

CHARTIST

Bulletin of the Young Chartists

No.9

4p

Prepare to throw out the Tories!

Prices going up, more people unemployed, attacks on the social services, 15,000 troops in N. Ireland, - and there is worse to come!

Increasingly the working class is seeking a real lead from the leaders of the Labour movement: the UCS, the miners, the steel-workers, the council tenants- all these people see the need to carry out a real fight. Unless the Labour movement mobilises for action NOW it will soon be discredited.

No Excuses!

In this situation, our leaders can be sure of receiving mass support for any action which challenges the Tory Government. There is no excuse for their present inaction! The outright opposition to the Common Market and the call for a general election - voiced by the Labour Party conference and the TUC - are steps in the right direction. It at least shows we are beginning to see the need to REMOVE the Tories - rather than simply putting pressure on them. The process must go further than this!! The Parliamentary Labour Party must ACT on conference decisions by using ALL its votes against entry. If Roy Jenkins & Co scab on this issue they should be booted out of the Party.

Reformist Failure

It is regrettable that the anti-Market resolution posing the alternative of the Socialist United States of Europe was defeated at Brighton.



NO SELLOUTS THIS TIME!!

This internationalist outlook is essential to distinguish our campaign from the calls to "Keep Britain Out" which fail to link our struggle with that of the European workers.

Another advance at conference was the victorious resolution calling for the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies. But it is insufficient merely to list a set of reforms to be implemented by the next Labour government. We must realise that even minimal reforms cannot be achieved without undermining the real power of the Tories: the City, the big monopolies, the mass media and the whole state power. The Tories are not simply "nasty creatures". The reason they are attacking the working class is because for them there is no other way out of this present crisis - with profit margins rapidly disappearing. Wilson & Co couldn't afford reforms when last in office - now in the present economic situation the possibility of moderately squeezing a few gains for the workers are even dimmer. To get what the working class-wants - full employment decent wages, higher pensions, housing etc - our leaders must break with the Tories and use the industrial

strength of our movement to take real power into our hands. This means more than a parliamentary majority, as we have seen, a Labour Government is impotent unless it can challenge the real basis of Tory rule.

Our campaigns against the Government must have as their aim not only to force it to resign but also to throw out the Tories for good and to deprive the class they represent of its power.

Mass General Strike

This is why the "Chartist" calls for the TUC to prepare for a General strike - to ensure a General strike situation does not arise - without our movement being aware that the question of state power is posed. Such a confrontation, must lead to our movement assuming control of society, the alternative is a crushing defeat and many more years of Toryism.

Faced with Heath's onslaught we must threaten to use our "ultimate weapon" of mass industrial action - only this can guarantee the measures we demand. Only this will make the Tories think twice about further provocations on our movement!!

PREPARE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE!

REDS UNDER THE TED?

There is nothing more crude and disgustingly vulgar than when the philistines of the British ruling class try to whip up a "red scare"! The expulsion of the Soviet diplomats literally reeks of these putrid vapours.

Now the gutter press is telling us that our resistance to unemployment, redundancies and all the vicious Tory attacks on the working class, is not because the "loyal" British worker wants to fight the bosses and their Government, but is a product of "foreign subversion".



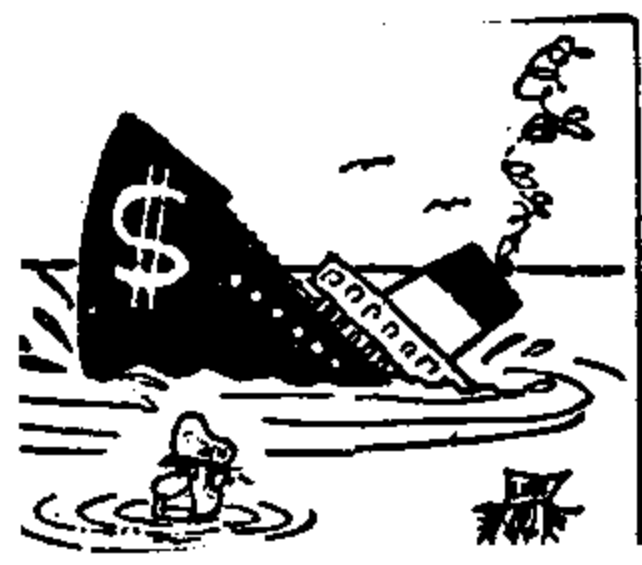
Particularly in N. Ireland the "evil hand of world revolution" is supposed to have been at work - although the thought of "respectable" mohair-suited Russian bureaucrats sneaking around the alleys of Belfast fomenting "disorder" and distributing "Moscow gold", is the biggest laugh since the "I'm Backing Britain" campaign!

