

# Labour Leaders must... EXPULSION THE TORIES

The Thatcher government is waging a war and purge against the living standards of ordinary working people.

They are witch-hunting those who are struggling to make ends meet.

Their policies and the system they defend has meant untold disaster for the weak, the old and the infirm. Unemployment is in reality over four million, with 769,000 youth due to leave school this summer. The majority will rot on the dole!

While £2,000 million will be found to pay for the Falklands war and replacing the hardware lost, nurses and workers fighting for decent pay have been met with ferocious resistance.

Anti-union legislation is introduced to attempt to shackle the unions. Tory backwoodsmen scream for harsher measures against the actions of youth trapped in dead end jobs and the dole queues.

A section want capital punishment brought back. But in reality it has been re-introduced for those in despair.

"Desperate teenager Adrian Judd threw himself to his death because he hated life on the dole. Adrian, 18, leaped from the roof of a multi-storey car park after eight months tramping the streets looking for work." (Sun 20/11/80).

"After 3 years searching for a regular job, a 23 year old man from Consett could

take no more. He drenched himself with petrol and set himself alight." (Daily Mail 6/8/80).

This is the vicious reality of Tory Britain. While spending over £14,000 million on weapons of destruction the social services are slashed to the bone.

This Thatcher 'house of horrors' has meant more poverty, unemployment, homelessness and desperation. They are attempting to drive working people back to the 1930's.

"The rusty abandoned Blue Hillman on a city centre car park may look no place like home. But that's where 61 year old Nora Thomas has lived since the winter of 1979...she gets just £27 a week sickness benefit and pays out £3.25 for car parking in Cardiff". (Daily Star 1/7/81).

This nightmare is without end for the downtrodden sections of Tory society. The rich can afford pay for private medical treatment, but the working class has to wait and suffer.

When Princess Ann went to St Mary's Hospital, London last year to have her

baby she took a 'normal private room' at £110 per day. For Princess Di recently it was a mere £126.90 per day.

"An 81 year old almost blind man wanted his wife to go into hospital for treatment. She was 81, senile and deteriorating mentally and he could not care for her properly. But there were no hospital beds available. In desperation he strangled her and killed himself." (Yorkshire Evening Post 14/12/79).

This Tory government must be booted out of office now! We can't afford to wait any longer. But what are our Labour leaders doing?

As workers suffer, they are busy not attacking the real enemy the Tories, but are conspiring to expel socialists from the Labour Party.

The witch-hunt being conducted against the Militant and the left of the party in general plays straight into the hands of the Tories. In fact the Tory leaders are applauding the attacks of Healey, Shore, Hattersley, etc on Labour's left-wing moving rank and file.

The Right wing are prepared to wreck the Labour Party in their purge. They are attempting to "clean up the ranks" by a purge of socialist fighters, to allow the traitors of the SDP to return to the fold.

It is the right wing who will give victory to the Tories at the General Election if they have their way. Egged on by the Tory press, the NEC of the party, with the agreement of "lefts"

like Neil Kinnock, Joan Lester, Alex Kitson, and Doug Hoyle, not to forget Michael Foot, has decided to introduce a Register.

If successful this will mean a return to a totalitarian regime in the Labour Party. Bans and proscriptions will inevitably lead to expulsions if the Right are victorious.

Their aim is first of all to expell Militant supporters, and then Tony Benn and the left in general. This must be vigorously opposed by every section of the labour movement.

No return to the Party's police regime of the 1950's! At that time it was the Bevanites who were hounded and expelled. Today it is the Militant supporters who have been singled out.

As Nye Bevan pointed out shortly before his expulsion in 1939, "if every organised effort to change party policy is to be described as an organised attack on the party itself then the rigidity imposed by party discipline will soon change into rigor mortis."

The Labour leaders should represent the interests of the working class and start attacking the Tories. They must put all their efforts into a campaign to drive the Tories from office and to return a Labour government committed to bold socialist policies.

Only then can we eradicate the ulcers of Tory-made poverty and squalor and build a society in the interests of the majority of people.



"There was a road near our home where (ordinary) people like that lived and I used to walk along it. So I know what they're like." New Statesman 27 April '79.



# Militant

Don't stand on the side-lines...Defend Militant!  
I am prepared to help in your campaign to defend the paper and stop the witch-hunt.  
Please send me details of how I can assist.

Name .....

Address .....

Rush to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London



# Right prepare pact with SDP

An 'investigation' of the *Militant* is intended to be the first move in a purge of the left and a right-wing counter-revolution. This has been made brutally clear by a number of right-wing Labour MPs.

Writing in the mass circulation 'Daily Mirror' (10 December) the day after the decision of the National Executive's Organisation Sub-Committee to recommend an investigation, James Callaghan spelt out what the right is after.

Supporters of the 'Militant' should be expelled from the Party, he writes.

The Young Socialists should be disaffiliated. There should be "an improved system for electing the leader and deputy leader." [That is, no doubt, restoring the main say to the Parliamentary Labour Party]

"The Party should introduce a new system for re-selecting MPs..." [undoubtedly a system which would negate effective re-selecting by constituency parties, restoring 'security of tenure' for sitting MPs].

Callaghan also told the 'Mirror's' readers that "some of Labour's present policies still need to be brought in line with public opinion." Conference decisions, he clearly thinks, should be abandoned in favour of policies which the right consider will win more electoral support.

This is the right's recipe for 'saving' Labour—a solution which would reverse all the gains of the last three years, the decisions of three annual conferences and three special conferences.

This has been the attitude of the right all along. However, the position of the National Executive has changed because the right have now been joined by some of the 'left.'

Michael Foot, Neil Kinnock, and other lefts—like the right—have been panicked by the gains of the Social Democrats.

When the SDP was formed, Michael Foot proclaimed that they would not win 'a single seat' in Parliament. 'Militant', on the contrary, warned that unless they were effectively countered by Labour, the SDP, with the backing of big business and the media, could win 30 or 40 or more seats in the next general election, thus blocking the return of a majority Labour government.

Now Foot has swung to the opposite extreme, accepting Healey's idea that the SDP could win 100 seats—unless Labour waters down its policies.

In reality, this is the view of Social Democrats still hiding within the Parliamentary Labour party. In recent weeks, there has been a stream of MPs lobbying Foot in the Commons—threatening to go over to the traitors already in the SDP unless he takes measures against Labour's left wing.

Foot's outburst in Parliament, when he said he would block the endorsement of Peter Tatchell as Bermondsey CLP's candidate, came after repeated threats from Bob Mellish, the sitting MP, that he would resign and cause a by-election.

The 'Financial Times' revealed that "Mr Mellish, a right winger and former Chief Whip, is understood to have had secret talks on his prospective resignation during the summer with Mrs Shirley Williams, who subsequently won Crosby for the SDP."

This is treacherous behaviour. What conclusion can Labour Party members draw but that Mellish is acting as an agent of the SDP?

In bowing to the pressure from Mellish and other potential defectors, Foot has made himself a prisoner of the right wing. He is suffering from a serious delusion, however, if he believes that his efforts to appease the right will prevent more defecting at a later stage.

Why are the right panicking at the apparent success of the SDP? Because they have no political answer to them. How can they fight the SDP when they are peddling the same policies?

Politically impotent, they have therefore turned on the 'Militant' as a scapegoat.

At the beginning of his 'Mirror' article, Callaghan claims that "the far left are the true parents of the Social Democrats."

Yet later he admits that the Warrington, Croydon NW and Crosby by-elections have revealed "the depths of dissatisfaction with both the Labour and Conservative Parties."

But why, when workers are suffering under the most unpopular Tory government for decades, has Labour failed to win mass support? It is not because of left-wing Labour governments, because they have all been dominated by the right. Nor is it because of current left-wing policies, which have yet to be seriously campaigned on by Labour.

Labour's poor showing is the result of the disillusionment of millions of workers with the record of previous Labour governments.

Yet since 1964 there have been eleven years of right-wing Labour governments! It was especially the disastrous policies followed by the last Labour government, under Wilson, Callaghan, and Healey which undermined working-class support for Labour.

When Labour took office in February 1974, unemployment was half a million. When it left office, in March 1979, it was one and a quarter million.

Under Labour, public expenditure fell by about 2½% in 1976/77 and by approximately 7% in 1977/78.

In the winter of 1978/79 Labour's attempt to impose the 5% pay policy on low-paid workers—already trying to survive on the poverty-line—further undermined Labour's support.

It is Callaghan and Healey who are the 'true parents' of the Social Democrats!

The answer of Healey

and Callaghan is not only to try to appease the prospective SDP traitors still hiding in the wings of the PLP—but also to make overtures to the SDP itself!

If the next general election (writes Callaghan in the 'Mirror') results in a stalemate, Labour "must take an immediate decision whether to stay in opposition or to co-operate with others [who but the SDP and the Liberals?] to remove the Thatcher government and install a Labour government in its place."

The price, Callaghan says, may be agreeing to some form of proportional representation. "Personally, I still prefer our existing system of election. But we ought not to rule out discussion of a change..."

In other words, Callaghan is already holding out the offer of a deal to the SDP/Liberal alliance! How can Labour fight the SDP/Liberals in a general election when—in advance—Labour leaders are trying to negotiate the terms of a coalition?

Healey makes similar hints in the 'New Socialist.'

In his article, in fact, Healey makes it clear that he favours policies which would make an accommodation with the SDP/Liberal alliance possible.

Other countries like Austria, Norway and Japan, he says, have "achieved sufficient consensus to ensure that reflation produces more jobs rather than higher prices..."

What is this if not a disguised advocacy of a return to incomes restraint, a policy categorically rejected by the last Labour Party conference?

Healey disingenuously argues that Labour's failure to present an alternative to Thatcherism "is due not to any weakness of our policies, but the prolonged internal arguments about personalities and constitutional issues, on which we have been forced to spend so much time."

But who can believe that Denis Healey supports the policies adopted by recent annual conferences? He openly opposes Labour's policy on nuclear weapons. Talk about "hard choices" makes it clear that he has not really changed his views on key economic issues.

The prolonged internal arguments are not about personalities.

The battles has been over policies. The great majority of Labour Party members (over 80% of whom voted for Tony Benn in the deputy-leadership elections), together with millions of active trade unionists, have learned the lesson that the policies followed by previous Labour governments offer no way forward for the working class. They support the radical measures included in 'The Socialist Alternative' adopted by last year's conference. Even Healey now pays lip service to the 'alternative economic strategy.'

But there is a battle in the party because Healey, Callaghan, and the SDP's 'fifth column' in the Parliamentary Labour Party want to jettison the

radical policies and democratic Party reforms. They want to "clean up" the Party to appease the Social Democrats.

Labour will regain mass support not by out-SDP'ing the SDP, but by campaigning for bold socialist policies, presenting a viable alternative to both the Tories and the Tories-in-disguise.

The radical policies of the 'alternative economic strategy' represent a big step forward for Labour. They would win enormous support if they were campaigned for energetically by the labour movement.

But 'Militant' believes that Labour must go further. Urgent reforms—such as the implementation of a 35-hour week, a £90 a week minimum wage, the eradication of unemployment, and the reversal of Tory spending cuts—should be linked to a bold programme for the socialist transformation of society.

A socialist plan of production, with workers' control and management of industry, would rapidly make possible enormous improvements in the living standards of working people.

If this programme was explained, and campaigned for with the mass activity of the whole labour movement, Labour could win overwhelming support and guarantee the return of a majority Labour government.

## POSTSCRIPT

New strenuous efforts are being made by the right wing to reach accommodation with the SDP traitors. Roy Hattersley in Scotland went as far recently as to call on these defectors to "return home" to the Labour Party. Given the new attacks on 'Militant' and the left in general these 'old supporters' would be welcomed back with open arms. This demonstrates clearly the intentions of the right, that a purge is the first step in making the party acceptable for the SDP backstabbers to return.

Again, one week before the local elections, the right-wing general secretary of APEX, Roy Grantham, called, in the event of a hung parliament, for a coalition with the SDP Liberal Alliance. He even had the gall to suggest that David Steel be the head of such a coalition!

If that was to happen all hell would break out in the rank and file. The left wing, opposed to coalition, would grow enormously. In that contest the attack upon 'Militant' supporters is a pre-emptive strike to gag the most consistent advocate for independent socialist policies. The right are prepared to wage civil war in the party to further their aims. Some simply wish to create as much havoc as possible before they themselves defect to the SDP.

This witch-hunt will be met with a storm of protest by the ranks of the movement. The right wing will never succeed in expelling Marxism from the Labour Party. In the end, whatever action is taken, the 'Militant' will gain enormously.

30.6.82

50s... ATTLEE TO GAITSKELL...



60s... GAITSKELL TO WILSON...



70s... WILSON TO CALLAGHAN...



80s... CALLAGHAN TO HEAL... NO NO IT'S A BRILLIANT LEFTWING INTERVENTION



THAT'S IT WE'RE TAKING OUR BALL HOME





# HEALEY'S BOMB

## What the Right really stand for

Even before Reagan, Denis Healey advocated the early resort to tactical nuclear weapons as part of NATO's strategy.

This is revealed in the recent memoirs of Henry Kissinger, former National Security Advisor to Nixon.

While Minister of Defence in the last Labour government, Healey challenged the established theory of the US State Department and Pentagon. This, according to Kissinger, was that deterrence relied on the "mutually assured destruction" guaranteed by the superpowers' huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

US defence policy-makers at that time clung to the idea of a "fire-break" between conventional and nuclear weapons. They considered this necessary to delay the decision to resort to any nuclear weapons as long as possible.

Healey urged "early resort to tactical nuclear weapons."

Healey, however, supported the view—then held by only a minority of US defence experts—that "parity" between the US and Russia of strategic nuclear weapons undermined the effectiveness of NATO's deterrent. Healey argued for a strategy based on "a flexible response", urging an "early resort to tactical nuclear weapons."

This was the view Healey put to Nixon when the American president was visiting London in February, 1969. As Nixon's National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger was involved in these discussions which he describes in his voluminous memoirs, "The White House Years".

"In Healey's judgement," Kissinger writes, "NATO's conventional forces would be able to resist for only a matter of days; hence early use of nuclear weapons was essential. Healey stressed the crucial importance of making the Soviets understand that the West would prefer to escalate to a strategic exchange, rather than surrender."

Kissinger wryly comments that while advocating an early resort to tactical nuclear weapons, Healey, like other European leaders, also called for immunity of their territories from their use. They tried to get round this by proposing the use of "a very small number of tactical weapons as a warning that matters were getting out of hand."

"What Britain," Kissinger goes on, "was urging [through Healey—ed] came to be called the 'demonstrative use' of nuclear weapons. This meant setting off a nuclear weapon on some remote location which did not involve many casualties, in

By Tim Moody

the air of the Mediterranean, for example—as a signal of more drastic use if the warning failed..."

What the people of Malta, Cyprus, Greece or North Africa were meant to think of this strategy is not mentioned.

Later in his lengthy memoirs, Kissinger refers to Healey as "an old friend... Healey and I have known each other since the 1950s..."

It was in the 1950s that Healey was involved in the formation of the secretive Bilderberg Group, a grouping of big businessmen, military representatives and capitalist politicians backed by the US State Department to foster support for the policies of US imperialism.

Through Bilderberg, Healey met Shep Stone, former head of the CIA's "covert operations", who was instrumental in channelling an initial \$150,000 from the Ford Foundation into the Institute of Strategic Studies.

Based in London, this Institute, in which Healey played a key role, involved a number of right-wing academics and politicians. ISS devotes itself to producing research papers and policy statements reinforcing the military strategy, particularly the nuclear strategy, of the United States and NATO.

But in 1968 Healey was going too far even for Kissinger, the architect of Nixon's genocidal policies in Vietnam and Cambodia. "I never had much time for this concept [a 'demonstration bomb']," comments Kissinger.

Healey—Kissinger's "old friend."

Today, however, the US government supports a strategy based on the use of tactical nuclear weapons in a limited "theatre" such as Europe. Reagan is committed to the introduction of the neutron bomb, theoretically the ideal capitalist weapon, which destroys people but not property.

They are apparently not perturbed by the fact that they have not answered Kissinger's fundamental objection: that the "limited" use of nuclear weapons would itself be catastrophic, and would not stop escalation to a world-wide nuclear holocaust.

But this is not only the policy of Reagan—it is the policy advocated by Denis Healey since at least 1969.

Healey not only opposes the Labour Party's commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament and opposition to the siting of US cruise missiles in Britain; he supports the insane "strategy" of the most right-wing representatives of Western imperialism.



"I believe that we must mount a sustained assault on poverty and inequality"

Denis Healey, 16th June 1982

"Mr Healey claims to earn £500 a week from columns in 'Financial Weekly' and the 'New Standard'."

