

# workers press

The daily organ of the  
Central Committee of the  
Socialist Labour League

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY ● NUMBER 211 ● FRIDAY JULY 17, 1970

PRICE 6d.

## The Tory attack is on Miners 1926 Dockers 1970

BY THE EDITOR

IN ULSTER and on the docks British imperialism is on the warpath.

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By mid-morning the National Dock Labour Board estimated that about three-quarters of Britain's 46,500 dockers were on strike and 2,000 dockers in N IRELAND came out at midnight last night after clearing cargoes yesterday.

Transport and General Workers' secretary Jack Jones, in a statement on the strike, said:

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'Our members will stand firm until we get a reasonable offer.'

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gate conference, given by T&GWU divisional chairman Harry Battie.

Mr Battie told the meeting that they would be receiving strike pay from 8 a.m. Tuesday and that Jack Jones' explanation to the dock delegates of the strike's deferment had been accepted.

#### STRONG WORDS

'Mr Jones was taken to task by most of the delegates', he said, and some had been 'very strong in their choice of words.'

Jones had stated that 'if he did wrong, he did it with the best intentions in the world' (!) After this astonishing statement, Battie told the dockers: 'We are not fighting this government', but he said nothing of what would be involved in the Tories' declaration of a state of emergency. 'If the employers are as patriotic as they say they are and as I am, the strike shouldn't last more than a few days', he announced confidently.

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to allow them permission to use the hall—which is within the dock area—for further meetings.

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In spite of Battie's comments, the dockers realized that a long strike was ahead and that there were many dangers.

A group of T&GWU members told Workers Press:

'The Tories won't sit back while the strike continues. They know the whole future of modernization is at stake. The question is how Jones will fight.'

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The speaker emphasized that Jones had no right to postpone the strike and this was why the local branch leadership had stopped men going into work on Tuesday morning.

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● PAGE FOUR COL. 8

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'This branch gives full support to the dockers in their struggle for a better standard of living.'

'We call on the district committee and on the executive council to give full support both morally and financially to assist them in their struggle.'

'We condemn any attempt by the government to use troops to break the strike and enable ships to turn round.'

The refusal of the employers—backed up by the Tory government and the CBI—to grant a penny on the basic rate of the dockers and the withdrawal of 2,000 troops from Ulster is nothing less than a declaration of war on the whole trade union movement.

It is comparable only to the decision of the mine-owners in 1926 to cut the miner's wages and lengthen his hours of work, a decision which led directly to the General Strike.

In the same way as they used the Royal Commission in the mines in 1925 to prepare for 1926, so too today the employers are using the Devlin Plan as a battering ram against the most militant section of the working class: the dockers.

The Socialist Labour League and Workers Press were the only people in Britain to warn the working class not only about the dangers of Devlin, but also about the very grave threat posed by Prime Minister Heath in his speech to the 1922 committee last week when he referred to 'unpleasant measures' and the necessity for 'unity' and 'determination' in the Tories' ranks.

Heath's speech had only one meaning:

● To weaken the trade union movement with the connivance of the trade union leaders.

● To create as much hardship and misery for the working class during the strike.

● To blame all this on the docks.

● To use the troops and a vicious press campaign to starve the dockers into submission and use this defeat to foist his hated anti-union, anti-immigrant laws on the workers in the autumn and early winter.

The Tories are determined to do this in order to save their reactionary system from going under in the biggest trade war and recession in post-war history.

A defeat for the dockers would be a major set-back for the working class and the trade unions. It would open a new era of sackings, wage-cutting and union bashing on a scale unprecedented in the history of the labour movement.

#### No lead

The Communist Party leaders refuse to treat this strike as a political issue because to do so would be to conduct a campaign to force the Tories to resign and that is the last thing the Moscow leaders want.

The trade union leaders, like Feather and Jones, have shown no intention whatever of fighting the government or the employers. Feather called the employers' provocative and insulting offer 'a courageous decision' and the TUC has welcomed McLeod's economic policies.

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Below: Some of the container traffic outside the Gladstone dock, Liverpool. It was driven there in a vain attempt to beat the strike deadline.



