

Force the Tories to resign! Jobless tops 600,000 mark

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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This represents a sharp increase on July of 1,405. The total rate there is 7.5 per cent as against 7.2 per cent in July. Feather and the trade union leaders will make all sorts of noises about the need for expansion of the economy, but these can only disarm the trade union movement.

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Warning

These figures are an urgent warning to the working class. The Tory government and the capitalist system have nothing to offer except unemployment, rising cost of living and attacks on wages and the unions.

The battle for jobs — for the ownership and control of the economy — to ensure even the necessities of life for a whole section of the working class, and, soon, for the whole class, is now on.

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Break relations

But the Tories can be brought down by mass action and a struggle for socialist policies.

The unions must break all relations with the Tory government.

Fight unemployment with socialist nationalization without compensation and under workers' control!

Step up the wages offensive!

Force the Tory government to resign!

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

DON'T MISS this weekend's Trotsky Memorial Supplement, with the first full-colour picture (8 x 10 ins) ever printed by the Trotskyist movement — on one of the most modern web-offset presses in Britain.

Don't miss this superlative tribute to one of the world's greatest Marxist theoreticians and co-leader, with Lenin, of the world's first Socialist Revolution.

Order your copy from our circulation department (01-720 2000) now!

New glass row flares

OFFICIALS of the General and Municipal Workers' Union appear to have acted yet again to hamper the fight of Pilkington's sacked glass workers.

At a meeting on Wednesday between G&MWU stewards from St Helens and dock stewards, a Pilkington plant convenor is said to have promised that if sacked workers came to the factory yesterday he would ensure their re-employment with a view to reinstatement in 4-6 weeks' time.

The convenor involved did not appear to meet the sacked men at the time arranged, but instead summoned rank-and-file leaders into the factory to tell them the management had completely refused their re-employment, though further talks were being held.

Pilkington rank- and file leaders yesterday renewed their call to the dockers to 'black' the company's goods.

In a leaflet, they refuted company claims that the sacked men had been reinstated, pointed out that militants had been blacklisted throughout the area and accused Pilkington's of 'issuing a tissue of lies' in a desperate effort to get the ban lifted.

Wednesday's meeting between dock and G&MWU stewards has angered rank-and-file Pilkington leaders.

Committeeman John Riley told Workers Press he was in Liverpool on Wednesday and learnt about the meeting from dockers.

I went along expecting to find men from the Glass and General (breakaway) union, but I only found G&M and T&G stewards. How they got together I don't know.

See this page, col. 6

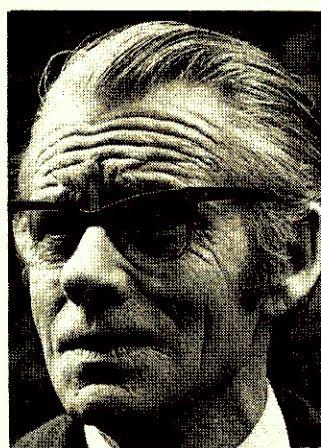
All Trades Unions
Alliance Conference
MINERS
Sunday, September 6
Danum Hotel
High St
DONCASTER

FOR FURTHER DETAILS
WRITE TO: T. PARSONS,
61 DERWENT DRIVE,
FERRY FRYSTON, NR
CASTLEFORD, YORKSHIRE.

A hard winter ...



Mrs Smith



Mr Francis Smith

WITH YET another increase announced yesterday in the unemployment figures, it looks like a rough winter period ahead for workers on the 'dole'.

Workers Press paid a visit to Brixton Employment Exchange yesterday to find out exactly what workers are thinking about the threat of mass unemployment and the Tories.

Francis Smith, who lost his last job almost three years ago because of ill-health, told us: 'Even though I have been cleared by the doctor for four months now they don't seem to worry or do anything for me.'

'I don't think it is getting better. So many small companies are closing down and making people redundant.'

Asked if he had been offered any job he said, 'I went for a job as a bank messenger but at 57 I was too old for it.'

Young people at school have found it so much harder this year to get holiday jobs.

Roy Cornwall, a film student, had been trying to find one for a month. 'The only job I have been offered,' he said, 'is a clerical one, but I have to wait a month for it.'

'It is going to get very rough. So many people are being laid off. The bosses are just interested in profit. The system is not inclined towards helping people anyway.'

Roy is faced with the same problem even after he completes his studies: 'I haven't a chance of entering the film industry. So many union members are unemployed now because of the studios closing down.'

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us. He illustrated this with his own example:

'I haven't been offered a job with a wage of £15 before tax and no overtime.'

Mrs Smith, no relation to the interviewee above, whose husband has been unemployed for six months, told us: 'My husband was a cleaner before and it is very difficult to get jobs especially if you are unskilled.'

Redundancies through factory closures are one of the main sources of unemployment. Mr Johnson lost his job as a machine operator two months ago because the firm moved elsewhere in the country.

'There was no union there and I did not get any redundancy money,' he said. Talking about the rising cost of living he commented, 'I have got two children and I get about £10 benefit which hardly pays the rent. We haven't had any holidays this year and I don't think we will.'

Kremlin jeeps patrol Prague

ARMY JEEPS patrolled the streets of Prague throughout yesterday, the second anniversary of the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Armed police were on duty in every main street, on the look-out for any demonstrations or protests against the Soviet occupation.

A well-organized leaflet campaign in Prague has called for a boycott of all shops, cinemas, theatres and newspapers for today, which is regarded by most Czechs as the anniversary of the invasion, though the first Soviet units entered Slovakia late on the night of August 20, 1968.

ARREST

The Husak regime has prepared itself for the anniversary by arresting another group of oppositionists, including Vladimir Skutina, a leading Prague television commentator before he was sacked for his outspoken opposition to the occupation. Not only his whole

record, but the studied silence of the 'Morning Star' on repressions in Czechoslovakia, prove that. The Labour and trade union 'left', who sanctimoniously feigned horror at the invasion, were the main consideration in compelling the Stalinists to oppose the 1968 invasion.

This done, they have gradually slid back towards their more accustomed role as apologists for every betrayal of the Soviet bureaucracy.

If the Husak regime does succeed in mounting a series of show trials against its opponents, then the British Stalinists, who recently declined to publish in their 'Morning Star' an apposite warning against a possible trial of Dubcek, will share a great deal of the political responsibility.

The withdrawal of all Soviet troops, together with the fight for a genuine communist leadership in eastern Europe that can defend the gains won after the last war, is the only policy that can defeat Stalinism and unite the Czech workers with their comrades fighting imperialism in the West.

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Many thanks for this big response. The concern for the fund shows us the response we are getting to the policies of the paper.

However, we must keep the campaign stepped up. We still have £597 19s 9d to raise with only 11 days to go.

Make sure we reach our target by sending your donations immediately to:

Workers Press,
Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High Street,
London, SW4.



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The decision means that Phase Two — involving Measured-Day Work, speed-up, free manning, shift working and the prospect of large-scale redundancies — will almost certainly begin operation in London before the end of next month.

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The union's executive made no recommendation either way and told the meeting that members would have to make up their own minds about the deal.

This lack of a clear lead encouraged the scheme's supporters to stampede the meeting into acceptance on the grounds that 'the end of the road' had been reached.

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● PAGE FOUR COL. 9

What we think

FRANCE: Democracy & Dictatorship

READERS of the Workers Press and its predecessor, 'The Newsletter', will remember the campaign we waged in the summer of 1968 to mobilize opinion in the British labour movement against the French government's decree banning 11 left-wing organizations; among them the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste sister organization of the Socialist Labour League — together with the associated youth and student organizations ('Revoltes' and Fédération des Etudiants Révolutionnaires).

These three organizations recently took advantage of their right to appeal to the French Council of State against the ban, linking it with their political campaign for united working-class action to the recently enacted 'anti-wreckers' law of the Pompidou-Chaban-Delmas government.

On July 21, 1970, the Council of State declared that they had found no evidence in the dossiers to prove that these organizations had provoked armed street demonstrations or that they had as their aim the armed overthrow of the republican form of government, and that the decree of June 12, 1968, by announcing their dissolution, was without any legal foundation and consequently is found to be vitiated by excess of power.

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Appeals submitted by four other organizations ('Voix Ouvrière', Parti Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste de France, Parti Communiste Internationaliste and Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire) were rejected.

Following this decision, those who had formed the Political Committee of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste issued a declaration explaining the political background of the decree, of the struggle against it and against the new laws; and calling for a campaign for all the bans to be withdrawn.

What follows is a translation of selected passages from

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In a prepared statement the 600 said they were going to join the 'Il Manifesto' group, the left-wing tendency formed in March of this year by leading Communists expelled last November for opposing the Party policy of entry into a coalition.

