

## Fabian Journalist Sets Up Callaghan For Fall

*In a 4000-word article published this week by the British weekly New Statesman — which was founded by Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb — former Statesman editor Paul Johnson announced his resignation from the British Labour Party after 24 years of membership. The significance of the article, (excerpted below) which has commanded the attention of major U.S. and continental press as well as being reprinted almost in full by several right-wing British newspapers, lies in its scathing denunciation of the Labour Party's drift toward Mussolini-style corporatism under the leadership of Prime Minister James Callaghan. The systematic attack on the "conspiracy of defeatists" and union bosses who have reduced the Labour Party to a "mere faction, with office as its sole aim" is being used as a means of cutting Callaghan off from the political base in the trade union and industrial sector which he has been building as a means to achieve a constructive economic policy.*

*Although Johnson raises valid points in the article about the Labour Party's reluctance to squarely attack the issue of "left-wing" violence, his own background belies his concern. According to a profile in the Sunday Observer, Johnson is continuing the trend of so-called "disaffected intellectuals" who have left the Labour Party or the British political scene — a trend which started with chief terrorist controller and former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. Furthermore, Johnson was a staunch admirer of Second International agent Pierre Mendes France and in 1968 he left his editor's desk at the New Statesman and turned up on the barricades during the Paris events, lauding the virtues of terrorist Daniel Cohn-Bendit for the benefit of British audiences.*

*Below are excerpts from Johnson's article:*

When did it all begin to go wrong? I caught the first whiff of disaster in the spring of 1969, when the Wilson government and (as later events showed) Wilson himself, were broken on the wheel of trade union power.... It was no accident that the conspiracy was led by Jim Callaghan...

The unions had been given the 'closed shop' as part of the surrender. For me this was the turning-point in my loyalty to the party. For whatever the private reservations of certain cabinet ministers and backbenchers — and some of them, I know, hate it as much as I do myself — they united without public dissent to legalise the closed shop. It became the Mark of Cain, blazed on the party's forehead. It was what the party now stood for: the right of union bureaucrats and bullyboys to coerce individuals into collective conformity, as a prelude to further erosions of human freedom.... there can be no doubt about the closed shop.... It hands over the individual to the mercy of the kangaroo court and the menace of the militant shop-floor mob.... Moreover, the closed shop opened the road to the corporate state, in a peculiarly British version which proceeds by imperceptible gradations rather than a sudden *coup d'etat*. With the handover from Wilson to Callaghan, the tone, the attitudes and language of the party began to change....

For the party has taken over the collectivist philosophy of the union bosses. In one of his TV broadcasts, Callaghan let slip the phrase (if my memory serves) 'each one of you in your unions'. This is the corporatist vernacular.... This was what Mussolini believed, taking his example from the compulsory corporations of imperial Rome in its decadence; and, in turn, Hitler and Franco and the score or more communist despots who, today, hold down a third of the world in corporatist societies.

We see the corporatist drift in the manifest preference of Callaghan, Healey and their colleagues for determining policy not in the arena of Parliament which with all its limitations still reflects the political individualism of the ballot box, but in secret and unrecorded talks with union leaders, and sometimes with the capitalist bosses....

Corporatism is carrying Labour into strange and chilly waters....

Of course you cannot crush individuals without destroying creativity too. Labour is now the anti-creative party....

How has Labour thus succeeded in alienating the creative and constructive, the talented and wealth-producers? Why has it become a repository of destructive envy and militant failure, a party of green-eyed monsters? The answer is that Labour has starved itself of intellectual nourishment and the stimulus of debate... Reading *The First Fabians*, recently published by Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie, I am reminded of the astonishing breadth of the intellectual debate amidst which Labour was born, the rich variety of the contending views, and the atmosphere of high moral seriousness in which they were put forth....

Battered by Marxists from below and the trade union bosses above, the slender structure of reason which Labour once possessed has collapsed in ruins....

Where, then, does a Labour government, representing this captured movement, stand? Of course it does not stand anywhere at all. It compromises. It meets violence half way. It tries to rationalise and legitimise force. It lets it be known that to invoke the law against the unions would be more trouble than it is worth.... The growth of a fascist Left, led by increasingly professional street-fighters, fills ministers with fear and indecision.... Ministers cannot advocate the stringent measures necessary to subdue left-wing violence without making powerful enemies and risking their constituency nominations. So they are silent.... So it is an axiom of governmental policy that if trades unionists use violence ministers simply avert their gaze; or, indeed, give it moral support by ostentatiously joining the pickets, to curry favour with the extremists...

But violence is an evil continuum which begins with the inflammatory verbal pursuit of class war, continues with Grunwick and the lawless use of union power, progress to the knives, clubs and acid-bombs of Lewisham and Ladywood, and then — as we may well fear — rapidly accelerates into full-blooded terrorism,

with firearms, explosives and an utter contempt for human life. This is where the Labour Party is heading. It has already embraced corporatism, which ultimately must mean the end of parliamentary democracy. But corporatism *plus* violence is infinitely worse. It is fascism; left-wing fascism maybe, marxist-fascism if

you like, but still fascism all the same....

...in a system of belief where conscience is collectivised, there is no dependable barrier along the highway which ultimately may lead to Auschwitz and Gulag. I do not intend to travel even one miserable inch along that fearful road.