The Times 20th May 1981

## and Healey's record

**Militant supported Tony Benn for deputy leader because he represented very closely the views and aspirations of party members. The right wing, on the other hand, supported Healey for precisely the opposite reason—because he is opposed to party conference decisions on so many issues.**

In fact along with other right-wingers Dennis Healey has been associated with a long line of policy proposals and ministerial decisions which have had much more in common with the strategic thinking of the United States State Department and the Pentagon than with the views of a great majority of Labour Party members.

In the last Labour government, for instance, Healey was one of a secret "committee of four" which authorised the £1,000 million modernisation of Polaris, completely contrary to Labour Party conference decisions and the 1974 conference manifesto.

As Militant has previously shown in detail (22 February 1980, 25 January 1980, 1st February 1980) this was quite consistent with Dennis Healey's previous record.

Dennis Healey joined the Labour Party with left wing views (he was a member of the CP until 1940), but as head of the Labour Party's international department (1945-51) he moved to a right-wing, extreme "anti-communist" position.

Under Ernest Bevin, Healey worked in the Foreign Office in a campaign (through the secret Information Research

Department) funded by the Secret Vote (money voted by Parliament for the secret service) to combat the influence of the Communist Party and the Labour left.

Throughout that period, Healey supported the "cold war" policies of US imperialism, in which an hysterical propaganda war against Stalinism was accompanied by attacks on the genuine ideas of socialism, and even on radical and liberal ideas.

In the post war period Healey helped to rebuild the Socialist International in a form acceptable to Western capitalist leaders and in 1948 was commended by the US state department for his part in splitting the Italian socialist party because of Nenni's refusal to campaign against the Communist Party.

In his "Cards on the Table" (1947) Healey advocated support for US foreign and military policies, and this statement was bitterly criticised at the Labour Party conference in Margate, but adopted by the right wing leadership. With Rita Hindon, editor of "Socialist Commentary", Healey set up a colonial section at Transport House, "to help combat the menace of Communist propaganda among African and other overseas territories".

Elected to Parliament in 1951, Healey advocated support for the US in the Korean war, the build up of NATO and German rearmament. In 1953 he worked with LP leader Hugh Gaitskell in setting up the Bilderberg Group involving prominent international financiers, big businessmen, academics, and others, with American funds. Healey became its European con-

venor, with Dick Taverne, now of the SDP, as his deputy.

For ten years Healey was London correspondent of the CIA funded American journal, The New Leader, which supported US "cold war" policies. He was also a prominent speaker at conferences and a contributor to journals run by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, also funded by the CIA.

Former CIA officers have recently alleged that Healey took part in "working dinners" organised by the CIA for their British contacts at a London hotel during the 1950s. At these gatherings, the guests, who were all well aware that the hosts were CIA officers, were encouraged to discuss in detail the inner workings of the Labour Party and the trade unions and their colleagues in these organisations. As one CIA man said later, they were "helping us to pick suitable people".

In 1958, Healey helped set up the Institute for Strategic Studies, with US funds through Bilderberg contact Shep Stone, who formerly worked for the OSS (precursor of the CIA).

In 1960 Healey opposed his own constituency's motion on nuclear disarmament at conference, and supported Gaitskell's defiance of conference, and the moves by Gaitskell, Tony Crosland and others to remove from the constitution Clause IV Part 4 which embodies the Party's basic socialist aims.

While Healey was Labour defence minister from 1964 to 1970 Britain's military spending rose to record heights, (£2,500 million a year).

More recently, at the June meeting of Labour's

NEC when "Labour's Programme 82" was under discussion, Healey wanted the commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament removed.

He was also opposed to the inclusion of the following: "We shall oppose the siting of American ground-launched cruise missiles or neutron bombs in Britain."

(He was supported by fellow right-wingers John Golding MP, Eric Varley MP, Shirley Summerskill MP, Gwyneth Dunwoody MP, and Gerry Russel (AUEW)).

While Healey was aware that the Americans with whom he, from time to time held confidential discussions were CIA officers, there is no evidence to show that he knew that many of the US organisations with which he worked were funded by the CIA, rather than from other sources.

But there was never any doubt that those organisations existed primarily to further the interests of US imperialism. In many countries, like Chile, the US through "covert operations" (subsequently exposed by US Congressional enquiries) have intervened to overthrow parliamentary democracy. And is there any doubt that US imperialism is opposed to the fundamental aims and aspirations of the labour movement?

Labour Party members should be made aware of the history and records of all those on the right of the party. The rank and file should vigorously oppose the attempt of the right to hound Militant supporters, every one of whom is a hard working party member, striving to build a mass socialist party. Instead the Party should turn its attention to the right and demand an enquiry into the influence and the contacts made by organisations like the CIA and NATO in the labour movement.



# WHEN LABOUR'S RIGHT CALLED IN M15

**Among the right-wing leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party there is no enthusiasm, to say the least, for the National Executive Committee's current enquiry into penetration of the Labour Party by the British security services.**

In fact demands for an investigation—and demands also for an investigation of CIA interference—have provoked an almost hysterical reaction.

Why? There is ample evidence of such interference by the under-cover organisations of the state. One scandalous reason is that in the past Labour's right-wing leadership actually secretly called on M15 and M16 to investigate the left within the Party.

Confirmation for this comes from Chapman Pincher, for many years a journalist on Beaverbrook's right-wing 'Daily Express', in his 'Inside Story' (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1978).

In chapter two of this amazing book, Pincher relates how the Labour Party leaders, headed by the late Hugh Gaitskell, and through the then George Brown (now Lord George-Brown) called in M15 and M16 (with a bit of help from Chapman) to uncover the so-called "crypto-communists" within the Party.

By his own admission, Pincher was for years used by the security services to publish official inspired leaks, as well as deliberate "misinformation". Nevertheless, for some obscure reason, Pincher enjoyed the highly privileged position of being well-informed about the activities of the secret service. If the astounding revelations published over a period in the 'Daily Express' had been printed in a journal like 'Time Out', the journalists, editor, and publishers concerned would undoubtedly have been the victims of ruthless prosecutions under the Official Secrets Act, and would probably still be rotting in jail now.

But Pincher was not only able to publish this material in the right-wing Tory press, but he has lived to bring it all together in his book. Many of Pincher's revelations confirm and even amplify articles and books published by far more critical observers of the security services.

By Lynn Walsh

Chapter two is "A Lunch with George Brown", to which Pincher invited George Brown, then Labour shadow defence spokesman, (now the Lord George-Brown, who in the May 1979 election called on people to vote Tory) at the expensive Ecu de France restaurant in Jermyn Street, in 1961.

**A secret committee was set up to expose "fraudulent" socialists and expel them**

George Brown, who was concerned about Labour's press image in the anticipated general election (which came in 1964), "revealed that the Labour Party leaders, headed by the late Hugh Gaitskell, a true Social Democrat, had decided to rid themselves of the public criticism that some of their MPs were crypto-Communists—dedicated pro-Russian Communists posing as Socialists because they could exert more influence that way and might eventually achieve ministerial office...

"...a small committee had indeed been established secretly for the purpose of exposing the fraudulent Socialists and then expelling them from the party. The committee consisted of Gaitskell, Brown and Patrick Gordon Walker..."

The Labour leaders hoped that from their surveillance records and telephone taps, the Security Service would provide them with evidence against "crypto-communists" in other words their left-wing opponents in the party!

The security services agreed to help, but produced results which were disappointing for Brown and the Gaitskellites. "Brown was called to the presence of the M15 chiefs to be given the results.

"He was told that inquiries about MPs had proved negative but security men had discovered an agent of the Soviet bloc Intelligence in a high position in the Labour Party machine in Transport

House."

But this was not the whole story. According to Pincher, "Brown had misinterpreted what the M15 chiefs had told him about the unproductive search for crypto-Communists, or had been deliberately misled."

**It was better for the Tories if people continued to believe Labour was riddled with "dangerous subversives"**

There was evidence, Pincher claims, but the Tory prime minister, Harold Macmillan, had forbidden any disclosure about MPs. It would be opening up a Pandora's box of unforeseen and potentially dangerous political repercussions. In any case, "Macmillan was astute enough to appreciate that it was better for the Tory Party if the public continued to believe that Labour was riddled with dangerous subversives."

M15 opposed taking action because they were unwilling to produce their evidence in public, as this, they claimed, would dangerously prejudice their sources.

So they, too, had the best of both worlds. They could continue to feed a propaganda campaign against the Labour Party, and especially the left, without being obliged to produce any hard evidence. Their material, which really amounted to elaborate smears, was always ably retailed by Pincher, the right-wing 'Daily Express', and other Tory papers.

Pincher's credibility rests on his close, not to say intimate, relationship with the intelligence services. But his evidence is no stronger than theirs, which is conveniently secret.

"Through my friendship with one of the girls who worked in the M15 registry in Curzon Street, where dossiers on some two million people are kept on file," claims Pincher, blandly admitting a blatant breach of the all-powerful Official Secrets Act, "I learned that more Labour MPs than Brown believed were officially suspected of being crypto-Communists.

Well, who are these "crypto-Communists"? "Regrettably, libel again restricts disclosure..." How convenient these otherwise irksome libel laws can sometimes be!

Nevertheless, Pincher persists with his allegations, which are periodically aired in the Tory press to try to damage the Labour Party. "Crypto-Communist", like the official definition of "subversive", is an all-embracing term which can be readily used against anyone fighting for a real change in society.

"As regards those crypto-Communists still sitting in Westminster," Pincher continues, "I can quote from a

George Brown [Now Lord George-Brown]. Who were the real "fraudulent socialists"?

1978 Intelligence report in my possession which states that "at least fifty-nine serving Labour MPs—19 per cent of the Parliamentary Labour Party—have current or recent connections with Communist, Trotskyist or other Marxist organisations. The incidence of such activities has increased enormously over the past five years." A list attached to this report names the MPs and gives details of their activities. It includes five ministers and four junior ministers."

**Wilson's campaign manager said Labour was penetrated by M15 agents**

Such allegations emanating from the intelligence services are not surprising. Their hostility to the labour movement is not in doubt. More serious are Pincher's comments on the security services' penetration of the Labour Party.

"The security surveillance of certain Labour MPs goes back long before the Gaitskell-Brown attempt to make it official. The late George Caunt, once Wilson's election campaign manager, told me that as part of this process the Labour Party was penetrated by M15 agents. Some of these were MPs and others were insinuated into Transport House. Caunt recalled that he was approached himself as a

possible contact by an official of Transport House who was already working for M15 in 1963..."

More specifically, Pincher goes on:

"I know of two Labour back-benchers who were on the payroll of M16, the Secret Intelligence Service, though there are probably more than that in the Parliamentary Tory Party. I have little doubt either that both major parties have been penetrated for many years by agents of the CIA. One of these, now dead, was a senior Cabinet minister in a Labour government..."

These revelations—just one chapter of a book full of information which has alarming implications for the labour movement—fully justify the decision of Labour's NEC to begin an enquiry into the activities of the secret intelligence services. Almost every week brings to light fresh evidence which underlines the urgency of a full and thorough investigation.

**The security services are the deadly enemies of the labour movement**

It is a scandal that former Labour leaders themselves approached the security services, which are among the most deadly enemies of the labour movement, to investigate members of the Labour Party. Even some of the

leadership, at least at one time, began to realise the danger posed by the secret service.

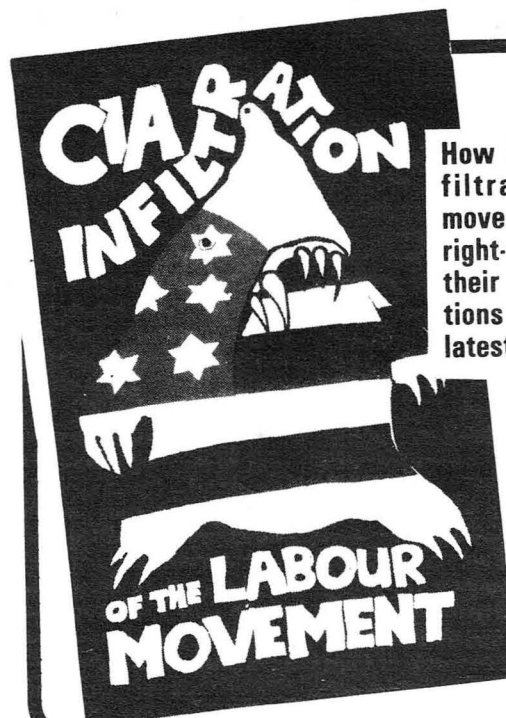
**British Intelligence faked the 'Zinoviev' letter**

Harold Wilson himself once raised (and then quickly dropped) the question of the dirty role played by the intelligence services. Shortly after his resignation, which still has not been fully explained, he urged two journalists to "Investigate the forces that are threatening democratic countries like Britain."

In 1924, British Intelligence agents faked the so-called "Zinoviev Letter" which was used to fuel the hysterical anti-Labour campaign which helped bring down the first Labour government. Nothing much has changed as far as the outlook and aims of the security services are concerned.

We may be certain that, as the industrial and political battles arising from the capitalist crisis intensify, they have plans, together with the police and the army, to intervene even more actively and ruthlessly to disrupt and ultimately destroy the labour movement.

That is why there must be a full investigation of the activities of British and foreign security services, and a campaign to warn the rank and file of the danger they pose.



**How has the American CIA infiltrated Western labour movements? Where do Labour's right-wing organisations get their secret funds? These questions are taken up by Militant's latest pamphlet (£1 post free).**

**Send cash with orders to World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.**



# SPIES IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Last week Tony Benn disclosed that the security forces had twice approached him years ago to work for them.

They were especially keen to recruit people active in the labour movement. And my experiences as a former researcher at the Labour Party headquarters, shows that that is still a vital aim.

Tony Benn's account comes in the foreword to the 'Review of Security and the State, 1980!' He tells of how he was first asked if he "would like a

By Jim  
Christie

job" by a Colonel, introduced to him by the headmaster of his old public school. The old boy network came into operation.

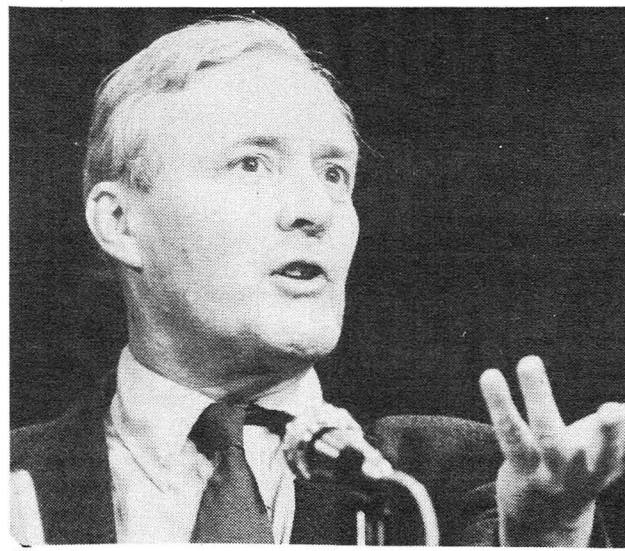
He was offered a salary of £1,000 (equivalent to nearer

£20,000 nowadays). When Tony Benn explained that he wanted to be a Labour MP, he was told: "Oh that is no problem. You could do both jobs."

Tony Benn refused the offer, but a few years later, after he had become an MP, the Colonel approached him again and "repeated his invitation to do some work for the Foreign Office and said if I wanted to know more about it I should ask a certain Labour MP, whom he named, who had served as a minister in the 1945-51 Labour Government. I thanked him courteously and declined again.

"It was many years later that I came across the name of the Colonel again in a newspaper story about the security services. I cannot help wondering how many other people in the Labour Party, in Parliament, in the trade unions or outside, were recruited on the same basis and are still on the government pay-roll, unknown to all the colleagues with whom they are still working."

When I began working at Labour Party headquarters in 1972, I was told by a senior Party official that if the Defence people wanted me to work for them "it was alright by him." No direct approach occurred, but I found myself invited to secret conclaves to



Tony Benn

discuss how to resist Tony Benn and the left-wing.

At the meetings were important Party personnel, including two current MPs, one a former Minister in the 1974-9 Government. References were made to substantial sums of money being available and private international conferences. But after a while I was no longer invited, presumably they had found out what my political views were.

The activities of the secret police against the labour movement go much wider than this. In his account Tony Benn reports how an ex-Lab-

our Prime Minister admitted to him that activists had their phones tapped and that kind of surveillance was redoubled during industrial disputes. He also told of how the military are brought in to advise Ministers on occasions such as the 1978-9 oil tankers dispute.

