back for their efforts.

THE SOVIET VERSION

The bureaucrats in the Kremlin and in Peking have barely mentioned Watergate, showing that they don't enjoy it either. It took days after the scandal broke for Russian workers to be told the 'truth' . According to the Soviet press (as monitored by the Washington Post on May 15), the Watergate scandal is the result of a "conspiracy by reactionary American elements" who it seems "never accepted the rapprochement with the Communists initiated by Mr Nixon" and have "organized a plot to discredit him. "

LESS WORRYING CONSPIRACY ?

These bureaucrats seem much less concerned about Nixon's own plots -against, for example, the American anti-war movement. When in April 1972 Nixon ordered the mining of Haiphong harbour and the bombing of Hanoi, CREEP (the

now notorious 'Committee to Re-Elect the President' at the centre of the scandal) carried out a vast exercise in providing false 'public support' for these policies. The support ranged from telegrams and phone calls to the White House (all centrally financed and directed) to newspaper advertisements.

WORKERS' GAIN

The only body with something to gain from the crisis now facing the Nixon regime is the American working class and its international allies. Throughout the United States the most stalwart and patriotic workers have been stunned into questioning the whole governmental process and the two party system. In the present situation it is getting more and more embarassing for Labour bureaucrats like Meany to remain on Nixon's "Phase Three" Cost of Living Council. It is much easier now for socialists in the trade unions to demand that these people break with the capitalist political parties. And it is easier too to demand a revolutionary socialist Labour Party based on the trade unions as an alternative to the present two-party system.

DANGER

Food prices are still escalating. Meat prices are predicted to soar again shortly as soy bean prices have risen 50 per cent in the last month. And with a recession predicted for the end of the year, labour is in for serious defeats if revolutionaries do not begin to come to the fore in the unions to prevent more sell-outs (like that of the steel-workers) as the contracts for five million workers expire this year.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The crisis caused by Watergate must be used to break labour's ties with the capitalists and pave the way for a Labour Party that can seize power and establish a workers' government that will sweep away Nixon and all he stands for-for good.

> PETER CLEMENT

GREAT 'PARTICIPATION' FRAUD PETER GOLD

THE CAPITALIST PRESS has been in a veritable euphoria recently over Heath's latest scheme for tackling workers! militancy. The hysteria centres around that currently trendy word "participation".

Heath's plan is this: that firms employing over 500 workers should have worker representatives on the board of management. Such steps have already been taken quite widely in Germany and have-from the bosses! viewpoint-met with success. This, in turn, has caused the European Commission to hector all Common Market countries into adopting similar schemes.

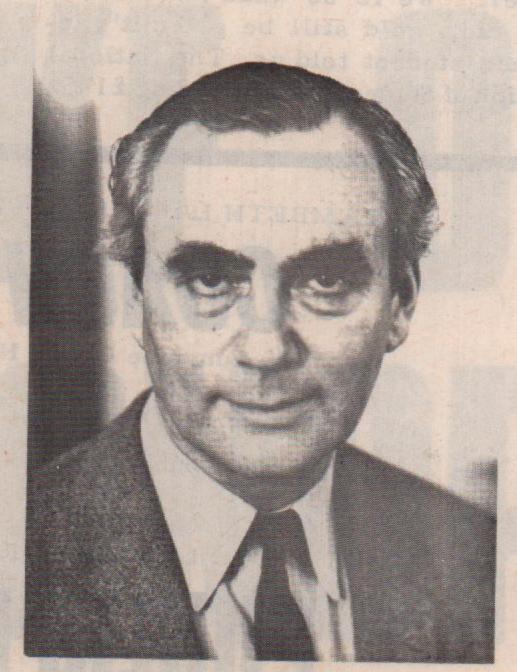
Research carried out by the Industrial Society has produced two recommendations. Firstly, that Company law should be reformed so as to force directors to give "equal consideration" to the interests of employees as well as shareholders. Secondly, that at least two directors of firms should be workers' nominees to be approved by a ballot of all employees every three years.

