



THE CHARTIST

BULLETIN OF THE YOUNG CHARTISTS

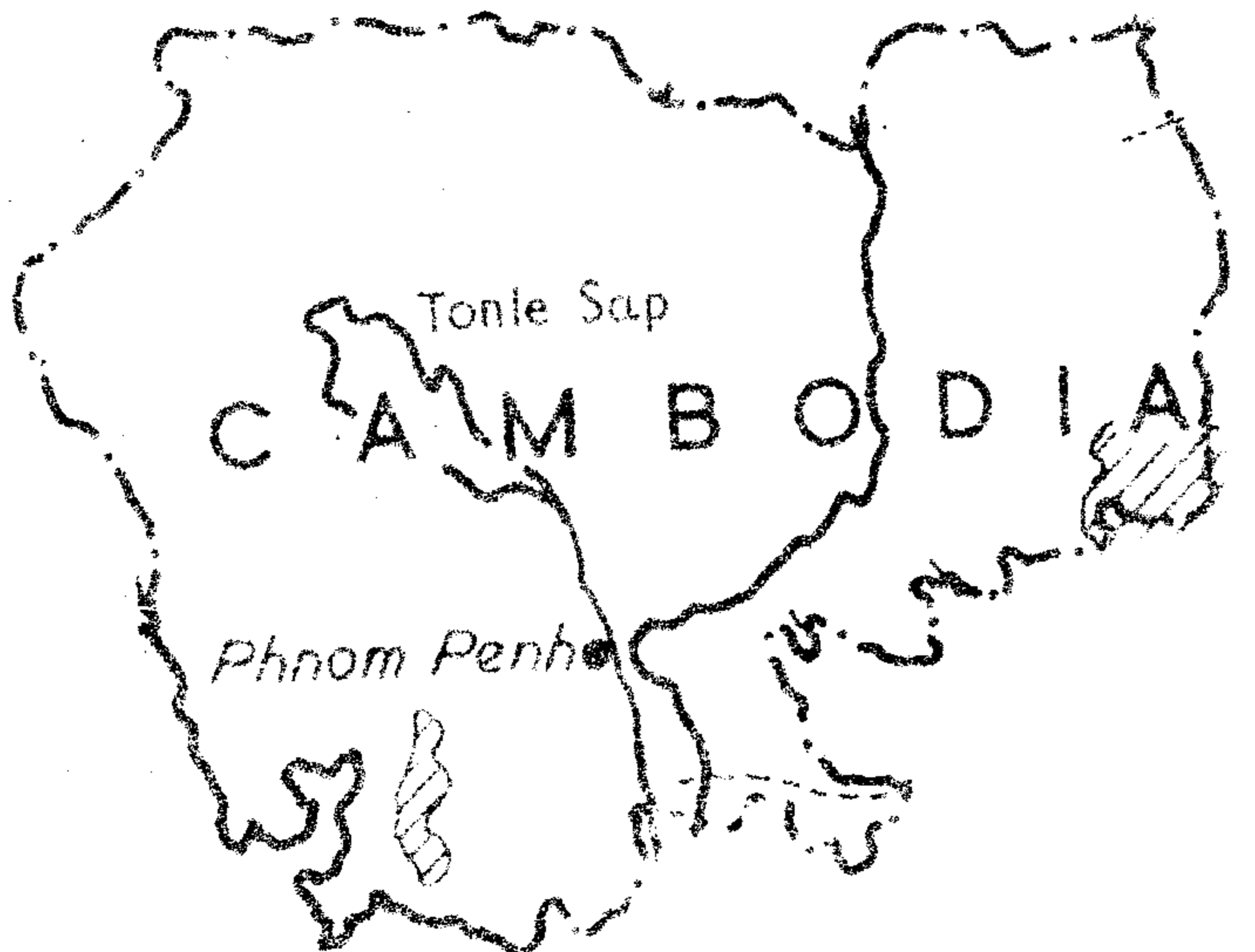
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KILL THE
UNION BILL!



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YOUNG CHARTIST BRANCHES

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|----------------|--|
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EDITORIAL:-

Rolls Royce - as much a symbol of the British business scene as Bowler Hat and brolly, has crashed. A symbol also of British Imperialism's inability to modernise its "image" - and its machinery; in an international World of the ever more vicious dog-eat-dog of the great combines, like many more ephemeral firms it has gone to the wall.