The power of the security forces is real enough. But it is wrong to suggest as Tony Benn has reportedly stated that "we are slithering into a pre-fascist situation" (M. Star 11, December). That is not the immediate future ahead. The labour movement is too strong, and a fascist

regime could only come about after a series of crushing defeats for the labour movement.

Labour governments have allowed the power of the secret police to go virtually unchallenged. By a hundred threads the tops of the security forces are linked to the industrialists, bankers, press barons and Civil Servants.

Tony Benn mildly states "the idea that Labour is an alien hostile force is deeply embedded in the minds of at least some top people in the civil and military establishment in Britain." These activities must be brought out into the light of day, and any moves to help bring this about must be supported.

But that is not enough. This secret surveillance of trade unionists and workers must end. What has the labour movement to gain from the activities of the military and police intelligence network?

They try to claim that they are acting against the Soviet Union. But in reality they operate against the labour movement in its struggle for socialism. It is insufficient to will for democratic control of their activities. The next Labour government should abolish all the different secret police organisations.

## How the Right-Wing policed the Party

Writing in the Labour Party magazine *New Socialist* Ian Mikardo gave a graphic account of what would happen if the right-wing in the party had their way and returned to the domination of the party they had in the 1950s.

Newspapers would be proscribed, expulsions return and party headquarters once again keep exhaustive MI5-style dossiers on left members in the party.

First in the firing line would be *Militant* supporters, but the Right would swiftly move on to attack all those on the left. To-day right-wing members of Labour's 'Solidarity'

organisation claim that the Bevanite left is 'legitimate'. Only Marxists are 'illegitimate'.

That was not their view in the 1950s when they tried to expel Bevan from the party. In his article, Mikardo tells what happened after the left won a majority of six to one in the Constituency party section representation to Labour's National Executive (NEC).

He recalls the NEC meetings: from 1951 onwards there was never a meeting without some violent attack against the Left...Michael's adjective for them was 'gruesome'.

Prominent in the witch-hunt against the Bevanite left were transport workers' leader Arthur Deakin and party leader Hugh Gaitskell. Mikardo explains how they operated by moving first against a left Tribuneite

paper *Socialist Outlook*: "The Deakin-Gaitskell tactic had a clear logic about it. The first step was to deny the left the right of free speech, as a preliminary to drumming them out of the party..."

"In 1954 there was a move to proscribe *Socialist Outlook* (how on earth do you proscribe a paper?) as a prelude to proscribing *Tribune*."

"When *Tribune* criticised Arthur Deakin for not supporting striking London dockers, the NEC asked the members of the editorial board—Jennie Lee, Michael Foot, and Bill Mallalieu—how could they reconcile their criticism of Deakin with membership of the party and then solemnly passed a vote of censure on the three of them."

But *Tribune* was considered to be more than just

a newspaper, it organised public meetings, called 'Tribune Brains Trusts.' Mikardo recalls that at an NEC meeting, after another brush with the leadership of the steel workers' union, "Harry Douglas said that the next logical thing to do was to 'examine' the Tribunes brains trusts."

"Edith Summerskill commented that that didn't go far enough: what was needed, she said, was a few expulsions. The logic, as I have said, was clear enough: having forbidden the Bevanites from meeting together, the next step was to gag them."

The right calculated they would have a majority to expel Bevan. Mikardo was in Israel to attend his daughter's wedding. She brought her wedding forward a day, Mikardo came back to London, and the

expulsion motion was just lost by 14 votes to 13.

But that did not stop right-wing control over the party machine. At that time, Mikardo relates: "No applicant for a job in Transport House or in regional offices had any chance of being appointed if suspected of being anywhere left of centre."

"A large part of the work of the national agent's department first under Len Williams and then even more under Sara Barker was devoted to compiling exhaustive MI5-style dossiers on all the prominent left members of the party."

"Those dossiers contained clips of our articles and speeches, and McCarthy-like guilt-by-associates. Some of this material was put together in Transport House, and a lot of it was

fed in by regional organisers."

Mikardo does not mention it, but some of those trained in this manner are still in positions of importance in the Labour Party organisation and are responsible for drawing up the information for the enquiry into *Militant*. Their methods of working can be gauged by Mikardo's report that: Ron Hayward told me (and others) that on the day he took office as national agent he found a four-drawer filing cabinet full of these dossiers, and he burned the lot of them."

If the right wing have their way the days of secret police dossiers, witch-hunts and expulsions will return. You don't have to be a prophet to forecast this—just see what happened before.



## The Inquisition Regime

By JO RICHARDSON MP

I remember the days of Will Lawther and Arthur Deakin, who sought to rule the Party by bullying tactics. The 'shut yer gob' attitude. However the CLPs struggled to make their voices heard, the Unions, the NEC and wider opinion was ignored.

The NEC at that time had a special inquiry sub-committee which integrated potential candidates if they were unknown, or if they were known to have deviated from the NEC line. I fought Monmouth in the General Elections of 1951 and 1955 and Hornchurch in 1959. Some time after that I was renominated to List B of Parliamentary Candidates by my party. My en-

dorsement by the NEC was vetoed by Hugh Gaitskell because he had seen a report in his local Hampstead paper that I had attacked his views as Leader of the Party at a local meeting organised by the Young Socialists, and the matter was referred to the Inquiry Committee.

I was summoned to a meeting without knowing what I was accused of. The late Bessie Braddock was in the chair, flanked by the late Sara Barker, then National Agent, and Ray Gunter. I seated myself and produced a notebook. The dialogue then went like this: Bessie: 'What are you doing with that?'

Me: 'Taking notes, of course.'

Bessie: 'That's not allowed.'

Me: 'But surely, since I've been summoned to meet the Inquiry Committee, I'm en-

titled to note what is said?'

Bessie: 'I'm ruling that you will take no notes. The only notetaking will be ours and will form the basis of our report on you to the NEC.'

Me: 'But I don't know why I'm here, and if you are reporting me to the NEC, and for some reason it's an adverse report, natural justice demands that I ought to have an accurate note of the proceedings.'

Bessie: 'I've told you. I forbid you to take notes.'

Me: 'In that case, I'm going.'

And I left.

Some months later, a further attempt was made by Ray Gunter to reconstitute the meeting. I was again told I couldn't take notes, and again I left.

Nothing further happened. I remained unendorsed for list B until Hugh Gaitskell died. I reapplied for

list B, and was endorsed without question.

Over the last few years, the NEC of the Party has been moving slowly towards a more democratic and less authoritarian structure. The growing voice of Labour Party members at local level in wanting a real say in their choice of Members of Parliament, the wider franchise in the election of the Leader of the Party, and the attitude of the NEC in wanting to retain members and to accommodate varying views in the Party, instead of looking for grounds to expel them if they deviate from the NEC's line has been a healthy and libertarian process.

I don't want to return to those authoritarian days. I hope no-one else does either.

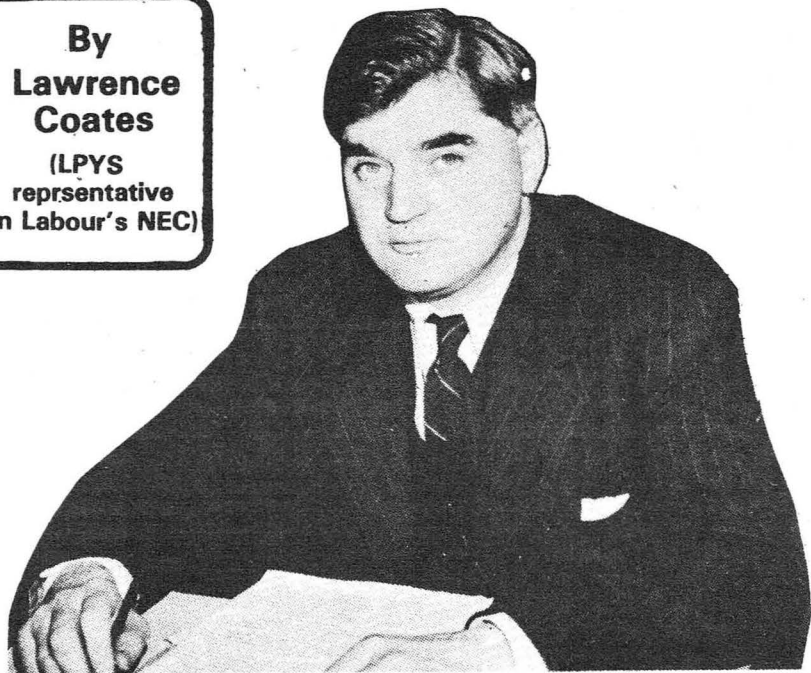


Hugh Gaitskell 1950s leader of the Labour Party



# When the Right Wing hou

By  
Lawrence  
Coates  
(LPYS  
representative  
on Labour's NEC)



**'Purges' against the left-wing are not new to the Labour Party. In 1939, for example, a previous witch-hunt culminated in the expulsion of leading left-wingers, Stafford Cripps and Aneurin Bevan, and in the disbanding of the National Advisory Committee of the Labour League of Youth.**

The moves and counter-moves in 1939 indicate some lessons for today's fight to thwart attempts by the Tory press and Labour's right wing to exclude Militant from the Labour Party.

The 1939 struggle is full of ironies. One of Bevan's supporters then was a young Party member called Michael Foot. One of the active members of the League of Youth majority—on the receiving end of the purge—was young Jim Mortimer, who is now taking over as General Secretary of the Labour Party. Cripps, of course, was MP for the same Bristol constituency now represented by another leading figure, Tony Benn.

Since 1931, when Labour's first Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, defected from Labour, a coalition government made up of Conservatives, National Liberals and a handful of Labour renegades, had been in office. Stafford Cripps, a prominent left-wing lawyer, had campaigned throughout 1937 and 1938 for Labour to abandon its support of the National Government's policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War.

Along with the mass of Labour's left-wing activists, Cripps correctly wanted Labour to give active support to the Spanish Republicans' struggle against Franco's armies.

In January 1939, Cripps—who was a member of the NEC, elected in the new Constituency Section—was expelled from the Labour Party on the grounds that he had circulated a Memorandum to local Labour Parties and affiliated organisations advocating support for the Popular Front.

In March, the NEC warned three other Labour MPs, including Aneurin Bevan, and a handful of candidates and other prominent

members, that they would face expulsion unless they withdrew from the Popular Front campaign. On March 15, Aneurin Bevan wrote to the National Agent, G.S. Middleton, defending the position which he and the others had taken:

**"The issue to which we desire to address ourselves and which is raised in your letter concerns the rights of members to advocate a policy to which the Executive is opposed. It is not enough to say that Conference has reached a decision.**

**The Executive has the duty to see that Conference decisions are implemented and certainly we do not seek to deter them from doing so. But individual members of the Party have the duty and privilege to attempt to change the decisions of the Conference, if they feel that circumstances call for such a change...**

**"What ways are open to members who wish to persuade the Party that such a change is needed? The declarations of the Executive are detailed and indeed almost universal in describing the limitations of Members. They are vague to the point of obscurity in describing what their liberties are.**

**"The reference in the resolution of the Executive to 'organised activity' is particularly difficult to understand. It was by the organised expression of minority opinion that the Party achieved its present position in the State.**

**It seems to us to be dangerously rigid to describe an organised effort to change Party policy as an**

**organised attack on the Party itself."**

The National Agent's reply was to send Bevan a formal list of charges which have a very contemporary sound to them. Bevan was accused of:

**"(a) The persistent pro-gagation by self-appointed Groups of programmes and policies diametrically opposed to those of the Labour Party.**

**"(b) The organisation of a widespread public campaign in association with and supported by political parties ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.**

**"(c) The use of personal wealth to communicate wholesale with affiliated organisations.**

**"(d) The creation of machinery with staffs and offices throughout the country for the purpose of undermining the integrity of the Party and the authority of the Annual Party Conference.**

**"(e) The persistent making of speeches and the writing of articles which are abusive of the Party, in principle and policy."**

Further letters were exchanged until, on March 27, Bevan was given an ultimatum; withdraw from the Popular Front agitation within 7 days or be expelled. On March 30, the National Agent wrote again to Bevan:

**"In the circumstances, as you have ceased to fulfil the qualifications of membership, you are, in accordance with the decision of the National Executive Committee, hereby excluded from the Party."**

The same NEC meeting which expelled Cripps in January 1939 also disbanded the Labour League of Youth National Advisory Committee. At the following Party Conference, Cripps' appeal against expulsion was lost and the League of Youth NAC's disbandment approved. One of the speakers in favour of disbandment was a young delegate from Leyton CLP named Reg Underhill.

Within a few years Bevan and Cripps were back in the Labour Party. Both, put particularly Bevan, are widely regarded, even today, as victims of a witch-hunt. No-one even remembers the names of the small-minded right wingers who kicked Bevan out.

**The move to the left inside the Labour Party over the last few years was given added impetus by the defeat of the Labour government in the 1979 General Election.**

Since then, successive Labour Party Conferences have shown a move to the left in terms of programme and policy, but also by a democratisation of the Party itself. The rank and file in the Constituencies is much more on the left now than was the case 3 or 4 years ago, and this was shown by the massive 83% vote for Tony Benn in the CLP section in the contest for the deputy leadership last year.

The right wing are unable to reply to these leftward moves by argument, debate and discussion so they have consequently resorted to organisational 'discipline' in order to stifle their opponents. Hence the attack upon *Militant* and the proposed re-introduction of bans and proscriptions.

But what applies today applied in exactly the same way in the early 1950's. The defeat of the Labour government in 1951 created a move to the left in the Constituency Labour Parties which was vigorously opposed by the right wing which, at that time, included almost all of the big trade unions.

For a number of years after the 1951 election defeat, the Labour Party was split by internal debates with the right wing attempting, in the same way that they do today, to stifle their opponents by organisational methods, — "discipline" and expulsions.

In March 1952, 57 left Labour MP's, led by Nye Bevan, voted against the Tory defence proposals when the Shadow Cabinet had merely proposed an abstention. That action, which would have been supported by the overwhelming majority of Labour Party members, was the occasion for the launch of a vitriolic campaign by the right wing against the Bevanites.

Given space to put his views in the newspaper *Tribune*, Arthur Deakin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, launched an attack upon the *Tribune* Group. Deakin condemned what he called "factions seeking to operate as a pressure group within the party". The same issue of *Tribune* carried a reply from the Editor, which could be quoted today against the right wing of the Labour Party launching their witch-hunt against *Militant*.

He wrote: **"The most deadly potential enemy of the Labour Party at this stage in its history is intolerance. Everyone knows that varying views prevail within the CLP's, within trade unions, within the PLP, among the leaders and rank and file. Such differences can be resolved by open debate. They can never be resolved by mechanical disciplines."**

In August of the same year, Dick Stokes, Labour MP for Ipswich, was quoted in the *News Chronicle* as condemning the

By John  
Pickard

Bevanites for being "a party within a party". The correspondent of the *News Chronicle* condemned the Bevanites for holding "regular meetings to decide their party line, quite independently of the official party meetings."

The campaign against the left gathered momentum in the press but it cut no ice with the majority of Labour activists. At the Morecambe Conference in 1952, the growing strength of the left was reflected in the election of six Bevanites to the National Executive Committee.

Two right-wingers, Herbert Morrison and Hugh Dalton, were removed, to be replaced by lefts Harold Wilson and Richard Crossman. Nye Bevan, as was usual at the time, easily topped the poll. Gaitskell, the champion of the right, ended up with only one third of Bevan's vote, and only half of the vote of Wilson and Crossman.

Gaitskell later gave an hysterical witch-hunting speech against the left. **"I was told by some well informed correspondents" he shouted "that about a sixth of the Constituency Party delegates appeared to be Communists or Communist-inspired. This figure may well be too high. But if it should be a tenth, or even a twentieth, it is a most shocking state of affairs to which the National Executive should give immediate attention."**

Although the right wing found no echo among the activists who made up the rank and file of the Constituency Labour Parties, as is the case today they completely dominated the Parliamentary Labour Party. Consequently, the PLP introduced its own witch-hunting motion into its standing orders in order to block the Bevanites.

The motion called for **"the immediate abandonment of all group organisations within the Party, other than those officially recognised."** The idea that some groups are 'beyond the pale,' and that other groups, be "officially recognised" has a familiar ring about it.

Michael Foot was one of those who heartily condemned the new regime of intolerance being introduced into the Parliamentary Labour Party and the attempt to introduce such a regime into the Party as a whole. In November, he wrote in *Tribune* that the Party was quickly becoming ruled by an "oligarchy"...