Subversion

What filth! What nonsense! Admittedly the Soviet Union, when it's not too busy sending rockets to the Moon, keeps tabs on Britain's "advanced technology", but this, is within the "rules of the game" and practised by every country. Expulsions are usually through the backdoor when "rules" are broken and the form of the recent purges suggests it is more for domestic consumption than anything else. In any case the suggestion that the Soviet bureaucrats are trying to undermine British capitalism is absolutely farcical! Ever since Stalin's proclamation of "socialism in one country" the Soviet ruling-clique have concentrated on preserving the status quo by "subverting" workers' struggles throughout the world.

THE DOLLAR CRISIS AND LABOUR

SECOND OF A TWO PART SERIES



Last issue we portrayed the unstable international monetary situation as a product of the decline of U.S. hegemony in the world market and one which portends a grave economic crisis for the whole capitalist world. This week we elaborate this argument and examine the consequences of such a crisis for the Labour movement.

In 1957 the United States, for the first time since the war, moved into deficit in her international accounts. The steady decrease in the size of this deficit has reflected partly the growing strength of European and Japanese capitalism in relation to the United States, partly the undiminished strength of the colonial revolution - particularly in Vietnam - requiring colossal U.S. military expenditure, and partly an out-flow of capital into Europe (American companies buying up European industries) caused by the artificially-maintained supremacy of the dollar. Every country which held dollars as reserves was thereby permitting U.S. imports to rise in relation to exports by a similar amount. The dollars were like an export for the U.S. which cost nothing to produce! Holding green paper in vast stocks, the rest of the world was thereby financing America's trade gap and - worse still - the cheap invasion of their home market by American capital.