Nor is the whole set up of high finance and production in this country any more stable. Panic stricken, big business is resorting to more severe administrative measures. Since the Tories came into office just seven months ago, they have mounted an all-out onslaught upon the whole of the Labour movement in all its parts. Vicious attacks on the social services and cuts in the housing programme have been followed by threats against the political rights of the working class, culminating, of course, in the threatened Industrial Relations Bill. This Bill - an obvious example of the changeover from kid-glove to mailed-fist is meant as a decisive knock-out.

What does the Labour movement do by way of reply? The slogan - "FORCE THE TORIES TO RESIGN" - is alright as far as it goes - but what next ? An election - a return to Summer 1970 ?

If the Tories were forced to resign before their term ended - wouldn't this be a result of revolutionary action, political strike action - in other words, extra-parliamentary activity ? And is the only answer Marxists can offer to come from this activity an election - "Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme ?"

- In France in the May of 1968 the government was presented with a general strike - and a party which formally held "A Socialist Programme" - but elections were presented as a diversion to side-track the working class movement into harmless channels.

Our demand must be - free and democratic elections ? - Yes, but under the control and auspices of the Labour movement. The only way to achieve this is for the Labour movement itself to take over the directing power within society.

Labour and TUC Leadership Call a General Strike, to Force the Tories to Resign: Labour Take The Power!

YOUNG CHARTISTS WIN IMPORTANT CO-OP VICTORY

The Young Chartists made a decisive intervention in last month's London Co-op elections. We have, in fact, altered the whole basis of the electoral battle in the LCS. Up to now, the Society has been dominated by two electoral organisations - the right wing Labour Party CMA (Co-op members association) and the Stalinoid-left Labour 1960 Campaign Committee. Up to now the Young Chartists have been members of the latter, though it was clear that '1960' was becoming increasingly sclerotic and incapable of developing any new ideas. As this round of elections the Young Chartists decided to break new ground and put forward a resolution in my name calling for:

- (a) The removal of bans and proscriptions in the Co-op Party and
- (b) The affiliation nationally of the LCS to the Labour Party.

Both the Communist Party and the right wing CMA implacably opposed this resolution and voted against it, the former because they disliked (b) and the latter because they disliked (a). Nonetheless the Young Chartists managed to split many of the rank-and-file of both organisations into supporting us. In alliance with supporters of "Voice" newspapers, the Young Chartists managed to secure support from the London Co-operative Society Political Committee and from a majority of members of the Co-op at the area quarterly meetings.

Various Young Chartists moved the resolutions at these meetings - Al Richardson at Acton, Keith Whelan at Battersea, Graham Bash at Walthamstow and East Ham and Keith Veness at Burnt Oak, Watford and Hounslow.

In most cases they successfully got the resolution passed. A full results list is published below:-

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| | <u>For</u> | <u>Against</u> | | <u>For</u> | <u>Against</u> |
|-----------|------------|----------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| Dagenham | 50 | 1 | Acton | 25 | 9 |
| Southgate | 28 | 12 | Romford | 9 | 27 |
| Battersea | 20 | 10 | Clapton | - void - | |
| Watford | 12 | 14 | East Ham | 1 | 42 |
| Burnt Oak | 10 | 12 | Walthamstow | 32 | 5 |
| Southend | 9 | 27 | Hounslow | 41 | 3 |

At the final meeting, it was carried by 46 to 30. Overall, therefore, it had been passed by 281 to 187 votes. The embarrassment of our opponents was plain - there is now a third force in Co-op politics.

The Young Chartists are seriously considering running thier own slate in the elections to the Political and Education committees which are coming up shortly. This would be a really fantastic breakthrough and put new life into what is an old, rather creaking part of the Labour movement.

The Young Chartists stressed time and again the need for the Labour movement to take power if the Tories were to be defeated and made it plain thier resolution was to achieve a method of taking us nearer this goal. The actual arguments we used can be gauged by reading Graham Bash's excellent speech reprinted on pages 4 and 5.

On a practical level, the Young Chartists will welcome any support they can receive for future LCS activity. Any London Co-operators who are interested should write to us at the editor's address. The Young Chartists have arrived as a serious force in Co-op politics - you will hear plenty more of us in the coming months and years.

Keith Veness, West London Young Chartists

Our Secretary's speech to East Ham Co-op

"Comrade Chairman, Fellow Co-operators,
I speak as a member of Leyton CLP, and National Secretary of
the Young Chartists.

Let us make no mistake, comrades, the Labour Movement is at
this moment facing a great crisis, and a great challenge.
With the return of the Tories to office, we have witnessed
an onslaught on all sections of the Labour Movement, unparalleled
in the last 30 years. Vicious attacks on the social services,
attacks on basic political freedoms won by years of struggle,
and of course, the Tory attack on the Trade Union Movement in
its intended Industrial Relations Bill, are all part of the
same offensive of the ruling class, which finding itself in
deepening difficulties, attempts to resolve its problems at
the expense of the working class, and its organisations.