1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Memorial Meeting

ACTON
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August 23
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Starts 3 p.m.
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Chairman:
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ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film — 'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.



Leon Trotsky's
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'I am confident of
the victory of the
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Go forward!'

This means:
Forward with the
first Trotskyist
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WORKERS PRESS

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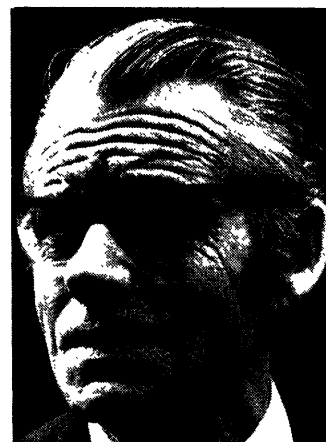
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Ramelson dodges glass 'black' issue

ASKED THREE TIMES at a meeting in Southall on Wednesday, Communist Party industrial organizer Bert Ramelson refused to state his Party's position on blacking Pilkington glass.

'I don't want to get involved in Pilkington's here,' he said.

This is completely in line with the Stalinists' dropping of the Pilkington's issue from the 'Morning Star' and the repeated failure of prominent CP supporters to discuss Pilkington's at last week's National Docks Shop Stewards Committee meeting.

Earlier Ramelson spoke in defence of the public airlines.

Though he paid lip-service to the need for working-class industrial action for political ends, the nature of the Stalinists' pressure campaign — outlined by Ramelson — exposed his statement as a fraud.

Deputations to MPs, post-cards to the same gentlemen, and lobbies on the day that the legislation to create the 'second force' airline comes before Parliament are completely inadequate to force back the Tories' plans for carving up the state-owned airlines and serve as a diversion from a real fight.

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BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Arrested on Wednesday on unknown charges, he has been critically ill with cancer for some time.

A police doctor was brought to his home at the time of his arrest to certify that his illness could be treated just as well in prison.

These repressions, degrading in their barbarity, are now part and parcel of Czechoslovak life under Kremlin occupation.

Yet the leadership of the British Communist Party, which is officially opposed to the invasion, has not held a single public meeting or demonstration over the last two years to rally working-class support for its policy on Czechoslovakia.

Gollan's decision to differ with Moscow was in no sense based on a principled Marxist opposition to Stalinism. Not only his whole

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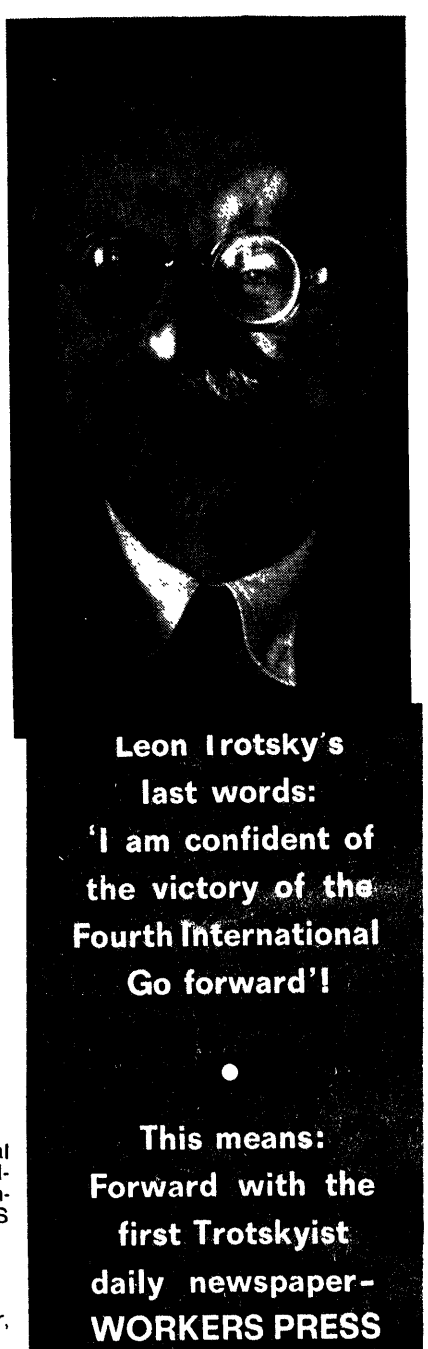
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Leon Trotsky's last words: 'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International Go forward!'

This means: Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper — WORKERS PRESS

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film — 'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

'ACTION FRANCAISE'
 Royalism and Reaction in 20th century France
 By Eugen Weber
 Stanford University Press (British agent Oxford
 University Press). First published 1962.
 Paperback 1969.

Scrupulous study of French reaction

THE ROYALIST opposition in Republican France took its main form, after the Dreyfus Affair, in the organization called 'Action Francaise', which later became the title of its daily paper published until 1944.

The history of this movement was woven intricately into the politics of the Third Republic and this study, by its detail and its depth, is not only a classic work on the subject, but an important contribution to the history of the period.

The leading spirit in the 'Action Francaise' was Charles Maurras, a journalist and literary man whose support for the monarchy did not arise from sentiment or any particular respect for the pretender to the French throne.

Maurras wanted to sweep away the divided and corrupt republic by means of a coup, preferably backed by the army, which would establish a government of order and authority assured only by the support and alliance of the throne and the altar.

Maurras preached a doctrine known as integral nationalism. It opposed all the revolutionary and Republican traditions of France and advocated the most drastic means for achieving its ends.

SUPPORT

He used language and methods which the old-style Royalists found distasteful, but with the growth of the 'Action Francaise' many of them rallied to its ranks.

Besides the support which it received from traditional Royalist circles and the aristocratic landowners of provincial France who had entrenched themselves in the army and navy, the 'Action Francaise' also rallied to its side many members of the bourgeoisie, especially the student youth.

Riots and 'contestation' in the Sorbonne and other universities were organized by it before 1914 and again in the 1920s and 1930s.

The 'Action Francaise' became the most active part of the ultra-right from about 1908 until the 1930s.

It had its disciplined youth movement and strong-arm men who took a leading part in riots and street demonstrations.

It made a cult of elitism and violence. The pages of its press were splattered with abuse, lies and slander about its opponents.

It built its circulation partly on this reputation, partly on the alleged literary merits of Maurras, Leon Daudet and other writers for it.

The movement thus became for a period the most active wing of the reactionary forces.

It appealed to many middle-class people troubled by the political irresponsibility of the Republic and shaken by the crises and upheavals of the 20th century.

Maurras and his friends offered them a return to the old certainties of monarchy and national unity, a barrier against

working-class revolution, a focus of hatred on the foreigners infiltrating into France, and especially the Jews.

Weber's study throws light on most aspects of the movement and succeeds in making the whole story lively and interesting throughout. By incessant public activity and campaigning and through their press, Maurras and his supporters gained recognition as a significant political force.

For a time it enjoyed the support of the Catholic Church. It eclipsed as it was, and groups on the extreme right. It came into its own during the First World War and the immediately succeeding years.

Reviewed

by

TOM KEMP

Nevertheless, well-organized and disciplined as it was, the 'Action Francaise' failed to win the mass support which its leaders expected. After some successes in the first post-war election in 1919 it lost ground heavily in the 1924 elections. In fact, as the danger of revolution receded, so did the factions of the extreme right and the 'Action Francaise' was driven back on its strongholds, including the universities.

From its foundation until the mid-1920s a great strength of the 'Action Francaise' was the support which it enjoyed from Catholic clergy and the Catholic public.

However, the movement had its enemies in the Church. In 1914 it was recommended that a number of Maurras's books should be placed on the Index. After the war a further campaign against the movement was mounted in clerical circles who were backing other forms of political action to maintain the influence of the Church.

After being accused by sundry Churchmen of atheism, agnosticism, paganism and other sins, the 'Action Francaise' leaders found their paper and movement condemned by the Pope in 1926. A few months later a further Papal decree laid it down that a practicing Catholic could not be an 'Action Francaise' member.

RIVAL

The Catholic hierarchy feared a rival in the 'Action Francaise' owing to the influence it had secured within the Church. The condemnation hit it quite severely.

As conditions changed, however, a reconciliation took place in 1939, but by then the 'Action Francaise' was very much weaker than it had been before the condemnation.

Weber describes the 1930s as the Indian Summer of the 'Action Francaise'. The effects of the economic crisis and the incoherence of successive and short-lived governments, the scandals and revelations of corruption, the fears and hatreds the crisis evoked in the middle class, offered the radical right new opportunities.

The Royalists were thus in the thick of the street battles

in February 1934, but they entered them without preparation or working out a plan of action with the other right groups.