"These plans", says the Daily Mirror, "are worth serious consideration by the Government and the TUC and by large firms and their employees." By and large, this was the reaction of the whole capitalist press, hailing Heath's speech on the matter as a new landmark in industrial relations.

Not everybody saw it that way, however. For example, the far right "Aims of Industry" saw Heath's plan as a threat which would turn industrial life in Britain into 'a battleground' and sent a

memo to Peter Walker, Secretary for Trade and Industry, to that effect.

Even more interesting was the reaction of the Labour MP for Coventry North, Maurice Edelman. He wrote an article on the subject in the Daily Mail on May 21. After pointing out that the



Maurice Edelman

Parliamentary Labour Party had advocated similar plans during the debate on the Industrial Relations Act, he goes on to cite the suspicions felt by sections of the employers, on the one hand, and trade union militants on the other. He quotes a shop steward whocorrectly we may add-had the following to say: "It's a big bluff ... First of all, the lad who goes from the floor onto the board be-

comes a boss's man straight away. It stands to reason."

Edelman then goes on to emphasize "For the left, the real problem of industrial democracy isn't just to have a few working class delegates described as directors, on company boards, it is to have control."

With this we heartily agree. But from here.

"is more a gesture in his attempt to end the chest-to-chest confrontation with the unions rather than a structural change in the econ- in the land is occupied with the omic order."

With an apparent tinge of regret he concludes that even the gesture may have come too late for acceptance by the TUC chiefs. If the Tories had adopted Labour's "participation" advice before, he implies, it would have been more acceptable.

Such thinking permeates the reformist windbags of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Edelman "questions" Heath's corporatist attempt to castrate shop floor struggle not out of any will to defend the independence of the trades unions but because it may only be a "gesture" on his part.

Edelman's approach is consciously treacherous. He states baldly that workers want control and then suggests they will have to settle for second best. This is because he knows that for workers to exercise any sort of control would necessarily involve struggle to break the power of the ruling class and its state.

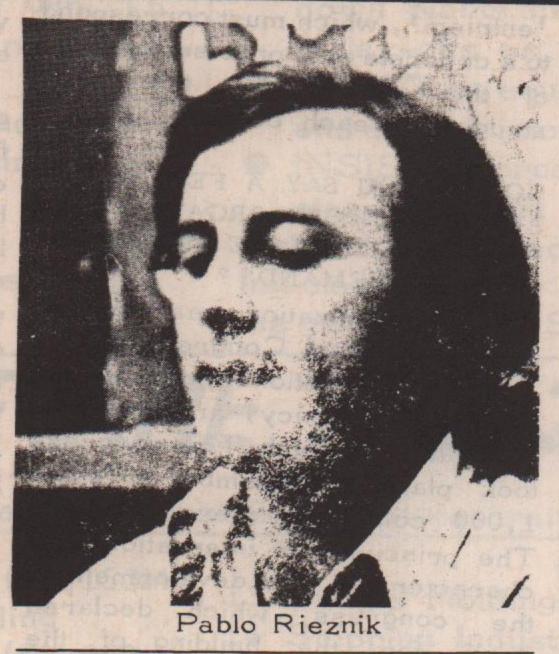
Workers control under capitalism-whether propounded by Labour lefts, Communist Party Stalinists or the fraudulent Institute for Workers! Control-is a reactionary Utopia. To struggle for workers control is to fight for state power, using the independent organizations of the class. History has shown no other road. Therelook where our Labour MP goes fore, for any Labour or trade union leader to give the slightest Heath's new "workers on the credence to the illusory idea of board plan", continues Edelman, "participation", let alone control, under capitalism is highly dangerous-the more so at a time when every Tory and capitalist task of attempting to slash the living standards and shackle the organizations of the working class.

> We have not the slightest doubt that Heath's plans will meet with considerable enthusiasm from the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats-men whose adoration of capitalism is matched only by their fear of the working class-who desperately want to avoid the coming head-on clash with the system as a whole. They fail completely to meet the requirements of leadership in this period.

We say to MPs like Edelman: you recognize that workers want control of their factories, their whole future. Then fight for it, break from the bourgeoisie, struggle to implement this control you talk about. Otherwise, stand condemned as "left" talkers whose loyalty in the end is to capitalism as against those who put you into Parliament to defend their interests. There is no middle road.