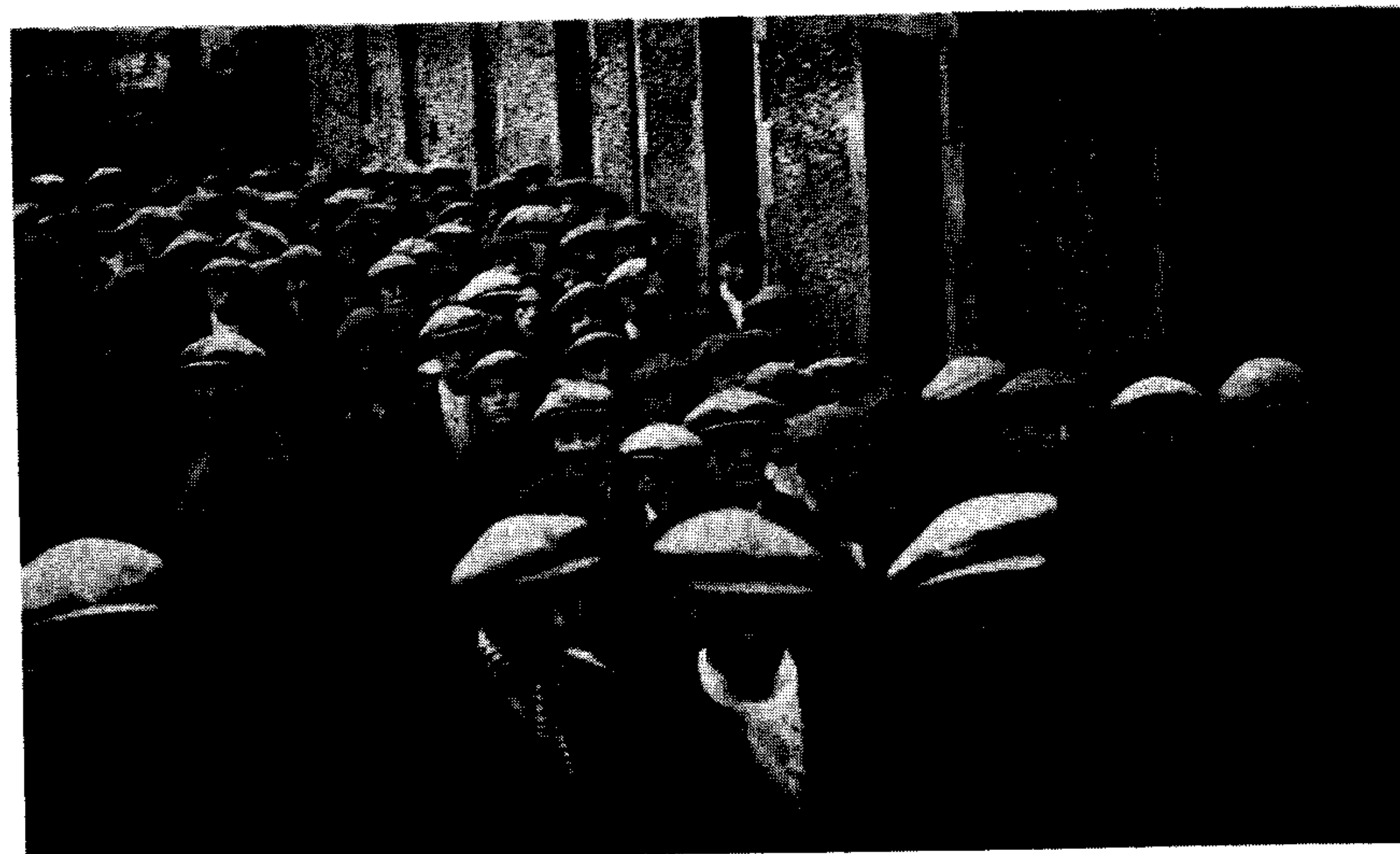
10% Surcharge

In recent years they have refused to accept this situation, the European banks (led by France) handing back large stocks of dollars and asking the U.S. for gold. It was the fear of losing perhaps the entire U.S. gold stocks after a period, that prompted Nixon to refuse gold for dollars and to place the 10% surcharge on imports. These actions represent a direct and utterly "illegal" challenge to all America's trading partners which they could not accept without a fight. So far, however, Japanese and E.E.C. threats of retaliation far from softening U.S. capitalist

opinion, have actually stiffened it behind the view that the U.S. would emerge victorious if a trade war begins.

Recession

As we stated in the last issue, there is now a deepening economic crisis facing the whole capitalist world that cannot be solved without first inflicting a decisive defeat on the working class of the Western world, or encroaching upon the Workers' states. The interests of U.S. capital and "the rest" are in a fundamental contradiction. Neither side has the slightest idea what to do next. Each ruling class is being forced to adopt measures which nail down further the coffin of the system of "cooperation and harmony" - with Britain dampening down exchange controls and lowering Bank rate in a self-interested attempt to stave off revaluation viz-a-viz the dollar.



The last slump: 3 million in the dole queues!

Trade War

It is now each capitalist nation for itself as fixed parities have virtually ceased to exist. The I.M.F. has no effective power and can only plead for a return to "stability"! Yet it is the I.M.F. all the capitalist countries are demanding should impose "order". This false hope is the one glimmer of light for capitalism in a black tunnel of despair. For even in the best years of Bretton Woods-style "cooperation", the chances of getting international agreement on an arbitrary world currency would have been slim. Anyway, gone is the spirit of the 1960's and we are now in a very different atmosphere.

revolutionary miss

In a few days of bitter street fighting last August, a right-wing military coup led by Colonel Hugo Banzer Suarez smashed the prospect of impending revolution in the remote Andian Republic of Bolivia.