**"Minorities have the right to speak,"** wrote Michael Foot, **"to argue and to associate freely and even the right to become a majority."**

**"Make no mistake,"** he went on, **"if the rank and**

file of the Labour Party is to be made to bow down before an oligarchy, if the Conference of the Party is to become a meaningless charade, if the Party machine in Parliament is to become all-powerful so that it may suppress theoretical opinion or set at naught the opinions of the Constituencies, then democracy would be left with no answer to the totalitarians."

But despite the objections of the left, the right wing of the Party, supported of course by the Tory media, demanded an end to what they called "a Party within a Party." Morgan Phillips, the General Secretary, called for "privately organised factions" to be disbanded.

In his biography of Bevan, Michael Foot complained of the attitude of the Tory press towards Bevan and the *Tribune*. **"Almost every newspaper in the Kingdom attacked Bevan and Bevanism except *Tribune*—so when *Tribune* spoke, that must be suppressed too and the totalitarian unanimity established."**

He further commented, **"most of the newspapers, *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The News Chronicle*, clamoured all the more strenuously for the expulsions to proceed...all these journals never wearied in exerting the responsible leaders of the party to exorcise not only Bevan, but Bevanism."**

Unlike today, the trade unions of the 1950s were almost completely dominated by the right wing, and they also brought their pressure to bear upon the leadership of the Labour Party, urging that there be a witch-hunt, or at least restrictions placed upon the left wing.

A *Tribune* article criticising Lincoln Evans, General Secretary of the ISTC, for accepting a knighthood at a time when the Tories were preparing to de-nationalise the steel industry, led to the TUC demanding action against *Tribune*. The NEC of the Labour Party agreed to this initially and a proposal was put to investigate the *Tribune* Brains Trust, **"to see if they were a Party within a Party."**

At the NEC meeting where this was discussed, Edith Summerskill, was reported to demand that stronger measures were required, such as **"expelling those who are suspected of fellow travelling."** Gaitskell was reported (Crossman Diaries) to have told Crossman that expulsions had to take place, otherwise it **"would utterly destroy the morale of the right."**

Gaitskell also said that **"we must consider money, and many of our big backers were asking why we hadn't acted three years ago...Bevanism is and only is a conspiracy to seize the leadership for Aneurin Bevan. It is only a conspiracy because it has three essentials, a leader in Bevan, an organisation run by Mikardo, and a newspaper run by Foot."**

The following year, when the NEC banned the paper *Socialist Outlook*, there were hundreds of protests from the CLPs and Party branches and Foot con-



# nded Bevan

# then expelled him

## TRIBUNE

25 MARCH 1955

Editorial Board: Michael Foot, Jennie Lee and J. P. W. Mallalieu

DR. GARBETT  
by  
DR. SOPER  
See page 4

FOURPENCE

### Rank and file rebuff expellers

# KEEP LEFT—TO WIN

ALL OVER the country Labour workers are ready to go into action against the Tories. A general election in late May or June is virtually certain. Critical local elections take place earlier in May.

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party at its meeting this week could have given the best possible encouragement to those workers by announcing that the proposal to expel Aneurin Bevan from the party had been abandoned.

Instead, they have spoken in a muffled voice. The immediate demand for expulsion has been defeated. That is the great gain. But for the rest the decision is left in suspense, and the Labour movement is condemned to another week of anxiety while fresh discussions take place.

However, another week can show more clearly than ever what is the real issue at stake. The real issue is: will the National Executive take account of the overwhelmingly strong protest against expulsion among the rank and file? During the past two weeks the

protests throughout the constituency parties and from trade union branches have been widespread and instantaneous. Executives of powerful trade unions like the N.U.R. and the A.E.U. have stated their views in emphatic terms. The Gallup Poll showed how heavy was the opposition not only among active Labour workers but among the bulk of Labour voters. Floods of letters have poured in to Mr. Attlee and Transport House, not only from all over the country but from all over the world.

Few people surely can doubt that this wave of protest represents the passionately held feeling of those who make the success of the Labour Party possible in the constituencies. What is the power ranged against them?

The truth about the Right-wing move to get rid of Aneurin Bevan was stated in *Tribune* last week. It



NYE BEVAN

can be underlined by stating three simple facts:

1. When the Shadow Cabinet of the Parliamentary Party decided to withdraw the whip they clearly envisaged that this action would be followed by almost automatic expulsion.
2. Mr. Tom Williamson, general secretary of the N.U.G.M.W., issued a statement calling for the most ruthless action on the day before the Parliamentary Labour Party met.
3. A few days later, after the meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party and before the meeting of the National Executive, Mr. Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the T.G.W.U., demanded "a very clear lead" from Mr. Attlee.

In view of the pressure which Mr. Deakin had exerted on Mr. Attlee on previous occasions it can hardly be doubted what he meant by this language.

It is obviously these elements in the party which have provided the pressure behind the move towards expulsion. They have been narrowly defeated on the Executive and once again it seemed evident, as on the Parliamentary Committee, that Mr. Attlee himself opposed expulsion.

However, the Right-wing move is scotched, but not yet killed. It is more than ever necessary that the rank and file of the movement should declare its will in a manner no one can misunderstand.

#### Stay and fight

Meantime there is other business to be done. When the Shadow Cabinet recommended the withdrawal of the whip from Aneurin Bevan and the Parliamentary Party accepted the recommendation, a considerable number of Labour Party members all over the country sought to express their disgust or dismay by resignation from the party or by similar acts of despair.

That dangerous trend should be halted at once. *Tribune* appeals to all Socialists throughout the country to stay in the party, to fight the Right-wing move, and to be ready to use their energies to ensure the defeat of the Tories at the coming election.

The *Tribune* defends the left and campaigns against expulsions in the '50s. Unfortunately today however, *Tribune* MP's, albeit by a narrow margin (23 to 21) have in reality voted to back the NEC's decision to witch-hunt the Marxists from the Labour Party.

demned the NEC decision in *Tribune*. "The good name of the Labour Party," he wrote, "requires that this stupid, cowardly and totalitarian edict should be rescinded at the coming Labour Party conference and that the NEC should be instructed not to tamper further with the elementary principles of freedom."

But the most serious attempt to expel Bevan in the 1950s (he had already been expelled once in 1939—see previous issue of *Militant*) took place in 1955 after 62 MPs, including Bevan, abstained on a Labour party Commons amendment which had stated that there was a need to have nuclear weapons as a deterrent to aggression.

The Shadow Cabinet subsequently voted by 9 to 4 on the advocacy of, among others, Hugh Gaitskell and Jim Callaghan, to recom-

mend to the meeting the withdrawal of the whip from Bevan. The clear inference followed that once the matter was referred to the NEC he would have to be expelled from the Party altogether.

In the March/April issue of *New Socialist*, Ian Mikardo describes some of the NEC meetings of those days. "We had a solid phalanx of world-class haters. Jim Matthews, Bessie Braddock, Alice Bacon, Jean Mann, Alice Horan, with Edith Summer-skill as the undisputed Olympic gold medalist. From 1951 onwards there was never a meeting without some violent attack against the left."

As Ian Mikardo describes, it was only by an accident—Mikardo managed to get to an NEC meeting he expected to miss—that Bevan was saved from his

second expulsion in 15 years, by 14 votes to 13.

The Right failed in their attempt to expel Bevanism. But that did not stop them from organising campaigns, such as the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, aided and abetted by mysterious sources of funds, to remove clause 4 part 4 of the Labour Party Constitution and turn the party into a radical 'Liberal' Party.

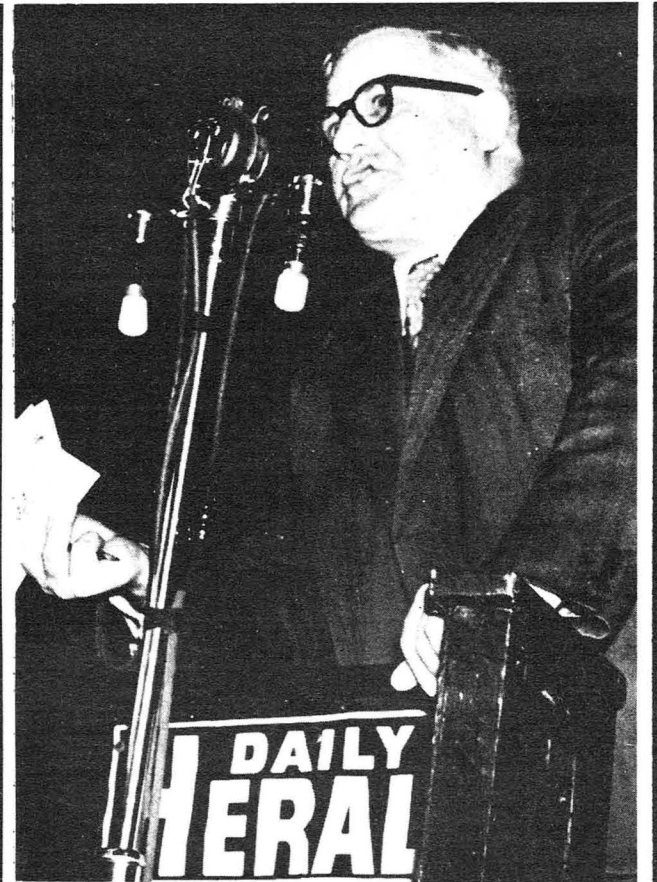
Having failed to expel all the socialist elements the right wing nevertheless continued to try to make the Labour Party a safe place for Liberals, careerists and place seekers of all kinds. The Right to this day have never agreed with or accepted the fundamental socialist clause in Labour's constitution.

In the November 22 issue of *Tribune*, in 1957, Michael Foot looked back

on the original witch-hunting resolution passed five years earlier by the Parliamentary Labour Party. "five years ago" he wrote, "the Party passed a stupid anti-libertarian, unconstitutional resolution forbidding unofficial groups."

Michael Foot could do a lot worse today than to look back over his own writings and the editorials in *Tribune*, in defence of the Bevanites and Party democracy in the 1950s.

All the arguments that Foot and others brought to bear at the that time, in defence of democratic rights in the Labour Party can and should be used today in defence of the right of *Militant* supporters to put forward their views inside the Labour Party. Totalitarianism in the party is no more justifiable today than it was then.



Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, was one of the most vehement opponents of Labour's left in the 1950s.

## "Ruthless NEC"

"That NEC (of the fifties) was almost monolithic and totally ruthless and it was aided by an information-gathering, dossier-compiling secret service in the national agent's department and the regional offices, and a trigger-happy Parliamentary Labour Party which would withdraw the Whip from a Member at the drop of a hat.

"They were all keen to ban the *Militant* equivalent of that time, and some wanted to ban *Tribune* at well, but they found that they couldn't do it. There was also an attempt to ban the *Tribune* Brains Trust, but they discovered they couldn't do that either."

—Ian Mikardo writing in *Tribune*, last week.

## Crosland demanded purge of left MP's

Susan Crosland, widow of former Labour right winger Anthony Crosland was present at the 'national rally' of Solidarity, on which we commented last week, along with supplies of her recently published biography of her late husband. She was selling copies to give the proceeds to Solidarity.

But her book will go down well in Solidarity, since it gives a fresh indication of how the right wing operated when they had control of the party in the late 1950s and 1960s.

After right-wing Labour leader Gaitskell had defeated a challenge to his leadership from Harold Wilson, Tony Crosland wrote to Gaitskell on 7 November 1960, advising him to expel 20 Labour MPs: "Every party must have its extremist wing...But our left is clearly too numerous..."

"To see what should be done, let us very crudely analyse the Wilson vote into its component parts. (a) 10-15 genuine pacifists... (b) 5 personal malcontents... (c) 20 hard-boiled extreme left...This is the crucial

group which must be expelled...(d) 30 'New Statesmen' or ex-ILP...Many of these are intolerable and neurotic people who will always oppose us, but who nevertheless belong to the party and (if we get rid of group c) would constitute a perfectly normal left wing...THE CRUCIAL TASK FOR THE NEXT YEAR IS TO ISOLATE THE EXTREME LEFT AND WIN BACK OR CONSOLIDATE THE LEFT CENTRE" (Capitals sic).

The book points out that Gaitskell won his battle: "His authority was restored. The Left-Centre of the PLP was won back, the extreme left entirely isolated. A handful of MPs had the Whip temporarily withdrawn, but there was no need for expulsions." (p108) One of the MPs who had the Whip withdrawn was Michael Foot, and now the right wing want him to use the method of expulsions to try to strengthen their weakening hold over the party.

**"The most deadly potential enemy of the Labour Party at this stage in its history is intolerance. Everyone knows that varying views prevail within the CLPs, within trade unions, within the PLP, among the leaders and rank and file. Such differences can be resolved by open debate. They can never be resolved by mechanical disciplines."**

—*Tribune* Editorial, 21 March 1952







# OF MILITANT

Goldwater page 2  
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 Call up page 8

## E TORIES

...t policies

Published in October 1964



The LPYS has been transformed into a large, overwhelmingly working class organisation.

## Marxist ideas gain ground

downfall of the hated Heath administration.

The working class movement primarily learns through experience. The lessons of the events surrounding the Labour administrations of 1964-70, together with the struggles under the Heath government were now being weighed up by activists throughout the labour movement.

It was those experiences which inevitably began to reflect themselves in the move to the left in the Labour Party, not 'infiltration' as is ludicrously claimed by Labour's right wing.

That Marxist ideas increasingly found an echo within the Labour Party was seen in the acceptance of Composite 32 moved by Shipley Constituency Labour Party at the 1972 conference, calling for an 'Enabling Bill to secure public ownership of the major monopolies,' and carried by 3,501,000 votes to 2,497,000.

It was this conference decision which later led to the demand for the nationalisation of the top 25 companies being raised by the NEC and the resulting dispute over the right of the Party leader to veto its inclusion in the election manifesto.

In the crucial 1974 election campaigns, the LPYS organised mass canvasses in many constituencies, resulting in the holding and capturing by Labour of seats in Parliament. 400 LPYS members, for example, went to assist Tony Benn's campaign in Bristol South East.

In this constituency alone, over 10,000 LPYS leaflets were distributed as part of a massive campaign. Similar work was done in Leicester, Garston, Birmingham Northfield, Govan and other constituencies.

It was reflected in a letter from Paul Rose, then MP, published in 'Militant' in

the aftermath of the second election in October 1974 in which he said, "not withstanding differences of viewpoint on some issues, may I pay tribute to your supporters who campaigned in my constituency, and who went to help in local marginals during the election itself. Their enthusiasm and dedication was the most refreshing thing I have experienced for many a year..."

### Labour's right-wing policies caused 1979 defeat

In the 1974 election campaigns however 'Militant' once again pointed to the necessity for Labour to struggle on a bold socialist programme. Before the election, in its issue of 15 February, *Militant* warned, "unless the next Labour government takes emergency powers to take the banks, the land, the monopolies into public ownership, under democratic workers' management, with compensation limited strictly to social security need, then we will face catastrophe."

The "tragedy" warned of by the Marxists became only too apparent in the aftermath of the second election in October 1974 when Labour was returned again with a small majority. Five years later Labour had entered the 1979 election campaign having slashed public expenditure by £8,000m, presided over a doubling in the level of unemployment and introduced a series of incomes policies which had drastically cut living standards.

In that sense as *Militant* commented afterwards Labour had once again "prepared the way for the return of the Tories". The coming to power of the Thatcher government clearly represented a new stage in the struggle in British socie-

ty. It is without doubt the most pernicious and savagely anti-working class government for decades.

However, economic crisis and attacks on the living standards and organisations of the working class is inevitably preparing the way for new social explosions. In this respect *Militant* has consistently warned of the threat posed to the rights and the organisations of the labour movement unless it is able to carry through a fundamental transformation of society.

In 1974 *The Times* and the ruling class discussed the possibility of a military coup. The prospect was not a serious one then due to the strength of the working class organisations.

However, the potential threat to the labour movement still remains. This was particularly drawn out in a review in the *Militant International Review* (Summer 1978) of a book by a leading Tory 'wet', Ian Gilmour, entitled 'Inside Right—a study of conservatism'.

Gilmour from the "moderate" wing makes the following observations on the issue of democracy: "Conservatives do not worship democracy, for them the majority rule is a device...similarly majorities do not always see where their best interests lie and act upon their understanding. For Conservatives, therefore, democracy is a means to an end and not an end in itself. In Dr Hayek's words democracy 'is not an ultimate or absolute value and must be judged by what it will achieve' and if it is leading to an end that is undesirable or is inconsistent with itself, then there is a theoretical case for ending it."