Now, we in the Young Chartists have no illusions that the
Labour Movement can 'persuade' the Tories to withdraw their
bill, for they have staked their whole political future on it.
The only perspective for defeating the bill is for the Labour
and TUC leadership to be prepared to mobilise its vast industrial
strength to challenge the very basis of Tory power and to itself
take the real power of society - the power of the state and the
power of the commanding heights of the economy into its own hands,
Labour and TUC leadership, Kill the Bill, force the Tories to
resign ! That must be our perspective for the coming challenge,
the tasks ahead are enormous but we would be failing in our
duty to ourselves and to the rest of the Labour Movement, if
we shrink from the harsh realities that face us.

It is in this situation, comrades, that the resolution is
being put forward. Today, more than ever, facing ~~us~~ as we
do the full might of Tory offensive, all sections of the Labour
Movement must stand united, not in a mere abstract 'unity' so
often posed, but a fighting 'unity' prepared to show the Tories
the full face of the united strength of the Labour Movement.

Now the LCS Political Committee Policy is to work closely with
the Labour Party as political expression of the TU movement *and*
it therefore affiliates to every CLP in its area through its
Co-op branches, and direct to the Regional Councils. But it
stops short on affiliation to the Labour Party at national level.
We put forward this resolution in the belief that we should
affiliate in the same way that the Royal Arsenal Political
Committee does. If London Co-op took the lead, we think that
other Co-ops would follow the example set and strengthen the
almost non-existent voice of the Co-ops within the Labour
Party at national level. If the London Co-op Political
Committee were to affiliate, it would mean (a) A seat on the
NEC, (b) Representation at Annual Conference with the right
to speak in debates (c) The right to send a resolution and
and amendment to Annual Conference (d) Direct access to
NEC between conferences.

(Financial Times Friday January 1). "The Economist features an article warning the Tories and their big business friends that 1971 will be "A year for political courage." It writes:

"1971 will be a year in which politics will plague the world's central bankers and treasurers: not even such matters as British entry into the Common Market and the six, moves towards monetary and economic integration, but ever more in the domestic politics of their own particular government..... The coming year will mean a test of their political courage in resisting absurdly large wage claims, at whatever temporary cost in strikes" (The Economist December 26 1970)

Big business is trying everything in its ability to defeat the trade unions. This is the only course open to those interests who wish to keep the privileges they enjoy under capitalism.

Last year, Gross National Product grew by only 1.9% (2.25% gross domestic product) compared with 4.5% in West Germany 15.75% in France, 6.5% in Italy, and 11.5% in Japan, according to the estimates of OECD. Prices went up by 6% last year and are expected to continue to rise at the same rate this year. Fixed investment increased by only 1.7% according to the estimates of the NIESR and is forecast to rise by only 1.4% in 1971. The OECD expects GNP to increase by 3% in 1971 but this is based on the assumption that the US economy, which accounts for half of the World's industrial output will come out of its recession - the US economy's GNP actually declined by 0.25% in 1970, but is expected to increase by 4% in 1971. But as ever "The Economist" admits "nobody can say confidently that it will not be 3 or 5% instead" nor is there any certainty that British exports will be able to take advantage of this stimulus to World trade.

The London Business School is more gloomy about growth it expects Gross Domestic Product to grow at only 3%, after its estimate of 2% for last year. This will lead to higher unemployment since potential output will grow faster. As a result of this slow rate of growth consumption will probably increase by only 3% - and that is only if workers can achieve their present rate of growth of money incomes. Moreover, the average cuts in public spending of the mini budget will mean that public spending, according to NIESR figures, will grow by only 2.2%. Again this does not take into account other cuts the Tories will probably introduce in 1971.....

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Comrades, I support this resolution as a member of the London Co-op. We must use the machinery of the Labour Party to achieve our objectives, at local, regional and at national level. It is ridiculous for the biggest and most politically conscious Co-op not to do so. I support this resolution as a member of the Labour Party, this would provide an influx of new blood and more money to what is the political expression of the Trade Union Movement. Above all, it would be a step towards a greater unity of the Labour Movement in the face of its common enemy. And I support this as a member of the Young Chartists, for this would enormously strengthen the 'left' of the Labour Movement, and would be a challenge to the existing leadership whose failure to have led the movement to taking of the real power in society has paved the way for the present attacks we face, and whose strategy in the face of these attacks, has been to limit rather than to broaden the struggle. The affiliation of the London Co-op would alter the existing equilibrium within the Labour Party in a healthy direction.

