

CHARTIST

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HEALEY'S PUBLIC SECTOR PAY NOOSE

DESPITE CHANCELLOR HEALEY'S October mini-budget with its minimal concessions to calls from the TUC for tax cuts and reflationary boosts to Britain's palsied economy, the Labour Government is holding ready its "trump cards" of Cash Limits and the 12 month rule. These will ensure that the substantial section of the working class who work in the public sector will not be able to turn the tide of falling living standards this winter.

Of all its anti-working class policies, the Government's cash limits are possibly the most subtle and yet most powerful. At one and the same time, they enable cuts in capital spending and services to be imposed whilst providing seemingly "unbreakable" barriers to the public sector unions' pay negotiations.

pruning

Cash limits cover about 70% of total Government spending. In effect, the limits are set by the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement which, in turn, has largely been determined by Healey's allies in the International Monetary Fund. During the 1976/77 financial year (the first in which cash limits operated in full) many Government departments have over-reacted in 'pruning' expenditure - intimidated by the fear of "over-spending".

Chris Stocker

Thus, not only have cash limits slashed the money necessary to merely maintain services at their previous levels, but it has been estimated that, even given these limits, there has been underspending to the tune of £1 billion - equivalent to the entire July 1976 emergency cuts package.

inflation bites

Cuts in services and jobs are bound to result from the way on which cash limits are fixed.

Because these limits are fixed in relation to the Government's target for inflation rather than any realistic forecast of future inflation the result has been a consistent under-allowance for increases during the

Healey's "targets" for inflation have predictably turned out to be based on bluff and pious hope rather than accurate estimates. This, coupled with the fact that the Government refuses to adjust the

cash limits upwards when inflation exceeds the targets, has meant effective cuts of a further £1 billion during the last financial year. Much of this has been borne by Government employees in terms of cuts in living standards resulting from the social contract and pay policy.

But the ruling class is in no doubt as to the most important effect of cash limits - in holding wage demands at bay in the public sector. Take this 'Times' leader for example: "... cash limits ought to be imposed not merely in expectation of the likely level of wage settlements but as a definitive statement of what the Government is prepared to accept." (The Times, editorial: 14th April 1977)

The Tories, despite their antipathy to statutory wage control, are equally conscious of the power of cash limits in public sector wage negotiations:

"Excessive wage claims should clearly not be accommodated by an

easy expansion in bank lending. In the public sector this must be supplemented by the use of cash limits." (Conservative Party: The Right Approach: 1976)

With allies such as these, Healey can face the forthcoming wage claims from 1½ million local government manual workers, 33,000 firemen and 238,000 NHS ancillary workers with confidence. The answer to the £50 per week minimum wage claim from NUPE is going to be: "There is no money in the 'kitty'!" With the Rate Support Grant constrained by cash limits and local authorities reluctant to milk the ratepayers for more money, this will literally be the case.

response

What should our response be to these attacks? The TUC voted against cash limits but, despite this token defence of the "unproductive" sector, the record of the TUC in practical opposition is far from inspiring to those public sector workers now facing meagre pay increases or even the sack because of the cuts and cash limits.

The absolute necessity for unity between public and private sector workers in the fight against the cuts and for massive expansion of public spending has never been clearer. Our answer to cash limits must be to demand a reversal of the cuts imposed by Healey and an end to the attempts to solve the crisis on the backs of the workers in the public sector.

It is the expansion of capitalism, itself, since the war which has created the enlarged public sector. Yet, even during the boom years it proved unable to provide the services needed by working people. Cash limits are just one more way in which the hospitals, the schools, the nurseries and other welfare facilities which working people have fought for are stripped from them.

Now that the system requires a sustained attack on the public sector and the social services and the workers in them socialists must not only reject cuts and cash limits but fight for the expansion of the public sector. Confined to services the demand for such an expansion would be utopian. Therefore socialists must take up a fight for the expansion of the public sector by the takeover of the banks and other financial institutions as the first step towards the takeover of productive industry itself. Such a programme would demand the full and undivided strength of the Labour movement which the current policies of the Government and the TUC are squandering

GRUNWICK - TIME FOR THE RECKONING

By Frank Hansen

NEW LIFE HAS been infused into the Grunwick strike following the resumption of mass picketing on Monday October 17th, when 5,000 trades unionists turned up at the North London factory to demonstrate their solidarity. Indeed the 17th marks a turning point in that the strikers have emerged from the legal-proceduralist quagmire, produced by the Scarman Inquiry, which has bogged down and diverted their struggle for the past two-and-a-half months.

After 14 months of bitter struggle, the strikers have learned many lessons. The most important of these is that they cannot place one ounce of trust in laws, tribunals and procedures which are supposed to guarantee their 'right' to belong to a union. They know that the only way forward is to mobilise the strength of the Labour movement - in the form of mass picketing and blacking - to close down Ward's tinpot dictatorship, and that means challenging the bosses law.

RESUMED

That's why they have resumed mass picketing and are stepping-up their demands that the TUC black all Grunwick services, particularly the mail-order work.

However, a recognition of what is necessary does not in itself guarantee success. There are still major obstacles to victory at Grunwick. The first and foremost obstacle is the position of the APEX leadership, the Labour Government and the TUC.

Ever since the summer mass pickets and the unofficial mail-boycott imposed by the Cricklewood UPW., our 'leaders' have viewed Grunwick not as a vital struggle to be won, but as an embarrassment which damages Labour's electoral prospects and sullies the respectable 'moderate' image of the TUC.

In fact, a call-out from the Labour Party NEC and success at Grunwick will boost Labour's election chances because it will give new confi-



Grunwick strikers lobby the TUC.

dence to immigrant workers, whose eyes are trained on Grunwick, and the dispirited ranks of the labour movement as a whole.

As a result they have used every trick in the book to diffuse, divert and sabotage the Grunwick strike. Central to their strategy was the Scarman Inquiry which was invoked to force the strikers to call off the mass pickets and to

bully the Cricklewood postmen back to work. Even now, when Scarman has been exposed as a complete fraud, APEX and the TUC are able to use their "full acceptance" of the report as a reason for opposing any real struggle to defeat Ward and his Tory backers.

Despite these blatant betrayals, APEX leader Roy Grantham still has the nerve to declare, "our cont'd page 7

SO TO THOSE who tell me 'No way will the country accept ten per cent', I reply 'then no way will you stop prices or unemployment going up again.' With these lies Prime Minister James Callaghan littered his speech to Labour Party Conference this year. And lies they are. There are one million, six hundred thousand reasons why it is a lie to say that wage rises are "another's ticket to the dole queue" as Callaghan's predecessor put it.

But while incomes have been pegged to a 4½ per cent limit for the last two years unemployment has risen by over a million. At the same time food prices alone have risen by 82 per cent during the first three years of a Labour Government. And still prices are rising at an annual rate of well into double figures.

Yet once again, it seems that Callaghan's pro-capitalist Labour Government has succeeded in cajoling and convincing Labour Party conference at Brighton into supporting yet another round of pay restraint—a 10 per cent ceiling with a 12-month gap between settlements.

At TUC conference, although a specific wage limit was rejected in favour of a return to 'free collective bargaining', support was carried for the 12-month rule—and would have been even without Scanlon's defiance of the democratic decisions of his own AUEW conference.

testing

For socialists who oppose all forms of wage control—voluntary, compulsory, statutory or otherwise—under capitalism, this situation presents testing problems.

But why should socialists oppose all state or governmental interference with workers' incomes under capitalism. Hasn't wage restraint brought down inflation? Hasn't it helped the government to get the economy onto the path of recovery? Won't it help get the Labour Government re-elected?

At root of these views lie two myths. One that wages cause or contribute to inflation. The other that sacrifice can strengthen a Labour Government. 'But if wages don't contribute to inflation, what does cause it? Inflation is produced by a complex of factors arising most prominently in this epoch of imperialism—the dominance of great monopolies and banking capital. On one level inflation represents an attempt by capital to overcome disparities in productive output between various nation states.

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Editor: M. Davis, 60 Loughborough Rd., London SW9 (01-733-8953).

THE SOCIALIST CASE AGAINST WAGE RESTRAINT

It involves an expansion of credit—beyond the value of the mass of capital values, to enable foreign trade to continue and profits to be realised on the market. It is a crisis at the level of the circulation of commodities brought about by a deeper crisis in production—namely the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

Thus, inflationary pressures are inherent in the system today internationally. Whether in Chile, or Spain, or Portugal (pre 1974) where right-wing military dictatorships outlawed trade unions and pegged wages inflation raged between 300% (Chile) to 30-40% (Spain, Portugal), or in the liberal democracies, inflation has been a constant feature of the post-war world.

collapse

The reason why prices have rocketed in the seventies is largely because of the collapse of the whole financial edifice constituted at Bretton Woods in 1944 to rebuild western capitalism. The dollar became the stable world currency convertible to gold, with capital accumulation and trade maintained by continual state expenditures and expansion of paper (confetti) money supplies (by both Tory and Labour governments).

Today, this artificially-financed expansion of capital has reached such a point that the owners of capital are losing confidence in their ability to restore falling profit rates. For them this means an immense increase in the rate of exploitation of productive (profitable) labour and a savage rationalisation of existing labour. Through such policies as deflation, wage control, unemployment and speed-up the ruling class attempts to increase the amount of value to restore equilibrium and profitability to production.

The pre-tax rate of return on invested capital (an indication of profit rates) fell from 13.4% in 1960 to 3.5% in 1976. Hence the 'strike of capital'—the failure of capitalists to invest—even when British manufacturing industry is running at 20 per cent below capacity results

from the inability of the bourgeoisie to recoup a sufficient rate of return on investment.

Thus the secret of inflation for capitalism, and why the CBI call for an end to all attempts at price control, is because inflation erodes the living standards of workers and helps finance investment—without which a recovery of profitability would be impossible.

Even if workers held down wages for the next ten years, unless capitalism internationally were able to restore falling profit rates, the inflationary spiral would remain as the only get-out for capital to realise its profits and lubricate world trade.

The global recession—with unemployment in all the main industrial capitalist countries at post-war highs—and the shrinking of world trade indicates that inflation will inevitably slacken proportionately.

opposite

As for the argument that sacrifice can strengthen a Labour Government, the truth is the opposite. The 16 per cent fall in living standards over the first two years of the social contract and the whole battery of anti-working class measures implemented by the government has led to demoralisation, divisions, cynicism and the growth of racist and sexist sentiment already latent in society. By-election defeats, particularly at Ashfield, a mining constituency, where a Labour majority of 20,000 was reduced to nothing, indicate the very real bitterness and frustration that is developing amongst traditional Labour supporters.

Callaghan and co offer a false dawn which we accept at our peril. And what of the alternative to this continuation of pay control and right-wing policies. The Tribune Group of MPs and Tony Benn have mounted no fight whatsoever against the 10% limit and 12-month rule contenting themselves merely with calls for price controls, when the government refuses to tackle the power of the capitalists who raise prices. The Comm-

unist Party outside parliament have mounted a blind-alley Petition for a Price Freeze. This is complemented by the campaign for a 'return to free collective bargaining' in the trades unions, and uncritically echoed by some left groups. Socialists obviously support independent union negotiation for wages but to present collective bargaining as a political alternative (when 50% of workers don't have it in the first place) answers none of the fundamental problems we face, totally failing to locate the roots of the crisis in the system of capitalist production for profit itself.

There cannot be any stages in the elimination of capitalist crisis. On wages and prices the left must have a policy that goes to the heart of the problem, Callaghan says no more sacrifices now. Good. Let our trade union leaders support demands for a rising scale of wages clause in every wage agreement so that wages rise automatically, point for point with inflation. Price rises should be computed on an index compiled by committees of trade unionists and consumers, not the inaccurate Retail Price Index which grossly understates items of working class expenditure. In this way real wages can be protected, an opportunity for getting off the price-wage treadmill opens and a finger is pointed at the real causes of capitalist inflation.

hot-air

Such a policy should also be combined with an immediate TUC campaign of industrial action for a minimum wage of £60—only with such defences can the hot-air of our Labour leaders in 'helping the low paid' really mean something. If Tribune and the CPGB are serious about price controls a pre-condition must be effective workers control of production and expropriation of all banking and business capital. Without this the policy of price controls becomes a mystifying, blind-alley policy.