### No pickets necessary on Merseyside

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

LITTLE moved on Liverpool's seven miles of docks yesterday.

No pickets and no appeals from stewards were necessary to maintain the standstill on the deserted wharves.

Giving the lie to Mersey Docks and Harbour Board director-general Robert Edwards' Wednesday claim that the majority of our Merseyside dockers do not want to strike, members of both the 'White' Transport and General Workers and the 'Blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers just stayed at home.

Outside the normally bustling Gladstone docks, at the north end of the port, start-work time came and went with only two visible signs of activity.

While a few staff workers drifted in, transport drivers hitched up and made off with several container-trailers moved outside the dock gates on Wednesday evening in a bid to beat the strike.

Dockers had begun walking out when news of their delegates' official strike call filtered through during mid-afternoon on Wednesday.

By 5 p.m. most work had stopped.

And Merseyside's 11,000 portworkers are clearly in no

hurry to return to work.

Transport and General Workers' stewards—close on 100 of them—met at their union's Liverpool headquarters on Wednesday night to finalize their strike plans.

Their first moves will be announced at a Stadium mass meeting on Saturday morning.

Delegates will report back there from Wednesday's delegate conference while stewards will explain their unanimous rejection of the Liverpool employers' plans for implementation of Devlin Phase Two.

The Queen's proclamation that the 1920 Emergency Powers Act has been invoked was announced to parliament by Home Secretary Reginald Maudling following a hurried Privy Council meeting.

Special Ministerial regulations allowing the issue of orders for maintaining 'essential supplies and services' are expected today, including the use of troops to handle certain cargoes such as perishable food.

The Ministry of Defence is drawing up contingency plans for the use of Servicemen. The Royal Engineers would be used to man cargo-handling equipment and the Royal Navy to work lighters.

The three-week strike for a 20 per cent increase was the first all-out stoppage in the factory for ten years.

Convener 'Eddie' Edwards reported last Monday's negotiations, when the company's offer of 16 per cent was turned down by the stewards.

May and Baker then asked for 48 hours to consider an improvement in the offer, but before that time had elapsed announced that no improvement was possible.

The stewards' committee decided not to recommend acceptance, but when Arthur Deane, a renegade Trotskyist, and CWU administrative officer, had spoken to the meeting and recommended an immediate return, a vote was taken.

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THE DOCKERS' claim would not affect piece-work or bonus rates, talks on Devlin Phase Two would go on and the 'Blue' union would be urged to join in the negotiations on modernization. This is what Jack Jones told delegates who blocked his move to call off the strike on Tuesday.

T&GWU delegate Ernie Rice reported on these manoeuvres by Jones to portworkers who massed at London's Royal docks yesterday on their first day of official strike.

Jones apparently justified his decision to defer the strike and his television appeal for a return to work because, 'small as it may seem to the work people's side, Mr Jones thought that having got some movement from the employers it was necessary to report to the delegate conference', said Mr Rice.

'He expected that there would be some disagreement, but he had appealed on TV for a deferment of the strike and he asked the conference

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### July £1000 Appeal Fund reaches £245 13s 8d

WE ARE on the way. Yesterday's post-bag whipped in £122 12s 6d which is the highest this month.

Thank you readers. We knew you would place your paper's fund high on the list of things to be done this month.

We need £754 6s 4d to complete the target and we have 16 days to get it. Keep the donations rolling in.

Post yours at once to:  
Workers Press Appeal Fund,  
186A Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

### Prague steps up purge

THE CZECHOSLOVAK Communist Party newspaper 'Rude Pravo' yesterday carried a full-page attack on deposed former Party leader Alexander Dubcek.

It described him as a 'right-wing opportunist' and giving 'new facts' about the reasons for his expulsion from the Communist Party last month.

Charges raised in the article, according to 'Rude Pravo', show 'the links between certain events and some known and less-known facts' which prove that Dubcek had gone over to a right-wing opportunist platform.

It is especially ominous that the new charges raised against Dubcek coincide with a concerted campaign inside Czechoslovakia against 'liberalism in juridical decisions'.