So comrades, in conclusion, all sections of the Labour Movement must unite against the class enemy. Affiliation of the London Co-op Political Committee nationally to the Labour Party would be an important step towards that end."

Graham Bash - National Secretary

The Economic Crisis Deepens

The economic forecasts of the National Institute for Economic Social Research, of "The Economist" of the "Financial Times" and of The London School of Business Studies (published in the "Sunday Times") - all spoke for big business and the banks - demonstrate how deep the present economic crisis is and how it will worsen this year. Professor Alan Waites writes in the "Financial Times".

"By any standards 1970 was a remarkable year. The combination of many of the characteristics of a mild recession - stagnant output and increasing unemployment - together with a rapid rate of price and inflation is as universal as it is unwelcome".

He goes on

".....we must expect a hard time ahead. Growth of real output cannot accelerate rapidly in 1971. There will be no catching up and we shall be lucky to achieve the growth rate of 1970. There can be no rapid expansion of output to mop up the prevailing spending power already created. The price level must keep on rising rapidly during 1971 and nothing can be done to stop it."

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Nor is the crisis limited to the British economy. Prices went up by 5.25% in the USA (despite an enormous reduction in growth and increase in unemployment, 5.25% in France, 5.75% in Japan, 6.25% in Italy and 7% in West Germany. "The Economist" expects World trade to slow down in 1971. The OECD expects World trade to fall in value from 15% to 10%. Probably more important is the international payments situation. The British balance of payments was in surplus on current account in 1970 partly due to a fortuitous improvement in the terms of trade, but there is every reason to believe that this is only temporary. As "The Economist" writes: ".....a grave deterioration in the balance of payments. There is a possibility of this". Internationally, a serious imbalance in international payment is expected to persist during 1970, a large float of short term capital in West Germany took place, despite the 1969 revaluation of the mark - its partly due to high interest rates that the West Germans need to control inflation. West Germany's reserves are at a record level and her current account surplus is expected to increase. A lot of the influx of capital she experienced represents dollars that could suddenly be converted into gold stock.

In addition, there is the problem of low liquidity that sparked off several major bankruptcies in 1970 "The Economist" writes:

"There are other uncharted waters into which forecasts are sailing as a result of what happened in 1970. A World that experienced the Penn. Central collapse, Crysler rumours the disaster calls of Mr Bernie Cornfield the halving of the share price of British Leyland and the Rolls Royce crisis, can never be quite the same again as before these things happened".

It is this crisis which is due to the contradiction in the capitalist system, that is forcing the Tories, as the high priests of monopoly capitalism, to try and fix the blame for the crisis onto the trade unions "The Economist" speaks the language of big business most plainly. Whilst giving full support to the Tories it urges them to go further with "a restrain of the growth of the money supply a tight incomes policy over centrally bargained wage increases and a budget that gives away bigger tax reliefs" The Labour and TUC leaders must be forced to resist these efforts of big business and their representative, the Tory government, to make the working class pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. A general strike must be organised to defeat the Anti-Union Legislation and to force the Tories to resign. Only a Labour government that brings the economic and political power of the country into the hands of the working class and implements genuinely socialist policies can solve

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the crisis.

The delusion of some of the Labour and TUC leaders that economic expansion can solve the crisis without a basic change of power in society in favour of the working class can only prepare the way for the defeat of the working class. The fact that certain of the more liberal sections of the ruling class, who fear a showdown with the Labour movement, advocate expansionary measures, demonstrates the bankruptcy of the expansion illusion! So long as the economic power of the country remains in the hands of big industrialists and millionaire bankers, quaint and sophisticated blueprint for an expansionary road out of the crisis amount to nothing but reactionary utopia. Big business wants tax reliefs, laws against the unions and lower labour costs and only the industrial strength of the Labour movement, mobilized by the Labour and TUC leaders can stop big business from achieving these ends. This is why the Labour movement has to take the power on behalf of and for the working class and nationalise the land the banks, the insurance companies and the big monopolies.

Nigel Grimwade - Exeter Young Chartists

No return to "In Place of Strife" or "Donovan" !

In recent months there have been many useful and thought provoking articles analysing the Labour Governments' "In Place of Strife" and more recently the Tory anti-union white paper "Fair Deal at Work".

This article concentrates mainly on one aspect, which has received scant attention, but is of crucial importance. Both anti-union documents share one thing in common - they are an attack upon the working class and particularly its grass roots strength on the shop floor. They share this attack with the Donovan Report, both are attempts to "redress" the balance between Labour and capital.