In that review *Militant* editor Peter Taaffe warned, "The labour movement in Britain can ignore the warnings contained in Ian Gilmour's book only at its

peril. A military dictatorship, backed up by fascist bands, is not on the agenda in the next period...but the organic crisis of British capitalism demands further attacks on the already reduced standards of the working class."

In answer to this threat *Militant* has consistently emphasised that with the strength and potential support of the labour movement, fighting on a socialist programme, it would be possible to stop any such attempt at reaction, and move peacefully to the socialist transformation of society.

In the light of the experience of the 1974-79 Labour government, the brutalised attacks on the living standards of the working class under the Thatcher administration, the labour movement has over the past period consistently moved to adopt more radical policies.

The ranks of the labour movement have also struggled to ensure that greater democratic control is exercised over the leadership. In this respect too *Militant* supporters have played an energetic part.

### Militant supporters fought hard for re-selection

It was *Militant* supporter Ray Apps who sat on the NEC working party on the issue of re-selection. Arising from his work a minority report was produced on the question and this made a significant impact on the whole re-selection debate.

Both in the Constituency Labour Parties but also in the trade unions (for example in USDAW) *Militant* supporters played an important role in gaining support for the election of the party leader by an electoral college, consisting of 40% for the trade unions, 30% for the CLPs and 30% for the PLP.

But the supporters of *Militant* have constantly emphasised the crucial necessity of linking the questions of democracy and accountability of Labour MPs and leaders, with the need for building a mass membership for Labour through campaigning for a bold and radical socialist policy.

Throughout these eighteen years *Militant* has argued its Marxist case. It has put forward its programme, not by personal denunciations or abuse of opponents, but by patient explanation, by facts, figures and argument. It has analysed developments in society nationally and internationally and charted a course to be adopted by the labour movement.

It has won increasing support. *Militant* supporters have been elected as councillors, LP officers and union leaders, selected as prospective parliamentary candidates—again, not on the basis of manoeuvre and intrigue, but by winning genuine support for the policy and programme of socialism.

It is as a result of the experience of the working class movement as well as its consistent programme and correct policy that *Militant* has increased its support. It would be wrong to exaggerate the support of this paper but it has greatly increased in importance and influence since its launch in October 1964.

By the same token it can be said with complete confidence that over the next decade support for *Militant* will go from strength to strength. During the next 600 issues the policies of Marxism will have achieved even greater support and no doubt in that period the paper will have expanded to a daily, as a reflection of further enormous changes in the labour movement in Britain.



the Heath government—seen against the Industrial Relations Marxism.

not win the battle over Clay Cross but it gave wide publicity and impetus to the issue inside the organised labour movement.

Throughout this whole period mass activity was conducted by all sections of the labour movement against the Tory government. 1971 saw one of the biggest labour movement demonstrations ever — 500,000 against the Industrial Relations Act. It was undoubtedly this combined extra-parliamentary activity, culminating in the tremendous miners' strike of 1974 which led to the



For the indisputable historical fact is that Marxism has, from the earliest days, always been openly accepted by the Party as one of many sources of inspiration within our movement along with—though much less influential than—Christian Socialism, Fabianism, Owenism, Trade Unionism, or even radical Liberalism.

The Party has of course consistently opposed the admission of those who belong to other parties calling themselves socialists, where these parties have put up candidates to oppose official Labour candidates in local or parliamentary elections.

This has automatically ruled out the admission of members of the Communist Party, which, in addition to its disqualification on these grounds, has for a long period condoned violations of human rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe under Stalin and others; and even supported the use of Soviet troops against Hungary and other independent countries in the past.

But never since the earliest days of the labour movement has Marxism itself been regarded as a disqualification for Party membership.

All that we require by way of political allegiance from Party members, or paid officials, is that they should accept the policy and programme of the Labour Party and thus commit themselves to advancing socialism through parliamentary democracy.

On January 4th 1934 the National Executive Committee passed a resolution which sets out our position very simply and this resolution applies equally today. It runs as follows:

"The Labour Party, as has been repeatedly made plain in official declarations, stands for parliamentary democracy. It is firmly opposed to individual or group dictatorships whether from the Left or the Right."

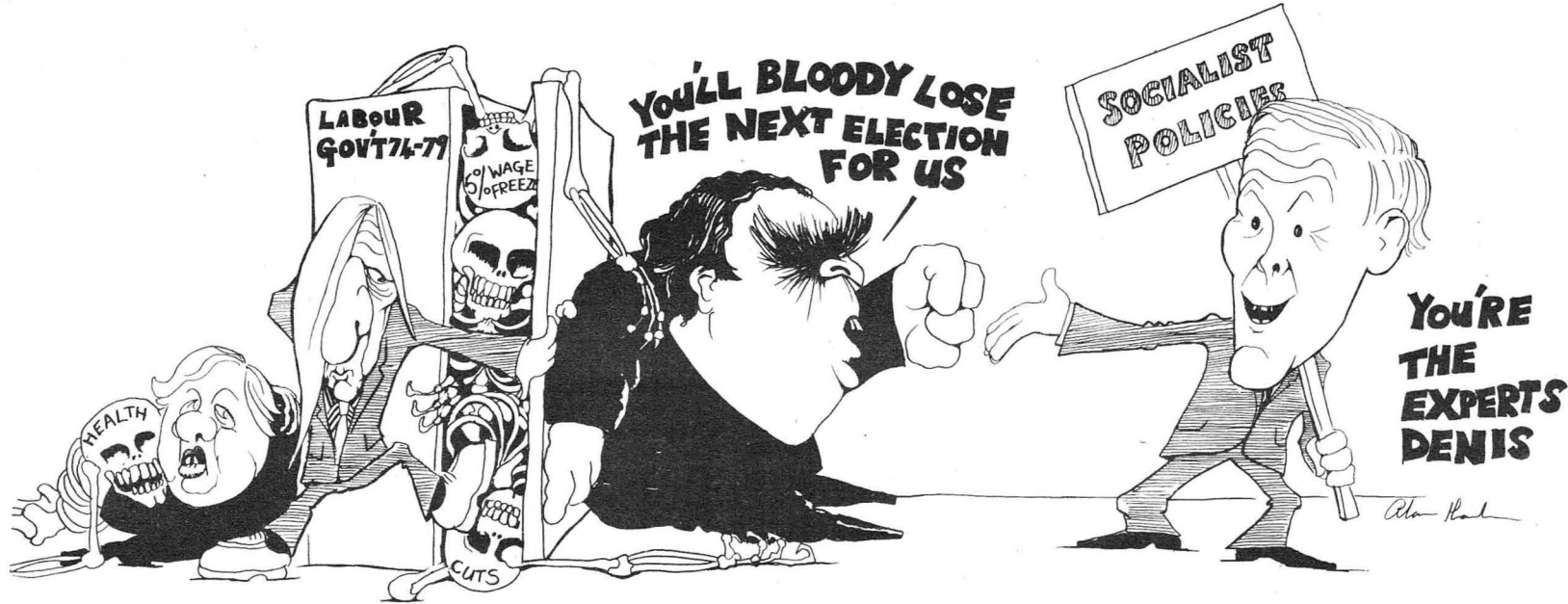
The influences that lead individuals to embrace democratic socialism has always been left to the individual conscience, and there are no inquisitions to root out Marxists any more than there are to root out Catholics, Atheists, or followers of Adam Smith, Sigmund Freud, Leon Trotsky or Milton Friedman.

The Labour Party has been, is, and always will be an extremely tolerant and undogmatic party, deriving much strength from its refusal to impose a rigid test of doctrine upon its members.

It is, however, important that we should restate the Labour Party's attitude to Marxism at a time when the Tory Party, and the Tory press, are campaigning hard to persuade the British people that the Labour Party is dominated by Marxists (which it is not), that Marxism and Communism are synonymous (which they are not), and that there is a dominant group growing up within the Labour Party which really believes in violent revolution and the suppression of democratic, and the introduction of a one-party state (which there is not).

Many other Conservative newspapers are running a campaign on similar lines and it is against this background that I invite my colleagues to look most carefully at the attitude that

# LABOUR'S MARXIST TRADITION



## Extracts from a speech by TONY BENN reprinted from *Militant* 7/1/77

the Labour Party has adopted towards Marxism over the years.

Perhaps the classic text is to be found in *The Labour Party in Perspective* written by Clem Attlee in 1935.

Attlee described the Marxist contribution to the Party in these words:

"The ideas which called the pioneers to the service of the socialist movement were very varied. They were not the followers of a single gospel of one prophet. They did not accept one revelation as inspired. It is this which distinguishes the British Socialist Movement from many of those on the Continent.

Predominantly, the parties on the Continent have been built on the writings of Karl Marx. Around his teachings the movement has grown. Different interpretations have been put upon his creed. In some countries other powerful influences have been at work and the characters of his apostles to which they belong have necessarily caused differences in the method pursued by particular parties, but they have this in common—that they were formed as definite socialist movements, inspired by the word revealed to Marx.

In Britain the history of the Movement has been entirely different. Widely diffused as his influence has been, the number of those who accepted Marxism as a creed has always been small. The number of those who have entered the socialist movement as a direct result of his teaching has been but a fraction of the whole.

One must seek the inspiration of the majority of British socialists in other directions."

"There were, however,

three organisations which have been the main contributors to the spread of socialist thought in this country and to the creation of a political socialist movement. All three have their own characteristics.

The first was the Social Democratic Federation. Founded by H M Hyndman, it was based definitely on the teachings of Karl Marx."

### Morrison— A revolutionary marxist line

In 1943 Harold Lasky wrote a pamphlet published by the New Fabian Research Bureau, under the title *Marx and Today*. In it, Harold Lasky, who was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Party and its Chairman two years later, identified himself as a Marxist.

"The view I am anxious to urge in this essay is the simple one that, in the light of the character of our age, the future of the British labour movement depends upon two things. It depends, first, upon our ability to recognise the bankruptcy of the traditional horror of principles by which it has been permeated: and granted the understanding of that bankruptcy, it depends, secondly, upon our willingness to adapt the essentials of the Marxist philosophy to the situation we occupy."

Lasky went on to write: "What do we mean today by a Marxist basis? Sixty years after Marx's death, it would be foolish to pretend that Marxism is a body of sacred formulas, the mere

incantation of which charms away our danger; Marx himself would have been the first to admit the immense addition to our knowledge since he wrote, the urgency of taking full account of what that new knowledge implies in the fullest perspective we can give it."

And later still in his pamphlet, Lasky wrote:

"The preservation of individuality, its extension, indeed, its stability to affirm its own essence, that is, I believe, the central aim of any ethic that Marxism can endorse."

Over the years a very large number of members of the Party, including some of our most distinguished leaders, have been drawn to socialism by study of Marx. I leave aside entirely those who have left the Communist Party in order to join the Labour Party.

But quite apart from those there are many other whose Marxism led them into the Labour Party.

Herbert Morrison was one of the most famous.

In the recent Biography of Herbert Morrison, written by Donoghue and Jones, Morrison's early experience and opinions were set out quite clearly:

"Morrison put a revolutionary Marxist line, liberally spiced with quotations from Marx, whose first volume of *Capital* he brought with him to the meetings. Indeed he took a *Capital* almost everywhere at this time..."

Thus Morrison's biographers describe his early radical days in 1908.

But they go on to tell how he became dissatisfied with the SDF as a vehicle to achieve his objectives, and continue:

"He first began to move away from it for tactical reasons. He wanted to affiliate to the Labour Party, so as to permeate it with Marxist ideas."

Thus Herbert Morrison was, to use the common parlance, an entryist—believing that Marxists should join the Labour Party in order to influence its policy. But like many others before him, and since, his views were later tempered by the experience of working within the mainstream of the movement.

Michael Foot, in his biography of Aneurin Bevan, also deals with Bevan's attitude to Marx in the following passage, in which he describes a dinner which he attended with Nye Bevan in Soho in 1952, held at a restaurant where Karl Marx had once found sanctuary:

"At the beginning of the proceedings we drank a toast to the great man's memory and there was no sign then—or at any other time, for that matter, in my knowledge of him—that Bevan wished to disown his debt to Marxism, so long, of course, as the doctrine was undogmatically interpreted."

Indeed, an interest in Marxism has by no means been confined to the present left of the Labour Party.

In a letter published in *Tribune* on March 15th 1940 Tony Crosland wrote as follows:

"We conceive the function of *Tribune* to be the expression in popular form, and to as large a public as possible, of the views of the left and Marxist wing of social democracy in this country."

"Its policy must be that of those who believe that

the present leadership of the Labour Party is not sufficiently socialist..."

The contribution made by Marx to social democracy is widely recognised and admired by those who would not wish to call themselves Marxists.

In a letter dated March 17th, 1972 written by Olaf Palme, then Prime Minister of Sweden, to Willy Brandt of Germany and Bruno Kreisky of Austria, published in book form entitled *Letters and Discussions* Olaf Palme had this to say:

"I have always found it difficult to understand why elitist thinkers and supporters of revolutionary violence, should regard themselves as the standard bearers of a Socialist and Marxist tradition which has its roots in Western Europe and in Western European humanism."

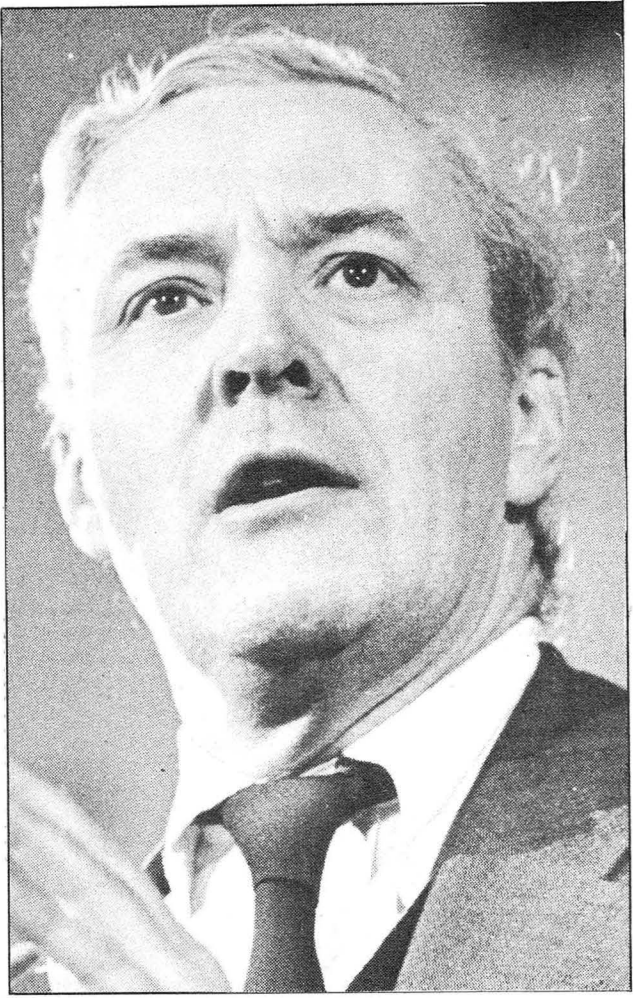
Indeed, though it should not be necessary to have to emphasise this, the role and contribution that Karl Marx has made has been widely recognised by those who would not call themselves socialists at all. For example, Professor Nathaniel Micklem, the distinguished Congregational preacher and former Principal of Mansfield College, in his book *A Religion for Agnostics* has this to say:

"Though he disguised his moral indignation under cover of scientific terminology, it was in response to the call of a higher and more lasting justice that Karl Marx repudiated the 'bourgeois' inequality of his day."

In considering the role of Marxism in the Labour Party, a very much wider view has to be taken.

For it is not only in the West that Marxism is seen as one of the main sources





Tony Benn

of democratic socialist philosophy Marxists have been amongst the sternest critics of the Soviet control in Eastern Europe.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968 the famous "Prague Spring" was inspired and led by men who declared themselves to be Marxists. For example in a lecture given by Ivan Svitak at the Charles University of Prague on May 3rd 1968, the following passage appeared:

Marx was not, is not, and will never be, the inventor and theoretician of totalitarian dictatorship that he appears today, when the original meaning of his work—true humanism—has been given a thoroughly Byzantine and Asian twist."

"Marx strove for a wider humanism than that of the bourgeois democracies that he knew, and for wider civil rights, not for the setting up of the dictatorship of one class and one political party."

"What is today thought to be the Marxist theory of state and Marxist social science is simply an ideological forgery, a false, contemporary conception, as wrong as the idea that the orbits of heavenly bodies are circular..."

"By contrast, the faithful, historical picture of the real Marx shows the scholar, the European, the democrat, the socialist, the tribune of the people, the humanist, the revolutionary, the internationalist, the giant personality and the messenger of freedom."