Above all these events exposed the 'Action Francaise' leaders as a bunch of ageing talkers and their henchmen as no more than street fighters and newspaper sellers. The disoriented middle class looked elsewhere for leadership, first to the new movement of Colonel de la Rocque and then to other right-wing and fascist leagues.

But, with a right-wing government in power until May 1936, the leagues marked time. In the period before the May 1936 elections, if Maurras provided the right with arguments and heaped abuse and slander on the heads of the democratic politicians, it was the Croix de Feu which represented it on the streets.

The idea of a return to monarchy and a traditional social order as an answer to the crisis may have appealed to right-wing intellectuals, but it could not inspire great mass movements. Action Francaise threw up no man of action who could step forward as a saviour; no one could seriously see the pretender to the throne in his role.

The Indian Summer was thus brief. The Action Francaise found itself, in effect, training the cadres who passed into the ranks of the fascist leagues or who wrote for other journals. In February 1936, after an attack on Leon Blum, who happened to be passing a Royalist funeral procession, the organization, though not the daily paper, was banned by decree.

This increased the state of confusion in the whole right-wing which, besides its own disensions, now had to contend with the rising revolutionary strength of the working class to be displayed in the May-June elections and strikes.

FIGUREHEAD

The danger of a right-wing coup, which seemed possible in February 1934, had disappeared for the present.

In fact, out of the disarray of the right, enhanced by the legal dissolution of the 'leagues', came two new movements, the Parti Populaire Francais of Doriot and the Parti Social Francais de la Rocque.

The 'Action Francaise' was being squeezed out and with its one organization banned increasingly became merely the title of Maurras's personal organ. In the meantime, in 1937, Maurras had served a sentence for incitement to murder which helped to make him a hero of the extreme right, but he was now little more than a figurehead.

Disciples of Maurras, or at least men influenced by his views, were to be found in all the right-wing groups and especially in the flourishing right-wing papers which, unlike 'Action Francaise' were in some cases achieving a mass circulation. As an organization it was not only legally banned, it was also inert, having been deserted by its most active cadres.

In November 1937, a split took place in the Royalist movement when the pretender to the throne repudiated the teachings of the 'Action Francaise'

MIDDLE-CLASS

In fact this did Maurras little harm even among Royalists. His attachment to monarchy had never been based upon loyalty to the representative of the royal house. The throne was seen as a rallying point for all Frenchmen, a barrier to revolution and an alternative to the Republic which he and his followers hated.

The teachings of Maurras appealed, after all, mainly to middle-class intellectuals of the right who, as Weber puts it 'did not like the present because it was not sufficiently like their cozy image of the past; they did not like the future, because it might be even worse.'

'They had no sympathy for development growing out of economic changes they could not understand, looked upon both capital and labour as almost equally vexing, and thought that by digging in their heels they could hold back time.'

Meanwhile they were overtaken by war.

The one-time bitterly anti-German 'Action Francaise' now became an apostle of peace and on leading politicians became still more scurrilous. At the time of Munich it printed an adaptation of the Internationale which said that if war came the first bullets should be reserved for Mandel, Blum and Reynaud.

All through this time, too, the paper matched 'Der Sturmer' in its anti-Semitism. The war was the war of the Jews.

With the Armistice and the instigation of Petain the Action Francaise seemed to come into its own. The Vichy regime, between 1940 and 1944, gave form to many of its principles.

By this time it had lost the cohesion of a movement and could not compete with the fascist groups which sought German support in the Occupied Zone and gained ground in Vichy territory. It was rather 'a doctrine, a newspaper, a set of books, a kind of attitude, the influence of a man'.

In this form Maurrasism had a widespread influence throughout the French right.

JUST OUT

Germany 1931 1932

Leon Trotsky

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BOOKS

It pervaded Petain's 'court' at Vichy.

Through the storms of the war period Vichy France seemed to offer an oasis of repose. In support for Petain Maurras and his ageing band of close supporters thought they had found the fulfilment of their hopes.

The hated Republic had fallen, but now France alone had maintained its national integrity. He thus tried to map a course between the open collaboration enthusiastically accepted by fascists like Doriot and resistance to the occupying Germans advocated by the Gaullists and the Communists.

The daily 'Action Francaise' continued to appear at Lyons in Vichy France, but it was banned in the Occupied Zone.

PRO-NAZI

On some things, like measures against the Jews, hostility to England or the Soviet Union, it supported the Nazis.

It was foremost in calling for ruthless oppression of resistance fighters. At the same time it hoped that co-operation would stop short at absorption of France into a German-dominated new order.

Maurras was arrested in Lyons after the withdrawal of German forces in 1944. Put on trial for 'intelligence with the enemy', his condemnation was a foregone conclusion; the 76-year-old reactionary defended himself with his customary invective, but was sentenced to life imprisonment and 'national degradation'. His career had begun with the Dreyfus case and it ended in what some called a Dreyfus in reverse.

Maurras, and most of the leading lights of the Action Francaise, had become defeatists in 1937-1938. Seeing that France had to choose between the fascist powers and the 'democracies' aligned in all probability with the Soviet Union they chose the former.

By 1940 the main body of the ruling class accepted this view, only switching to the Allied camp when the tide of battle began to turn.

After the war ideologists and journalists like Maurras were made scapegoats while the economic collaborators went scot-free and the mass of the bourgeoisie, which had applauded Petain until 1944, transferred their allegiance to de Gaulle.

Ironically, the new saviour's own views owed not a little to the influence of Action Francaise, which was thus discernible in the Fifth Republic.

ELITIST

As a movement the Action Francaise was elitist, traditionalist and nationalist. It was never a mass movement and, despite the wide sympathy which Maurras and many of his doctrines evoked in right-wing circles, it never unified and led the reactionary forces as a whole.

Though it supplied or copied many fascist doctrines it was not, properly speaking, a fascist movement. It was, however, violently anti-Semitic, believed in the existence of a Masonic conspiracy and stood for the destruction of the working-class movement.

The meticulous thoroughness of Weber's study conforms to the highest standards of academic historiography and helps conceal the limitations of his own 'liberal' approach, which tries to be fair to Maurras.

The pathological character of the man and his followers, the airy merit — accepted regardless of the content — and most of all the consequences which the triumph of this brand of reaction would have (and did have for a time under Vichy) could have been much more fully and forcefully laid bare.

THREE years ago, no western journalist — nor Stalinist scribe in the East for that matter — would have considered the life of Alexander Dubcek a worthy subject for a full-length biography.

For if ever a political leader in post-war Europe was lifted up, sustained and finally dashed down by forces beyond both his understanding and control, it was this Party bureaucrat turned 'liberalizer' turned Kremlin servant and now, according to his successors, 'right-wing opportunist' and possibly even 'counter-revolutionary'.

Through a study of Czech CP publications, filled out with a series of personal interviews with friends and Party colleagues, Shawcross, in this book published today, traces Dubcek's career from his modest beginnings as a Slovak rank-and-file Party member, through his fight for equality with the dominant-national chauvinists in the Bohemia-Moravia section of the Party, to his confrontation with the Novotny old guard, who were strangling the whole nation's economy, culture and initiative in the suffocating grip of the crudest Stalinism.

In doing so he throws revealing light on the backgrounds of some of the Party's most vaunted leaders—including Novotny himself, who, during his detention by the Nazis in Mauthausen Concentration Camp, betrayed his comrades by serving as a 'Kapo', a camp 'trusty'. Dubcek's father Stefan was also an inmate of the same camp, and, unlike Novotny, did not serve his Nazi captors. As Shawcross notes:

Not endeared

'Conditions in the camp were terrible: when Stefan came out he weighed only seven stone—Novotny had enough of eat. This did not endear the future President of Czechoslovakia either to Stefan or his son Alexander.' (p. 43.)

The 'meat' of the book naturally is taken up with Dubcek's role as the leader of the 'liberalizing' movement from the beginning of 1968 up to the Soviet invasion eight months later.

And here the author provides a service to those trying to understand the complexities of the Stalinist crisis in E Europe and the Soviet Union.

For he effectively debunks the great myth cultivated by western journalists and Kremlin publicists alike—that Dubcek was the instigator of a great reform movement within the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Shawcross shows that it was others—either writers in 1967, or Party leaders like Smrkovsky and Kreigel in the early months of 1968, who articulated most clearly the various opposition trends within the intellectuals, the Party and the working class.

Dubcek always worked for a compromise both with the Kremlin and their yes-men in the

DUBCEK

OUT
 TODAY

'DUBCEK'
 By William Shawcross
 Weidenfeld & Nicholson. 65s

Reviewed

by

ROBIN

BLACK

Party. His improvised policy, which came to be known as 'socialism with a human face', owed little except its terminology to Marxism.