The working class in Britain, has over the course of 200 years built up a movement, to safeguard its interests. Although that movement has been diverted from its initial purpose, which was to create a better society, by a leadership whose main interests lie with our existing system, the movement still retains its enormous strength. During times of economic growth this strength does not represent a direct threat, but during periods of stagnation or decline the Labour movement acts as a barrier which capitalism find difficult to suppress.

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Therefore during the postwar boom the confrontation between labour and capital was minimal, certainly 'containable'. But Western capitalism has been going through a period of stagnation during the last two or three years. Capitalism must, by some mechanism, reduce the strength of the Labour movement or head-on collisions will be inevitable and potentially catastrophic for it. This then, is what the recent spate of anti-union legislation is aimed at doing.

But there is one interesting aspect of the Labour movement which has often been overlooked, by us, but certainly not by our opponents! - the growing strength of the rank and file within the Labour movement, growing strength at the expense of the bureaucrats. This can be directly traced back to the Labour governments' incomes policy. The main purpose of that legislation was to restrict the growth of wages - that it was, in the long term relatively unsuccessful is of little interest to us here but in reality it was only able to restrict National Agreements and settlements, You can police a nil norm in relation to 2-3,000 national agreements, but it is impossible with about 3,00,000 local agreements. Therefore, to evade the incomes policy, trades unions were forced to put the emphasis on local bargaining, which in turn meant giving power to shop stewards and therefore in turn to the rank and file.

These, then, are the recent historical reasons for the anti-trade union legislation.

"Fair Deal at Work" restricts the bargaining strength of the Labour movement by making contracts legally enforceable, introducing strike ballots and imposing 60 day 'cooling off periods', outlawing closed shops and laying down a code of 'good industrial practice'. These clauses are designed to redress the balance between worker and employer and would weaken the Labour movement.

What militants within the movement will have to guard against and be prepared for is a suggestion by the Trade Union leadership that what would make sense would be the implementation of the recommendations of the 'Donovan' report. This report can easily look like a reasonable and well argued document compared with the Labour and Tory union bashing proposals, but such a mistake may prove fatal to the rank and file. For Donovan is potentially more dangerous because it is subtle, gives power back to the centre - the bureaucracy, and will weaken the hands of the left.

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Capitalism has been able to accommodate minor reforms within its framework, which have had the effect of quietening the working class while at the same time retaining and even strengthening the existing system. Donovan is such a reform in relation to industrial relations.

Donovan recognised the 'spectre' of the growing power of the rank and file. "Fitfully and haltingly most of the major unions have responded to changing conditions by recognising shop stewards and making some effort to equip them. Thus it is not so much that the unions have lost power as that there has been a shift of authority within them".

To remedy the effects of "wage drift" and the increasing power of shop stewards Donovan proposed that the formal system of bargaining, which is determined by trade union bureaucrats and strong employers, should be strengthened. The weakening of shop stewards would be facilitated by developing within each factory :-

- (a) Comprehensive and authoritative collective bargaining machinery.
- (b) Joint procedures for the rapid and equitable settlement of grievances in a manner consistent with relevant collective agreements.
- (c) Agreements regulating the position of shop stewards.
- (d) Effective rules and procedures governing disciplinary matters.

All these measures would mean a return to bargaining between union bureaucrats and employers, both of whom recognise wider issues such as "National Interest", better known as the "employers' interest".

The Report included registration of all sizeable collective agreements, which would have given the government power of persuasion at least over collective bargaining, if not direct control. Turning to "restrictive practices" the following sums up the report's view: "Experience of productivity bargaining shows what can be accomplished by the conclusion of factory agreements. The proposals for the reform of the collective bargaining system are therefore fundamental to the improved use of manpower. They will put in managements' hands an instrument - the factory agreement - which, properly used, can contribute to much higher productivity". The new system of collective bargaining at local level would, it is openly admitted, place power in the hands of management.

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Strikes

On the question of strikes the report admits that as a whole strikes do not constitute an economic threat and that official strikes rarely do so. What it is concerned with are unofficial strikes - not because they are led by a group of politically motivated men but because "they have a damaging effect on managerial initiative", in other words unofficial strikes place power in the hands of shop stewards. Its answer, in addition to putting negotiating power back into centralized hands, is to have more Industrial Courts, in other words increase the level of government intervention. Donovan recognised that legal sanctions, strike ballots and cooling-off periods are unworkable his suggestions would achieve the desired result!