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'In the past period, too, the criminal acts of disrupting public order became a mass occurrence. This happened mainly in the days of the 50th anniversary, on the occasion of the ice-hockey match in March, and last August.'

Leaflets on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion had already begun to appear this year.

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Judicial policy must coincide with the policy of the CP central committee and the Czech and Federal governments', he added.

The tone of Nemecek's remarks, and particularly his references to the suppression of demonstrations, is an indication that the Czech Stalinists are preparing to embark on a series of show trials against opponents of the Soviet invasion.

The Party purge and the drive against Dubcek are part and parcel of this preparation.

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'Last year our exports to Great Britain totalled £200 million out of an export total of £403 million—obviously anything that seriously hinders our trade with Britain is terribly serious from our point of view.'

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### CHANNEL ISLANDS AND EIRE AFFECTED

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

AT St Peter Port in GUERNSEY, dockers were waiting until their colleagues in British ports handling Channel Islands traffic, decided whether or not to work.

Foodstuffs which arrived from Southampton were unloaded and all inter-island cargo boats are being worked normally.

Exports from EIRE will be almost completely stopped in the next few days, but some firms anticipated the strike and doubled shipments to Britain in the past few weeks.

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TOM HILLIER, an AEF shop steward at London's Acton CAV plant and a member of the factory's shop stewards' executive, says:

Despite all the sell-outs and betrayals of socialism by the Wilson government many workers couldn't bring themselves to vote for the Tories.

WE NOW have a Tory government and soon many workers will regret that they failed to vote Labour at the General Election.

All sorts of reasons have been put forward as to why Labour lost and much has been said about the influence of the Tory-owned press's opinion polls.

But in my view the major cause of the defeat was Labour's open betrayal of any vestige of socialism.

The high cost of living resulting from the 'prices and incomes policy', which curbed wages whilst allowing prices to rocket, and the attempt to curb the unions — our only means of obtaining pay increases — by introducing 'In Place of Strife': both caused shop stewards to fight a political battle against the government they had voted in.

Having taken such a step it was extremely difficult to persuade workers to vote Labour to keep the Tories out.

Many former Labour supporters simply couldn't understand how a Labour government could attack the unions and try to solve the capitalists' problems at the expense of 600,000 on the dole.

They have seen—instead of nationalization of the essential industries, banks and insurance companies—large slices of the gross national product doled out to private companies whose directors had no qualms about accepting the money while chafing at 'government interference'.

The Labour government, with its development plans, instead of pumping capital into state-owned enterprises like Merseyside, gave all kinds of concessions to the champions of free enterprise and then attacked the ungrateful workers who refused to knuckle down to rates of pay that were lower than other areas performing the same work.

One has only to remember the huge redundancies caused by the AEL-GEC merger and the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders

affair, where trade unionists, in order to save their jobs, gave up pay increases due to them last year and made other important concessions to the employers.

Government money—much of it workers' income tax—was pumped in and the result, as we know, has been redundancies and threats to sack large numbers of workers.

The Labour government's salvaging operation on British capitalism has been at the workers' expense.

Its brake on schools and hospitals has been a diabolical measure to ensure that the confidence of the international moneylenders wouldn't run out.

In my view many workers came to believe that there really was no difference between Labour's so-called socialism and the Tory Party.

But despite all the sell-outs and betrayals of socialism by the Wilson government many workers couldn't bring themselves to vote for the Tories: working-class families have had a deep-down hatred for the party of the landlords and bosses for generations.

Where does this leave us at the present time?

We have a situation in which a Tory government has the power in parliament but does not hold sway on the shop floor. It will be of vital importance to the trade union movement as a whole to see that the Tories don't succeed where the Wilson government failed.

The forthcoming period will be of tremendous importance to socialists in order to study the actions of the trade union leaders who are currently threatening the Tories.

It is noticeable that they are content to mutter, but they are content to mutter and are loathe to take action.

Only the independent action of the working class with its Marxist vanguard in the lead can achieve socialism and eradicate the vile exploitation of the international proletariat and peasants.