Simple wage militancy, now more than ever, can be seen as a debilitating and despairing response to a situation in which politics has now clearly been placed at the centre of all trade union struggles for wages and conditions. Nonetheless, it is vital that all socialists support every trade union struggle against Healey's Phase 3 as the first step towards building a political opposition to wage cuts on the policy outlined.

Dangers of corporate bargaining

by Mike Davis

LEYLAND CARS SHOP stewards have voted 2-1 to move from plant bargaining to a nationally negotiated wage system within two years". So reported the *Morning Star* on the decision of a meeting, held under the auspices of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in mid October, to recommend that Leylands 120,000 workers show support in a ballot for Leyland's 5-point rationalisation and speed-up plan.

The *Morning Star* went on: "While the shop-stewards' meeting... did not reflect the true voting strength of the TGWU on the shop floor, Mr Evans (heir-apparent to Jack Jones) said it would accept the outcome".

What the *Star* did not report specifically was that a majority of TGWU stewards voted against the deal at an earlier meeting and their union represents 65 per cent of Leyland workers. Ignoring this, and calling only for guarantees on "mutuality" the *Star* went on to uncritically support management's recommendations and comment that "overwhelming shopfloor support for the recommendations is a foregone conclusion", thus pre-judging the vote.

Thus, it is now clear that the *Morning Star*—a mouthpiece of the British Communist Party—has joined the chorus of Hugh Scanlon, Industry Secretary Varley, the discredited (and late resigned) racist and anti-trade union boss of

British Leyland, Sir Richard Dobson, and the National Enterprise Board who are all busy threatening the shut-down of Leyland unless the workers passively sacrifice their independent trade union rights, and accept redundancies, speed up and corporate bargaining.

Engineers' leader, Hugh Scanlon, soon to retire (and an eye on a knighthood) is now following in the footsteps of Les Carron—the right-wing AEU leader of the sixties. After Scanlon's disgraceful performance at TUC conference where he defied his own union's conference decision against the 12-month rule to cast his union's votes in favour, he led the move at the recent Leyland senior stewards meetings to recommend acceptance of corporate bargaining. Taking up the the same gun Varley, is pointing at Leyland workers' heads, he commented bluntly, "the hangman's noose helps concentrate the mind." The *Morning Star* uttered not a word of criticism of Scanlon!

The aims of the Leyland management (of a supposedly nationalised industry) in trying to force through national corporate bargaining is threefold. To undermine the independent power of the shop stewards, and conversely strengthen the hand of the top bureaucratic union officials; to further integrate the trade unions into the capitalist state and finally, through this means to

Hugh Scanlon



ensure "continuous production" (a euphemism for "no strikes"), speed-up (incentive bonus and productivity schemes) and rationalisation. In short, to make workers' pay for the profitability crisis of the British motor industry.

For socialists, on one level national bargaining is preferable to the present diverse, localised and differential-ridden collective bargaining structure which divides Leyland workers. But we are against the bureaucratic elimination of these divisions and the creation of an even more anti-working class structure.

Chartist would support all moves towards shop-floor stewards from the various sections and

plants meeting to thrash out common claims to defend and improve wages and conditions.

We are in favour of the elimination of differentials, but through a levelling up of wages, improved and expanded training facilities for young apprentices and the development of elected factory committees taking on increased control of planning, wages and conditions in Leyland.

Finally, it would be ludicrous to suggest that there is even the beginnings of a solution to the crisis at Leyland's without the expropriation and nationalisation under workers' control of all the automobile and components' industries.

DO WE CALL ON LABOUR TO BAN THE NF?

THE EVENTS IN Manchester of a few weeks ago provide a good example of the confusion that can be generated when a district council submits to pressure to ban a National Front (NF) march.

Tameside Council feared that the streets of their borough would become a battlefield as an expected twenty thousand anti-fascists stopped the NF from holding a rally in the Town Hall the staff of which had already refused to open up for the fascists. So they banned not only the NF march and rally and counter-picket, but all political activities; and marches on council property and in the area for five weeks. The NF threatened to march elsewhere in Greater Manchester, but kept the venue secret. The Chief Constable of Manchester didn't let on either.

Meanwhile the anti-fascists attempted to organize a counter-rally when they not only didn't know where the fascists would march, but when their numbers were depleted by the defection of thousands of anti-fascists who believed that the council had done their work for them and that they had earned an afternoon in front of the TV. On the day, a few hundred dejected fascists had a short walk across a building site in Belle Vue confident that they would not have to face the missiles and abuse of the anti-fascists who assembled miles away in Stockport.

between

Up at Hyde the lone figure of the NF's National Activities Organiser, Martin Webster, could be glimpsed draped in racist posters and a megaphone, between the serried ranks of navy blue of Manchester's constabulary provided for his benefit by Manchester's Chief Constable. Traversing the original route planned for the fascist march, Webster spoke from the Town Hall steps to the jeers of the anti-fascists who had assembled there to protest at the ban. The cost of the whole operation which involved 6000 police - 3000 of which escorted Webster's "solo" march - dogs, cavalry, helicopters and radio monitoring was a staggering £250,000.

Should anti-fascists call on the Labour Government to ban the NF altogether and demand that local councils bar them from council property? This demand is now



Photo: Colin Chalmers

Webster and escort at Hyde

raised by different political tendencies for totally conflicting reasons in such a way that it is confusing.

Why do the Communist Party (CP), many Labour councillors and some trade unions call for a ban? Because they consider the NF to be nasty, racist, and, above all, a threat to public order. Who will implement the ban? Silly question? Who is normally in charge of maintaining public order? The courts and the police. The CP recognise that the police are unwilling to arrest racists as is the Labour Attorney General Sam Silkin. Nonetheless, they blindly call on the courts and police to prosecute the racists as they are empowered to do under existing race relations legislation. Their answer is to call for tougher legislation and government pressure on the police. Yet, it does not matter how tough legislation is, if it is not implemented and the police whose ranks are riddled with racism anyway are reluctant to get involved in an area they see as "political". The attitude typified by the CP's approach can only sow illusions in the neutrality of the state.

But worse, if the NF are a threat to public order, so are militant anti-fascists such as far left groups like the Socialist Workers' Party, who also use violence against the fascists. At least, that is how our democratic legislators at local and central level would argue. Any ban, then, must be "fair" and ban both "sides".

The 1936 Public Order Act was passed, not because that Tory Gov-

ernment opposed Mosley's anti-semitism (though they might have) but because they wanted no more Battles of Cable Street. It is irrelevant to them if a fascist demonstration terrorises black people in the areas through which it passes. If it is likely to go unopposed, it will not be a threat to public order. Even if trouble is expected, but the local police chief relishes the opportunity of trying out his troops and their new weapons, then the battle will take place.

When the CHARTIST (and some other organisations) call for Labour representatives to ban the NF from town halls or schools we INSIST that the Labour movement implements this ban. Thousands of anti-fascists must physically prevent fascist activities taking place. Such counter-demonstrations are manifestations of workers' power. They act not alongside the bourgeois institutions such as the courts and police, but directly against them.

They demand this of the Labour representatives: "Act as class conscious leaders of the labour movement and not as office-holders of institutions that purport to be above class. Ban the NF because they are a threat to our movement!"

The bourgeois state has no interest in protecting the would-be victims of fascism. If it opposes the fascists at all, it is not because they are racist and anti-union but because they are 'extreme'. But not as extreme perhaps as the left. The police are

even more likely to side with the fascists. The less racist police officers might dislike what the NF say. But at least they do not attack them at demonstrations and Grunwicks.

Far from being able to rely on the law to prosecute the fascists, the anti-fascists will have to break the law to stop the NF activities. It is NOT legal to assemble in large numbers, obstructing the highway, and stop individuals from marching in processions or entering public buildings to get to meetings, even if these processions themselves are 'illegal'. And usually it IS necessary to push through thousands of police to get at the fascists. It is illegal for black people to set up vigilante groups to protect themselves. In fact, if any method of struggle that working people need to protect their interest is not illegal now then it can soon become so. On the other hand, if tens of thousands of anti-fascists are involved, who is going to arrest them all?

The CHARTIST is very clear what it means by "Labour, ban the NF!". Unfortunately most people mean something else entirely. A slogan is not much use if one has to spend time explaining what it DOES NOT mean. One of the main tasks of revolutionaries in the anti-fascist movement is to emphasise the necessity for physical confrontations with the fascists.

withdrew

But the call for a ban has become a very powerful demobiliser. Colin Barnett, secretary of the North West Region of the TUC, withdrew the support of that organization for a counter demonstration to the NF mystery tour of Manchester, after the ban was imposed.

So what should the Labour Government do? Not pass legislation through parliament for the courts and police to carry out (or ignore) but use the authority they have as leaders of the Labour movement to increase the size and weight of anti-fascist mobilisations. The trade union leaders should also give their backing to these counter-demonstrations that deny the fascists a platform.

In anti-fascist work, as at Grunwick, it is essential that the labour movement relies only on its own strength, and not wait passively for intervention from organizations it does, and cannot, control.

THE LIST OF RIGHT-WING hacks, careerists, opportunists and Tories leaving the Labour Party is becoming endless. This can only be the best thing for the socialist wing since Gaitskell dropped dead in 1963.

Reg Prentice was the apex of this pyramid of right-wing power grabbers. The 'quality press' referred to the massive embarrassment of his allies when he announced his transformation into the Tory demon.

Such stalwarts as Education Secretary, Shirley Williams (still being booed at Labour Party Conference), William (off the rails) Rodgers, and UPW leader Tom Jackson have, surely, become even more compromised among thousands of Labour supporters.

Paul Johnson, an even more nauseous creature than Bernard Levin, has also 'defected' to the Tories. Yet he remains a director on that so-called 'left-wing' journal, the New Statesman (as described by Anthony Howard recently upholding another tired fiction).

Another 'man of stature', Woodrow Wyatt, has gone even further: he's a still a member of the Labour Party yet he told his Sunday Mirror readers to all vote Tory 'to help the moderates win in the Labour Party' after the next General Election. If he's a 'moderate', then there's still hope for Ted Heath. . . if he joins the Social Democratic Alliance. Talking of the SDA, they calculated that there are more 'Communist sympathisers' on the new National Executive Committee of the Labour Party (same people as last year) than 'moderate social democrats'. Perhaps our 'euro-communists' in King Street, could do something about that at their November Congress!

More heroes of Socialism are lining up for the proverbial, and long overdue boot.

Labour's outside right

By MARK DOUGLAS

they reckon the best thing to do is cut their losses and run.

Now there is a definite element of truth in this view. Both Prentice and Johnson more than fit this reference. The problem is the Labour Party leadership is still littered with those who would rather be dead than see the Labour Party move towards socialism.

The new Tory conduit is called the 'Campaign for Labour Victory'. The CLV are a very important faction in the Labour Party. They had, according to reports a 'successful' fringe meeting at the Brighton Conference. The platform speakers ran into two figures (makes sure there's no arguments from the floor) made up of Cabinet Ministers - Shirley Williams, (again), Rodgers (again), Foreign Secretary Owen (Labour's latest whizz-kid), assorted MPs, Borough Council bosses and others.

They have concluded that the Social Democratic Alliance are a 'bunch of Tories', the 'Manifesto' group of Labour MPs is too exclusive and the 'Tribune' group of MPs is 'too strong'. It includes a galaxy of right-wing politicians to prevent the socialist left from taking any more control of the Labour Party's affairs and policies.