In a recent book published in Britain, called *A Marxist Looks at Jesus*, Professor Milan Machovec who organised a series of dialogues and seminars bringing Marxist theoreticians and Christian theologians together, has this to say about how he sees the development of Marxism in Eastern Europe:

"Marxism of the 20th Century can be truly faithful to itself only when it has the courage to open itself wholeheartedly to this fruitful dialogue, with the central problems of 3,000 years of Western tradition."

The Labour Party must be free to respond to that desire for dialogue.

It is perhaps against this background that we should now examine one of the comments made about Marx by Andy Bevan which was shown on BBC TV on October 19th—comments that we are being quoted in the campaign that is being mounted against him.

"We describe ourselves as Marxists, we proudly describe ourselves as Marxists, and what we mean by that is that we stand on the traditions of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, but not treating their ideas as dogma, you know, but as a method and a way of explaining events, of putting forward a programme that can really show the way forward for the Labour Party."

There is nothing in that statement that would differentiate Andy Bevan from Herbert Morrison when he gave his reasons for joining the Labour Party in 1908, or that would separate him from what Nye Bevan is said by Michael Foot to have regarded as the proper attitude towards Marxism, nor from those of any other of our leaders who have accepted the contribution of Marxism as part of the mainstream of democratic socialism and humanism.

The approach to Marxism contained in these quotations may help to explain why even those non-Marxists who, like myself, are not part of that tradition, firmly believe that we must preserve within our movement a place for those who are—in exactly the same way, and for exactly the same reasons, as we preserve other streams of thought.

To do otherwise would necessarily involve the establishment of some machinery for political interrogation, first to identify and then to expel or dismiss from the Party's service those who admitted to being influenced by Marx, or by Trotsky, or by Harold Lasky. An inquisition set up to root out such people would not stop there. Voices would be raised to carry it further.

# WITCH-HUNTERS CHARTER

## Why the report must be rejected

**The Militant Tendency Report produced by Ron Hayward and David Hughes for the NEC of the Labour Party must be rejected by the rank and file of the Party for what it is—a witch-hunters charter.**

This report, of a little over 3 pages in length, must rank as one of the flimsiest ever reports produced for the NEC. But the conclusions drawn by the report could have an enormous significance on the future developments inside the Labour Party.

The report accuses *Militant* supporters of breaking Clause II section 3 of the Labour Party Constitution, and thereby invites the right wing controlled NEC to expel *Militant* supporters.

The only evidence alluded to in the report is that *Militant* "does receive regular weekly contributions from some readers" including some through bankers orders direct into its accounts. This, of course, is public knowledge and has been commented upon even by the Editorial Board of *Militant* itself, just as it is public knowledge that the right wing *Solidarity* group canvasses for and receives donations and contributions, also through bankers orders, from its supporters.

The report recommends that the Labour Party set up "a Register of non-affiliated groups of members to be recognised and allowed to operate within the Party", making it quite clear, however, that "the *Militant Tendency* as presently constituted would not be eligible to be included on the proposed Register."

What does this recommendation mean? There are pious comments about party democracy, for example "we do not wish to curtail genuine discussion and debate by pressure groups within the party". Elsewhere, the Report states, "we fully support the sentiments contained in the Party leader's new year message 1982 against proscription lists, witch-hunts and expulsions."

But despite these comments, the report is a blueprint for purges and witch-hunts. The proposed Register of authorised groups is, in effect, a system of bans and proscriptions under another name.

Only one letter separates the witch-hunts of the 1950s from that proposed for the 1980s. An official proscribed list will be replaced by an official prescribed list. These new guidelines will mean that Clause II Part 3 of the Labour Party Constitution will be interpreted in the narrowest possible way, in order to stifle the campaigns and activities of the Left.

The report itself makes it clear that the General

Secretary and National Agent came under pressure from the right wing of the Party. "*Labour Solidarity Campaign of 62 Charles Lane, London NW8*," the report says, "submitted a great deal of documentation."

As has always been the case in the past, right wing groups inside the Labour Party will be tolerated. That is evident even by the fact that the NEC was charged to conduct an enquiry into *Militant*, and yet there has been no enquiry conducted into *Solidarity*, into the NATO-funded organisations inside the Labour Party, or into connections between Labour right wingers and publications known to be associated or funded by the CIA.

*Solidarity's* own publications make frequent reference to its own "members" and one recent *Solidarity* circular referred to the building up of "local organisations with a national delegate Conference in 1982." (See also, report on page 3)

There will be one set of rules for the Right and one for the Left. Left wing groups and campaigns inside the Labour Party will be vigorously policed.

In the March/April issue of *New Socialist*, Ian Mikardo described some of the policing activities of the National Agents Department in the 1950's. "A large part of the work of the National Agents Department, first under Len Williams and then even more under Sara Barker, was devoted to compiling exhaustive MI5-style dossiers on all the prominent left members of the Party."

Those dossiers contained clips of our articles and speeches and McCarthy-like guilt-by-association information on our relations,

Neil Kinnock, one of the NEC 'lefts' who voted for the enquiry into *Militant*



Ron Hayward, who as National Agent burned the files and dossiers on the lefts

friends and associates. Some of this material was put together in Transport House and a lot of it was fed in by the Regional Organisers."

Many of the Regional Organisers of the Labour Party today go back to the Gaitskellite witch-hunting period of the 1950's, and, should the recommendations of the report be implemented, the Regional organisers would be used once again to police the left of the Labour Party.

It is significant that the report states "we asked the parties' regional organisers to submit reports on the activities of the *Militant Tendency* and its supporters. These replies were taken into consideration in compiling this report." It would seem from this report that the regional organisers already have new dossiers on *Militant* supporters and left wing activists in the regions.

Despite the submissions of the regional organisers to the enquiry not one Regional Executive Committee was consulted by its regional organiser and not one Regional Executive Committee was asked by the enquiry to submit evidence. It is also clear that the opinions of the Regional Conferences themselves, a majority of which have now come out against witch-hunts, have not been taken into account.

If the recommendations of the report are carried through, all new pressure groups, campaigns, and ad hoc bodies within the Labour Party would be vigorously vetted. Those which are unregistered will be banned, their supporters risking expulsion or suspension from Party membership.

Those campaigns and bodies whose membership of the Register has been refused, will likewise have opened themselves to expulsion by having submitted lists of their supporters to the NEC.

The NEC's decision, according to the report, will be final. The recommendation does not even grant the final decision on the Registration of groups to the National Conference!

The net result of the *Militant Tendency Report* will be, as far as the right wing are concerned, a declaration of war on all left groups,

campaigns and newspapers inside the Labour Party.

"It is not only the adherents of *Militant* who threaten the traditional fabric of the Labour Party" said *The Times* Editorial, "and it is right that a proper structure of discipline should be established." The right wing of the Labour Party, like the leader writer of *The Times*, would like to see a totalitarian "discipline" introduced into the Labour Party.

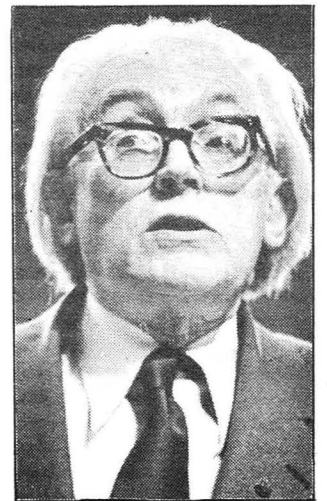
"*Militant* and other suspect organisations should be allowed to continue within the Party only if they so transform themselves that their activities do not conflict with Labour's basic purposes" (*The Times* 19 June 1982). The Fleet Street bosses' press and the right wing see most things eye-to-eye. For both, the report is the beginning of a purge of the Labour Party, of all the genuine socialist elements.

In his article in *New Socialist*, Ian Mikardo describes how Ron Hayward told him and others that on the day he took office as National Agent "he found a four-drawer filing cabinet full of these dossiers, and burned the lot of them." But despite this, this report, above Ron Hayward's signature is paving the way for the accumulation of new dossiers and files on left wing activists inside the Labour Party.

Labour Party members will not be impressed by the small print in this small document. The convoluted arguments about Clause II and the lame statements "against bans and proscriptions" will seem as nothing alongside the main principle of the report, which is that bans and proscriptions would come back.

No matter how the right wing and the Tory press try to present this Report, it will be seen by the rank and file of the trade union and labour movement as an attack on all militants, as an attempted purge of all the socialist elements, and a return to the hounding of the Bevanites of the 1930's and the 1950's. For that reason, the overwhelming majority of activists will reject it.

Michael Foot's own Ebbw Vale CLP has opposed expulsions





# LABOUR'S EXECUTIVE REPORT EDITOR REPLIES

For Labour's right wing, the 'Militant Tendency Report', to be considered by the National Executive today, is a warrant for the expulsion of Militant supporters from the Labour Party. By asserting that the Militant should be 'ineligible' for activity within the party, this, in effect, is what the document proposes.

The right, backed by the media, are screaming for the sentence against Militant to be executed. This is in marked contrast to their silence about, for instance, Robert Mellish's well-publicised support for Labour's Social Democratic enemies who put up against Labour in Bermondsey in the local elections. Why no action against such traitors?

And where were their indignant denunciations of James Callaghan and Roy Grantham, who, shortly before the local elections, did not rule out Labour coalition with SDP? What did they say about Bill Sirs praising Shirley Williams as "a bonny fighter"—only three days before she voted for Tebbit's anti-trade union Bill?

If this report is implemented by the NEC, it will be a blow not only against Militant, but against the whole of the left within the Labour Party.

The report calls for a return to the notorious old "proscribed list" of banned publications and groupings, which was used by the Gaitskellites as an instrument of thought-control within the party. Ironically, Michael Foot once stood alongside Aneurin Bevan as one of the most prominent victims of the right-wing's witch-hunting purges against the left.

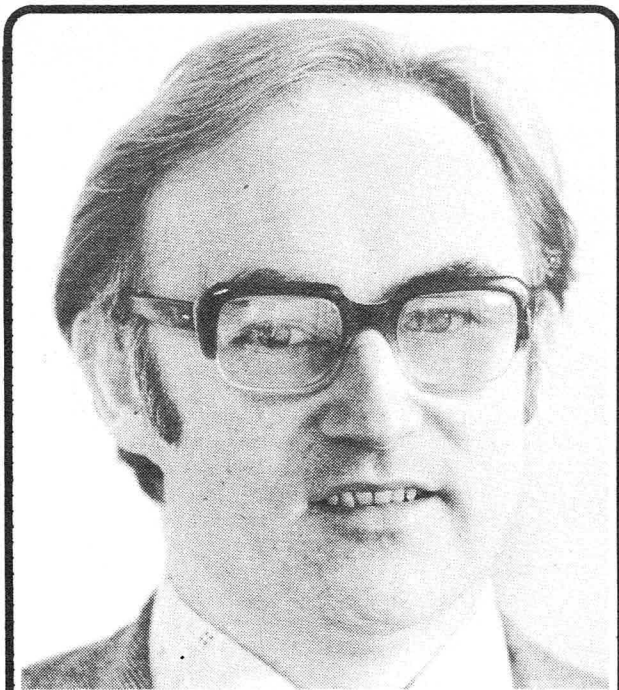
The present proposal, however, which is for a proscribed list, is even more dangerous than the old proscribed list. There would be a register of 'acceptable' groups. As we know from Tory attempts to shackle the trade unions, a register inevitably aims to create powers to interfere with, and police, democratic activity.

If this goes through, groups should exist only with the permission of the National Executive. Ineffective pressure groups would, no doubt, be tolerated: but the right would move to suppress any group which, like the Militant, gained effective support within the party.

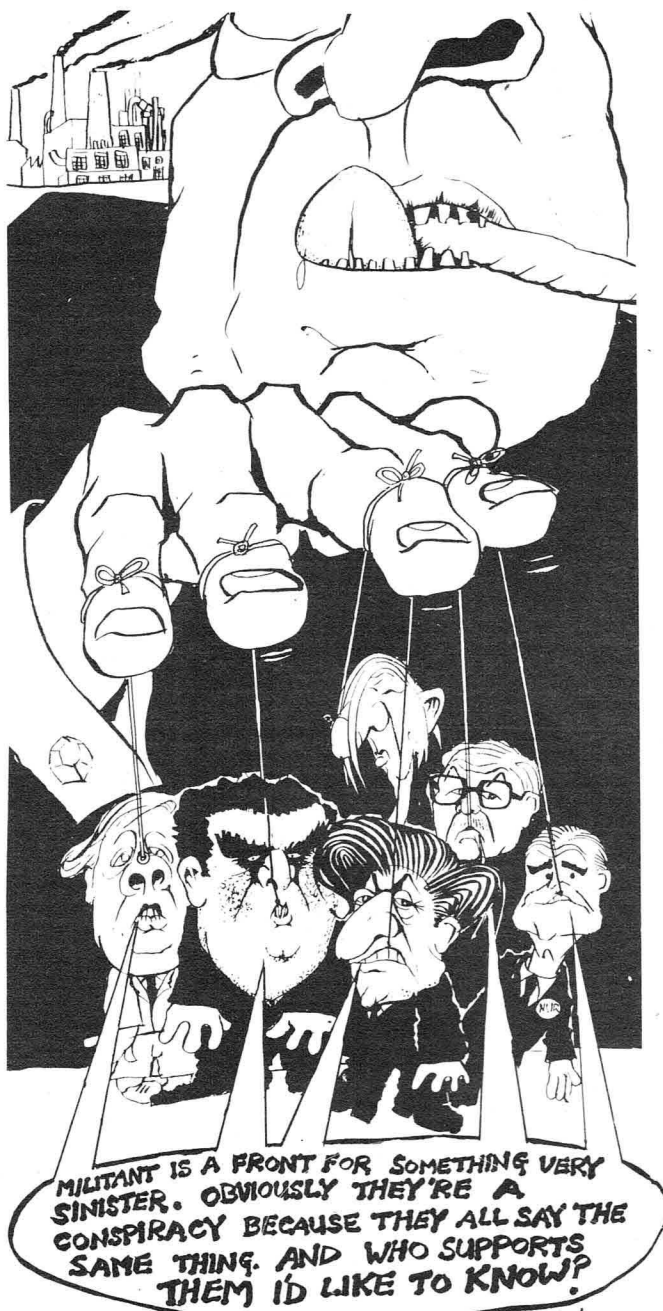
Recent experience leaves no doubt that any new rules, despite claims of even-handedness, would be operated according to a blatant double standard. No action is being proposed against Solidarity, the latest in a long line of right-wing organisations who hold conferences in secret.

Nor is action being proposed to investigate CIA penetration of the Labour Party.

Denis Healey for one has been associated with



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organisations like the Bilderberg Group and the Institute of Strategic Studies which, whether he knew it or not, was funded by the Ford Foundation, whose director was Shepherd Stone, formerly CIA deputy director, (responsible, among other things, for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba).

Also, the Labour and Trade Union Press Service, which is sponsored by a number of right-wing Labour MPs such as Roy Hattersley and Roy Mason, is financed to the tune of £6,000 a year by Nato.

Militant would be the first target of new bans and

expulsions. But if the right succeeded in taking measures against us, then they would move against all the other left groups, like the Labour Co-ordinating Committee, Tribune, Committee for Labour Party Democracy, etc.

Sidney Weighell's recent scandalous attack on Tony Benn when he accused him of "polluting" the Labour Party and challenged him to form "his own party", indicates how the right would move once they cleared the ground by expulsions of Militant supporters. Nor would Michael Foot's position be safe. As *The Times* Portrait of Michael Foot on

Friday made clear, the right would move to replace him as soon as they felt strong enough.

With Benn and Foot out of the way, the right would reverse the radical policies adopted by recent party conferences and reverse mandatory re-selection of MPs and the election of leader and deputy leader.

The right shouts loudly about Clause II(3) on party organisation, which, they claim, Militant infringes. But they do not support the call for the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, which should be the guiding principle of the party's policies.

The right have lost the debate in the party on programme and policies. Now they are spreading around the idea that Militant is an "electoral liability" for Labour. What is this but a crude attempt to find a scapegoat for the right-wing's own failures, whether in the last Labour government, when they began the cuts and monetarist policies extended by the Tories, or in recent election campaigns when they have utterly failed to campaign on the Party's radical policies? Instead of energetically fighting the SDP, right-wing Labour MPs, who in reality share the SDP's pro-capitalist policies, have treacherously advocated a Labour-SDP coalition after the next general election.

Moreover, in contrast with Labour's defeat in the local elections, including areas like Birmingham where the right have long dominated the party, Militant supporters who stood as Labour candidates in Merseyside made gains by inflicting a defeat on the Liberals.