Never breaking from the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country', the Dubcek leadership based itself as readily on turncoat bureaucrats from the old Novotny gang as on sections of the working class moving to the left under the impetus of the threat from the Kremlin and the May-June general strike in France.

Shawcross sums up the centrist nature of Dubcek's leadership during this period very well, when he notes at the end of his book:

'... the "doves" in the Kremlin were right. Had they been a little more patient, an invasion might well have proved unnecessary—Dubcek was about to do their work for them...'

He shows that throughout the 'Prague Spring', Dubcek was anxiously looking over his shoulder at advanced workers demanding, through the Party and the trade unions, the restoration of genuine Leninist democracy in the Party and the state, the rights of factions within the Communist Party and the creation of new socialist parties which accepted the defence of the post-war social overturn as part of their programme.

And while Shawcross rejects the Stalinist slander of 'counter-revolution', he does show that the Dubcek leadership sought closer links with the capitalist classes of W Europe, both economically and politically.

The logic of Dubcek's final demise is also well brought out—his return to 'power' after his harrowing session in the Kremlin as a captive of the bureaucracy, his acceptance of the occupation, his endorsement of the laws re-introducing censorship, and, finally, his fall after the stage-managed riots in connection with the Czech ice-hockey victory over the Soviet team at the world championships in Stockholm.

And, after voting for his own removal from the Party leadership, Dubcek raised his hand for the man who was to apply the legislation drafted by himself—Gustav Husak.

Centrism is just as dangerous in E Europe as in the West.

It is a trend which vacillates between revolutionary politics and the policies of reformism. Under pressure from a radicalized working class, centrist leaders can, for a time, be forced to the left and even appear to voice the aspirations of the masses.

Such was the role of Dubcek from April to August 1968.

Reactionary

But centrism, when faced with the preparation of the working class for power—the overthrow of capitalism in the West and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East—becomes openly reactionary.

Dubcek allied himself and his faction with the Kremlin, rather than placing himself at the head of the Czechoslovak nation in a struggle for socialist democracy and unity with the whole European working class for the defeat of Stalin-

TV

BBC 1

12.55-1.25 Bric-a-brac. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Peter's adventures. 4.45 Egbert's sleepless night. 4.55 Score with The Scaffold. 5.30 Wacky races. 5.40 Junior points of view. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 ENTERTAINMENT WITH KERR.

6.25 CHAMPIONS' QUIZ BALL. 6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'The Gauntlet'. 7.55 DON'T ASK US. 8.20 ME MAMMY. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT! Fifth international heat for the Eurovision Trophy from the grounds of the Castle, Cardiff. 10.25 24 HOURS. 11.00 ROLY POLY. 11.30 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight; Midlands today. Look East. 11.32 News and weather. North of England: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight. Look North. 11.32 News and weather. Wales: 12.00-1.30 Cricket. 1.30-1.45 Ar. 11. Mam. 6.00-6.25 Wales today. Weather: 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Ryan a Ronnie. 7.30-7.55 Speaking for myself. Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.10-6.25 Se Ur Beatha. 11.32 News and weather. South and West: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight; Points West. South today. Spotlight. South-West. 11.32 News. road works report, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 NEWS and weather. 8.00 A CITY—A DAY—A GENERATION. Documentary about a man approaching old age and a city (Bordeaux) rejuvenating itself. 8.25 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION: The red rose and the white. 9.10 JULIE FELIX. 9.40 CINEMA: 'Herosstratus'. With Michael Gothard, Gabriella Licudi, Peter Stephens. A young man who wants to commit suicide publicly offers the 'event' to a public relations firm in order to get the maximum possible publicity. 11.55 NEWS and weather.

ITV

2.00 p.m. Show jumping. 4.10 Raj. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 If I were you. 5.50 News. 6.03 EARLY BIRD. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE. 7.00 KENNY EVERETT EXPLOSION. 7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'O'Quillan'. 7.40 HARK AT BARKER. 9.00 CONFESSION. 'The Fell Sergeant'. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 MANNIX. 11.30 FACE THE PRESS. 12.00 IT HAPPENED TO ME.

REGIONAL ITV

ULSTER: 2.00-4.10 London. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.30 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'Rhapsody'. 7.00 London. 10.30 Two shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk deceased. SOUTHERN: 2.00 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.15 Ivor the engine. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Robin Hood. 5.20 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'Rhapsody'. 7.00 London. 10.30 Two shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk deceased. With Bob Hope, Joan Fontaine. A meek tailor's assistant is mistaken for his hero's most famous lover. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. 'Action 70'. GRAMPAIN: 2.00-4.27 Show jumping. 4.30 Rumbleumble. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News. Weather. 6.10 Nanny and the professor. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.25

Preview. 7.35 Garrison's gorillas. 8.25 London. 10.30 Never say die. 11.00 Outer limits.

BORDER: 2.00 London. 4.13 News. 4.15 Room 222. 4.40 London. 4.55 News. 5.00 Border roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 That girl. 7.30 Champions. 8.25 London. 10.30 Baron. 11.30 Midland member. 11.45 Who Knows! Weather. TYNE TEES: 2.00-4.10 London. 4.35 News. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 I spy. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: 'Wild and the Willing'. With Samantha Eggar. Paul Rogers. A working-class student rebel plunges headlong into disaster when he falls in love with his tutor's unhappy wife. 12.35 News. Christian comment. YOKESHIRE: 2.00 London. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.30 Zingalong. 4.45 Matinee: 'The Refugee'. 5.50 Phoenix five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 Thriller. With Glenn Jack Hawkins, Donald Sinden, Denholm Elliott, Virginia McKenna. A ship's surgeon, a professional sailor among them, discover the sea is their worst enemy. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorkport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. 12.00 Weather.

CHANNEL: 2.00-4.24 Show jumping. 4.30 Rumbleumble. 4.55 Land of the giants. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News. Weather. 6.10 Channel report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 Matinee: 'The postman always rings twice'. With Lana Turner, John Garfield. 12.25 Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 4.25 News. 4.27 Gus Honeybun show. 6.00 Westward diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 6.30 Faith for life. GRANADA: 2.00 London. 4.10 News. Short story: 'The serpent beneath'. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South in writing. 6.10 Doing their thing. 6.40 Julia. 7.05 Name of the game. 8.25 USA. With Broderick Crawford, Ralph Meeker. A child held for 200,000 dollars ransom meets an accidental death.

HARLECH: 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Day. 4.50 Crossroads. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Sky's the limit. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.30 You should ask. 11.00 Interview: Playwright Alan Ayckbourn. 11.30 Conceptions of murder. 12.00 Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25 and 6.01-6.35 News West. 11.00-11.30 Mad Movies. HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00-11.30 Y Dyd.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01-6.03 News. 11.00-11.30 Mad Movies. SCOTTISH: 2.00 Show jumping. 4.15 Day. 4.30 Crossroads. 5.50 News. 6.01 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Summer scene. 6.30 Madem country style. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.25 London. 10.30 Songs remembered. 11.00 Fact and fantasy. 11.30 Late call.