Following up our pre-election interview series—'Unions and Labour'—on what trade unionists from different areas of the country saw as the issues in the General Election, Workers Press reporters have been out in several working-class areas of London this week seeking views on the reasons for Labour's election defeat and on the fight against the Tories.

This is the second of a weekly discussion series to which we hope members of the labour movement in every area of the country will contribute.

The working class must be mobilized against the Tory attack before it gets off the ground in order to force them into a retreat.



Laurie Smith addressing a strike meeting last Friday.

# and how to fight the Tories

LAURIE SMITH, AEF convenor of Erith's Sovex plant and a leader of the eight-week-old strike there, is a member of his union's district and divisional committees and a former member of its policy-making national committee. He said:

LABOUR disillusioned a large number of people who would have voted with the policies they pursued: their attacks on the working class and their defence of the system. Incomes policy and, in particular, anti-trade union legislation played a big part here—together with the fact that they never took up many of the basic problems facing society.

Many workers saw the danger from the Tories and turned out to the poll. I know a number of lads on my factory said they wouldn't vote, but did in the end.

But others obviously just couldn't bring themselves to vote Labour again.

There's a danger that some people will think the Tories will take it easy, but I don't think that's right at all. They're not in a strong position, but we mustn't let them get into one.

mobilized against the Tory attack before it gets off the ground in order to force them into a retreat.

While the trade unions are very powerful, if this doesn't take place we will be in big danger: we can never accept the Tories' legal attack on the unions.

And the majority of trade union members won't tolerate union leaders who accept the Tory plans.

There's been a considerable amount of fakery about having to work with any government: that's nonsense. What's needed is a strong statement of where the trade union movement stands—a statement which all previous experience tends to suggest we won't get.

H. J. BRUNSDEN, a member of the Association of Clerical Technical Staffs—clerical section of the Transport and General Workers' Union—at Coventry's British Celanese plant, told us:

WHEN THE Labour Party was in power it didn't implement socialist policies. In fact, it attacked the standards of workers: going so far as imposing a wage freeze and trying to shackle the unions.

Consequently, when it came to election time, Wilson had to try and say as little as possible because he had no socialist record to stand on.

This made it easy for Heath to make the running and the Tories were able to swing sufficient of the voters to gain power.

The Conservatives had no policies which attracted the working class, but Wilson kept quiet and didn't put forward any alternative.

However the Conservatives did have policies which brought out a Tory vote, namely their proposals to bring

in legislation against the unions and 'law and order'.

The entire working class has to be organized to fight against the Tory government. This means fighting the proposals against the unions and all their other proposals to hit workers' standards, cutback on social services, etc.

The working class must fight to get alternative leadership to the Labour Party who will implement socialist policies: nationalization of all key industries and large monopolies, increase the social services and do away with the élite-ist system of education that still exists.

They must also do away with discrimination against the coloured members of our society and all immigrants, a different foreign policy must be formed: no support either directly or indirectly for world imperialism.

When it came to election time, Wilson had to try and say as little as possible, because he had no socialist record to stand on. This made it easy for Heath to make the running.



Wilson

## The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the 4th International

The Transitional Programme adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International with the Statutes of the Fourth International

Available from NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High St., SW4.

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JOHN MANN, an Amalgamated Engineers and Foundry-workers gas welder at Gestetner's North London factory, told the Workers Press:

MY FIRST reaction to the election result was that I felt sickened.

I voted Labour and I thought everybody else voted Labour—though we all know what Labour and Wilson are.

Our MP, Norman Atkinson, came down to our factory and he and the convenor spoke. It was all 'don't worry, brothers, we're home and dry': complete complacency.

But people really had no alternative at this election.

No one votes for anything any more, they just vote against things. This is what happened to Labour.

Now the Tories are in on a lot of promises on tax cuts; we'll see. They won't cut taxes, and if they do it will be at the expense of wages.

But I'll tell you the promises they will keep.

They'll keep their promises on attacking the trade unions, reducing housing for the working class and stopping reform of education — they'll keep these all right. Its a damned shame.