Bolivia is one of the poorest and most unstable countries in Latin America, with about one coup every six months. This is partly due to the strength of the workers, especially the 25,000 tin miners who produce 60% of Bolivia's exports. Working in conditions that result in a life expectancy of around 30, they also endure severe repression each time they move into action. American imperialism has used a series of so-called "revolutionary" or "socialist" regimes to exploit the Bolivians.

Suppression

The first workers' uprising was in 1952 when the miners overthrew the old "Rosca". A fake left government of Paz Estenssoro's National Revolutionary Movement nationalised the mines and even set up a workers and peasants militia. In time, the MNR sold out being succeeded by the dictator Barrrientos, who viciously suppressed the miners' organisations and Guevara's band before dying in mysterious circumstances. In October 1970, the "revolutionary nationalist" President Ovando was forced out by pressure from left and right and General Torres came to power.

Torres, although prominent in Guevara's murder,

That the Western world stands on the brink of a deep economic, social and political crisis, is the only conclusion if we examine the present breakdown in the monetary system within the context of world economic development since the war.

However much many of us in the Labour movement may dislike it, the familiar post-war Western world of "stability" and "full employment" is no more, - its central props are eroded away. As workers, trade unionists and supporters of the Labour Party this means for us a change from the policies our leaders mistakenly pursued in the "boom" period since the war. It means - if mass unemployment and misery are to be avoided - the transition to direct "physical force" methods of securing our jobs. It means abandoning the sinking ship of world capitalism altogether, strengthening our national and international links, and turning to an immediate struggle for state power and for control of our ship-yards, factories, docks and places of work. With the capitalists

baring their teeth in a fight for survival, there is simply no other way out.

Chris Knight

opportunity sed

was able to keep the workers, peasants and left-wing forces behind the government - playing the same role of diverting the masses as Paz Estenssoro had done. He announced further nationalisation, but insisted on compensating the Gulf Oil Co. The trade unions and left-wing parties were allowed freedom; right-wing newspapers were seized by armed students and turned over to workers' co-ops. The Torres regime was non-stop crisis; several times the military attempted coups.



Bolivia's new strong-arm man, Colonel Andres Selich, head of the Ranger Regiment trained by United States "advisers". He captured Che Guevara in 1967, and in August 1971 led the coup which gave power to Col Banzer

Dual Power

In answer the COB (Bolivian TUC) established the "Popular Assembly" of delegates from unions, peasants and left-wing parties. Although intended only to mobilise a General Strike against military takeovers, it became a potential alternative Government, establishing a form of Dual Power. Torres, forced to the left by the miners, would sooner or later have had to crush the Assembly or submit to it.

Counter Revolution

Meanwhile, the Government was losing its mass base and some army rank and file were moving in a revolutionary direction. In June the Assembly voted to arm the workers and Banzer intervened before the struggle got out of hand. The miners, badly armed, were no match for a US-trained army, which mostly backed the new Government of neo-fascists and MNR.

The Lessons

What can be learned from the Bolivian defeats? Firstly, peasant guerrilla "peoples war" is a romantic dream. Although the miners solidarised with Che, the idea of running off to the jungle has never appealed to the Bolivian masses, and has failed repeatedly. Those who recently attempted this simply cut themselves off from the movement.

Secondly, the "Peaceful Road to Socialism" was again shown to be bankrupt. Reformists like miners' leader Lechin - president of the Popular Assembly - sold out yet again. The Communist Party criminally opposed arming the workers INDEPENDENTLY of the "left-wing" army leaders!