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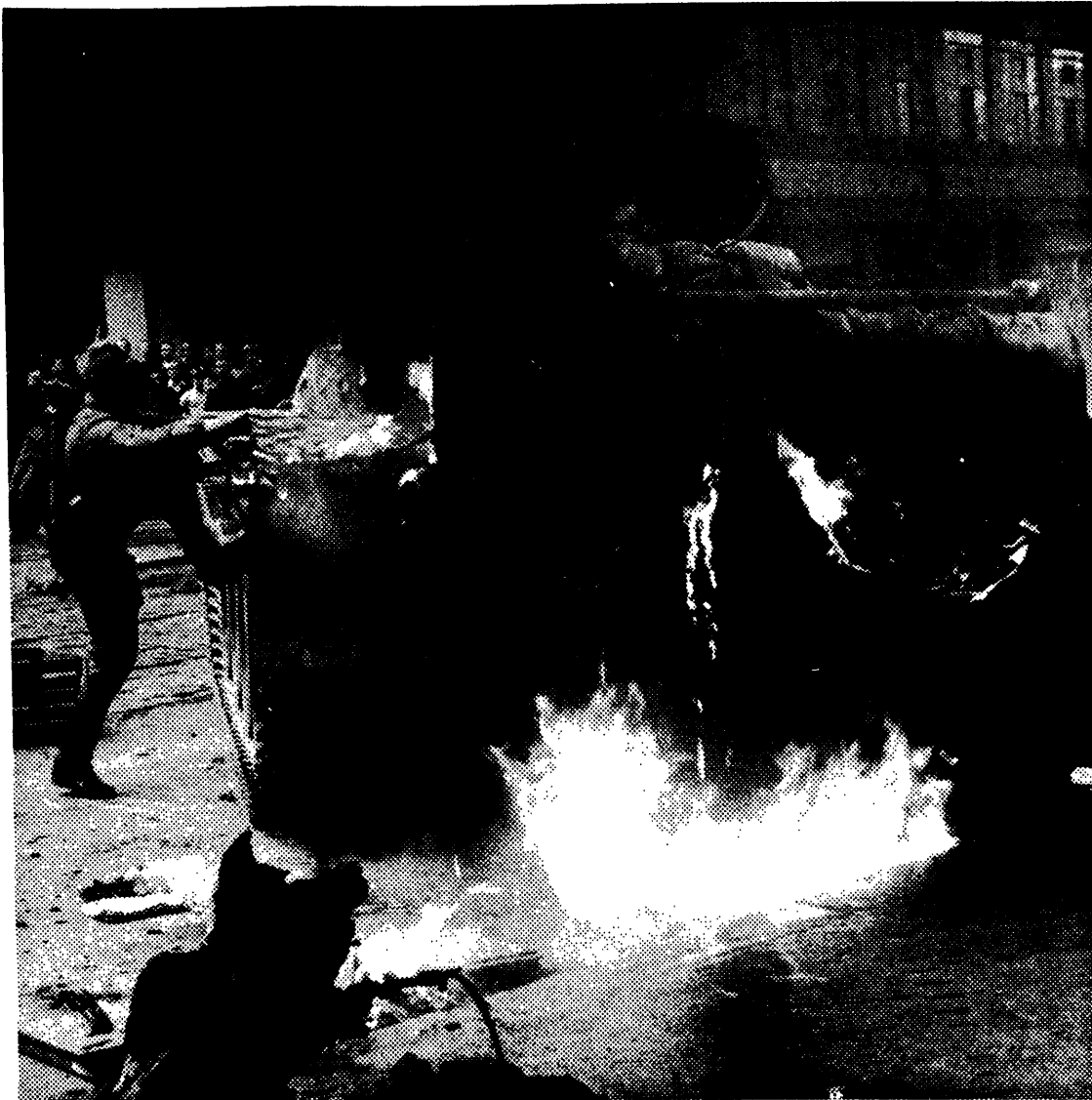
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DASHED BY FORCES BEYOND HIS CONTROL



Dubcek (above), and a burning Soviet tank in Prague August 1968.



ism, social democracy and imperialism. Dubcek's career is one more proof that the break with Stalinism does not simply involve a denunciation of its crimes and purges, its show trials and slanders. Stalinism, the theory and programme of the Soviet bureaucracy, is counter-revolutionary, and, through its line of 'socialism in one country' and 'peaceful co-existence', expresses the interests not only of the parasitical Kremlin clique, but those of imperialism. This Dubcek and his team of 'liberalizers' never understood. They remain trapped within the confines of Stalinist thinking to this day, even though they reject the barbaric repressions which are one of its inevitable consequences. The Czech—and indeed the whole E European and Soviet—working class, does have a future, and will defeat its bureaucratic oppressors. But not under the leadership of the Dubceks. When Warsaw Pact tanks rolled into Prague, Trotsky's classic analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy, 'The Revolution Betrayed', was in the process of being published by a socialist grouping. It is in this work, and the whole historical and theoretical struggle that went into its creation, that the key to the political defeat of Czech Stalinism is to be found.

ON JULY 15, a few moments before he met with United Auto Workers' negotiators for the first time in Detroit, Earl Bramlett, vice-president of the General Motors Corporation, stated: 'The auto industry is at a critical point in history.'

It is impossible to argue with this statement. What must be added, however, is that it is not only the American auto industry which 'is at a critical point in history', but the capitalist economy itself.

This is reflected in the American government moving more and more toward a policy of open trade war; that is, protectionism, embargoes or higher tariffs on foreign goods.

The auto bosses are particularly disturbed by the penetration of their market by foreign cars.

In 1968 sales of imports were over one million units for the first time, an increase of 31 per cent on the previous year. By doing this, imports took more than 10 per cent of the total retail market.

Midnight September 14 is the deadline for the negotiations between the UAW and the Big Three auto manufacturers—General Motors, Ford, Chrysler.

And they are big! They are three of the five largest corporations in the United States.

General Motors (GM) controls over half the market for US-built autos, and is the largest publicly-held corporation in the world.

Its 1968 sales (22,755,000,000 dollars) equaled more than a quarter of Britain's gross national product.

Profits

Its profits were about the same as all UK exports to America. GM employs 395,000 of the 700,000 hourly-paid auto workers in the United States.

The auto and related industries account for one out of every six jobs in the country.

Many of the other major industries are dependent on the auto giants. The steel industry supplies to the car industry nearly 20 per cent of its annual product.

Autos use 61 per cent of all the rubber consumed in the US, a third of the glass and 10 per cent of the aluminium.

The auto industry is today in a state of decay. The first hit by this crisis was American Motors (AMC), the fourth largest of the car companies.

From a high point of 7.5 per cent of the market in 1960, its share has fallen to just over 3 per cent in the most recent period.

US Round-up

Auto collision is inevitable



Open clashes between workers and hired thugs at Flint, Michigan in the '30s.

It suffered severe losses in 1966 and 1967, and made thousands of workers redundant.

The crisis of AMC was the first indication of the future for the industry as a whole.

The Chrysler Corporation was the next to feel the squeeze. 1969 was the year the bottom fell out for Chrysler, the smallest of the Big Three.

First quarter profits were off 25 per cent; second quarter profits dropped 51 per cent. The third quarter saw an incredible 87 per cent drop.

For the first nine months of 1969, then, profits were down 47.9 per cent to 93.2 million dollars from the 1968 record figure of 178.5 million dollars.

The value of Chrysler stock shrank from 72 1/2 to 40 dollars.

In the first week of July this year, several major commercial banks united in an effort to save Chrysler from financial disaster.

Led by Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. (the fourth largest in the US), the banks arranged in five business days a loan of more than 400 million dollars.

Panic

The banks moved swiftly to avert what they openly admitted could have been a serious financial panic.

In the long run, neither GM nor Ford could avoid the crunch.

GM announced that its first quarter earnings for 1970 were 348 million dollars or 1.21 dollars a share, as opposed to 523 million dollars or 1.82 dollars a share in the same quarter of 1969.

The greatest loss was suffered in domestic sales.

Ford's report was much the same. Net earnings totalled 124 million dollars or 1.15 dollars a share, compared with 168 mil-

lion dollars or 1.54 dollars a share.

For the first six months of 1970 total car sales in the US had dropped by 9 per cent from the similar period in 1969.

These are hard, cold facts. We have seen the fate of Penn Central and Lockheed.

The car-makers have seen them, too, and know that they have to make a stand or go under.

The auto workers are one of the leading sections of the American working-class.

They are the most highly-organized, the most militant and the best paid.

Best paid but not well paid. For working under the speed-up conditions of a car plant, the average car worker makes 4.00 dollars an hour, and with fringes benefits, 5.76.

This appears to be a great deal of money. It isn't.

It's imperative to remember the extremely high cost of living in the US, the high tax-rate, and the high prices. In fact, while average straight time earnings rose 4.4 per cent in the first quarter of 1970, take-home pay fell 1.7 per cent and purchasing power fell 7.4 per cent.

In actual fact, then, car workers are falling further and further behind rising prices.

And what about the union leaders?

Leonard Woodcock, UAW president, has made it clear that he wants to avoid a fight at all costs.

The union negotiators have acted in a particularly servile and friendly manner.

'Goodwill was present', at the meeting with the employers reported one newspaper. Woodcock has even stated that an

industry-wide strike 'would be suicidal'. Suicidal for whom?

But the bureaucrats face tremendous pressure from below.

The auto workers are well aware that recent settlements have given the Teamsters and building workers rises and benefits amounting to 12 to 14 per cent.

They know that inflation immediately eliminates any small gains in wages.

They also know that GM chairman J. A. Roche 'earned' 795,000 dollars last year in pay and bonuses alone.

Major union demands include:

- An immediate 26 cents an hour increase simply to catch up with the inflation of the last two years.

- The union wants the 26 cents to be included in the base from which the new contract is negotiated. The car moguls want the 26 cents to form part of the new contract.

- Restoration of the unlimited escalator clause which was given up by ex-UAW president Walter Reuther during the Ford strike of 1967.

- Woodcock is said to be proposing increases of 8 per cent and 7 per cent for the first and second years. This is a pitiful amount.

- 500-a-month pension plan, with retirement after 30 years.