THE STRUGGLE IN ARGENTINA

THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEW was given to the CHARTIST by Pablo Rieznik, an Executive Committee member of the Argentinian UJS (Union of Youth for Socialism). The UJS is in political sympathy with POLITICA OBRERA, one of the main Trotskyist organizations in the country. This is in turn a member of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. The CHARTISTS have some important differences with these comrades on questions of perspective and tactics. We apologise for being unable to develop them in the space provided by this issue. However we in no way wish our differences to obstruct the closest unity in action with these comrades in the un-postponable task of reconstructing the Fourth International as the world party of revolution. The election of the Campora Government in Argentina is an event of major significance for the working class throughout South America and, for that reason, throughout the world. We hope this interview will be only the beginning of a continuing discussion. The following



text is our translation from the Spanish.

COULD YOU DESCRIBE THE SIT-UATION IN ARGENTINA AS IT HAS DEVELOPED IN THE PAST FEW YEARS?

The development of workers' militancy beginning with the General Strike in the city of Cordoba in May '69 determines the entire political situation in our country. The workers' movement rose against the military dictatorship set up in '66, which had established a formidable apparatus of repression and developed a policy of super-exploitation in favour of big imperialist capital. During this period a large number of young positions in the unions dominated needs of the masses.

in the majority by the bourgeois- WHAT ARE THE DANGERS OF A nationalist Peronist bureaucracy. RIGHT-WING COUP? It's important to emphasise the very high level of trade unionisation of the Argentinian working class (I think it covers more than 80%) and the existence of delegate bodies and internal committees in all the factories in the country. These last organisations have begun to be taken over by antibureaucratic militants, who base themselves on the class struggle and who are connected politically to various left-wing parties and groups ranging from the C.P.to the Trotskyists.

WOULD YOU SAY THE PRESENT SITUATION POSES THE QUESTION OF POWER?

With their massive vote (50% of all the votes) for the Frente Justicialista de Liberacion (Frejuli) the nationalist front of Peronism and the representatives of national capital, the working class wanted to express their rejection of the military dictatorship. The new government has independent just taken over on the 25th May. The question of power is posed to the extent that only a popular workers' government; that is to say, based on the workers' organizations, supported by the exploited majority of the nation, only this government can meet militant workers began to win the social, economic and political

It is evident that the extreme right (the 'Gorila') did not abandon the idea of making a preventative coup against the future government of Campora after 11th March, fearing that the latter would not be able to control the rising militancy of the workers. However if the coup d'etat tendency has not prospered this is because the bourgeoisie and big capital have for the moment chosen Campora as their axis of regroupment in order to achieve a front of the capitalist parties against workers' It is the upsurge. vigilance of the workers' movement which has obliged the new president to give concessions immediately, such as the freeing of political prisoners and the repeal of the main laws of repression.

DO YOU FAVOUR PENETRATING THE PERONIST MOVEMENT ?

No. We are fighting to build an working class youth movement. This is impossible within the Peronist movement. field wide for common experience with the Peronist comrades is presented by the unions which organize the workers "en masse" and where, of course,

(Continued on next page)

young socialist

AND PROSCRIPTIONS!

THE DECISION of the Labour Party's organization sub-committee to recommend an end to the list of proscribed organizations is an important victory for the whole working class movement.

But it should not let us forget cases such as that of Dave Douglass, "suspended" from Goole Labour Party on account of his views. Resolutions were passed recently at both the Norwood and Streatham Labour Parties demanding his re-instatement.

EXAMS GRIND

schoolkids the annual grind of unqualified, in dead-end jobs. suffering exams. It must be obvious that Furthermore, the expansion of the ability about eggs at a packing plant.

education system is not to develop Hence the recent spate of attacks people's talents and creativity, on liberal education methods, but to create a skilled and educa- 'indiscipline' in schools, and ted workforce for a modern 'subversive' teaching. economy, which needs a lot of We call on all students to join clerks and technicians. Right us fighting in the Y.S. for a from the infants we are sorted out democratic socialist education sysinto 'streams', so that the lucky tem as part of the struggle of the few who are 'academically' working class to control society.