They are in fact, the people in control at the top-Healey, Callaghan, Rees and Mulley are all with them. Are they basically coalitionists? Yes and No. The careers of these people rest on their ability to articulate and bend the wishes and

- Frank Tomney is on the way out in Hammer-smith after a three-year battle for re-selection.
- Geoffrey De Freitas (MP for Kettering) has succumbed to the greatest sacrifice-he wants to go to the European Parliament (Salary £30,000 per year, any currency) when the hustings for the EEC direct Elections happen, sometime next year.
- Sir Arthur Irvine is still fighting socialism in a Liverpool slum he helped to create. Except that he lives in Kensington where the standard slum rents out at £30 a week!
- And what about Albert Roberts, from Normanton in Yorkshire, a miners sponsored MP! Since when did the Yorkshire miners (Scargill's Storm troopers as the Tory press love to call them) support a man who crawled up Franco's leg at every opportunity? But there is a 'theory' circulating about this latest phenomenon. It's been dubbed the 'middle class foxtrot'. After the post-war reconstruction, all these middle class careerists decided the best place to be was in the Labour Party. So they crept in on the wave of 'Butskellism' (Labour-Tory bi-partisanship) and the 'end of ideology' boom.

Now, twenty-one years after Crosland's 'the Future of Socialism' (never had much of 'a future' with Tony in the driving seat) the 'foxtrotters' have decided that their 'career opportunities' have taken a dive: something to do with all this fuss about 'democratic accountability'. So,

aspirations of millions of Labour supporters. If they are unable to do this - then their careers are finished. But if the millions of Labour supporters become disillusioned with them, if they react against the effects of the crisis by demanding more action against the bosses, then Healey, Callaghan and the rest must act accordingly. At present the political state of the Labour movement is one where masses of workers are still tolerating or acquiescing in the policies of the Government.

Until the Left in the Labour movement, as a whole, has fought for and gained the credibility necessary for a socialist strategy, then the 'inside right-wing' of the Labour Party, the pro-capitalist politicians, will remain in charge.

But as a basic step towards ensuring many more of the Prentices in the LP are called to account the political struggle for right of recall of all MPs and councillors must continue and be stepped up.

The limited progress made by the 'labour left' and the re-assertion of class struggle politics within the Party have thus helped to get rid of only a few of the more outspoken 'pink Tories', leaving the more subtle and dangerous ones undistributed. It is no accident at this time that Peter Hain, Simon Hebditch and Jimmy Reid have chosen to apply for membership. For all our many criticisms of these new comrades (and suspicions of their motives!) they have been active participants in the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression. (The ex-Young Liberals in particular have a record on combating racism and sexism rare in the 'Tribune' scene). Their arrival shows the impossibility of working for radical social change (albeit on a reformist basis) outside of the mass labour movement.

After Labour Conference . . .

"WE HAVE CLOSED ranks", was Michael Foot's lame excuse for the complete failure of the Tribune Group to mount any opposition to the policies of Callaghan and Healey at the Labour Party Conference. Speaking from the Tribune platform he listed all those socialist goals which he and his fellow Tribunites would like to see carried through . . . only to follow each with the pathetic refrain, "But we don't have a majority".

Benn, too, hero of Labour's left, who despite his continued presence in the Cabinet has still not quite lost his charismatic appeal as an expression of the hopes and aspirations of Labour's rank and file, pleaded over and over in his speech that political change was a question of structures not individuals. Correct, of course, but in the context an excuse for further inactivity.

The relative success of Healey's strategy in reducing inflation, turned at a stroke of a speechwriter's pen into the greatest victory since the Battle of Britain 1940, the solid TUC backing for the Government, the Parliamentary situation and the imminence of an election all conspired to silence the Tribune left, leaving the task of opposition to the moral indignation and sectarian dogmatism of the Militant supporters at the Conference. This year's right wing triumph over the Conference marks the culmination of three years in which the strategy of Labour's left can best be described as 'permanent retreat'.

CLASS STRUGGLES

IN THE TWO 1974 elections Tribunites rode the crest of the waves of class struggles which had removed the Tories. Their programme had been adopted by the Party in "Labour's Programme for Britain 1973", their supporters were swept into office in the industrial constituencies of the North West - Liverpool and Manchester, the Midlands, Coventry, Birmingham - and South Wales. A roll-call of Tribune MPs in November 1974 would have produced 70 - 80 names.

Meanwhile theoreticians such as Stuart Holland in "The Socialist Challenge", and the Cambridge Political Economy Group were working overtime to investigate the experience of the 1964 - 1970 Labour Government and to produce a viable programme of radical reform. Long-standing left wingers such as Judith Hart, Michael Foot and Joan Lester were included in the Cabinet. At last, it seemed there was a possibility that a Labour Government might do more than simply manage the capitalist economy like ersatz Tories.

As we now know this was not to be. The story of the Tribune left's ignominious collapse contains valuable lessons for all those within the Labour Party and without who seek either to reform or to destroy capitalism. The failure of the Tribunites to do the first and their unwillingness to commit themselves unreservedly to the second has doomed them to impotence. We would do well to study closely their example of how not to go about the struggle for socialism.

GYMNASTICS

THE FIRST GREAT defeat the Labour lefts suffered was over the EEC referendum. In an amazing display of political gymnastics, Harold Wilson was able to turn the tables on them in a matter of months. During the referendum campaign they were to throw all their eggs into the chauvinist basket of "National sovereignty". Completely unable to mobilise on an internationalist basis or to present an alternative to the E.E.C. many of them were to be found sharing platforms with the arch-enemies of the working class, with Powell and other Tory 'little Englanders'. This was to prove the beginning of the Tribunites' collapse.

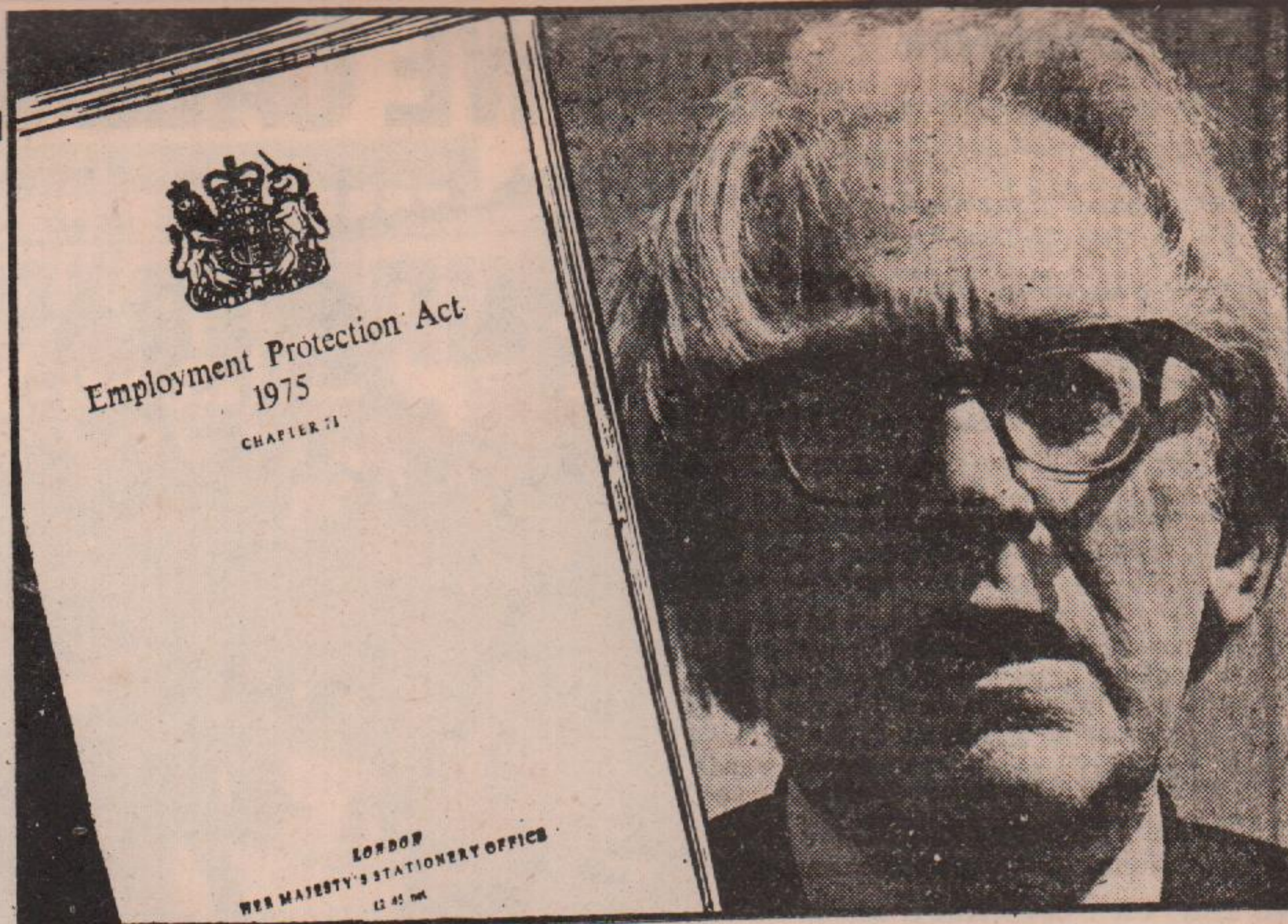
Since then on every single issue of Government policy - cuts, unemployment, the Social Contract, Ireland, foreign policy, the Tribune left have been unable or unwilling to mount any serious opposition to the policies of the Labour Government. They have vacillated, split or even sided with the government on all serious issues of the class struggle.

It has been Tribune Michael Foot (succeeded by Tribune Booth) who have presided over 1.6 million on the dole, Tribune Stan Orme who played an important role in formulating policy on the North of Ireland, it was Tribune Alec Kitson who defended the Government's support for the counter-revolutionary role of Soares in Portugal in 1975, it was Tribune Lena

Jegar, summing up for the NEC at this year's Conference, who opposed a three line whip on MPs to vote against all attempts at anti-abortion legislation.

The "Chartist" is well aware that many Tribune MPs have taken a stand on some of these issues, Litterick and Maynard on Ireland, the women MPs who fought on the abortion Select Committee, Hart and Wise, briefly, on Portugal; but the question is not one of the commitment or devotion of individual Tribunites but the political incoherence which has consistently turned their finest hopes into a chaotic confusion of good intentions and bad politics.

At the heart of this failure to present a coherent perspective to bring about the social changes they desire, linger three pervasive aspects: their commitment to Parliamentaryism, to 'British' interests, (i.e. the interests of British imperialism),



Michael Foot and Tony Benn - Callaghan's left-hand men.

WHERE IS THE LABOUR LEFT GOING?

by GEOFF BENDER

and, consequently, their belief in the eternal character of capitalism, despite all avowals to the contrary.

A look at the kind of economic programme propagated by the more articulate Tribunites provides us with clear and substantial evidence of all these aspects. The essence of this programme is a sub-Keynesian project of demand management and controlled investment. It is sub-Keynesian because Keynes, at least, was an internationalist, if a bourgeois one. The Tribunites cannot comprehend that the world economy has entered a decisively different period than that of the post-war boom and the old solutions no longer work.

Tribune



BRIAN SEDGEMORE

THE
ALTERNATIVE
ECONOMIC
STRATEGY

WHAT IS THE Labour left's economic programme? Essentially it resolves itself into the following nine points listed by Brian Sedgemore in *Tribune* a year ago:

- * Import Controls
- * End to sterling's role as a Reserve currency
- * Planning Agreements
- * Muscle to the National Enterprise Board
- * Industrial Democracy
- * Public Ownership of Finance Institutions
- * The Maintenance of Labour's Social Programmes
- * Defence Cuts.

Other ideas sometimes included are a wealth tax (*Tribune Group Economic Report No. 2*, June 1975) and the call for expansion through higher real wages and increases in public spending (Bert Ramelson's Communist Party pamphlet 'Bury the Social Contract').

One assumption behind these policies, which may seem superficially attractive is that the crisis is not as bad as it seems. For instance, Ramelson accuses big business of exaggerating the falling returns on capital investment by taking inflation into account in their balances. Now, of course, for tax purposes a firm might wish to show the least favourable figures, this would tend to be offset by the fact that in seeking new investors the firm would also wish to show the most favourable figures. In any case a firm which did not take inflation into its calculations of return on investment would not stay in business long.