- An end to compulsory overtime, elimination of the punch-clock for factory workers.

Adamant

The auto workers are particularly adamant about the 26 cents; 26 cents they should have earned if Reuther hadn't surrendered the unlimited escalator. 'We want our 26 cents. I've been beat out of it 26 cents', said one Ford worker in Detroit.

In the event of an auto strike all the fighting traditions of the UAW members will return with new strength.

The union was born out of vicious fights against Ford's hired thugs, in the occupations at Flint, the battles at Dearborn.

These struggles were open clashes between the auto workers and the capitalist state.

A strike today would not only re-create those conditions; they would be far more sharp, as sharp as this new crisis of capitalism.

No amount of 'goodwill' can forestall the showdown.

'... AND AUTO COLLISION' THE CONNECTIONS between the giant corporations and their servants in the state machine are never well-disguised. This is particularly true in the United States, where nothing is well-disguised for long.

It appears that for 'prestige reasons', the Ford Motor Co. leases luxurious Lincoln Continental sedans to key Senators and Congressmen for a mere 750 dollars a year.

The same service is available to the private citizen in the Washington area for 3,480 dollars a year.

General Motors has a similar practice of renting Cadillac limousines to key officials in both the legislative and executive branches of the Federal government.

Among committees whose senior members currently take advantage of Ford's offer are those responsible for auto safety, highway, consumer and tax matters.

These are the committees, needless to say, whose decisions the auto industry takes most interest in.

Schools under Mao

Reviewed by JACK GALE

'REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION' 'Education in Communist China' By R. F. Price World Education Series: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 308 pp. £3.

BEFORE 1949 the Chinese educational system combined traditional methods and superstitions with the dominance of western bourgeois ideology.

For upwards of a thousand years, to the middle of the 19th century, Chinese education had been based on selective examinations (testing knowledge of the Confucian classics, learned by heart) and on the writing of long, formal essays.

This clearly favoured the sons of the wealthy, who had private family schools plus access to private libraries.

The Opium War of 1841 and the subsequent foreign encroachments led to a striving for more and better education.

A number of foreign schools grew up, but these later became associated with political support for Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists and also aimed at the creation of a western-orientated cultural élite.

Chinese education was thus a selective system whose products were isolated from the lives of the ordinary people.

War lords

It reflected the power structure which was invested in the owners of property and supported not only by lineage organizations, religious bodies and secret societies, but also by war lords and criminal gangs (like the Shanghai gang of Du Yue-sheng which was used by Chiang Kai-shek to massacre thousands of Communists on April 12, 1927).

In the villages, where 80 per cent of the population lived, power rested with the landlords who were also often the money-lenders who batted off the peasants.



Pupils draw up a poster during the cultural revolution in 1966.

All of this was swept away by the Chinese Revolution.

The Communists took power in a country ravaged by war and civil war, with insufficient food and raw products, inadequate transport and an outdated and weak industrial base.

Illiterate

They were faced with the task of educating a population of some 800 million, 90 per cent of which was illiterate and which contained many different peoples, languages and dialects.

In addition, there was the gigantic problem of the complexity of the written characters of the Chinese language.

The development of education was at the centre of all economic and cultural questions. In the countryside, for example, the development of co-operative agriculture required not only basic literacy, but people trained to competent technical standards in such fields as mechanics, electronics and accountancy.

All the foreign and private schools were nationalized in 1952.

Every available building was used—ranging from ex-temples and former landlords' houses to excellently constructed modern schools.

The first task was to deal with illiteracy. This was clearly impossible if confined only to the full-time schools.

A comprehensive part-time and spare-time educational system was developed, ranging from basic literacy classes to university level studies in engineering and science.

Spare-time

In 1949, 276,432 workers were attending such spare-time classes. By 1960, this figure had risen to 25 million.

Many of these classes were organized not only by government education departments, but by the trade unions and factory committees.

One example of this was the building of the Niyun Reservoir, North of Peking.

During the two years taken to construct this reservoir, one or two hours a day were utilized to

bring all the 3,500 workers—formerly peasants, 80 per cent of whom were illiterate—up to literacy standards.

Every possible means of teaching was used—classes, correspondence courses, radio and lantern lectures, exhibitions, and films, plus plays and wall posters to encourage people to study.

Combined

Wherever possible, education was combined with productive work. This was intensified with the emergence of the Red Guards in 1966.

Some problems are still far from being solved. In particular, the number of teachers qualifying is falling increasingly behind the number of new pupils enrolling in primary, secondary and higher education establishments.

Many teachers are below standard, particularly in the spare-time schools where some teachers have been found to be only semi-literate.

The largest obstacle, despite the huge gains made, is the bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party.

During the 1966 Cultural Revolution, some Red Guard student and teachers' organizations were led by people who had emerged from imprisonment and who had suffered severe ill-treatment for criticizing officials.

One statement of the aims of the Cultural Revolution was 'to demolish all the old ideology and culture (and) to create and cultivate among the masses an entirely new, proletarian ideology and culture' ('Liberation Army Daily', June 6, 1966).

One of its achievements was to close down special schools which catered for the children of Party and state officials.

The main interest of a revolutionary educational system, however, is its philosophical basis. Dialectical materialism in-

sists upon the independent existence of matter—that is to say, matter exists apart from knowledge. But Marxism also sees thought as active.

Marx, in his 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844', showed that this was a unified individual and social process:

'Just as society itself produces man as man, so is society produced by him... Again when I am active scientifically, etc, when I am engaged in activity which is a tremendous material in direct community with others, then I am social because I am active as a man.'

'Not only is the material of my activity given to me as a social product (as is even the language in which the thinker is active); my own existence is social activity, I make of myself for society, and with the consciousness of myself as a social being.'

Improvement

The smashing of Chiang Kai-shek, of the old rotten structure of China and the defeat of world imperialism by the Chinese Revolution opened the doors not only to a tremendous material improvement in Chinese education but to the possibility of developing educational philosophy and practice along dialectical materialist lines.

It is the restrictions of the Chinese bureaucracy, with its refusal to examine honestly the historical role of Stalinism, which has held back this development.

Only with the smashing of imperialism, and its world ally Stalinism, will be able to build an educational system in which, as the 'Communist Manifesto' points out:

'In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, we shall have the development of each is the condition of the free development of all.'

The long, long arm



Luther King leaving Hoover's office in 1964.

'TIME' MAGAZINE last week reported that the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, had—by essence—blackmailed the late Martin Luther King into toning down his attacks on the FBI.

According to the report, Hoover met King in 1964 and revealed that the FBI had tapes incriminating him. Apparently FBI agents had been bugging King's hotel rooms for some time and had uncovered 'extensive and vigorous sexual activities'.

Lectured

Hoover, so the story goes, called King into his office in Washington and lectured him on the moral responsibilities of a Nobel Prize-winner. He also

suggested that King tone down his attacks on the FBI. King took his advice.

This sordid little story holds interest for us only in this respect: it illustrates once more that the pressures of capitalism are omni-present, and that they are as sharp as they are extensive. This story reveals only the tiny tip of the iceberg; there are other much more sophisticated agencies than the FBI but with equally wide-ranging interests.

If the FBI can do this to the mild and comparatively harmless King, who represented a bulwark rather than a threat to US imperialism.

If they do this to each other, what won't they do to the working class?

ALL EYES ON COWLEY

INTEGRATION of British-Leyland's Pressed Steel and Austin-Morris divisions, despite the fanfare of press publicity, must be seen as the last desperate gamble of the British car industry to survive in a world of contracting markets and increasing competition.

This streamlining process will not only involve changes in the top administrative echelons of the company but, more important, it means sweeping changes in work methods and payments systems on the production lines.

Ford men urge action on £14

FORD workers at the 45-acre site, Dagenham, are urging speedy action on their claim for wage parity with car workers at the Rootes Ryton factory, Coventry.

At the first of a series of shop-floor meetings which will be held throughout the Dagenham complex this week, body-shop men endorsed the recommendation of the joint shop stewards' committee to go ahead with the £14 claim—which would boost rates at Dagenham from 11s 6d an hour to 19s 1d.

The demand explodes the myth spread earlier this week that talk of the claim is 'pure speculation' and that 'no union or any individual' are quoted in reports as subscribing to statements about the demand.

If anyone thinks that integration is going to benefit Leyland's 190,000 workers he had better forget it now.