These then are the main proposals of Donovan, they are not so spectacular as "Fair Deal at Work", but the motivating force is identical, to reverse the trend which has started to place control in the hands of the shop stewards and the rank and file. Such trends are visible in the election of Scanlan to the Presidency of the AEF.

Therefore, in the coming months demands to be placed upon the TUC and the Labour Party should be: Defeat the Bill, Defeat the Tories, No return to "In Place of Strife", and Beware a Return to Donovan.

Keith Whelan (South London Young Chartists)

IRELAND

As Ulster recovers from the Shankill riots and lurches into another crisis this Summer, it is worth reflecting what we in the Labour movement can and ought to do, to aid our comrades in Ireland.

Firstly, we must place the blame where it belongs - on the rulers at Westminster. To look for scapegoats anywhere else is a red herring. The original aim of partition was to leave an enclave of direct political domination in the North to economically dominate the rest of Ireland whilst heading off the home-rule movement. In this Lloyd George succeeded. His latter day emulators - Heath

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Maudling and company - share the same perspectives.

However, Ireland is no longer the backwater of rural pasture land it once was. A sophisticated industrial base has developed in the South and with it an articulate working class with its own Labour movement. The most profitable course for the Tories is now to unite Ireland, on a strictly capitalist basis. These moves were begun under MacMillan and continue today - including, to their shame, the period of Labour's office. The organs for this gentleman's agreement were to be 'Liberals' of the Orange Unionists such as O'Niell and the 'Green Tories' such as Lynch and McAteer. Unfortunately after encouraging bigotry and sectarianism for 50 years it has resulted in all sorts of skeletons leaping out of the cupboards in both the Stormont and Dail. Barbarians like Craig and Knox-Cunningham really believe that Ulster is 'God's province'. They have no time for the new-fangled ideas and have amassed real support throughout the North. On their right the Fascist bible-thumpers like Paisley and Beattie also find their strength growing. Conversely Blaney and Boland in the South are Fianna Fail's skeletons. Their desire to settle accounts is in many ways just as dangerous.

It is worth reflecting that the only movement to cut across boundaries is the Labour movement. Only in its ranks can protestant and catholic workers unite to change their miserable conditions. Now they must do more. An all Irish Council of Labour is an urgent priority - this idea, first put forward by Connolly, should embrace the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the Republican Labourites and the Irish Labour Party as well as the TUC of all Ireland. However, minimal discussions are not enough. Its only meaningful programme would be one of smashing the existing set-ups by taking the commanding heights of the economies out of their controllers hands and running them for the benefit of the working people. Any other programme would either be utopian or only get another "Liberal" solution. In fact protestant workers will not support any movement which they see associated with the Catholic church or the Green Tories of Fianna Fail, nor will catholic workers have any faith in "reform unionists" like O'Neill or Chichester-Clark and in this they are quite right.

This magazine, therefore, takes issue with the ideas of Tribune and many of the Labour Left who supported and even urged the use of British troops in Ireland. In our estimation British troops went into Ulster to defend British

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big business and to smash any resistance of the population. The immediate programme for the Labour Party to pursue in connection with this was formulated very well by East Willesden CLP in their conference resolution last year. This demanded the immediate withdrawal of British troops and a united front of the Irish Labour movement to combat sectarianism. Their example could well be followed by the rest of the movement.

Keith Veness, (West London Young Chartists)

QUOTABLE QUOTES AND NOTES

"The struggle that lies ahead could be the bitterest and most crucial in trade union history".

(Hugh Scanlan on the coming battle against "Fair Deal at Work", Charter BRIEFING, Labour Party Conference 1970)

In the same issue of BRIEFING, and on the same question, conference delegates read:

"Today a showdown may be approaching, whether we like it or not. And we may as well prepare for it. Under the present Tory offensive (against the Miners, against the Local Government workers and against the whole trade union movement), we may find a stark choice facing us before very long: either capitulate and be crushed by the Tories, or take the power. The Young Chartists will not be the only ones in the Labour movement to insist that the second alternative be chosen. Indeed, on the "extreme left" (if clause four is "extreme" !) of the Labour Party, we intend to organise and to increase in numbers until we can together thunder the demand to our leaders with the voice of the whole working class movement : "break with the employers! take the power! or else we'll take it ourselves!" The pressure for a general strike may become invincible. Then we would be forced to take industrial action, take over our factories and places of work, disarm the present ruling class, occupy its buildings - and hand over the whole power to a special Trades Union Congress and Labour Party conference for the purpose of reconstituting our society on the basis of workers' councils, workers' control and the common ownership of the means of production."