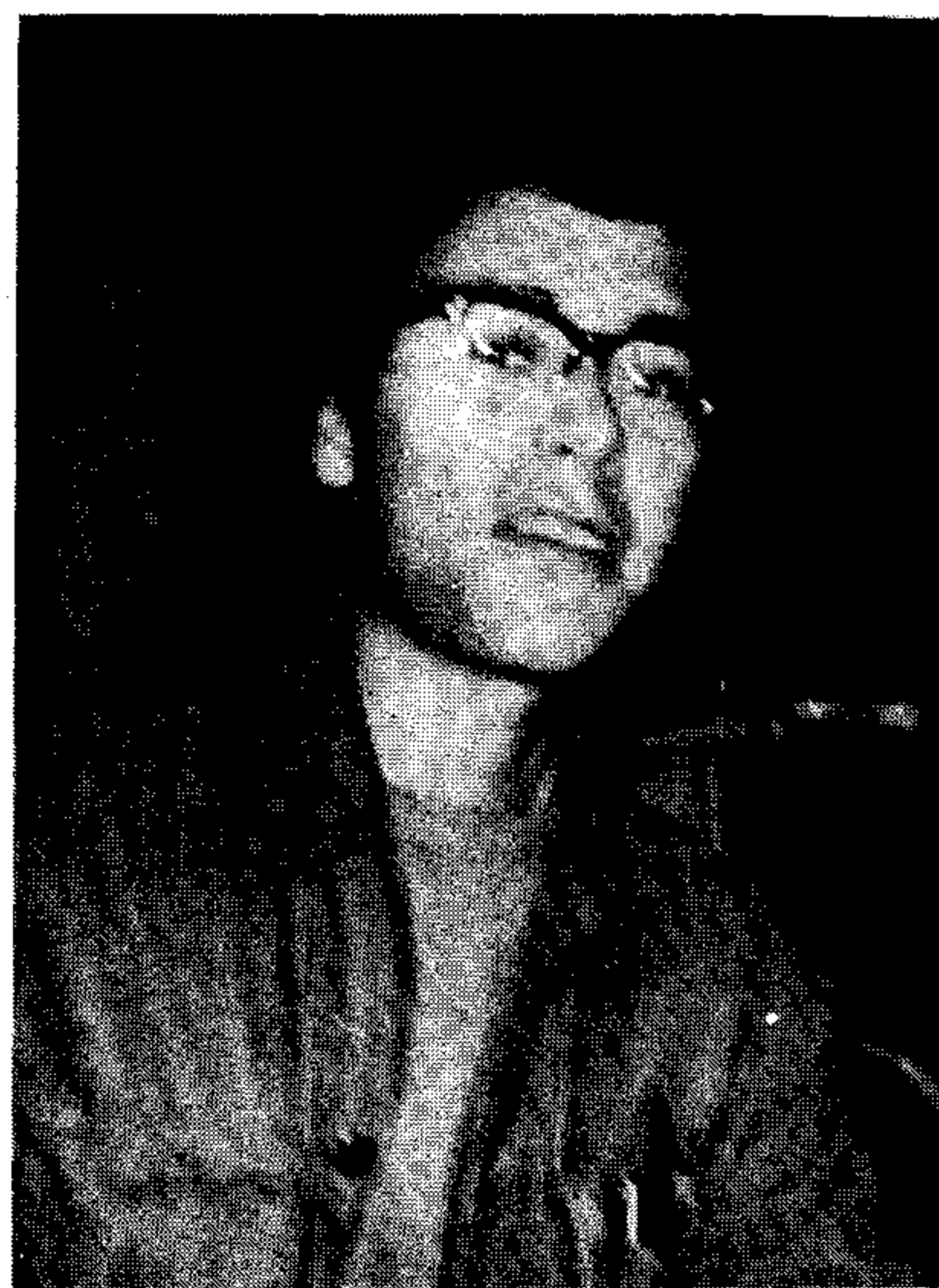
Thirdly, as in 1952/3, the revolutionaries failed to use the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. In order to lead the Bolivian workers to power, they should have broken openly with Torres (although defending him against the right) and raised demands such as - "All Power to the Popular Assembly" - "Arm the Workers NOW!" - "Land to the Peasants", etc.

Fight !

This would have exposed the refusal of Lechin and the CP to give a lead, mobilised the factory workers and peasants behind the miners in a fight to the finish, and could have been instrumental in winning the army rank and file on a CLASS basis.