But I don't worry too much. We can't wait for ever for the showdown. There is confidence in the working class and in the unions: not in the leaders that is, but amongst the men.

Look at Pilkington's. This could happen all over the country.

You see, the point is, things haven't really changed.

Take my in-laws: they had

it hard. When they got married they lived in two rooms with a kitchen on the landing—no bathroom or outside toilet, and no hot water.

Forty years later, where do me and my wife live? In two rooms, kitchen on the landing, no bathroom to ourselves. And we have a ten-year-old girl!

We can get a council house when they pull the block down, say the Tory council—but that's going to be ten years off, I believe.

But the crunch has got to come.

The way I look at it is like this. I am just one man: I have had no real political education, but I'm beginning to move and there must be thousands like me all over the country.

Workers listen to the Marxists, don't you worry. They might shout them down sometimes — like they do at my place — for bringing politics into everything, but it goes in all right.

I talk and talk and talk, and you don't persuade people, all at once, it goes in stages. You make a lot of ground when the various issues come up like productivity bargaining—that's when the message sinks in.

Workers need to be made to realize that what goes on in their factory is not connected with just that place. It's not just their productivity deal—these deals are coming in because of a whole movement amongst the employers to save their profits, behind them is the government and behind them the bankers.

Here's where the Workers Press comes in.

No one votes for anything any more, they just vote against things. This is what happened to Labour.

Before I read the paper and came into contact with some of your members I was in a hopeless position. I knew I was being fiddled but I couldn't put it into words. But reading the paper has changed all that.

You have just got to press on and on, like the 'Ragged-Trousered Philanthropist' in his day. He saw just one man on his own, nobody took any notice. But look at the strength of the workers now: they are not going to allow their living standards to be beaten down.

### BBC 1

12.50-1.25 p.m. Dechrau canu, dechrau canmol. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 3.00 British Commonwealth Games. Athletics and swimming. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Score with The Scaffold. 5.30 Space kidettes. 5.40 Junior points of view. 5.50 News and weather.

### 6.00 LONDON.

6.15 BRITISH COMMONWEALTH GAMES. 7.55 DON'T ASK US. Revue. 8.20 ME MAMMY. 'The First Time I Saw Paris'. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT! Jeux sans frontières. Second international heat for the Eurovision trophy.

### 10.25 24 HOURS.

11.00 BRITISH COMMONWEALTH GAMES. Swimming. 11.30 Weather.

### REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia: 6.00-6.15 Midlands today. Look East. weather. 11.32 News. weather. Weekend reports for anglers. Road works report.

North of England: 6.00-6.15 Look North. weather. 11.32 News. weather. Wales: 12 noon-1.30 Cricket. Glamorgan v Essex. 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 3.00-4.40 Cricket. Commonwealth Games. 6.00-6.15 Wales today. weather. 6.45 Heddiw. 7.00 Ryan a romie. 7.30-7.55 Speaking for myself.

Scotland: 6.00-6.15 Reporting Scotland. 11.32 News. weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.15 Scene around six. weather. 11.32 News. weather.

South and West: 6.00-6.15 Points West. South today. Spotlight South. West. weather. 11.32 News. Road works report.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 p.m. NEWS and weather. 8.00 'A GRINGO'S HOLIDAY'. Journey through Brazil, Argentina and Chile with Johnny Morris. 8.25 THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. 'Nothing Venture'. 9.10 WORLD CINEMA. 'The Whipping Cream Hero'. Film from Holland. 10.30 THE TIMELESS MOMENT. 'Drugs'. 11.00 NEWS and weather. 11.05 LINE-UP.

### ITV

2.00 p.m. Show jumping from Hickstead. 4.10 Raj. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Two D's and a dog. 5.50 News. 6.02 'A HOME IN PRIMROSE HILL'. The rich are moving in, the poorer people are moving out. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE. 7.00 KENNY EVERETT EXPLOSION. 7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Lyle's Kid'. 8.30 HARK AT BARKER. 'Ruthless on Law'. 9.00 CONFESSION. 'You and Your Old German'. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 INTERNATIONAL GOLF. Final of the Esso Two Shot Golf Competition. Dave Marr (USA) v Tony Jacklin (GB). 11.00 THE SCIENTISTS. 'Rheumatism'. 11.45 'THE PARTY'S MOVING ON'. With Pete Atkin, Julie Covington and Russell Davies.