Many times in this paper we have taken up the cudgels against the demand for import controls. It is no, out of any love

for the free trade ethic but to defend and further the cause of international workers' unity that we take a stand on this issue. Nor is this a moral abstraction. As the recession in world trade sets in all capitalist states will attempt to shore up their own ailing industries against 'unfair' foreign competition.

TRADE CONTROLS WILL turn to trade war as each working class is whipped into line with its own bourgeoisie in a hysteria of national chauvinism. Given its imperial past the British working class is particularly vulnerable to this danger and the beneficiaries will be the jingoistic Tory right and the fascists. But at the purely economic level insofar as import controls can save jobs they do so only at the expense of higher prices and the continuance of low productivity, low wage industry behind the protective tariff wall. Either way the working class are the losers.

PRICE CONTROLS and incomes policy (as, indeed to some extent import controls) are Tribune clothes which the government has already donned. Rigid price controls without any form of subsidies can only exacerbate the profitability (and consequently investment) crisis thus increasing the already swollen dole queues. Food subsidies which the Government has operated keep down the prices of the commodities in question only at the expense of putting more money into circulation without corresponding increases in productivity, thus contributing to a general rise in price levels.

STATE-MANAGED

PLANNING AGREEMENTS which together with the National Enterprise Board constitutes the core of the Bennite, as well as the Tribune programme, occupied pride of place in the NEC proposals which formed the basis for the 1974 Manifestos.

Together they form the basis for a Tribune version of state-managed capitalism in the tradition of the Attlee government of 1945 - 51. Yet, despite the Tory hands held high in horror when these proposals first surfaced in 1973/74, they have been implemented in a half-hearted sort of way by this Labour Government without noticeably shattering the rule of capital in Britain. Only one firm, Chrysler UK, has entered into a planning agreement. They are, of course, strictly voluntary!

THE AUGUST '74 White Paper under which the NEB was established stressed that firms should be taken over by agreement. Under Lord Don Ryder, as we know, the NEB, once the pride of Labour's left was to become the rationalizer of ailing firms such as British Leyland and Ferranti and make a few deals with small firms. With no real power and £1000 million limit no wonder the *Economist*, house journal of the bourgeoisie crowed, "The NEB's guideline favours the bosses" (February 28 1976).

Other of *Tribune's* radical proposals seemed destined for the same treatment. Emasculation by co-option. Industrial democracy became Bullock, Nationalisation

of banks and financial institutions, adopted at last year's Conference after a demagogic speech by Mikardo and against the advice of Callaghan and Healey is already in process of being watered down to the creation of a new state bank - a glorified National Giro.

The reason that it has proved so easy for the right wing to co-opt and water down aspects of Tribune policy and this disarm their critics is that the Tribunites refuse to face up to the fact that, in the last analysis, the aims of socialism and the interests of the capitalist class are irreconcilable. They thus believe it possible with more or less pressure to force the capitalist to cooperate with a Labour Government in the pursuit of what they consider socialist objectives.

RATIONALIZER

LABOUR'S PROGRAMME 1976 argues that there should be publicly owned firms in "each of the key sectors of industry" covering the 32 industries identified by the National Economic Development Council, plus industries whose main customer is nationalized". In the shorter term, Sedgemore has written "The National Enterprise Board might legitimately be expected within the next two years to extend its coverage and/or move into the process/plan, instrument systems, petrochemicals, chemicals, ferrous foundry, machine tools, telecommunications and food processing industries as an essential part of achieving sustained and continued growth." This ambitious scenario would we believe require both a drastic change in the character of the political leadership of the class and invoke a considerable political response from the capitalist class.

BUT GIVEN ALL that, does it or does it not provide a viable means for economic planning. Stuart Holland in his book *The Socialist Challenge* spells out the function of nationalizing profitable manufacturing firms. The key point in Holland's analysis is not only simply that such nationalized firms will launch their own investment programmes (*Tribune* talks of £1000 million a year being invested this way) but also through their position in the market these firms could exert a pull over the private firms in the same industry. Thus they would through competition be forced to invest, develop new products and keep prices down. This scheme therefore envisages the state competing as one among many capitals and beating the capitalists at their own game. Leaving aside for a moment whether this is any sort of route to socialism of any kind, we must ask: would it work? The basic assumption of this scheme is that there are profitable markets which, for some inexplicable reason, the capitalists are not taking advantage of. Yet this is precisely not the case. The entry of the state on the scene in this capacity could only worsen the crisis of profitability. It is really a complete misrepresentation to imagine that the capitalists are simply hanging around waiting for more competition to prod them into new investment programmes. If the finance markets and profits were present,



EEC, Nationalism & Tribune

THE WHOLE OPPOSITION of the Tribune left to the Common Market has been one of national patriotism.

When the vote in favour of Britain's membership was taken by the Labour Cabinet in 1975 Tony Benn said that "Britain's continued membership would mean the end of Britain as a completely self-governing nation". This idea of defending national sovereignty led to a campaign of defending British imperialism. All talk of European worker's unity was ignored. Instead slogans such as "No to rule from Brussels" were the rule and ASTMS leader Clive Jenkins along with Tribunites even managed to share platforms with Enoch Powell.

The whole debate between pro and anti-marketiers revolved around what was 'best for Britain': more jobs, more investment etc and the right-wing won the day.

It was no accident that the Tribune left mounted their campaign on a basis of what was best for Britain - it fits in exactly with their views on the reform of capitalism.

SIEGE ECONOMY

The idea of the Tribunites was that Britain would stay out of the E.E.C. and have a "socialist" siege economy complete with import controls and state investment.

Now, two years later, their views have changed. The Tribune Group has come out with a new plan in relation to Europe. However, in no way is it a qualitative break from their old chauvinist theme but rather a sophistication of it.

Instead of now calling for Britain's withdrawal from the E.E.C. the view accepted by this year's Labour Party Conference is for reforms from within.

Why has this change come about? Because the Tribune Group are utterly incapable of seriously challenging the right wing leadership they have now adopted their discarded fig leaf of "fundamental renegotiation". Their rejection of inter-



French workers march against unemployment - rising throughout EEC

national workers' unity as "utopian" ties them firmly to their nationalistic outlook.

To quote from the N.E.C. document adopted at Labour Party Conference, "Our objective is to work towards the creation of a wider but much looser grouping of European States - one in which each country is able to realise its own economic and social objectives under the sovereignty of its own Parliament". Little different from what Tony Benn said in 1975.

The notion of internal reform of the E.E.C. essentially an idea hatched by Callaghan - presents a diversionary blind alley serving only to further confuse workers as to the intrinsic capitalist nature of the the E.E.C. in which at present over 8million.

Nowhere in the NEC document is any call made for international workers' unity. On the contrary we see time and again "a further threat to Britain", "Britain's special difficulties".

This internal reform of the EEC is an extension of the Tribune Group's narrow national perspective of building socialism bit by bit. It is this contradiction between the nationalism and would-be socialism that enables the NEC to say in their document "Our objective therefore

by SHAUN COHEN

is to gain the co-operation of our socialist allies in promoting powerful socialist industrial policies within each of the member states".

It is on this very question that revolutionary socialists and reformists divide. Reformists do not see the need to seize state power forcibly. As far as they are concerned Parliament (the British one, of course) is an adequate means for bringing about socialism. On the other hand, revolutionaries stress the need for the seizure of state power and an internationalist strategy for the overcoming of national boundaries as the only means of ensuring the victory of socialism.

Opposition to the Common Market has to be based on the objective need for the unity of the European working class. Nationalistic calls only serve to confuse and demoralise the class. There is a strengthening of nationalism within the working class, probably one of the biggest problems facing socialists today. It enhances the view that "wogs begin at Calais".

The capitalist crisis is world wide, no talk of "Little Englandism" can prevent that crisis affecting Britain. Even if the Tribune group were to embark on its programme tomorrow, Britain could not escape the world crisis.

then it would not require the intervention of nationalized firms to persuade the capitalists to invest.

Inevitably such a delusion cannot produce the kind of consistently pro-capitalist policies practiced by the realpolitikers of the Healey-Callaghan stripe nor lay the basis for a consistent anti-capitalist struggle.

CONTRADICTIONS-IN-TERMS the Tribunites are condemned to impotent protest in opposition to the Labour leaders, vacillation over every consistently anti-capitalist struggle which goes beyond their limited horizons, and finally co-optation and political emasculation by the right wing when their time comes (e.g. Michael Foot reduced at the Tribune conference meeting to supporting the Lib-Lab Pact and praising Callaghan's leadership as the only alternative to the Tories).

In the last three years, the Tribune MPs, the Tribune paper, their supporters in the party and unions at all levels have been given an unsurpassable opportunity to lead a broad-based left wing movement against the pro-capitalist policies of the Labour leaders, against wage controls, cuts, racialism and fascism, for Labour Party democracy, full employment, trade union rights and civil liberties.

Such a campaigning approach could have changed the face of politics in this country and in the Labour movement and ensured the re-election of a Labour government so that, who knows, they might, at last have had the chance to implement their famous 'rolling programme'. Over the last three years, the Tribunites have had the chance to demonstrate in action the worth of their politics. They have failed to do so but that, after all, is also a demonstration of the worth of their politics.

Woolly Liberalism Dogs 'Defence' Cuts Debate

BRYNLEY HEAVEN

THE QUESTION OF defence (which is the newspeak word they use to describe the military efforts of Britain in NATO) occupies a central place in left wing mythology. From the receding memories of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, through the annual revolt of the labour left on defence expenditure (these days even that little ritual is a memory!) to the present day, Carter-inspired fashionable imperialist self-doubt (masking the exaggerated Thatcher-like certainty about what the stakes really are).

Through all, one thing stands out, the inability of the left to approach the question *politically* from an independent working class standpoint. Between the traditional Communist Party view, which boiled down to uncritically supporting "them" against "us", and the tattered remnants of the genuine Labour pacifist tradition lay a whirl of confused sentiment which seemed capable only of latching onto some new horror (Polaris, the neutron bomb) or appealing in a vaguely humanitarian sort of way for less swords and maybe more ploughshares.