Bolivia is also a warning for all other semi-colonial nations where illusions are spread about "revolutionary" governments. Sudan, for example, where the once Russian-backed Numeiri is carving up the Labour movement. Or Chile or Ceylon ! In the long run there can be no middle road between military dictatorship and workers power.

Cook's Column



IT'S ALL AT THE CO-OP

The Co-operative Members' Association is supposed to be the "Labour Party" in the Co-op. After their tea-meeting at Labour Party conference I realise they are Tories in all but name. A wretched gathering of 40 or so party hacks, councillors and aspiring bureaucrats lounged about in their well-cut suits knocking back tea and cucumber sandwiches, they heard Tony Crosland explaining how profits weren't high enough. Later on, the appalling Vic Butler felt moved to get up and say - "wouldn't it be nice if all the industries were run on a co-operative basis?" Yes Vic, nice idea.

Rumour has it that the C-MA is now reduced to getting Catholic priests to canvass for it!

Socialist Workers Party (USA) and Gangsterism.

We take this opportunity to protest at the "mugging" of the "Sparticist" comrades in the USA, who heckled Liberal Senators at an SWP popular front anti-war rally. For their "sin" they were physically assaulted by the SWP goon squad, who evidently value the support of Democratic Senators more than revolutionary socialists. Such actions are totally alien to the Labour movement and have a nasty odour of stalinism about them. We call on the members and supporters of the SWP and their allied Moles in Britain, to repudiate this action or be judged by other socialists.

IS vs. Tribune at Brighton

A public debate between John Palmer and Paul Foot of "International Socialism" and "Tribune" MP's Norman Atkinson and Stan Orme, was obviously such an abysmal mock-battle that snores could be heard above the speakers.

Fake-revolutionary Palmer demanded the expulsion of the right-wing MP's; pretty good since I.S. is no longer in the Labour Party. I.S.'s only answer to the Tories is the call on the rank-and-file to set up action committees: never demanding that our leaders mobilise the whole strength of the Labour movement to defend conditions and living standards.

Fake-left Atkinson ignored the present crisis, concentrating on the vague hope of economic growth under a future Labour Government. He said Conference decisions were a real gain for the left: but will they be carried through??

The fact is, groups like these pounce off each other and the movement as a whole.

Editorial

Greetings Comrades,

The tremendous success of our first printed issue vindicates our optimism. Sales have increased and we are confident we can go forward to our next target. Lately the debate in the Labour Party has turned on the question of democracy. If by democracy we mean the ending of the stupid and divisive bans and proscriptions, then we warmly support any such moves. We have long campaigned for the right of the Communist Party and the Socialist Labour League to play a full and active role in any sphere of our movement. However, we do not subscribe to the view that renegades like Roy Jenkins and his Labour Committee for Europe, who vote to support a Tory Government - are entitled to air their "consciences" as they think fit!

These people defy the whole democratic basis of the movement. If they insist on voting with the Tories, let them go and join them - we certainly don't need them as our representatives!

Soldiers' Trade Union Rights Movement

Read the "Soldier's Charter", written by serving soldiers about conditions in the British Army. From Chartist Publications Box BM 453 London WC1.

which way for china?



The Great Helmsman fraternizing with the Butcher of Bengal.

Behind the blather in the gutter press, something important is happening in China. A most vile "affair" is being contrived and the illicit "romance" between the Maoist bureaucrats and the Pentagon hawks is indeed perverted. At the same time an equally peculiar entente is forming between the "revanchists" of Bonn and the Soviet bureaucracy. This is the logical outcome of Stalin's "socialism in one country"! The two mightiest workers' states lining-up against each other - one allied to the leading imperialist power, the other with ex-Nazis!