### 11.58 REGIONALIZATION. 12.10 a.m. NOT SO ENCLOSED.

### REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 2.00-4.15 London. 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 Sky's the limit. 7.35 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.40 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 2.00 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.15 Ivor the engine. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Robin Hood. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.30 Junkin. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Please Sir! 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 NYFD. 11.00 London. 11.45 News. 11.55 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 3.00-4.23 London. 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 Lon-

don. 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 Funny you should ask. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25. 6.01-6.35 Scene West. HTV Wales colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00 Y dydd. 11.30 I don't do it for the money. Midnight weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report—Wales.

ANGLIA: 2.00-4.15 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. Weekend sport. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It takes a thief. 8.00 Glamour 70. 8.25 London. 10.30 Scientists. 11.15 'The Killer is Loose'. With Joseph, Elizabeth Rhonda Fleming and Wendell Corey. A prisoner escapes to pay an old debt. 12.29 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.00 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 That girl. 7.30 Champions. 8.00 London. 10.30 Legends of the West. 11.00 London. 11.45 Midland member. 12.03 Pulse. weather.

ULSTER: 2.00 London. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema: 'A Date With Judy'. With Wallace Beery, Jane Powell, Elizabeth Taylor and Robert Stack. Judy's boyfriend has been taking lessons on 'how to handle women'. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 2.00 London. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25 Pastures of the blue crane. 4.50 Phoenix five. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.30 Beverly hill-billies. 7.00 'Goodbye my Fancy'. With Joan Crawford, Robert Young, Frank Lovjoy and Eve Arden. A lady politician picks up an old romance. 9.00 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.00 London. 4.10 News. Short story. 4.40 London. 4.55 Spiderman. 5.15 London. 6.00 Newsview. 6.30 Julia. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.20 Har! at Barker. 8.50 Put it in writing. 9.00 London. 10.30 NYPD. 11.00 London. 11.40 Happy faces.

TYNE TEES: 2.00 London. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.15 Better driving. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 Scientists. 11.15 Movie: 'Yield to the Night'. With Diana Dors and Yvonne Mitchell. A young girl falls in love with an impoverished pianist. 11.00 News.

BORDER: 2.00 London. 4.13 News. 4.15 Room 222. 4.40 London. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Albert and Victoria. 8.00 Bracken's world. 9.00 London. 10.30 Scientist. 11.15 Untouchables. 12.10 News. weather.

SCOTTISH: 2.00 London. 4.15 Dan. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Summer scene. 6.30 Handful of songs. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.25 London. 10.30 in camera. 11.00 London. 11.45 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 2.00-4.25 London. 4.30 Rumble jumble. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.10 Vintage comics. 6.30 Pop scotch 70. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.25 Preview. 7.35 Garrison's scorpions. 8.25 London. 10.30 Finders seekers. 11.00 London.



# BOOK REVIEW

## SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM:

### FANONS' STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

FRANTZ FANON was born in Martinique in 1925, studied medicine in France and then specialized in psychiatry.

He occupied a major position in the Algerian medical service during the Algerian war.

In 1952 he published his first book, 'Black Skin, White Masks'.

His works include 'A Dying Colonialism' (1959) and 'The Wretched of the Earth' (1961). He died in Washington in December 1961 a few days after the publication of this latter book, after suffering from leukaemia.

The productive period of his short life spanned the last ten years and coincided mainly with the Algerian struggle for national liberation from French rule.

The volume 'Toward the African Revolution' includes many essays and notes written during this struggle.

He took up his post in Algiers in 1952 and resigned in 1956 to play a more active part in the National Liberation Front (FLN) against French imperialism.

He went to Tunis where he was an editor of 'El Moudjahid'. Many of his articles for this publication are included in the Pelican edition of the compilation originally put out by Francois Maspero, whose foreword is contained in this edition.