If Militant's sales and income have increased significantly, it is because political support for our ideas has grown. Faced with the catastrophic, "irreversible" decline of British capitalism, which means unemployment and misery for millions, more and more workers are recognising that our rounded out socialist programme offers the only way out. We support all the decisions of Labour Party conference for reforms, but we believe this can only be carried out through the nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, with minimum compensation on the basis of need and with democratic workers' control and management of industry. This would provide the basis for a socialist plan of production. Then the 35-hour week, a £90 minimum wage, full employment, a massive expansion of housing, health and education, and all the other reforms promised by Labour could be implemented.

If the right succeeds at this stage in expelling some of Militant's supporters, that will not be an end to the matter by a long chalk. Any of us who are expelled will fight for reinstatement. We will take the battle to every corner of the Labour Movement.

## The Adolf Hitler Syndrome

"The opinion of the trade unions is that the Bevanite activities are a deliberate attempt to undermine the leadership in the same way as Hitler and the Communists did. There is no difference whatever between them."

William Lawther, right wing NUM leader, *Daily Telegraph*, 29th January 1953.

"Bevanism is a conspiracy to seize the leadership for Aneurin Bevan...it's got to be cleaned up. there are extraordinary parallels between Nye Bevan and Adolf Hitler. They are demagogues of exactly the same sort."

Hugh Gaitskell, from *Crossman Diaries*, March 1955.

Bevan's collaborator Stafford Cripps organised public meetings at which "a technique was adopted similar to that used by Hitler in a big way and Mosley in a much smaller way."

Hugh Dalton, right wing Labour Chancellor, *Memoirs 1931-45*.

"In fact *Militant* is the greatest threat to British democracy since Hitler."

Alan Williams, MP, Swansea West. *Daily Telegraph* 10 September 1981.



## FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH!

Right winger, Austin Mitchell, has never been a fan of rank and file re-selection of MPs or party democracy. "We (would) finish up with a clutch of Kamikaze candidates," he laments. But his real fears are clearly and cynically expressed in *Labour Weekly* (20 Nov 1981). Here he points to the growing difficulties of a careerist as the party becomes more democratic. "In the past individuals have been able to pursue their career interests only through the party. What furthered the one furthered the other. Now they have to choose between the two. Do they want a council seat, to become a minister and drive around in a black car? Then for the first time ever, the ambitious have to calculate where Labour can take them and whence the SDP."



**The Labour Party was originally founded to represent ordinary working people in Parliament.**

It was built out of the sweat and sacrifice of tens of thousands of workers. Men and women who were prepared to devote not only time and money but their lives to build up their party.

Yet today many Labour MPs who 'represent' us are largely from middle class professions: barristers, solicitors, lecturers, and the like. Figures from May 1979 indicate that the largest groups in the PLP were: top of the list, university lecturers (26), followed by teachers (24), ex-trade union officials (23), barristers (22) and journalists (18). Those from managerial/executive background numbered ten. By contrast there were 9 manual workers, 17 miners and 16 engineers. The rest were made up in the main of consultants, solicitors, accountants, economists, doctors, personnel managers, etc.

Throughout the 1950s and 60s many from a middle class background joined the Labour Party not to fight for socialism but to seek a lucrative parliamentary career for themselves. Many obtained leading positions which were used to feather their own nests at the expense of the movement.

With the move to the left in the constituency parties some of these 'Neanderthal men' of the right wing split from the party: Prentice, Taverne, Mayhew, Marsh, Stonehouse, Brown, etc. Since then a new batch has left for the SDP: Williams, Owen, Jenkins, etc, hoping to preserve their Parliamentary privileges and income.

The rank and file still feel that the majority of the PLP continues to be dominated with people of this sort. Their life styles are completely divorced from ordinary working people. Many have sought 'respectability' and 'responsibility'. In reality, ordinary Labour members believe many are Tories and Liberals who have infiltrated our movement.

We are not opposed to middle class people being Labour representatives as long as they put themselves on the standpoint of the working class. In practice, the PLP, representing a workers' organisation has been taken over by middle class people who reject the workers' standpoint and the struggle for socialism.

They rub shoulders with Tory ranks in the 'House' as if the struggle against Big Business, the Tories and their system is a game. Many are not serious and never have been about changing society.

Many hob-nob with those in 'high society', but always behind closed doors—not for the rank and file to see.

As was recently confirmed, "the Department of Trade investigation into the John Stonehouse group of companies, drew attention to the way individuals (MPs) were induced through dinners in splendid

By Rob Sewell

surroundings of the Palace of Westminster to become directors of those companies."

Many Labour Party members will be shocked by the incomes and interests that our MPs get. They will be astounded by the 'perks' and business-links that Labour representatives have built up for themselves. These extensive links in Parliament and Government are boasted about in company brochures.

**'Lloyd-Hughes Associates offer unrivalled links with and insights into the corridors of power', including development of contact 'at all levels, up to senior officials and Ministers'. They claim also to have 'master-minded' parliamentary campaigns: to have organised lunches and receptions attended by former Prime Ministers Wilson and Heath, and by the Queen's Principal Private Secretary and top civil servants; and to have inspired questions by MP's 'to obtain information for our clients or to help in presenting their case'. That company is not alone in making such claims.'** (*Listener*, 3/12/81).

Leaving this aside for the moment, the basic MP's salary is £14,510. Added to this is a subsistence allowance of £5,099. Their office and secretarial allowance comes to an additional £8,819. That's over £28,000 a year!

### Harold Wilson got £250,000 from Times Newspapers

But as has been revealed, many 'employ' their wives or they are supplied with American politics students free of charge to act as secretaries or researchers. Apart from subsidised meals, MP's also get a travel allowance of 20p per mile by car and 15 free journeys a year for their wives to visit Westminster.

This alone works out at about £550 per week! Not bad for a weeks work? No wonder the right wing are scared stiff about reselection!

By the way, the opposition leader gets a basic 'wage' of £26,572 plus allowances. At the same time a single pensioner 'lives' on £29.60 per week and no allowances.

On top of this parliamentary income, MP's can get enormous perks from articles, TV and radio appearances and memoirs! For example, Barbara Castle sold her memoirs to the *Sunday Times* for £30,000.

Richard Crossman was paid over £17,000 for his. But the star prize went to Sir Harold Wilson who got £250,000 from the *Times* newspapers for his revelations!

# WHY LABOUR MP'S SHOULD LIVE ON WORKERS' WAGES

Then there is the income derived from directorships and consultancies to big business firms. Jim Callaghan, for example, has not done too badly. Owner of a 200 acre Upper Clayhill farm in Sussex and a small modern flat in Kennington, he was a director of Julian Hodge's Commercial Bank of Wales in the early 1970's (as was the Speaker of the Commons, George Thomas).

This episode was related in a book, "Callaghan: The Road to Number Ten" by Christopher Hitchens:

"Hodge had, indeed, been a lifelong supporter of and donor to the Labour Party. But questions about his relationship with Callaghan were raised (though, it must be stressed, there is no evidence of any impropriety on either side) when it was recalled: that in his 1967 budget Callaghan relaxed the hire-purchase restrictions on three-wheeled cars, one of the chief manufacturers of which was Reliant Motors, a Hodge subsidiary; that Hodge took Callaghan to meetings of the International Monetary Fund as a guest after he had ceased to be Chancellor; and that in 1971 Callaghan had proposed to the Labour Party Conference a fund-raising idea involving a motor insurance scheme, which might well have enriched the party but would also have enriched the Hodge Group, whose insurance was the brand under offer.

Julian Hodge's business ethic was not to everybody's taste, though there was nothing illegal about it. Granada Television devoted an entire programme to his links with a 'pyramid selling' operation known as 'Holiday Magic'.

It was a combination of hard sell and easy lend, originating with an American company, but fuelled by money lent by the Hodge Group. The formula can be set down in a few words.

First, a door-to-door representative would call at selected households, offering the chance to break out of the trivial round and the common taks, into big money.

If the 'prospect' seemed to be agreeable to the idea, an independent finance agent or broker would follow up the 'prospect' to arrange the necessary loan (in the region of one thousand pounds) so that the lucky householder could pay the 'Holiday Magic' starting price.

In the majority of cases,



"...the regular weekly audience with the Queen are occasions to look forward to...Of her consideration and support for a Prime Minister (every Prime Minister), I can only speak with gratitude." Jim Callaghan, *Sunday Times* 7 February 1982.

the loan would be supplied by Julian Hodge's bank in Cardiff, and the security would take the form of a second mortgage on the applicant's own home. This was watertight enough from the Hodge point of view, in that default payment by the borrower would mean that the bank could sell his home.

The interest rates charged to borrowers were by no means paltry, but then neither was the original financial inducement. Many hundreds of families fell for it." (Pages 128-29).

In 1970 Hodge was knighted. At the end of 1973, pyramid selling was made illegal.

Between 1972-74 Callaghan served as director of the Italian International Bank, formed by four Italian Commercial banks to exploit the international money market. When he was director of Labour Party Properties, it obtained a loan of £100,000 from IIB.

The loan was repaid, plus £50,000 in interest. By the end of 1978, according to the Labour Party Report, Labour Party Properties had accumulated a debt of nearly £110,000! Callaghan still maintains an investment of a cool £5,000 in millionaire Hodge's Bank of Wales.

We would not suggest, of course, that there has been any impropriety but Labour Party members do have the right to know what business links leading Labour MPs have.

Many other Labour MP's have extensive business interests which have been recently revealed in detail in *The Business Background of MP's* by Andrew Roth. As it explained by using an ironic quote:

"Against this background, it is clear that the Commons is increasingly inhabited by people with economic connections of one sort or another. On 3 July 1965, when he (Callaghan) was Chancellor, he said of Conservative MPs who were fighting him over the Finance Bill, 'I do not think of them as "the Honourable Member for X or Y or Z." I look at them and say, "investment trusts", "capital speculators" or "that is the fellow who is the Stock Exchange man who makes a profit on gilt edge".'

I have almost forgotten their constituencies, but I shall never forget their interests. I wonder sometimes who they represent? The constituents or their own friends' particular interests?"

The labour movement is not interested in maintaining careerists in Parliament, who hob-nob with their Tory friends. The ranks of the Party want class fighters to represent them.

People who are prepared to constantly represent the interests of the working class and the struggle for socialism. We need people who are prepared to live at the same level as ordinary

working people and not become divorced from them.

When you are getting £500 a week and more, how can you really understand the hardships and misery of the low paid and the unemployed? To live on such an income inevitably means to live on a very much higher living standard.

Under these conditions, with the best will in the world, the struggle to change society is not a burning question, but something that can be put off as "impractical" at present.

All Labour MP's must live on the average pay of a skilled worker, plus genuine expenses vetted by the movement. The remainder of the income above this level should be donated back to the Labour Party.

This would wipe out the Labour Party's massive deficit in a few months and will put a stop to careerists seeking to 'represent' our people.

It would mean that honest, self sacrificing working people would come forward—not interested in the 'rewards'—to really represent our class in Parliament. Then the party would have real fighters for socialism in Parliament under the democratic check of the rank and file.



# RANK AND FILE OPPOSE PURGE

At one time or another over the course of the last twelve months, literally hundreds of meetings of the labour movement have expressed their outright opposition to the witch-hunt being initiated by Labour's right-wing.

## LONDON

London Labour Party Regional Executive (20-4), Newham North East Womens Section, Gascoigne Ward (Barking).

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Barking, Leyton, Romford, Newham North East, Newham North West, Ilford South, Islington South, Hampstead, Brentford Isleworth, Paddington, Hammersmith, Surbiton, Upminster, Peckham, Hackney Central, Streatham, Dulwich, Richmond, Hendon North, Brent South, Hackney South, Hayes Harlington, Brent East, Hackney North, Croydon NW, Dagenham, Bermondsey, Ravensbourne, Woolwich, Greenwich, Kingston, Lambeth Central, Wimbledon, Uxbridge, Acton, Norwood.

## EAST MIDLANDS

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Nottingham East, Nottingham North, Louth, Chesterfield (Varley's CLP), Leicester East, Leicester South, Lincoln Derby South, Nottingham West, Rushcliffe, Carlton, Bolsover, West Derbyshire, Beeston.

## SCOTLAND

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Rutherglen, Edinburgh East, Glasgow Central, Pentlands, Perth, West Stirlingshire, Edinburgh North, West Renfrewshire, Cathcart, Springburn, Govan, West Lothian, Provan, Bothwell, East Fife, Edinburgh Central, Edinburgh South, Garsgadden, Shettleston, Paisley, East Kilbride, Dumbaron Central, Dumbaron East, Edinburgh West, Leith, Midlothian, North Angus, South Angus. Edinburgh District Labour Party, Stirling Council Labour Group, Scottish Labour Party Conference, Stirling District Labour Party, Arbroath Ward LP, Lothian Regional LP EC, South Edinburgh LP.

## EASTERN REGION

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Harlow, South Herts (Brian Stanley's CLP), Basildon, Huntingdon, Braintree, Sudbury and Woodbridge, Watford, Hitchin & Letchworth, South East Essex, Brentwood & Ongar, Watford.

Eastern Region Labour Party Executive, Eastern Region Conference.

## SOUTH WEST REGION

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Totnes, Salisbury, Swindon, Torbay, Bristol West, Bristol North East, Bristol

South East, Kingswood, South Goucs., Westbury, Bath, Taunton.

South West Labour Party Conference.

## WEST MIDLANDS REGION

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Coventry South East, Perry Barr, Selly Oak, Stafford and Stone, Kidderminster, Coventry North West, Hereford, West Bromwich West (Boothroyd's CLP), Bromsgrove and Redditch, Erdington, Coventry South West, Ladywood.

West Midlands Regional Conference.

## NORTH WEST REGION

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Salford East, Bootle, Crosby, Garston, Walton, Toxteth, Wavertree, Hazel Grove, Kirkdale, Ashton-under-lyme, Blakely, Rochdale, Farnworth, Ardwick, Stockport South, Edgehill, Ellesmere Port, Salford West, Burnley, Middleton and Prestwich, Moss Side, Blackpool South, Stockport North, North Fylde, Blackpool North, Wallisey, St Helens, Preston, Lancaster, Wigan, Chorley, Blackburn, Edgehill, Ellesmere Port, Morcambe.

Liverpool District Labour Party, Liverpool City Council Labour Group, Manchester City Labour Party, North West Regional Executive.

## WALES

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Ebbw Vale (Foot's CLP), Rhondda, Cardigan, Caerphilly, Llanelli, Wrexham, Brecon and Radnor, Cardiff North, W Flint.

Llanelli Womens Council.

## NORTHERN

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Newcastle Central, Sunderland North, Sunderland South, Newcastle North, Teeside Redcar, Middlesborough Thornaby, Stockton, Darlington, Whitby, Blyth, Gateshead East, Kendal, Barrow, Wallsend.

## YORKSHIRE REGION

### CONSTITUENCIES:

Hull East, Sheffield Heeley, Leeds North West, Leeds South (Rees's CLP), Leeds North East, Leeds West, Peenistone, Sheffield Park (Mulley's CLP), Leeds South East, Hull Central, Wakefield, York, Pudsey, Bradford North, Bradford South, Bradford West, Shipley, Rother Valley, Huddersfield E, Brighouse and Spenb, Huddersfield W, Dearne Valley, Barnsley, Colne Valley, Bridlington.

Sheffield District Labour Party, Bradford District

Labour Party, Wyke Ward (Bradford).

## SOUTHERN REGION CONSTITUENCIES:

Portsmouth, Brighton Pavillion, Brighton Kemp-town, Havant and Waterloo, Thanet West (Ron Hayward's CLP), Eastleigh, Gosport, Ton-bridge and Malling (Frank Chapple's CLP), Arundel, Isle of Wight, Eastbourne, Hastings, Reading South, East Grinstead, Littlehampton Ward, Dover, Fareham, Canterbury, Gosport, Wokingham, Oxford, Newbury, West Dorset.

## TRADES COUNCILS

Deeside, Middlethian, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Bradford, Swansea, Havant and Waterloo, East Kilbride, Motherwell, Paisley, Cumbernauld, Basildon.

## SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEES

Hull docks, Redpath Degrot Oil Rig Construction, Knowsley NALGO, Tower Hamlets Health JSSC, International Harvester Bradford, Ford Bridgend, GEC Openshaw, Walton Hospital JSSC, Liverpool Corporation JSSC, Pendeltons JSSC, Priestman's SSC, St Mary's District JSSC (London), Paddington & N Kensington District Health Authority JSSC.