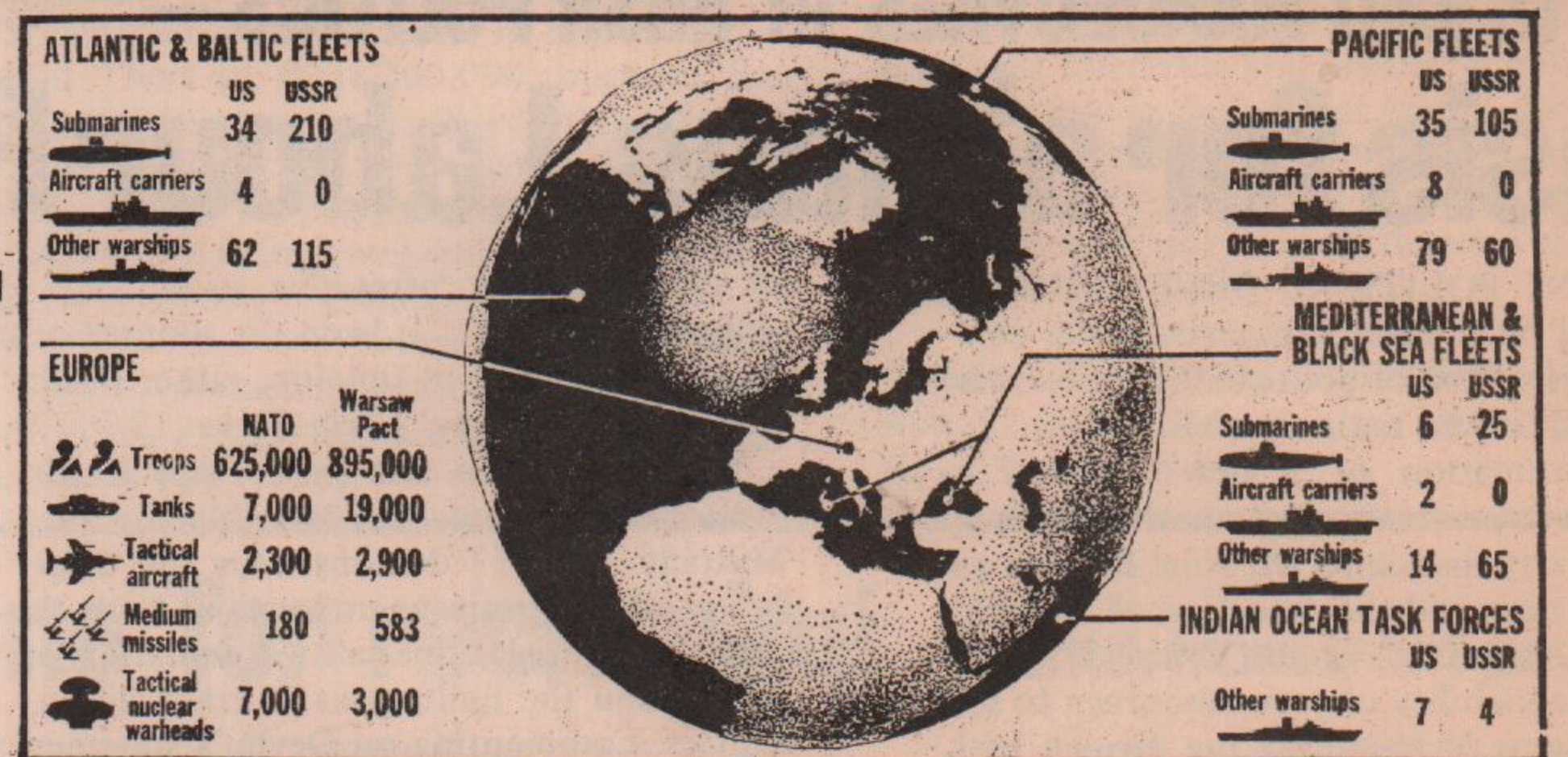
In its time this made for some epic battles, but lacking the nourishment of a sustaining political analysis (or even answers to straightforward questions like "What about the risk to jobs?") it remained very definitely a movement of protest.

In 1977 (for, like old generals, left wing commentators on the military are fond of fighting yesterday's battles) the British

military apparatus, which is a direct agency of the capitalist state, is engaged in three main tasks all of which are entirely contrary to workers' interests:

- 1) Contributing in alliance with US imperialism and the major European capitalist states, to a common front against the 'communist' states, in particular the Soviet bloc.
- 2) Obstructing, by means of an occupying force, the emergency of mass politics within the nationalist minority in the north of Ireland and self-determination for Ireland as a whole.
- 3) Preparing closer and more effective intervention in domestic politics.

Let us examine just the first of these roles. When socialists argue for the military defence of the Soviet Union and British withdrawal from NATO, they are not suggesting that Breznev has his good points (indeed, Russia's bloc of nations could be fairly described as police states, as recent events in East Berlin testify). Rather that the reintroduction of capitalist economies in the "communist" states would be a giant step backwards. Assuming that imperialism were in a position to do this (and nowadays they realise that it would be easier for them to destroy humanity) the conditions would be created for a new wave of capitalist development drawing on the economically rich, consumer-impooverished bureaucratic workers' states. States, moreover characterised more by heavy political repression of the working class, rather than democratic



Defence cuts - question of class not quantity.

planning of the nationalised economies.

More than that. The chances of introducing a socialist state in Britain or any capitalist 'liberal democracy', more so even than in Angola, if it is to survive to the generalisation of socialist productive relations to other nations, is dependent on the dissuasion or resistance to external imperialist intervention. Viewed in this light the existence of the so-called communist states represents a *positive asset*.

In the wake of Vietnam and Watergate no US marines appeared on Lisbon's beaches to strangle the Portuguese revolution. This is not to argue that Breznev and company have a benign interest in spreading socialism in the west, as dishonest right wing commentators sometimes pretend. For one thing this could inspire trouble for them at home. Their interest in advancing Soviet strength depends upon preventing any sudden major upset in the world balance of power, in defence of which the whole "detente" edifice is constructed.

From this standpoint, familiar arguments that British defence should be cut "more in keeping with our new status in the world" and so on seem very illogical not to say inadequate. Too often the debate is falsely polarised between hawks and doves or reduced to the competitive counting of heads and missiles. Some climb aboard Carter's hypocritical civil rights crusade. Thatcher excels at this, conjuring a partial return to a 'cold war' climate. For the left to reply "cut this estimate!" or "cancel this project!" doesn't convince. It doesn't match their arguments. It suggests that the problem is just a quantitative one: so much of Gross National Product wasted. Not that Britain's armed forces are irreversibly aligned to imperialism. When we call for withdrawal from NATO, the expulsion of US bases, trade union rights for soldiers and guaranteed useful work or full pay for all at Rosyth or Brough then the call for defence cuts *begins* to sound like sense. It goes beyond a book-keeping exercise to question what the armed forces exist for and whose side they are on.

DIS-UNION OF THE FRENCH LEFT

by MARTIN COOK



Socialist Chief Mitterrand

FOR SEVERAL YEARS now the French 'Union of the left' (comprising the Communist, Socialist and Left Radical Parties) has been going from strength to strength. In last spring's municipal elections it roundly defeated the ruling right-wing coalition parties, gaining an average of 56% of the vote and winning control of the main towns (bar Paris). It even did surprisingly well in traditionally conservative areas such as the Catholic West.

With the Government split down the middle between President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Republicans and ex Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's Gaullist RPR, and increasingly blamed for rising inflation and unemployment, this new 'Popular Front' seemed to have an unstoppable momentum to carry it to victory in next year's elections, nearly half a century after Leon Blum's similar Government of 1936.

Yet, at the time of writing, the whole 'Union' seems to be in ruins. On September 24th negotiations broke down over the up-dating of the 1972 "Common Programme" of the left, and with no indication that the three parties will be contesting the 1978 polls as a united force its opinion poll ratings are slipping. For the first time the Government parties seem to have a reasonable chance of clinging to office, while Giscard's party is drawing ahead of the Gaullists in terms of popular support. The latter's brand of crude anti-Communism now seems less credible than the President's policy of splitting the left through moderate reforms - as a possible prelude to a future 'Left-

Centre coalition.

Everyone expected the re-modelling of the Common Programme to be something of a formality, allowing for the usual hot air. After all, none of the three parties was exactly pushing for a revolutionary overthrow of society. All except the Gaullist 5th Republic Constitution (under which the President and his Cabinet are NOT responsible to Parliament) and the overall continuance of the capitalist economy. Thus the differences are essentially tactical.

In the first place the Communist Party has turned a somersault on the French independent deterrent in order to appeal to 'left Gaullists'. They have been accusing the Socialists, many of whose supporters want to dump the Bomb, of "selling-out national independence". There were also disputes on wages and differentials: a compromise on a figure of a 2,200 franc monthly minimum (approximately £250) was arrived at.

BREAK-UP

The break-up occurred over an apparently secondary issue: whether the subsidiaries of the nine major firms listed for nationalization in the Common Programme should also be taken over.

The PCF (Communist Party) of George Marchais insisted that they should be, the PS (Socialist Party) of Francois Mitterrand that they should not be. After compromises the difference boiled down to some 400 fairly minor firms, employing less than 150,000 people between them.

Even if the PCF's demands were implemented in full, the French state sector would still be far smaller than the Italian one for instance. On the other hand, Robert Fabre's Left Radical have been denouncing the Communists' supposed wish to

establish a "collectivist society", in particular a clause in the Programme allowing workers to ask the Government to take over their employers.

The causes the lovers' tiffs of recent weeks are complex. In the first place there are crude electoral considerations. Both the left Radicals and the Communists have seen their share of the vote stagnate (while the Socialists have shot up in a few years from 5% to 30%).

Thus the Radicals want to impress their voters with their role as a "moderating" influence on the left, while the PCF wants to consolidate its supporters by posing as a harder defender of the workers' interests than the PS. The Socialists having been the main beneficiaries of the electoral pact, are happy to leave things be. The Communists have been giving plenty of assurances of their new "Euro-Communist respectability, for example by dropping the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from their aims: but if they move too far to the right they may become indistinguishable from the Socialists, and lose ground to the far left.

COMPROMISE

It is still quite possible that, after the shadow-boxing, a new compromise will emerge. Both major workers' parties have a lot to lose from a rupture. The Socialists in particular would not want to take responsibility for an unpopular austerity policy and be faced with the hostility of the PCF's crucial industrial base (the CGT union). Of course, there would be nothing to prevent an electoral pact next spring - even without agreement on the Programme.

Meanwhile, the parties of the left have been dissipating the workers' combativity by arguing



Communist Party Boss Marchais

"wait for the elections". This has had a lot of effect. Many trade unionists see the need for political answers after a decade of sporadic industrial struggle has achieved little - a similar background to the Social Contract in Britain.

AUSTERITY

Given the power of the 10 million strong General Strike of May 1968, the notable thing is how LITTLE the working class has been radicalised by the economic recession. The Barre government's austerity plan is beginning to succeed from the bosses point of view. With inflation at 9% per annum plus a wage freeze, living standards are being cut (food is most expensive of all). The unions estimate unemployment at well over 1.5 million. It is true that 1976 saw the highest strike figures since 1968, spread very unevenly. Much of the attempted fight-back has been dissipated by the Union leaderships' time-honoured policy of 'revolving' protest strikes of a few hours, which achieve nothing but to dissipate workers' energy and avoid serious conflict with the employers. The most impressive effort was a national protest-strike in April; other actions took place against redundancies in the steel industry.

Nonetheless, despite the stalemate and a certain overall ideological shift to the right, French workers remain much more politicized and combative than their sisters/brothers in Britain or Germany. It will not be that simple to railroad their aspirations into the dead-end reformist tinkering of the left's Common Programme - whoever wins the elections.

SPLITS AND MANOEUVRES IN IRISH POLITICS -

Basis for a 'mass Labour Party'?

RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS in Ireland once again demonstrate the continuing distortion of political life there caused by the unresolved national question.

The formation of a new independent social-democratic party in the South by Labour Party dissidents Dr. Noel Browne and Matt Merrigan and the defection of 'Britain's favourite Irishman' Conor Cruise O'Brien reflect the inability of pure labourism to solve the problems of re-uniting the divided Irish working class.

The North too has seen the formation of the Unity Party by ex-Nationalist Party leader Eddie McAteer and independent M.P. Frank McManus. While the policies of this party are unclear as yet it undoubtedly reflects a growing resurgence of bourgeois nationalism as British strategy drifts away from power-sharing and competition sharpens between British and Irish capital (as shown by the struggle to win the Ford investment which has now gone to Wales).

For similar reasons the SDLP has released a new policy document called 'Looking Ahead' which 're-emphasises the Irish dimension' - a polite way of advocating the peaceful re-unification of Ireland. This follows last year's conference which only narrowly defeated a resolution calling for the withdrawal of British troops.

PADDY DEVLIN, A leading member of the SDLP, immediately provoked his expulsion from the Party accusing the SDLP of drifting away from socialist policies and alienating the Unionist population. However,

his call for more 'attractive social and economic policies'... 'won the support of no significant section of opinion, either inside or outside the party' (Irish Times 19/9/77).