According to some of our biggest trade union leaders a general strike, if the Tories persist in their anti-union offensive, is a strong possibility. Terrible dangers could be facing the whole movement if we embark on such an action unprepared. Before any sort of general strike is called there must be a conference of shop stewards from all the unions involved to discuss its ultimate aims and objectives.

"NO DEALS - FOR A VICTORY IN ALL INDOCHINA!!"
Young Chartist Open Letter to the British Left

The "Chartist" does not usually waste time arguing with the other small tendencies of the British Left. "Why talk to the monkey when you can talk to the organ-grinder" as a certain Welshman once said. On this occasion, however, the Editorial Board decided that a statement was necessary to combat the nonsense being peddled around, by people who ought to know better, about the war in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina. Below is our statement, let's have your views or comments on it - THE EDITOR.

"In 1968, a march of over 100,000 people took place through London. Its organising slogans were "Victory to the NLF" and "Stop Labour's complicity in the war". The students and trade unionists who marched that day scared the living daylights out of the "establishment". This march was, however, a watershed. It marked the high point of the SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT and the eclipse, albeit a temporary one, of the soggy PEACE brigade. Now, two years later, little is left of the march, or its organisers, and that disgraceful group of pacifists and fellow-travellers THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM (BCPV), again dominates the scene as far as the left is concerned.

How has this sorry state of affairs come about? The "Chartist" considers it is neither inevitable nor strange but can be traced to bad politics on the part of the organisers of the Vietnam movement. The solidarity brigade quite correctly points out that one must see the VIETNAMESE struggle as a social revolution. There is no half-way house. either Vietnam goes under the control of the NLF, socialises its land and industry, and creates a workers state - or it becomes another "banana republic" of the USA. This means that one must take sides, and be seen to take sides, in support of those who fight against US aggression. Far too many "left-wingers" try to ignore this fact and attempt to be neutralist in their attitude to the war. What the supporters of VSC and similar organisations who support the solidarity line don't realise, or try to ignore, is that the Vietnamese workers and peasants are led by a caste of people who have already, once in 1946 and again in 1954, tried to betray the struggle. Now they are having another go in Paris at beheading the struggle. Those people who preached uncritical support of Ho Chi Minh in 1968 were left trying to explain to their bewildered supporters why the man whose name they chanted tried to sell short the struggle they enthusiastically, and quite rightly supported. They must also explain why the USA gained its first propaganda victories for three years with Nixon's phoney "Peace and withdrawal offensive" and also why the NLF is now supporting, of all people, Sihanouk and his discredited royalists in Cambodia.

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This support has in fact alienated the peasants and workers who see little difference between the extortions of Lon Nol and Sihanouk himself. Any future movement in Britain must, before taking action on Vietnam and Indochina, besides giving unconditional support, must criticise and take into account the treacherous role played by the bureaucratic caste of the DVR. More important, this movement must recognise that, once the victory is won in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, it can only be preserved by the victory of the working class in Japan, Western Europe and ultimately the USA itself. Young Chartists will participate in any future actions on their slogans - "NO DEALS" "FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST VIETNAM" "VICTORY TO THE NLF" "FOR A UNITED FRONT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENTS TO AID VIETNAM". This to us is the only way forward.

AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET - FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST EUROPE

The efforts of the Tory government to get Britain into the Common Market have to be seen in the context of the enormous economic crisis facing the Tories. The fact that the Tories are the major upholders of this system forces them to keep down the living standards of working people in order to try and solve the crisis. But in doing so the Tories increase the resistance of the trade union and Labour movement, which in turn threatens the continuation of the system. This contradiction underlies every step the Tory government takes.

Thus, British capitalism needs to enter the Common Market to gain access to a wider market, but in doing so again heightens the militancy of the trade unions, who stand firmly opposed to the expected enormous increase in the cost of living that would necessarily result from entry. In 1954 the UK share of manufactures exported from the 12 main exporting nations was 20.1% but by 1964 it had fallen to 13.7%. yet between 1958 - 64 40% of Britain's increase in exports went to the EEC, despite the Common External Tariff imposed on "outsiders" whereas only 20% of the increase went to EFTA of whom Britain is a member nation. Britain's trade with the Commonwealth has slackened severely due to the increasing share of Commonwealth trade going to the USA. Pressure on the rate of profit has made access to overseas markets, particularly the expanding markets of Western Europe, essential for British capitalism.

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But in order to obtain this the ruling class has to force the working class to accept higher food prices - the result of switching to the Common Agricultural Policy of the EEC based on import levies in contrast to the food subsidy system of the UK. An initial estimated 500 million pounds' burden on the balance of payments is another cost which British capitalism can hardly afford. In order to cover that deficit the Tories will have to reduce domestic consumption, increase interest rates and restrain wage increases. Thus, in more ways than one, entry into the Common Market will hit at the pockets of working people.