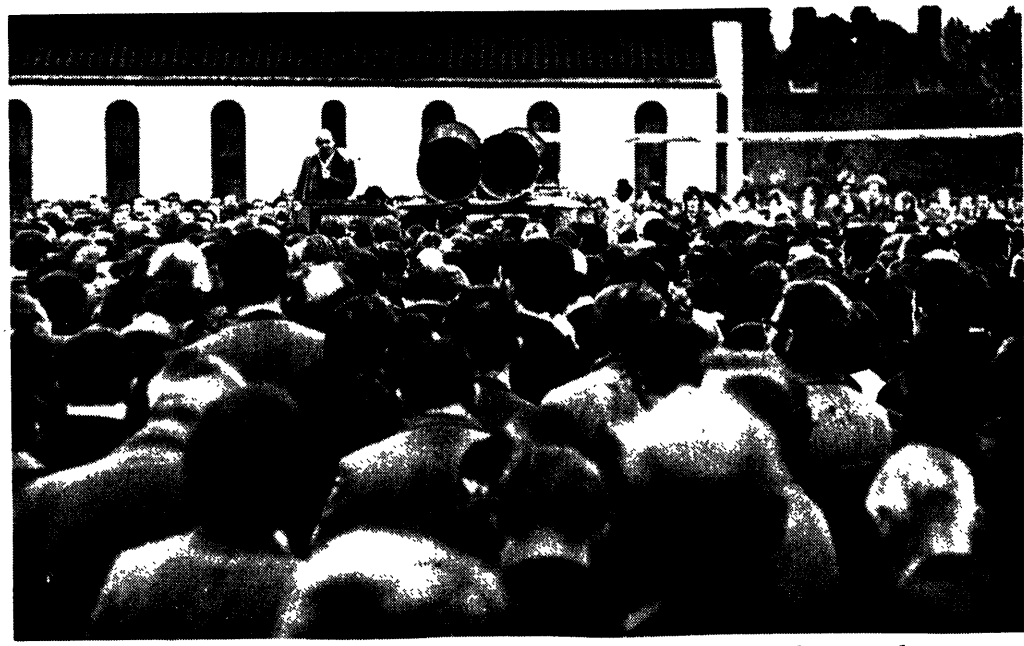
The combine's directors have realized for some time that its fragmented and decentralized nature has prevented management from effectively abolishing piece-work and preventing 'wage-drift' in the group's factories, and has allowed considerable power to accumulate in the hands of shop stewards.

This dilemma is only too evident: one day after the announcement of integration, the whole of the Coventry factory of Standard-Triumph came to a stop over the issue of lay-off pay.

Not available

Three days after the proclamation, Leyland was forced to announce that two new Triumph cars would not be available till September 24 because 'unprecedented stoppages and delayed deliveries from component suppliers have hindered production'.

Inefficient management and shortage of credit combined with an unprecedented rise in shop-floor militancy have contributed to the present position where Leyland's annual investment is £20-£30 million less than its continental rivals. Consequently the value of ordinary 5s BLMC shares has plummeted steadily for the last two years and profits for the first six months of 1970 were only £1.1 million com-



Leyland workers like those seen above, at a recent mass meeting, now face new dangers.

pared to £19.3 million for the year before.

As the 'Daily Telegraph' commented 'it could have been a golden summer but for the production problems'.

The biggest problem for Lord Stokes who sees 'anarchy and chaos' behind every production line is the shop stewards' movement.

Militant heart

This is the strongest shop stewards' body in Europe—whose militant heart and brain resides in the £20 million car complex at Cowley, Oxford.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the 'Telegraph'—whose hatred of strikes is seldom equalled even in the murky political backwaters of Fleet St—should devote a scathing editorial to the 'menace' of the shop stewards' movement in BLMC.

'The official union leaders,' the 'Telegraph' laments, 'have become virtually spectators to the tragedy-comedy of a major British industry tearing itself apart.'

Powerful shop stewards have become adept at picking off employers one by one. No sooner is a pay claim settled at one factory than, hydraulic, others spring up in other factories—often within the same company—in order to restore the previous rate differentials.

No doubt the 'Telegraph' was thinking of the Cowley works where, because of a militant and politically principled leadership, the wage rates of piece-workers and day-workers have been bounding upwards in inverse ratio to profits. (See Workers Press, Wednesday, August 12.)

The dynamism of this movement has agonized BLMC and considerably worried the rest of the car industry.

Frustrate

One of the most important consequences of this wages movement has been the ability of Cowley workers to frustrate all attempts by Stokes and Turnbull to abolish piece-work and incentive bonus and introduce via various interim schemes the hated methods of MDW and job-evaluation, now prevalent in Ford's, Rootes and Vauxhall.

What is more, the struggles of BLMC workers and their remarkable successes have had a big impact on the rest of the car industry.

Readers of yesterday's Workers Press can gauge the reaction of other carworkers on MDW from the terse complaint of the Ford worker who said:

'The main difference between your system and ours is that the piece-work system gives you control through the mutual-agreement clause and the right to pull work, etc. We have no control whatsoever.'

'The question of work standards is not negotiable. The company determine the amount of work you are required to do and you simply get on with it—you must remember that the situation in Ford is so bad that some of us here—convoys covering large plants—have never sat down with the company and talked about money.'

'Under our system, money is simply fixed at national level and cannot be discussed in the plant.'

The Ford system is the envy of every director and plant manager at BLMC—in the same way as the Cowley system of piece-work and shop-floor representation is the envy of every Ford worker.

Officials

Stokes would dearly love to introduce Fordism in to British-Leyland and his method of doing so is to establish a company-wide pay system which would abolish differentials and a joint negotiating

committee on Ford lines—consisting entirely or largely of full-time officials—which would take the power out of the hands of the shop stewards.

Leyland think that the integration of its component divisions will facilitate this task. So does the 'Telegraph'.

Working on the assumption that 'if you can't beat 'em, seduce 'em' the paper, with an eye on Ford states:

'Although taken under duress... recognition of the shop stewards at British-Leyland would have a certain logic. There is much to be said for making the poacher gamekeeper.'

Continuing further, the editorial bitterly attacks the left wing of the combined shop stewards' committee for not helping to improve efficiency and profitability of their employers, and concludes: 'It is to be hoped that British-Leyland's revamping of its organization... will help to do that. In the longer run, with the other arms, it must hope that this government's far-reaching proposals for the reform of industrial relations will achieve their objectives.'

So that's it. First undermine the shop stewards' movement by recognizing and centralizing it—thereby giving the officials, the reformists and the Stalinists a majority—then use the legislation of the Tories and un-employment to discipline the workers on the production-line and penalize the militants.

Little doubt

This is the lesson of the docks dispute which they wish to generalize.

There is little doubt that the eye of the storm in the 're-organization' of BLMC will now be Cowley, which is the most modern and most integrated plant and is scheduled to be the production centre for a new model intended to save Leyland from extinction in the production car market.

Cowley workers have been warned. The struggle for the retention of piece-work and the power of the shop stewards, and security of employment, now demands, imperatively—not integration but the nationalization of the entire industry without compensation and under workers' control.

WEATHER

London area, SE, central southern and central northern England, E and W Midlands: Cloudy with rain at times. Hill and coastal fog patches. Cool. Max. 17C (63F). Edinburgh: Cloudy with rain at times. Hill and coastal fog patches. Cool. Max. 16C (61F). NW England, Glasgow area: Cloudy, occasional rain or showers. Cool. Max. 16C (61F). Channel Islands: SW. E. and S. Channel: Cloudy, occasional showers. Bright or sunny intervals. Cool. Max. 16C (61F). N. Ireland: Cloudy. Scattered showers, sunny intervals. Cool. Max. 15C (59F).

FRANCE: Democracy & Dictatorship

● FROM PAGE ONE

This declaration—dated July 25, 1970. 'Today it is necessary to demand the absolute repeal of the decree of June 12, 1968. All organizations and tendencies claiming to be socialist must have their legal rights, their right to organize and their right to freedom of expression completely restored without delay.'

'The use of decrees which can place political militants and tendencies in an illegal situation is a method of repression and provocation and must be destroyed.'

'Democratic freedoms—the organizational framework imposed by the class struggle—remain a framework which

has to be respected only because the offensive of the bourgeoisie and its government has been checked by the great power of the working class, expressed in the general strike of May-June 1968. 'The real defence of democratic liberties is to use them to strike a blow at the anti-working class offensive: that is, to force the repeal of the decree of June 12, 1968. For this reason the OCI calls on all working-class and democratic organizations to unite to force this repeal...'

'(The decision of the Council of State) must not for one instant let us forget that at present some organizations remain arbitrarily dissolved, that some militants remain in prison for the violation of press laws, that the right to strike is threatened...'

'The Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press call upon socialists in Britain to support this call by our French comrades. No matter what our differences with the organizations which are banned, there must be a principled struggle, without exceptions, for their right to organize.'