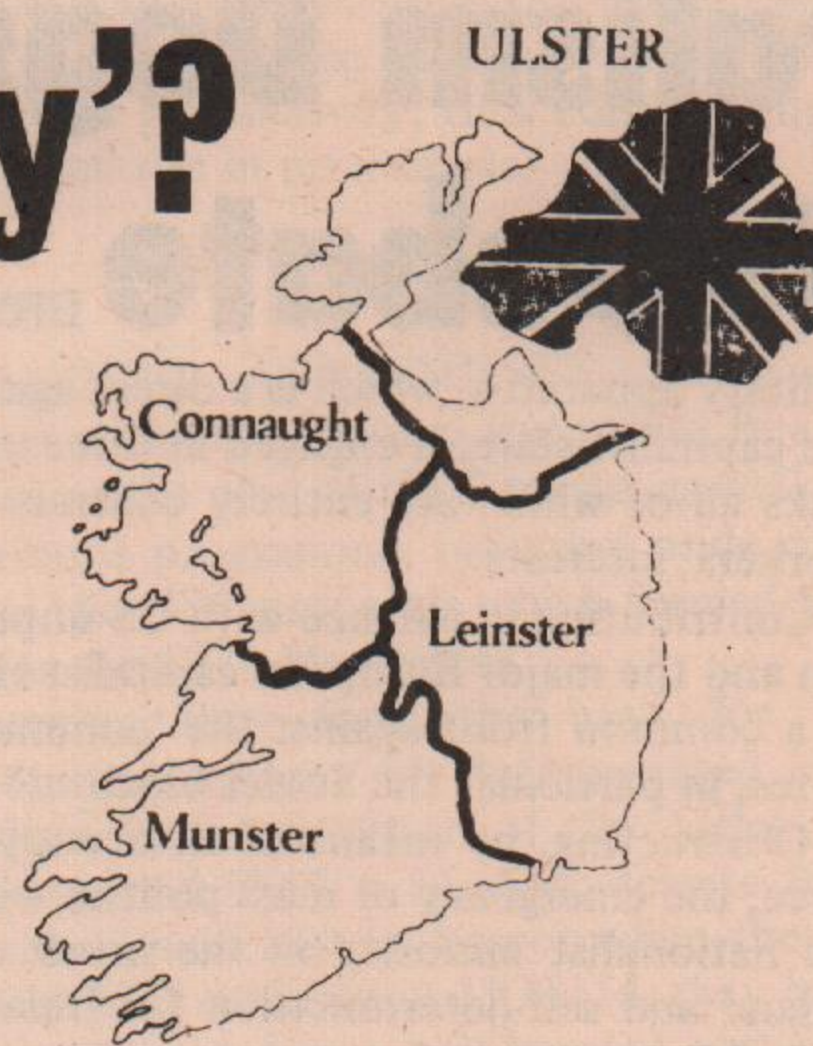
The response to this from Peter Hunt (Editor of 'Militant Irish Monthly') in the 'Militant' 7/10/77 demonstrates the utter failure of his group to understand both the reality of British imperialist domination of Ireland and the limitations of trade union politics. Commenting on Devlin's statements he wrote:

"IN OTHER WORDS, there now exists the potential for the unity of the working people! He (Devlin) has sensed the tremors within the labour movement which indicate the gathering of forces to build a political party of the working class."

Hunt then calls for the British Labour Party to assist the 'Labour and Trade Union Co-ordinating Group' in forming a new 'mass Labour Party' in the six counties.

THIS KIND OF approach is very attractive for British Socialists - by totally ignoring the central significance of the national question for the Irish working class, Hunt is able to pose the problem in terms the British labour movement is bound to understand - all we need is a Labour Party based on the trade unions like yours!

However, British socialists would be wise to ignore this simplistic solution and to look closer at the nature of trade unions in the North. Have they played a progressive role in defending all workers' interests? Would such a party be capable of playing a



by PETER CHALK

leading role in uniting Irish workers against British imperialism? All the evidence points to the contrary.

THE VERY EXISTENCE of the six-county Orange statelet has depended on Protestant support for Unionism. Even before partition, in 1886 and 1893 for example, Unionists were able to whip up sectarian hatred in the advanced industries in Belfast and Protestant workers drove out their Catholic workmates. The trade unions, dominated by Unionists, stood idly by.

The same occurred in 1920 during partition negotiations when 10,000 Catholic workers were driven out of the shipbuilding, engineering and linen industries. Unionist employers took further advantage of the trade unions' helplessness by slashing wages in these industries.

Even the brief unity achieved in 1932 against dire poverty caused by the world slump was followed by some of the most vicious sectarian pogroms. Again, during the Civil Rights Campaign and the pogroms that followed in 1969, the trade unions were powerless to defend even the most basic democratic rights of the nationalist community.

Both in 1974 and 1977, the trade unions did not attack the pro-loyalist, pro-imperialist nature of the UWC and the Paisleyite strikes. In May of this year they didn't even bother to hold a repeat of the 1974 TUC 'Back to work' march but relied exclusively on Mason's militarist concessions to the reactionary Ballylumford power worker demands.

muster

It is clear that the task of taking on British imperialism and Unionism uniting the Irish people cannot be undertaken by the trade unions in the six counties. Only the nationalist community, many of whom do not belong to trade unions, have the determination to take on British capital. This is reflected in the continuing support for anti-British demonstrations (over 3000 marched for political status for prisoners and 5000 against the Queen in August) while the Better Life For All Campaign (trade union based) could only muster a couple of hundred at its last rally (in November 1976).

Paddy Devlin's expulsion from the SDLP does not signify any real shifting current in Northern Irish politics. The burning issue for British socialists remains: do we stand in solidarity with those forces fighting British imperialism or not? And will we campaign for the immediate and complete withdrawal of those British forces?

WHY ABORTION IS A CLASS QUESTION

BY KATE O'BRIEN

In the wake of the Labour Party Conference vote in favour of "full abortion on request", the Catholic Church in Scotland presented an ultimatum to all Scottish MPs and prospective candidates — take a clear anti-abortion stance or face a campaign waged by the church for your removal.

The church has demonstrated in the past the influence it can exercise over the ballot box, and can mobilise thousands of its followers behind SPUC and LIFE banners so that it is not easily dismissed as an opponent by those whose aim in politics is to catch votes and to build a parliamentary career.

Labour Party conference after voting for free abortion on demand promptly voted to let the abortion issue remain a matter of conscience, cynically twisting the "right to choose" slogan so that anti-abortion MPs could continue to vote against party policy. As a general election could bring the Labour Party at best a precarious victory, many members and especially leaders are in no mood to antagonise the church and lose votes of the Catholic working class in areas such as Glasgow, Liverpool etc.

Although not the only anti-abortion pressure group the church is the most vociferous as it dominates the thinking of most anti-abortion bodies.

It takes up the anti-abortion argument predominantly along the lines of the sanctity of the life of the foetus — but what are the attitudes to women that underlie this pious defence of foetal life?

CENTRAL

The hierarchy of the Catholic church insists that the foetus is endowed with rights so powerful that they displace the women's right to life should there be any conflict between the two. This proclamation is as valid for an hour old foetus as for a seven month old one. Although there are three occasions when the church bends this rule: tubal pregnancy, uterine cancer and appendicitis, even in these cases the church determines the type of surgery used so that direct abortion is prevented. With these stringent exceptions the rights of an ounce of tissue (often described by the church as "the innocent unborn child") take precedence over all rights of womankind.

The church attempts to defend itself against charges of misogyny by pointing to the veneration it gives to the Blessed Virgin Mary. But ironically this figure epitomises the church's severe oppression of woman — the virgin mother, the mother completely untainted i.e. stripped of all sexuality.

As the Pope expressed it in 1972 "True women's liberation does not lie in a formalistic or material equality with the other sex, but in the recognition of that specific in the feminine personality — the ability of a woman to be a mother". This firm definition of woman's role as as mother/wife with the only permissible alternative of virgin/nun carries with it a complete denial of the right to sexual expression — only for procreation within the confines of marriage. The church's rigid sexual code was expressed by Aquinas: "every carnal act from which generation cannot follow is a vice against nature".

This denial of sexuality justified the subordination of women to their husbands and thus legitimacy of heirs was ensured and an unquestioning acceptance of the family, the church and the authority of the state was reinforced. It is these factors which underlie the church's attitude to abortion rather than a concern for human life. On one hand the church has been reluctant to protest



against the violation of human life — Vietnam, South Africa etc. on the other hand the church's attitude to foetal viability has not always been consistent.

At times it allowed abortion up to "quickening" if the woman had her husband's consent, theologians distinguished between the "souled" and "unsouled" foetus (which supposedly occurred at different times for the male and female foetus). It was not until the nineteenth century that the position was clarified and then confirmed by Pius XI's encyclical which also prohibited contraception. What has remained consistent over centuries has been the church's denial of sexuality and its determination to control what women (and men) can or cannot do.

Has this control been threatened by the massive vote for free abortion on demand (Composite 36) at Labour Party Conference. The call to end the free vote on abortion (Composite 37) was heavily defeated and indicates that the Labour Party has no intention of conceding women's right to abortion. The ambiguity of the present position is calculated to win as many pro-abortion votes as possible without losing the anti-abortion vote in Catholic electorates.

However, the church quite rightly perceives the importance of the ideological debate raised by the abortion issue and wages its campaign against those forces e.g. Labour Abortion Rights Campaign (LARC) which argues for abortion in terms of a woman's right to choose and the right to control her own body.

CONTROL

There are some within the church ranks who are prepared to concede that a woman in desperate circumstances — the Glasgow slums or in abject poverty in India or Latin America may have grounds for an abortion (if it's very early). What they are never prepared to countenance is an abortion by a young woman with no children, i.e. reasonable financial circumstances and perhaps with a variety of lovers.

Two quite distinct ways of arguing for abortion emerge. There have always been those who argue for abortion and contraception as a precondition for women's sexual liberation and self determination. A very different political stance is adopted by those who argue for abortion along the Malthusian lines of population control. The latter attitude has little to do with sexual liberation and is quite anti-working class and/or racist in its implications.

Family planning campaigns — the 'Third World' provide a contemporary example of these ideas: massive propaganda — drives spread the belief that if the poor limit the size of their families, there will be enough food for all. Encouragement often falls little short of compulsion and does not reflect any recognition of women's rights but rather the response of big business interests which reject any real attempt to share resources and places the blame for starvation on the poor themselves.

The thinking behind the 1967 Act has strong elements of this attitude. For the welfare state, families which aren't coping because of their economic situation place a burden on social service facilities, engaging the energies of battalions of social workers, psychiatrists, probation officers etc. It is preferable that women in such circumstances be "allowed" to have abortions rather than produce delinquents and misfits. In this manner the state absolved itself of the responsibility to provide adequate wages, housing and socialised child care. At no stage did the 1967 Act intend to pass control of fertility into women's hands because it embodied the concept that doctors could decide which cases deserved abortions.