JUST ABOUT now, millions of gifted can forge ahead-and hard students are luck on the rest, who end up

to bluff your way higher education has been such through a G.C.E. paper, for (though only 5 or 10% go to Univerinstance, does not prove anything sity, polytechnic or college even an individual's real now), that many graduates find it capabilities. So what's it all in quite impossible to get jobs which aid of? Simply to grade youth make use of their knowledge and into categories like different sized skills. What the bosses want are pen-pushers and assembly-line The whole intention of the robots who do what they are told.

CENTRISM

by Chris Knight

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student fight

"YOU CAN STICK IT! That extra £20 will just about cover the costof-living increase over the summer vacation". That's how one student we interviewed reacted to the £40 the Tories are adding to students' grants (they were going to give £20 anyway).

The students won't even be allowed the dignity of refusing this derisory offer. "We're so weak that even if we did, we'd still be given it", another student told us. The National Union of Students is demanding £105.

The Tories have also

- REFUSED to abolish discretionary grants
- GIVEN a tiny increase in married women's allowances, (the NUS want the full grant)
- MADE minor reductions in the parental contributions, (instead of abolishing them).

The students can win nothing by protest politics. Even the big industrial unions are finding that militancy alone is not enough. The NUS leadership refuses to accept that there are no easy solutions. But no gains were ever made by pandering to the apolitical attitudes of the students. Students will continue to be victimized until they succeed in forging an alliance with the wider labour movement in an offensive which is capable of bringing down the ruling class and the Government.

LAMBETH LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The Sunshine Coach Hits the Road Again

Destination Hindhead Sunday July 8th. 80pence.

LAMBETH LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday July 5th 8pm. Lower Hall, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton.

ARGENTINA

(Continued from page 7)

our comrades are integrated. Personally I consider extremely the abstract gendangerous eralization of the concept of 'entrism', which must correspond to a concrete and precise analysis of the situation of the class struggle in each country.

COULD YOU SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT YOUR OWN ORGANIZATION AND ITS IMMEDIATE PERSPECT-IVES AND DEMANDS?

Our organization was founded at the National Congress of the TERS (Revolutionary Socialist Student Tendency) and the area committees of youth. This congress took place in December 1972 and 1,000 comrades were present. The principles of internationalism characterized the development of congress which declared itself for the building of the Revolutionary Youth International.

class we can cite:

1. Against hunger and misery. An liberation, control of production.

legislation and the setting up of of the kidnappings of the

and popular organizations.

3. Against the 'privatization' of education (40% of primary and secondary schooling is controlled privately). For a unified, secular state-controlled education system. For the autonomous government of universities and an immediate increase in the education budget based on a single tax on big capital, the tax to be controlled by the workers' and students' organizations.

In Argentina we are through a period going fundamentally of exhaustion of the expectations of the masses in the bourgeois-nationalist government. Its programme and position of imperialism compromise with come up directly against the aspirations of the workers, whose state of mobilization is being maintained. It is therefore necessary to pose very clearly the programme of demands of the masses in order to take forward the process of their unification and independent anti-imperialist mobilization. It's necessary to explain that the starvation wages, the brutal increase in unemploy-Among the principal immediate ment, and the wretched conditions demands of the youth of our of work cannot be eradicated country as part of the working without the expropriation of by national imperialism and and that only the immediate increase in wages of proletariat, because of its social 50%; equal pay for youth and a weight, can carry this out through sliding scale of hours to combat the taking of state power, leading unemployment. These measures all the exploited masses. The to be guaranteed through workers! workers have illusions in the nationalist government; in common 2. Strict vigilance of democratic struggle and experience it is liberties. Repeal of all repressive necessary to expose the limitations bourgeois-nationalist an investigating committee into programme. This is the tactic of crimes, tortures and the anti-imperialist united front military which in Bolivia directed the dictatorship; this committee to be creation of the Popular Assembly composed of workers, students in 1971 with the leading influence of the POR of Guillermo Lora.