## TRADES UNIONS TGWU

General Executive, Swansea District, Hillingdon Council Branch, Manchester 6/514 Queens Road Bus Branch, 7/200, TGWU Mobil (Region 6), 6/612, 6/522, Region 6 Executive, 6/93, Suffolk Regional Conference NAAW (Now part of TGWU), Sussex District, T Lucas Branch, Alcoa Swansea, IMI Swansea, 3 M's Swansea, Fords Bridgend, Clapton Bus Garage, 4/112, 4/55, 7/17/157 (Glasgow), 9/236, 10/157, 1347 Brighton, 1/238 (Sent £10 donation).

## AUEW

Swansea District, Sheffield District, Brighton No 11, Glasgow District, Ecclesville No 1 (Bradford), Manchester North District, Clydebank DC, Ystalafera, Tass, Oxford, National Conference, Swansea No 1, Swansea No 4, Swansea No 6, Swansea No 10, Luton, Manchester N Shop Stewards Quarterly Meeting, Kirkby No 5, Ellesmere Port No 6, Ellesmere Port No 7, Ammanford, Harlow, Dundee District Committee, COU AUEW 25, Keresley, Leeds District Committee, North Staffs No 1 TASS, Birmingham Precious Metals Section TASS.

## FBU

Merseyside Committee, National Executive Committee, A Division Strathclyde, West Derby Fire Station, Ken Cameron General Secretary.

## NUM

South Wales Executive

and Conference, Scottish EC, Brynlliw Lodge (S Wales Area), Tower Lodge (S Wales), St Johns (S Wales), Cliff Hawleym, President N Derby NUM.

## ISTC

Teeside, Ravenscraig.

## POEU

Post Office Railway, Swansea, London North Central Internal.

## ASTMS

No 4 Division, Liverpool B&I Committee, Southampton Insurance, Southampton Branch, A199 Branch, Yorkshire Region (No 7 Division), Leeds University, East London Medical, Divisional Council 15 (East London), Hayes/Middlesex Branch, Hayes 627.

## UCATT

Uxbridge, Bradford

builders, UCATT National Conference, PGO 76, PO 235 St Helens.

## EEPTU

Bootle, Glasgow, Swansea, Waterloo Liverpool, Dundee Plumbers, Edinburgh Plumbers Lodge.

## GMWU

National Conference, Wandsworth, Liverpool No 5.

## UCW

London Overseas Telephone No 1, Garrick Branch Committee London, Farraday French Branch Committee London, Wood Street Branch Committee London.

## NUPE

Merseyside DC, Glasgow Royal Infirmary, Avon Social Services, Olwyn Davies (President, NUPE).

## USDW

Swansea Private Trades, London Metropolitan, National Conference, Manchester CWS Packing, Newcastle, Ashby (United Biscuits), Eastern Divisional Council, Eastern Divisional Conference, Hertford and Bedford Holding, Weetabix, Blackpool Woolworth, Liverpool Retail Org Goods, East Kent General, West Kent General, Northampton General, Ipswich General, Newcastle F180.

## BFAWU

National Conference, Terry O'Neill (President), Manchester DC.

*There are dozens more that cannot be included due to space.*

## LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE FIGHT THE TORIES, NOT THE SOCIALISTS

Sponsors include:

Wavertree CLP; Brighton Kemptown CLP; Bradford North CLP; Isle of Wight CLP; Coventry South East CLP; Bradford District LP; Bakery, Food and Allied Workers Union Executive; Labour Party Young Socialists National Committee and in personal capacity: Bob Wright (AUEW); Les Huckfield MP (NEC); Joan Maynard MP (Vice-Chair, Labour Party); Jo Richardson MP (NEC); Ernie Roberts MP; Ken Livingstone (GLC Leader); Kevin Roddy (CPSA President); and many others.

Already well over 200 CLPs along with hundreds of trade union branches, shop stewards' committees, and 11 trade union national conferences or National Executive Committees have opposed attempts at witch-hunts.

Unfortunately Labour's NEC has succumbed to the

red baiting of the Tory press in the recent period, by deciding to establish a register of all groups in the Labour Party, excluding Militant.

This is nothing short of a witch-hunt, an attempt to suppress socialist ideas and instigate a purge of the Labour Party. It is clear that this is not just an attack upon the 'Militant'. Should it succeed, all those campaigning for radical and socialist policies will be threatened.

If the labour movement is to be able to get on with the fight against the Tories and their SDP shadows, then this attempt at a McCarthyite purge must be defeated. The real voice of the labour movement must be heard.

Your CLP/LP branch/trade union branch/shop stewards' committee/LPYS branch/tenants' association, is invited to send delegates to a Conference called on 11 September in London.

Speakers at the conference, which is being convened to oppose the witch-hunt and launch a campaign to "Fight the Tories, not the Socialists", will include: Ken Livingstone (Leader of the GLC); Les Huckfield MP; Pat Wall (twice selected Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Bradford North); Terry O'Neill (President of the Bakers Union and Candidate for the NEC); Peter Taaffe (Editor of Militant) and other leading figures from the labour movement.

A massive conference of delegates representing hundreds of Labour Parties and hundreds of trade union bodies, coming two weeks before the Labour Party conference will serve as a clear warning to the right wing that Labour's ranks will not tolerate attempts to carry out purges.

Please send credentials for ..... delegates (maximum 5 per organisation) on behalf of ..... (name of organisation)

I enclose a cheque/PO for ..... (£1 for each credential)

My organisation agrees to become a sponsor of the conference ..... (tick if applicable)

We would like a speaker ..... (tick if applicable)

Name .....

Address .....

Return to Labour Movement Conference, c/o 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN



# OUR MONEY COMES FROM THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Throughout the campaign of the capitalist press and the television to whip up a witch-hunt against the *Militant* and its supporters in the Labour Party, the media has repeatedly implied, by one means and another, that *Militant* relies on sinister sources of finance.

In view of this, the *Militant* wants to make its financial position absolutely clear.

The sole source of *Militant's* finances, as we have repeatedly stated, is our readers and supporters in the labour movement. The *Militant* receives no money whatsoever from any sinister source, either in Britain or abroad.

Unlike the capitalist press, *Militant* has no revenue from commercial advertising and cannot rely on commercial wholesalers for its distribution. We rely entirely on activists within the labour movement to build up the paper's resources and full time staff, including journalists and distributors throughout

the country.

Money comes to *Militant* in three ways.

Firstly, *Militant* receives cash from the sales of the paper, the *Militant International Review*, and *Militant* pamphlets. This obvious "commercial" source of cash seems to have been completely "overlooked" by the capitalist press.

Secondly, *Militant* receives cash from contributions made to the *Militant* Fighting Fund. These come from individual readers, supporters, and well-wishers, together with organisations of the labour movement which from time to time make donations to the paper.

Money also comes to the Fighting Fund from the fund raising activities of our supporters. Full details of our Fighting Fund income are published weekly in the paper. Last year we raised £103,000. Previously we raised £94,000 in 1980, £80,000 in 1979, £66,000 in 1978, £47,000 in 1977 etc.

Thirdly, *Militant* has benefited from a series of loans amounting to £424,000 over 7 years from WIR Publications Ltd. to the Cambridge Heath Press Ltd., the paper's publisher and printer.

## Workers contribute pennies and pounds

The two separate companies, Cambridge Heath Press Ltd and WIR Publications Ltd., were set up on advice from lawyers and ac-

countants. This arrangement was considered to be in the best interests of the thousands of workers who contribute the pennies and pounds from their hard earned wages to further the cause of socialism.

WIR Publications Ltd., as its memorandum of associated states, exists "to aid and further the interests of the international working class..." and its income is derived solely from the donations of active members of the Labour Party and the trade unions who, in addition to occasional donations to the *Militant* Fighting Fund, are prepared to make regular contributions to develop the support for Marxist policies within the labour movement. The company acts as a "collecting box".

There is nothing at all sinister or mysterious about these financial arrangements.

There are people who have been digging in Companies House, where WIR Publications' accounts are properly deposited, who are inscrupulously trying to discredit *Militant* for political reasons. Having failed to find anything in the least discreditable, they have been scurrilously attempting to sow confusion and doubt in the minds of members of the labour movement.

They will not succeed! The overwhelming backing for *Militant* against the witch-hunting attempts of the capitalist press and Labour's right wing, together with the increasing financial support for the paper, testify to the growing support for the ideas and policies of *Militant* within the labour movement.

The 'Militant' newspaper stands for a united struggle against the Tories and the bosses. Unfortunately, the right wing in the labour movement prefers to attack fellow members rather than agree on a socialist programme for victory.

Labour's National Executive has embarked on what Denis Healey calls a 'Militant Hunt'. Our enemies aim to use organisational means to stop the movement to the left in the Party and the unions. 'Militant' has launched a massive campaign to ensure they do not succeed. Registers, bans and expulsions must be totally rejected.

**IT IS 'MILITANT' TODAY — EVERYONE ELSE TOMORROW!** Help us raise the money to finance the fight back. Help us win support in every Labour Party, trade union, shop stewards' committee and LP Young Socialists' branch. Pledge your support for the fight against a witch-hunt by giving a donation NOW!

### FIGHTING FUND DONATIONS

Cut out and send to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Enclosed is my donation of £..... to back 'Militant's' campaign against the witch-hunt.

Name .....

Address .....

# FOR A FIGHTING NEC



Ray Apps (above) and Pat Wall



Photos: MILITANT

Now more than ever the Labour Party needs a fighting NEC to campaign consistently for socialist policies and the defeat of the Thatcher government. Above all we need rank and file class fighters on the Executive that will not endorse or buckle to a witch-hunt. Unfortunately there have been some elected on a 'left ticket' in the past who have broken their mandate and supported a witch-hunt. Therefore we urge delegates to vote for PAT WALL and RAY APPS, who have proved over the years their consistency in the struggle for party democracy and socialism.

We are standing for election to the NEC and are seeking the support of your CLP.

We stand in support of socialist policies; to reaffirm the right of CLPs to select the candidates of their choice; and in total opposition to a witch-hunt in the Labour Party.

The need for a mass socialist Labour Party has never been greater. The lives of millions of workers and their families have been blitzed by mass unemployment and a calamitous fall in living standards. Now the Tories are sharpening their knives for an assault on the trade unions.

We stand for a concerted campaign around socialist policies to force an election and drive the Tories from office.

However, rather than conduct such a campaign against our enemies, the right wing of the Party seem intent on a witch-hunt

against the Left, particularly the supporters of *Militant*.

This would have disastrous consequences for Labour. It would split the party wide apart, wrecking any hopes for a united struggle around socialist policies—the only way to defeat the Tories and their Liberal/SDP shadows.

We believe that the resolutions passed at Annual Conference must be translated into reality. A 35-hour week with no reduction in pay; a guaranteed minimum wage; a massive increase in spending on health, housing and education—these must be the demands of a determined struggle by the whole labour movement. However, we must learn the lessons of previous Labour governments which attempted to introduce reforms whilst remaining within the confines of a decaying capitalist system.

At the insistence of those who really run society—the banks, the CBI and the monopolies—the reforms promised were abandoned.

To avoid the same pitfalls a future Labour government must break the grip of these parasites. That is why Clause IV part IV of our party constitution has immediate importance.

Only by taking over the 'commanding heights' of the economy, facilitating the drawing up of a socialist plan of production, will it be possible to implement and maintain such radical reforms.

We believe that the right of CLPs to select parliamentary candidates of their choice must be defended. There can be no 'second class' members of our party.

We firmly believe that the attack launched against the

supporters of *Militant* is just the first strike in a campaign against the whole left. It won't stop at that. Many on the right want to undo all the gains of recent years allowing greater democracy within the Labour Party. They would like to jettison the radical policies adopted by Annual Conference.

To defend these gains and fight any attempted witch-hunt, it is essential that NEC members who stand for building a fighting socialist Labour Party are elected.

It is with this view that we appeal for the support of all Constituency Labour Parties in the elections to the NEC.

**PAT WALL**  
(Shipleigh CLP)  
**RAY APPS**  
(Kempton CLP)

★ For a mass, democratic, socialist Labour Party to defeat the Tories!

★ For rank and file representation on the NEC!

★ For the right of CLP's to select the candidate of their choice!

★ Defeat the witch-hunt!



WITCH-HUNT  
SPECIAL

# Militant

20p

# WHAT WE STAND FOR

Once again the Militant is under attack. The Tories are attacking us. Every day the bosses' press and television attacks us. And right-wing Labour MPs are attacking us too!

Why? They want to blame the swing to the left in the Labour party and the trade unions on a "conspiratorial plot" on

By Peter  
Taaffe  
(Editor, Militant)

the part of the 'Militant'. But Labour activists and millions of workers are turning to socialist policies because of the crisis in society.

Three million are officially on the dole, over 4 million according to more realistic TUC calculations. The Thatcher government has ruthlessly cut workers' living standards and is destroying the "welfare state".

### Democratise the press and television

More and more Labour Party members and trade unionists are turning to 'Militant' because we are determined to fight the Tories and big business with bold socialist policies.

Despite all the attacks on 'Militant', however, the media hardly ever report what we stand for. They are terrified of the powerful echo our policies will get among millions of working people.

Militant stands for:  
● The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss in pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.

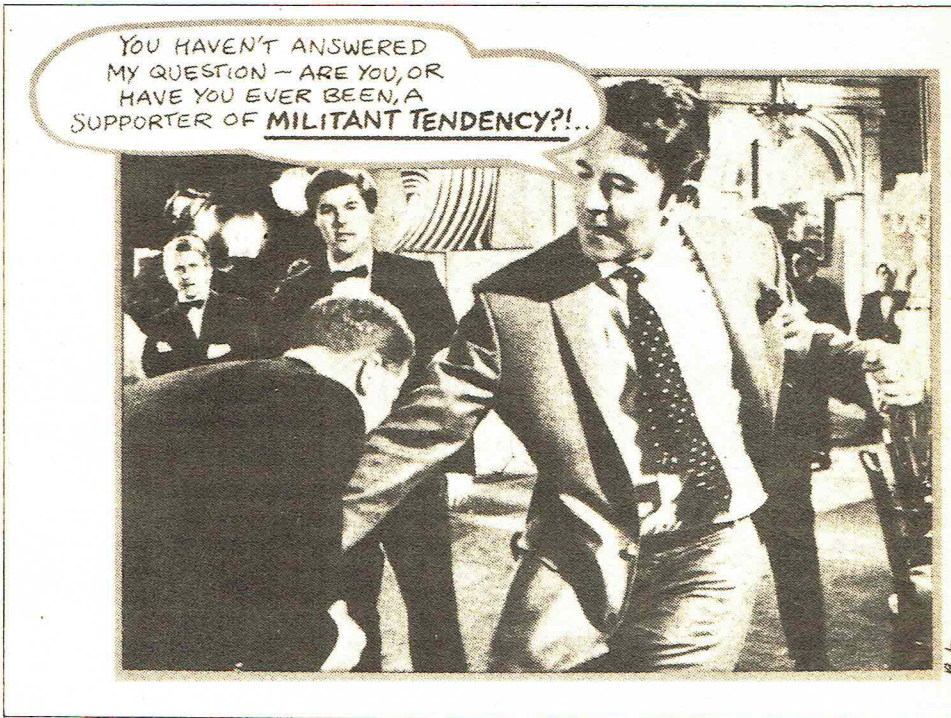
● Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.

● A minimum wage of £90 a week, including for the pensioners, the sick and disabled.

● Opposition to the Tory government's threatened anti-union law and the reversal of all attacks on the trade unions.

### Democratic workers' control and management

● Massive cuts in arms spending, now running at £12,500 million a year. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally



McCarthyism re-visited! These new postcards by Ray Lowry have been produced by Leeds Postcards, available from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Price: 10p each (+ 15p p&tp)

can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

● Workers' management of the nationalised industries. These should be run on the basis of one third of the places on the management board coming from the unions in the industry, one third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole and one third from the government.

### A socialist plan of production

● Total opposition to the dictatorship of the Fleet Street press who pour out their poison daily against the labour movement. We propose that a Labour government should nationalise the newspaper printing plant facilities, with access to these facilities being given to political parties in proportion to their votes at elections.

● Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80% to 85% of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.

● A socialist plan of production, democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop stewards, housewives and small businessmen.

● Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a Socialist United States of Europe as a step towards a World Socialist Federation.

ed for by the Labour Party and the trade unions they would win overwhelming support.

Mobilisation of the labour movement on these policies would bring down the Tory government and return a Labour government committed to the implementation of a thorough-going socialist programme in the interests of working people.

## Militant

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### What we stand for

### WHAT WE STAND FOR

The attacks against 'Militant' rarely mention our policies. Find out what the media and right wing are so scared of. Only 30p (post free) from Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.