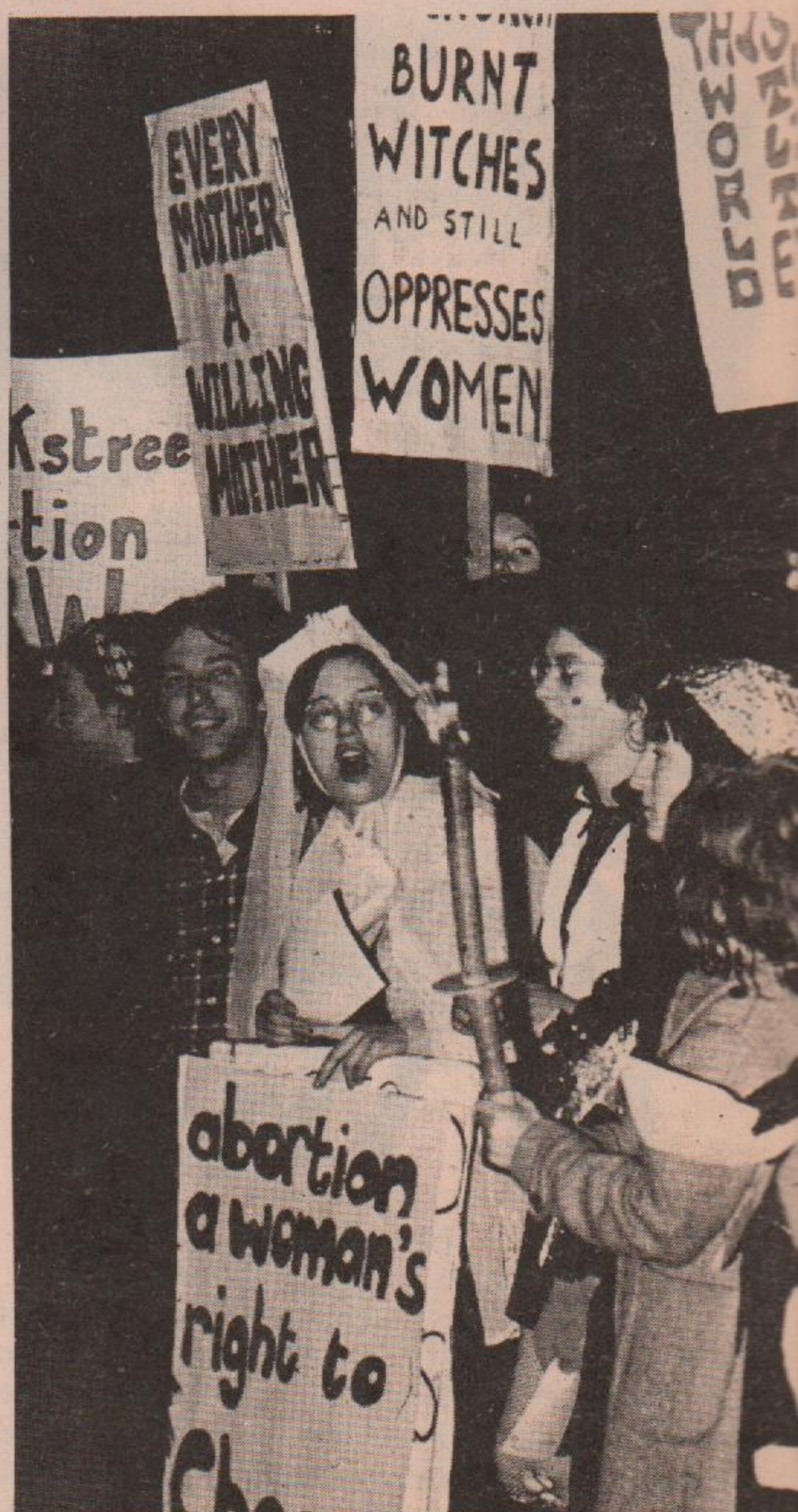
TOO MANY

Ironically, those who benefited from the '67 Act were not the poor working class women but the unmarried middle class women many of whom were articulating their right to sexual expression.

Working class women found it more difficult because of totally inadequate NHS facilities and because of the power of anti-abortion gynaecologists (Birmingham was chosen as the place for the recent NAC demonstration for this very reason).

The successive attempts to amend the 1967 Act have aimed at limiting rights to abortion to a narrower field of deserving cases and have attempted to stop any moves towards abortion on demand:

"We also intend to take care of abortion on demand. There are some 200,000 abortions done in this country every year and we think it is too many, we think people are using abortion instead of birth control. We don't want to make it difficult for the following categories: women with larger families, single women, young girls or women with housing problems. But we certainly don't think a woman should be able to have an abortion just because she wants" [James White, *Guardian*, 6 Feb. 1975.]

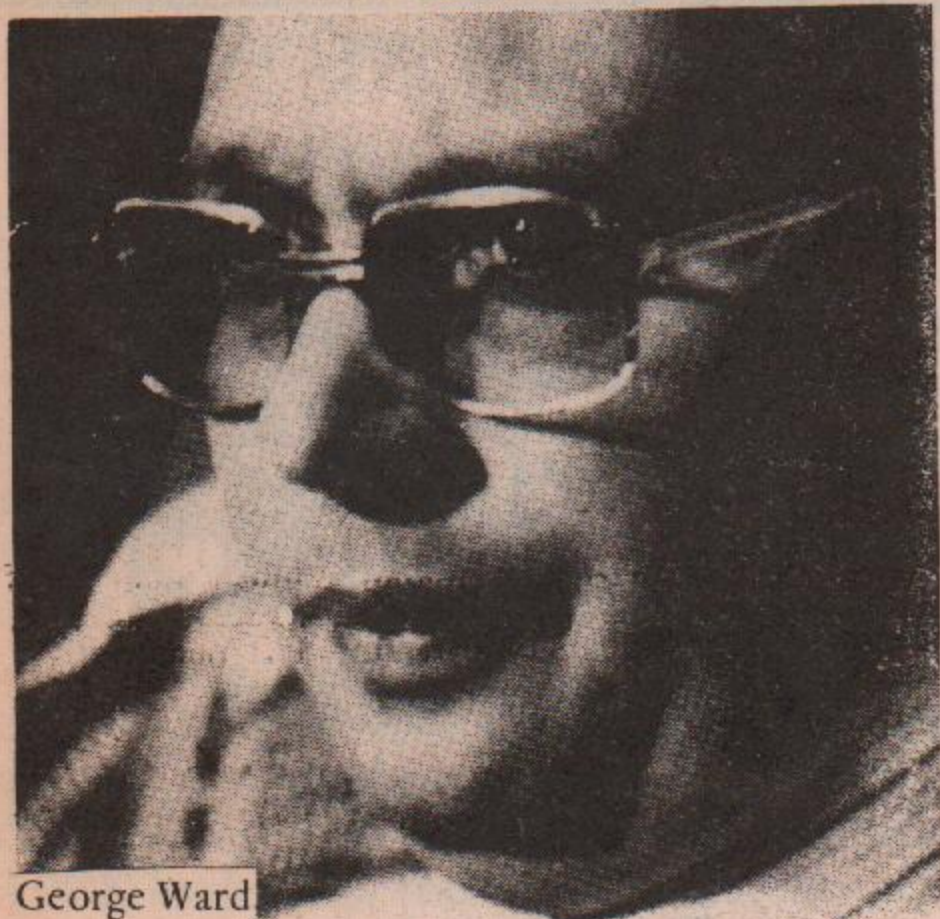


Women in Nottingham protest against Nottingham's gesture to International Women's Year; a multi-denominational church service in the ... Catholic Cathedral!

Even those who consider themselves socialists often fall into the trap of arguing for abortion in terms of the deserving cases that even James White would support. We must state quite clearly that women are not obliged to limit the size of their families and that it is tragic if a woman is pressured into abortion because the state cannot provide the working class with a living wage, decent housing, socialised child care. When arguing for a woman's right to choose we must also argue that women also have a real choice to have children.

The threat of further restrictive legislation is imminent; the present climate of high unemployment breeds numerous attacks on women's right to work and a strengthening of the established order. These issues must be confronted head on. Although it is formally correct to argue that abortion will always occur and that restrictive legislation simply means the difference between legal and illegal abortions, safe abortions and the horrors of the backstreet, we cannot afford to ignore the fundamental reasons why forces such as the Catholic Church are opposed to abortion i.e. because it aids women's sexual, personal and economic liberation and because it undermines women's role in the nuclear family. Until the battle is taken into the labour movement in these terms there will be no real gain towards the achievement of abortion on demand and women's liberation.

* Affiliation to LARC: 50p individual membership, £2.00 for CLPs; contact LARC, 73 Albion Road, London N16.



George Ward

belief is that we can win this dispute by about the end of the year". According to Grantham the final solution lies, not in the hands of the Labour movement, but in the House of Lords, which deals with the ACAS case in November.

On the face of it, this may seem a rather bizarre suggestion from a trade union leader who recently cast his block vote at Labour Party Conference in favour of abolishing the House of Lords! In reality it is nothing more than yet another get out.

What Grantham is hoping for is that the Law Lords grant paper recognition to APEX, by up-

GRUNWICK — Time for reckoning (contd. from front page)

holding the ACAS report, so that he can forget about reinstatement, declare an 'honourable draw' and close down the strike. As the strikers have pointed out this would in fact represent a total defeat because, "Even if we win recognition without reinstatement, it is meaningless."

This is the sort of "victory" which the TU leaders are planning at Grunwick. They are fishing for any small concession, which will enable them to get off the hook. Gone is the heady rhetoric about Grunwick being of vital importance to the entire labour movement; a threat which challenges our fundamental right to organise. Instead we have EPTU leader, Frank Chapple opposing mass pickets as "taking a sledgehammer to crack a nut", and claiming that the Grunwick strike is merely a side issue upon which "trade unionism does not stand and fall".

But Grunwick is not an "exception", as Chapple and Employment Secretary Albert Booth would have us believe. What is at stake is the right of immigrant workers to join a trade union. A defeat would be a disaster for our whole movement and a body-blow to all those fighting racialism and fascism. It would represent

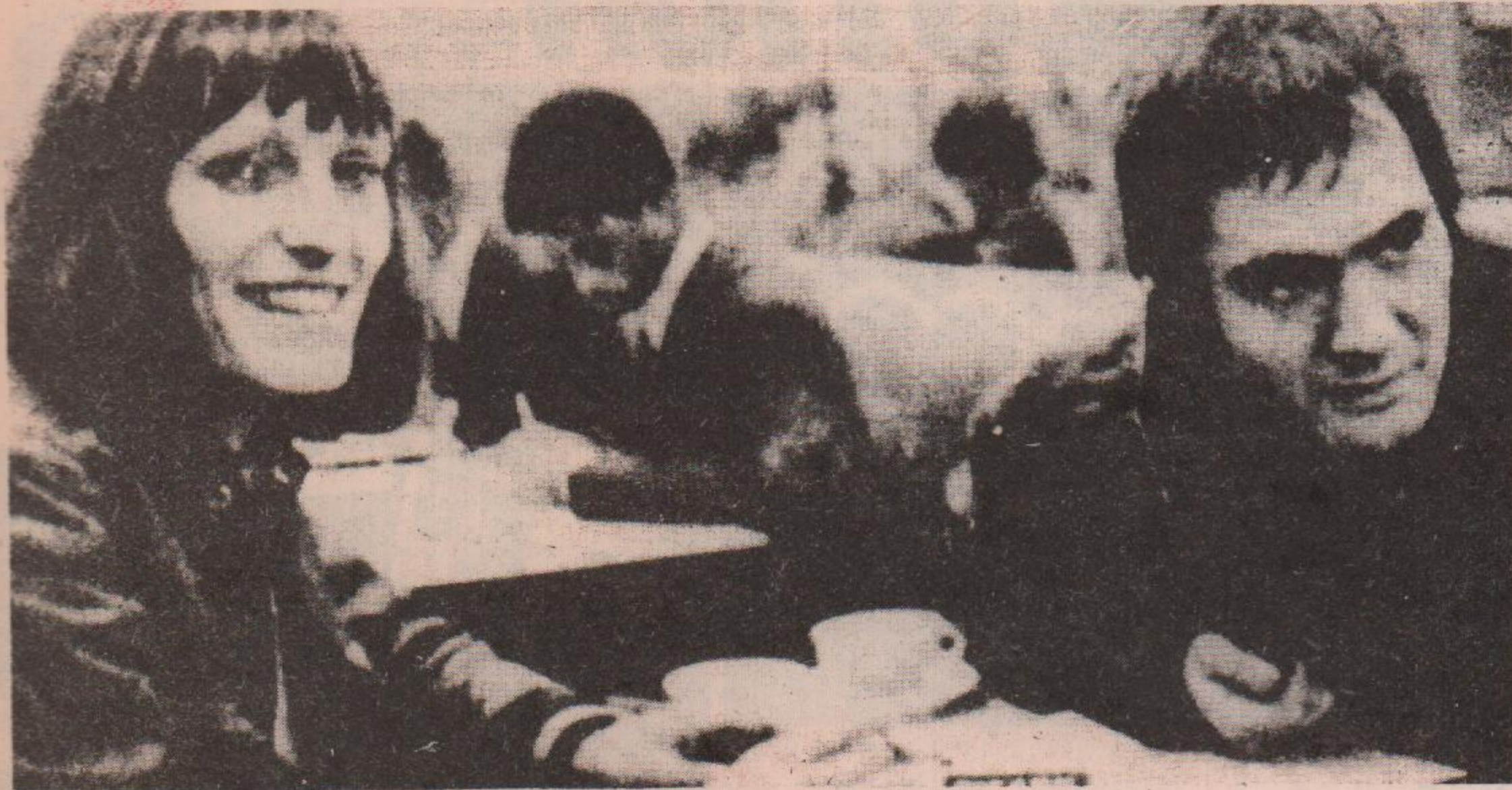
an enormous victory for the National Association for Freedom and sections of the ruling class who want a showdown with the trade unions. If Grunwick goes down then the forces of "law and order" will truly be in the ascendancy, since they will have clearly demonstrated their ability to deal with mass pickets and trade union power.