As we pointed out at the time of the ban, when the French Stalinists refused to oppose it, we would campaign in the same way for their rights if they were banned. We demand the immediate repeal of the decree in respect of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Pabliste 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Pabloite youth organization), 'Voix Ouvrière', the May 22 student movement and the pro-Chinese Communist and other organizations which were dissolved.

youth into the arms of reaction.

Their first step in this direction was to welcome the 7,000 British troops sent into Northern Ireland by the Labour government; now they are boosting the Tories and Chichester-Clark as the 'lesser evil'.

It must be stressed once again that the revisionist 'left' groups like the International Socialists and their friends in People's Democracy—with their acceptance of the troops and liquidation of everything into the civil rights movement of Hume—bear a heavy responsibility. The 'International Marxist Group', whose Pat Jordan explained that the withdrawal of troops was not a realistic demand, is equally guilty.

SPECULATED

This history is no small matter. What the Stalinists and 'lefts' are preparing in Ireland is the violent strangulation of a mass movement in collaboration with the state machine. All those who have speculated about the reformed role of Stalinism, and above all have tried to turn the youth away from the building of independent revolutionary parties, are proving themselves in Ireland.

In reply to this sordid and shameful perversion of principles, Marxists must renew their struggle to secure the withdrawal of every British soldier from Ulster and to re-unite Ireland on socialist foundations.

The reformists and revisionists are playing the same role in Britain.

Ulster

● FROM PAGE ONE

all 'moderate' elements against Craig. Only the independent action of the working class, the building of a revolutionary leadership at the head of the mass movement which undoubtedly exists, can stop the right-wing Unionists.

Hume is explicit in advocating the direct opposite of this strategy:

'Political leaders are having the ground cut from under their feet by violence for which there is no reasonable excuse.'

'One glaring example was August 12. The [Orange] parade was banned and the NI government was being put firmly to the test.'

'Anyone with a grain of intelligence in Derry would have realized that the only sensible course was for people to remain silent and calm on that day.'

'It should be left to the elected political leaders in the North, who cover a wide spectrum of opinion, to deal with the situation.' (Our emphasis.)

RESTRAIN

Bitter lessons must be learned by the thousands of youth and workers who in the first place trusted Hume and his friends in the civil rights leadership.

They jumped into the leadership only in order to be in a position to restrain it when danger threatened. If an alternative is not built to them, they will inevitably deliver the

Speed-up drive swells accident totals

OF ABOUT 3,000 accidents occurring every year involving wood-working machines, HM factory inspectorate still finds that a principle cause is management failures to provide adequate and suitable safeguards.

That proper machine guards and safety systems certainly exist is shown in detail in an article published in the Summer number of 'Accidents' (HMSO, 2s) with many illustrations and examples of available equipment, including safe machine-feeding systems.

The report finds that accidents with circular sawing machines of various kinds make up 40 per cent of the total, followed by those with

planing machines (25 per cent), vertical spindle moulding machines (11 per cent) and band-sawing machines (6 per cent).

The report also finds many instances where machine operators failed to use safeguards which were available, and occasions were found

INJURIES NOTIFIED TO FACTORY INSPECTORS FOR THREE MONTHS TO MARCH 31, 1969

PROCESS	INJURIES	FATAL
Metal processes	10,233	26
Chemical engineering	23,649	76
Wood and cork	2,569	2
Building	7,742	27
Engineering construction	2,029	14
Docks, wharves and warehouses	2,533	12
TOTALS	46,206	101

Most of the fatal accidents to sawyers have occurred when timber being machined has been flung back and has struck the Sawyer on the head.

where machines have been used for purposes other than for which they were designed. However, as with most cases where blame is attached to the reckless behaviour of workers, examination is made of the purely technical aspects of production and not of the motivation behind it.

MAIN FACTORS

Though some workers can always be found who needlessly ignore safety considerations, the main factors contributing to this attitude are contract deadlines, bonus targets, work-study standards, overtime requirements, limitation or elimination of tea-breaks, Measured-Day Work and all the other requirements of production for profit. A defeat for the government's and the employers' 'productivity and efficiency' plans are a far more decisive factor in the reduction of accidents than anything the factory inspectorate can evolve, however well-intentioned it may be.

March to support N.W. oil site men

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A MASS demonstration will take place in Liverpool on Monday in solidarity with 2,000 construction workers who are still out on strike at two Ellesmere Port sites after six weeks for a 15s-an-hour minimum wage without strings.

Canal issue dominates Mid-East deal

KING HUSSEIN of Jordan arrived in Cairo yesterday for his first meeting with President Nasser since the two heads of state accepted the recent UN plan for a Middle East cease-fire and the recognition of Zionist Israel.

In Tel Aviv, the Israeli Cabinet is now understood to have dropped its previous objections to opening talks through Gunnar Jarring with Egypt and Jordan.

While the Meir Cabinet intends to carry on with its protests against alleged Egyptian violations of the cease-fire, these are no longer going to be used to delay the talks.

United States pressure was obviously responsible for this change of heart on the part of the Zionists.

In an official statement on Wednesday, State Department spokesman Robert McCloskey said: 'The main thing now is to concentrate all efforts on getting discussions going...'

The United States believes that these talks should begin promptly. While not fully endorsing Israeli claims about cease-fire violations, McCloskey made it clear that his and his government's sympathies were with the Zionists.

'Our intent is not to permit the military balance to change.

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Any such changes as might have occurred would have some effect on the overall military situation but I want to emphasize that we do not intend to permit the balance to be upset.'

GUARANTEE

So Zionist military strength is going to be kept at a level adequate for the continued occupation of the areas annexed after the June 1967 war.

The most essential operation for Nixon is the rapid opening of the Suez Canal—a step that is also secretly favoured by Nasser.

The basis of any Middle East deal will be along these lines, with possible token Zionist withdrawals from areas not deemed necessary for Israeli 'security'.

Palestinian national rights are being sacrificed with the connivance of British as well as Soviet Stalinism—to the profit-hungry oil monopolies dominating the Middle East.

Negotiations between the management and the unions over the strike by the engineering building workers from the Stanlow and Burmah Oil Ellesmere Port sites have reached 'complete deadlock', with the employers refusing to move from their offer of 13s tied to swingeing productivity strings.

The shop stewards' call for a demonstration has already received the support of workers from Leyland, the Manchester Post Office, the N Wales Summer steelworks and twelve major construction and building sites in the North-West.

TRIAL

The demonstration will also precede the trial of 45 pickets arrested in July, who will appear in Chester next Thursday and Friday.

Three weeks after these arrests the chief shop steward was arrested at his home at four o'clock in the morning after addressing a meeting in which a recommendation was made to recommence picketing.

He has since been visited twice by members of the Special Branch.

Devlin

● FROM PAGE ONE

Yesterday's vote was the logical outcome of the 'blue' leadership's abdication of a fight against the Pearson Report and the Transport Union's retreat.

The decision came as a bitter disappointment to many of the militant dockers who had expected the 'blue' to stand out and defeat Devlin.

Several speakers at yesterday's meeting pointed out that the present Devlin proposals differ only marginally from those advanced by the employers in March 1969 and declared completely unacceptable as the 'blue'.

Supporters of the deal advanced the phoney line that with strong shop stewards the deal could be amended and improved while in operation. In fact, the MDW system of payment together with stringent disciplinary clauses leaves the shop stewards to play the part of policemen for the dock employers.

'Reversal' 'It knocks you sick' one Royal group dockers said yesterday.

'It's a complete reversal in a matter of three months for the sake of £2 and the cost of living has already wasted that away. Otherwise it's exactly the same document we rejected at the last mass meeting.'

Another dockers commented that the executive bore responsibility for the vote: 'They have completely failed to give a lead and put across the real significance of Devlin.'

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM: Tuesday, August 25, 8 p.m. The Wellington, Bristol Bromsgrove St. 'Lessons of the dock strike'

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LATE NEWS

NIXON FLIES OUT

(See this page, col. 4) US President Nixon left Washington yesterday in a surprise visit to Puerto Vallarta, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, for two days of talks with Mexican President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

The Mexican government has acted as an unofficial intermediary between the United States and Cuba in recent years.

MUTINY SENTENCES

All five accused sailors in the Navy court martial at Rosyth, Fife, were found guilty yesterday of mutiny aboard the mine-hunter HMS Iveston.

One of the sailors, Edward Griffiths, was also found guilty of striking a chief petty officer.

CLAY-PIPE PLANT TO CLOSE

The last of the big Dorset clay companies—Upton Clay Products—is closing this week because of the recession in the building trade.

The labour force of over 100—nearly all from the village of Upton—will be made redundant. Production is being transferred to more modern plants in the North and Midlands.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.