Tragic Defeats

As revolutionary socialists have consistently pointed out, despite its ultra-left appearances the Chinese leadership is just as reactionary as its Russian counterpart. Its policies of guerrilla warfare and the "bloc of four classes" have inflicted severe defeats on every Labour movement looking to Peking for guidance. The massacre of communists and trade-unionists first in Malaya, then Indonesia and now Ceylon testifies to this. The latest, perhaps most monstrous, action of the "Great Helmsman" was the apologies for Yayha Khan's military junta in Pakistan. When W. Pakistan attacked Bangla Desh, Mao stayed mum - claiming it was an "internal affair". Since then the Bengali socialist movement has been smashed, millions of people have fled to avoid being massacred. Had the Chinese championed a socialist Bengal, this would've been far better protection - than any deal with Nixon !!

However, this would have opened the road to political revolution - something Mao fears. In fact the whole charade of the "Cultural Revolution" was to smash the working class organisations. Since the road of revolution is barred to the Maoists, some sort of alliance with one or other imperialist bloc is posed. This explains the criminal deal with Nixon.

Irrespective of this, one thing is clear: the Chinese people are potentially the mightiest force on earth. When this proletariat moves it will sweep away the refuse of Stalin and Mao, just as its Russian counterpart will and as the Polish, Czech and Hungarian workers have attempted already!!!

SMASH THE C.M.A.

By the time the "Chartist" comes out, we will just have finished the Oct. elections. The one thing all co-op Chartists wish to stress is that the defeat of the CMA is the primary objective. Whatever differences there are within 1960, and there are plenty of them, we must unite against the common enemy. It is because of this we so vehemently oppose the suspension of Ron Heisler from 1960 for supporting the Chartist resolution on LCS affiliation to the Labour Party. We fraternally warn the Executive that a continuation of this line could produce an irrevocable split - of which the CMA will be the only beneficiary. For a fighting unity of the left against the CMA and all they represent!

Graham Bash.

IRISH STRUGGLE BROADENS

The crisis in Northern Ireland continues to escalate. Internment without trial, introduced as a sop to the extreme right wing Ulster Unionists and to prevent the Unionist Party from disintegrating, has failed to crush the Catholic minority. Methods of torture, perfected in many other areas of the World, subject to British domination, are now being used on political prisoners. The British Army of occupation has been increased by 1,500 men and attempts have been made to seal off the border with the Republic of Ireland. In the face of this increased oppression, resistance among the Catholic minority has spread and sections of the population previously not involved in direct struggle are participating in a civil disobedience campaign.

Divided

For centuries the British ruling class has kept the Protestant and Catholic workers divided and prevented the growth of a strong working class political party in Ireland, but whilst it is essential to unite the Protestants and Catholics this cannot be done by capitulating to their prejudices. The problems of poverty and unemployment can only be solved by the unification of Ireland, but an Ireland free from British political and economic domination. This freedom can only be achieved by the creation of a united socialist Republic.

Support

Our task in the British Labour movement is to mobilise support for the Official and Provisional IRA and the SDLP in so far as these organisations are defending the Catholic minority against the British Army and the Paisleyites. We must campaign for the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the release of all political prisoners regardless of whether or not they are members of the IRA.

Spies Cont from Pg. 1.

Faced with a deepening economic crisis that can only be solved at the expense of the working class, the Tories will, in the forthcoming months, attempt to ideologically prepare the ground for further attacks on the Labour movement. They'll play upon racialism, xenophobia, anti-communism and any other backward sludge they can drag from the sewers of reaction, in order to agitate middle class opinion into a white heat of anti-unionism.

A Fighting Alternative

The Labour leaders must prepare for this onslaught NOW! They must fight resolutely against the Industrial Relations and Immigration Acts and plan industrial action to make the Tories resign. Ideologically they must point out who are the real saboteurs in society. That it is the Tories who are disrupting and subverting things. That it is they who have engineered unemployment and provoked us by attacking our living standards. That these are the people responsible for Internment and the secret plan to butcher U.C.S. - people prepared to use any method to preserve their own power!

Most importantly, the Labour movement must pose a political alternative. We must show the middle classes that the only road to solving the problems of society is one which leads to the Labour movement democratically in control of the real power in this country, not a road of union-bashing, unemployment and reaction. Only such a clear programme of action will pull these potentially-hostile masses to our side.

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