It is the policies of the labour government — wage cuts, mass unemployment and cuts in social spending — that have created the conditions whereby employers like Ward and groups like the NAFF have flourished. Not only have they proved incapable of defending our living standards but they have been prepared to sell away our basic rights by allowing the police to increase their powers and by passing laws like the Criminal Law Act. Now they are preparing to concede our very right to organise by allowing Ward and the NAFF to defy our entire movement with impunity.

The betrayals of these leaders must be fought not only in words but also in action. UPW leader Norman Stagg has written a letter to the TUC declaring that the UPW will boycott Grunwick's mail-order work, if the TUC agrees to pay his

members wages (£5 million/week!) in the event of a national lockout. For Stagg this is of course nothing more than a gesture. Nevertheless both the UPW leaders and the TUC must be forced to carry out this policy by mass pressure throughout the Labour movement. Moreover, we must demand that the Labour Government takes no action against the postal workers — indeed that it immediately repeals those sections of the 1953 PO Act which make solidarity action by the UPW "illegal", (as demanded by Labour Party Conference).

Mass pressure and mass action, however, are not something that can simply be turned on and off like a tap. On November 7th the Grunwick Strike Committee have called for a mass picket — "A Day Of Reckoning". This must be fought for in every trades council, every union branch, every CLP and every student union, throughout the in British working class history. Where strike country, to ensure one of the biggest mass pickets action cannot be achieved, large delegations should be organised. Only then will we really begin to 'reckon' with Ward, the NAFF, the SPG and the betrayals of our own leaders.



MURDERED: Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin

Terror and reaction in West Germany

Geoff Bender

THE DEATH OF Jan Carle Raspe, Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader in the top security prison at Stammheim raise many questions. The official account of their deaths — as the result of a 'suicide pact' consequent on the failure of the Schleyer kidnapping and the Lufthansa hijacking to secure their release — is riddled with contradictions. Even liberal journalist James Cameron can write that he will "take a lot of persuading that Baader took his own life in a high-security cell by shooting himself in the back of the neck with an unsuspected gun"

Clearly, the continued imprisonment of these three and of Irmgard Moeller in hospital after another 'suicide attempt' was a mounting embarrassment to the German government. Did they decide, then, to murder their own 'hostages'? Who gave the orders for this to be carried out?

The very least that can be said concerning the official reports of the deaths is that at a time when the entire state apparatus was mobilised, when tanks were on the streets and all known leftists under surveillance then so we are supposed to believe the prison authorities were guilty of an almost staggering negligence in guarding the very prisoners who were at the heart of the furore.

From the kidnapping onwards, the prisoners were kept incommunicado and in isolation. Yet we are supposed to accept that two of them concealed firearms, that Baader possessed a radio, and that they had some system of communication which enabled them to plan and carry out a collective 'suicide' within less than an hour from the commando raid on the hijacked plane at Mogadishu.

connived

Both Baader and Ensslin, had, according to defence lawyer, Otto Schily, predicted that the authorities would attempt to get rid of them should the kidnapers of Schleyer attempt to bargain for their release. All the evidence seems to indicate that the authorities connived at the deaths of their prisoners if not murdered them.

But the deaths of these three leaders of the Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF) was only the grisly culmination of a series of circumstances, rooted in the reality of West German society since the war. Circumstances which are both sinister and tragic. Two other leaders of the RAF have already met their deaths in the prisons of the Federal Republic — Ulrike Meinhof who was found hanged in her cell in May 1976 and Holger Meins died on hunger strike. They are not the only ones who have suffered under the repressive laws of the West German state. The history of the RAF and the reasons for their development speaks volumes on the nature of the state and society against which they pitted themselves and also a convincing testimony to the failure of the methods they pursued.

The student protests which shook Europe in 1968 were echoed forcefully in West Germany, where the student movement centred on Frankfurt. With the West German working class, buried deep beneath bureaucratic and integrated trade unions and a Social Democratic Party which had abandoned any remnants of even a formal commitment to socialism in 1959 and entered a coalition with the 'FDP' centre party in 1966, the spontaneous leftism of the student movement was reinforced. Reinforced furthermore by the 'Berufsverbot' (radical's ban introduced in 1972) which barred known radicals from public sector jobs and was aimed at the student generation of

1968. The leftist currents confronted the entire repressive structure and claustrophobic political atmosphere of the West German state.

The KPD (Communist Party) had been illegal since 1959; there was little room for radical protest within the system. Out of this environment the RAF emerged with an almost fatal logic. As so often in German history, ultra-leftism was to be the price paid for the opportunism of those at the head of the working class.

West Germany has never been a 'normal' bourgeois democracy; it is a front-line anti-communist state in a divided country. The SPD and trade unions, rebuilt from above after the war express nothing of the working classes history and traditions from a preceding period. After about a year hunting Nazi's, the Allied intelligence forces turned their attention to the left. As they prevented the emergence of any workers' organisations not under the control of safe Social Democrats, the Nazi's crept out from their hiding places.

Today leading 'ex'-Nazis are to be found in the state apparatus, in the judiciary, in the press and above all, in industry. Hans-Martin Schleyer — 'kidnappers' victim' — as the press have it — was himself a Nazi from 1932 until the end of the war. A friend of Goebbels, he spent the war lining his pockets in Prague. The only regret that *Chartist* expresses at his death is that it comes some 40 years too late.

Yet despite all the reactionary characteristics of the West German state it was, and is, not fascist as the RAF proclaimed. Despairing of the working class's potential and identifying with the oppressed of the third world countries their strategy could only strengthen precisely that system which they were striking against. However brave individual actions, they were only 'terrorism' to the majority of the German population, fed on the distortions of the Springer press.

hypocritical cant

Repressive measure after repressive measure, was introduced, lawyers accused of conspiracy with their clients and forbidden to practice, millions of pounds were spent on the prison and courthouse at Stammheim, and finally we have the killings. All this with out a public outcry from the German working class and yet calls for the death sentence for 'terrorists' are gaining ground. The idea that exemplary actions could galvanise the masses into action as repression increased has backfired with a vengeance.

Socialists in Britain should note that on the express wishes of Jim Callaghan, who himself visited Schmidt to congratulate him in person, SAS officers took part in the raid at Mogadishu. The genuinely fraternal solidarity which Callaghan showed to Schmidt should be taken seriously as Irish political prisoners, two of whom have already died, languish in English jails.

The *Chartist* has nothing but contempt for the hypocritical cant about terrorism which comes from the mouths of 'defenders of democracy' who murder or permit the murder of helpless prisoners, who jail radicals and prevent radical lawyers practising while Nazis sit on their court benches and run their industry. Our first and only criticism of the tactics of terrorism is that they do not work. Our criticism of the comrades of the RAF is that their political lives and deaths have hindered rather than helped the building of a genuine revolutionary movement which could transform German society from top to bottom.

"We can't, off hand, think of a single High Court Judge who sympathises with our politics." 'The Newham Four'

THE SAGA of Newham North East Labour Party rolls on. The week before Labour Party Conference writs were issued preventing the Left in Newham throwing out the 'Tory entrists' once and for all.

The 'Tory entrists' being Messrs Julian Lewis and Paul McCormick, late of Oxford University Tory Society. Having dragged the local CLP in Newham through the courts earlier this year, Reg Prentice and the 'old right', disowned their new 'allies'.

The September General Committee, chaired by Andy Bevan, had become the moment of truth for these Tory wreckers who had rapidly lost majority support on the GMC over the summer months. After first trying to prevent the meeting by changing the locks on the Labour room the writs they had procured arrived too late to stop the meeting. At 9.20pm on September 28th, Lewis issued the High Court writ (cost—into three figures) on Bevan and the officers preventing the meeting from acting 'constitutionally'. Bevan tore it up and continued with the meeting. This move having failed, Lewis and co went off and came back with the police to close the meeting. Fortunately the business had been dealt with.

Following the costs against Newham NE Party from the Court case in the spring, amounting to over £6,000, even the Prentice faction were sick and tired of the courts interfering. As the Left put it:

"One 'surprise' verdict by a judge against Labour activists is bad enough, but ten or more 'surprise' verdicts represent a definite line of policy"

monitor

Under the classical bourgeois doctrine of 'The Separation of Powers', the legislature (Parliament and politics) must be independent of the judicature (Courts and the law). But today, the capitalists law demands the right to interfere in every aspect of modern life—including smoke-filled rooms of Labour Party members! The law defended by the High Courts and the likes of Widgery, Denning and Lord Hailsham (Quintin Hogg) is the law of reaction and of 'Capital in command'.

Andy Bevan, having torn up a High Court writ is now, according to 'the Law', in 'contempt of Court', a serious offence carrying a jail sentence. The element of farce and tragedy is never far away when the law is mixed with political democracy-like water and potassium!

More money and time and wastage of resources are bound to follow these latest events. The 'Newham Four': Owen Ashworth, Andy Bevan, Tom Jenkins and John Rowse are to suffer the madness of the judiciary in carrying forward the struggle for socialism. While the Labour leaders stridently proclaim the 'the rule of Law' at all times and in all circumstances — then the working class and Labour Party rank and file are vulnerable to this sort of interference from Tory infiltrators and Courts.

In fact, as the Appeal from the four victimised CLP members points out, the legal precedents created at Newham NE can only be understood as part of a ruling class campaign to strengthen the law of private property — battered by the miners and other trade unionists during the last Tory Government. The Appeal states:

"First, we saw the jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets — who scandalously remained in prison despite insistent calls from the labour movement for their release. Since then, there has been a series of legal attacks on the labour movement at all levels. Peter Shore was overruled in the Laker case, Fred Mulley was overruled by the Law Lords in the Tameside case, the Labour Attorney-General was challenged in the case of



Andy Bevan



by
MARK DOUGLAS

the UPW's blacking of South African post and phone calls. It is in this context and this context only that we can make sense of the consistent legal interference in Labour's internal political disputes in Newham."

The National Executive Committee should make an immediate and long overdue public statement of defense of the 'Newham Four' and ensure that the whole weight of the Labour Party and trade unions is mobilised to prevent such preposterous disruption of Newham NE. CLP continuing.

High Court interventions in the CLP are, in the words of the Appeal,

"fast becoming an issue of national importance for the Labour Movement because it challenges the sovereignty of the NEC and Conference over internal disputes and is being used in a way which erodes the long-established freedom of assembly and right to free speech of the working class movement. As such, it will affect your trade union and your CLP. If legal precedents and case law are allowed to build up against the freedom to organise of Newham NE CLP, those precedents can be used against other unions and CLP's in the future."

interfere

All Labour Party militants must monitor developments in Newham and in the law courts. More rules will be needed, no doubt, to prevent further interference by the Courts, even after the batch that went through this year. In the final resort, the hardest line against the Judges and their law will succeed only with the displacement of the entire judicature and its replacement with an elected judicary and the rule of socialist democracy.

The Newham Four have already drawn the lessons: "Our opponents have used the courts to fight a political battle. In so doing they have already lost that political battle. Their dominance in Newham North East proved to be very short-lived, as we predicted. Their former supporters are deserting them in droves, repelled by their attempts at hounding and victimising Party stalwarts who oppose their views. It will not be long now before Newham NE CLP is regained by the constituency activists who are emerging strengthened from the battles of the last few months."

- DEFEND THE NEWHAM FOUR!
- LABOUR DEMOCRACY MUST RULE — NOT THE COURTS!

Contact for more information and messages of support to: Newham Four, c/o 84, Clements Road, East Ham, London E6.
(See inside "Labour's Outside Right").

CHARTIST SPECIAL

GRUNWICK



THE FIGHT FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS

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