It was the need for wider markets and the pressure that was building up on internal profit rates that drove the European capitalist class into forming the Common Market. The big monopolies of the USA were threatening to invade Western Europe and turn it into a disguised colony. But the necessity for integration was countered by the barriers of private property and national boundaries. Constant rivalry between the six had hampered almost every move towards effective integration. - the question of fuel policy and the question of a common agricultural policy, and the question of Euratom Commission, and the question of monetary policy etc. Each member state competes with the other and seeks to obtain the best bargain in any agreement for itself. All the common authorities set up by the EEC (including the EEC Commission itself) have been rendered powerless by the fear of sparking off rivalries that could split the EEC.

Neither the critical support given by the Labour leaders for entry or the isolationist "opposition" to entry of the 'Tribune' MP's provides an alternative to the Common Market. Britain cannot solve the economic problems within her own national boundaries - she needs the assistance of the economic resources of Europe. Only the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy and the building of the United Socialist States of Europe provide any realistic, socialist alternative to the Common Market and the bankrupt, capitalist economic system.

Without help from the Labour movements of both Western and Eastern Europe, a Labour Government that implemented genuinely socialist policies would be badly isolated.

The Labour leaders must prepare now by opening negotiations with the leaders of labour of all the European states, including the worker states of Eastern Europe. The labour leaders must immediately break off all relations with big business and the bankers and come out in support of a United Socialist States of Europe as the socialist alternative to the Common Market. The Labour and TUC

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leaders must combine to use the industrial strength of the Labour movement, to force the Tories to resign, around a socialist programme for the Building of a socialist Britain.

A Labour government backed by the industrial strength of the Labour movement, that brings the economic and political power of the country into the hands of the working class, will give a mighty impetus to the building of the United Socialist States of Europe. It could trigger off an upsurge in the Labour movement of both Western and Eastern Europe, threatening the position of the parasitic bureaucracies of Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and so on. The taking of power by the working class would then prepare the way for massive economic expansion on the basis of social needs, an economy of super abundance and ultimately a World Socialist Federation.

Albert Enwright - Exeter Young Chartists

POSTSCRIPT

Comrades,

Before we close a few words of explanation about this issue. Our original plans were for irregular printed editions of the "Chartist". However, events are moving so swiftly that all the comrades on the Editorial Board felt obliged to bring it out monthly, even if duplicated, for the present. Obviously this means a higher level of commitment of both the Young Chartists who produce this and of our many readers and supporters. We are confident that you won't let us down - so confident that we are opening a Chartist fighting fund from this issue onwards with a target of 200 pounds for a start, so that a monthly printed issue is feasible. Before leaving the technical side, a few comments about the last issue. Thanks to the Hampshire Young Chartist who sold such a large number in his "out of the way" place. Also we received two dozen enquiries about the publication and asking about the Young Chartists. These range from trades unionists to the Sudanese Embassy and a Cornish Nationalist group in Falmouth. We even had a threatening postcard from someone who accused us of being in league with Harold Wilson and the Communist Party !

This is a good time to re-state what we have said on the Bill. If we are to smash it, the Tory government must also be smashed, that much is becoming daily clearer. Accordingly, we welcome any campaign which acknowledges this eg, that run by our brothers and sisters of the Socialist Labour League. However, where we disagree is that a campaign to defeat the Tory government immediately poses the problem of taking power. If you don't see things in this light, there is no perspective except a return to the idiocies of the last six years of Wilson's government.

We suspect the SLL, and many other tendencies on the left, haven't thought this through yet. We, alone it appears, believe the Tories can be smashed and real power taken by the Labour movement.

The US invasion of Laos, for that is what it is, spells another lesson for us. As we say in a statement in this issue, the war is, and always has been, an all Indochinese war. There can be no solution so long as one American soldier remains in the peninsula. To those who pin their hopes on the Paris peace talks this latest aggression must surely end this naive trust. We repeat again, NO DEALS - VICTORY TO THE NLF as the only basis for a settlement that will bring any solution to the peoples of Indochina.

Lastly, the Young Chartists have established fraternal relations with 'Workers Action' of the USA. This is an excellent publication of the "Committee for a Labour Party", and represents the best views of the left in the USA. From now on we hope to exchange articles and sell each other's papers and pamphlets. Anyone requiring either 'Workers Action' or any information should write to us at the Editor's address, and any letter of interest we will forward to the USA.

Keith Veness - Editor