#### FRENCH NATION

In February 1952 Fanon wrote 'The North African Syndrome', a psychological-political study of the N African abroad.

In this essay he still speaks of the 'French nation' (the metropolis and the French Union) (p. 25) in which he wants 'inhuman attitudes to be fought, condescending ways of speech to be ruled out, men to be humanized', but does not identify this view with his own development at the time.

Nevertheless, it appears to coincide with the consciousness of the politically rising but socially crushed petty-bourgeois in the French colonies at the time—a consciousness which, in large measure, was influenced by the 'socialism' of 'the metropolis'.

It was this 'socialism' which was to play a life-saving role for French imperialism, in helping to form the basic ideology of 'African nationalism', that most valuable agent of imperialism in Africa.

The ideological unfolding of African socialism, of which Frantz Fanon was one of the main exponents, was the colonialist work of European 'socialism' on the 'soil' of African nationalism.



Frantz FANON

#### 'TOWARD THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION'

by Frantz Fanon

Pelican Books, Middlesex, England. 5s.

#### by N MAKANDA

The European so-called socialist cannot afford to turn up his racialistic nose at the African nationalist, who grew up under the colonialist tutelage of this socialist.

The latter is what Lenin called a social-chauvinist (social-imperialist).

The African nationalist may be called a social-nationalist with equal justification. His heroism and contribution notwithstanding, Fanon unquestionably belongs to this category. Those who try to make more out of this do him no service.

#### NEGRO PEOPLE

In his essay 'West Indians and Africans', published in 'Esprit' in February, 1955, Fanon dismisses the concept of a 'Negro people' as one of the premises of the Negro-baiters'. (p. 27.)

Although he says 'philosophically and politically there

is no such thing as an African people', he states 'That there is an African people, that there is an African Indian people, this I do believe' (p. 28).

Fanon himself was one who suffered sharply from the racial discrimination of France in Martinique. His basic weakness is his failure to reject the very concept of race—a weakness shared by 99.9 per cent of those who consider themselves 'revolutionary' and who reject only racial inequality, but not the actual existence of 'races'.

Fanon examines the 'racial' question in Martinique against the background of changing French rule, especially the traumatic effect of the French defeat by Germany, when 10,000 racist French sailors were forced to remain in West Indian ports for four years. (p. 32.)

Among the West Indians 'Negritude' developed, under Césaire and Aboe until by 1945 the 'West Indian became a Negro' (p. 36) after a long period of servility to the 'white' man.

Fanon, contrary to common misrepresentation, does not swallow this 'Negritude' outlook whole, saying, in fact, that the 'West Indian, after the great white error, is now living in the great black mirage'. (p. 37.)

Despite his common mistake on 'race' Fanon justly accuses the racists of pointing 'accusingly to a manifestation of racism among the oppressed'. (p. 46.)

Though he is far removed from the overall views of Trotsky, this remark recalls what Trotsky had to say on the question of 'black nationalism' in one of his letters to S Africa in the 1930s, namely that it was incorrect to equate 'black nationalism' with 'white' racism, even though the former had to be combated in the struggle against the colour bar.

This equation is an all-too-easy self-defence of the hidden, white variety, including its ultra-left variety.

Fanon scornfully dismissed the United Nations (UN) and other 'educational' methods of dealing with racism, saying:

'In reality, a colonial country is a racist' country' (p. 49)—citing Britain, France, Belgium as examples.

He regards racialism as a product of colonialism, which is a historically correct viewpoint. At the same time he warns the intellectuals in the colonies against 'the concepts of purity,

naivety, innocence' (p. 49) contained in 'Negritude'.

But Fanon himself slips at times into ambiguity on the question, paying less heed to his own warning than he advised should be done. This ambiguity springs from his own political position as a 'third-worlder', or, to use the term coined earlier, a 'social-nationalist' i.e. the 'socialist' who is really an imperialist.

So Fanon shows that he is a socialist who really represents the militant petty-bourgeois nationalist from the colonies.

He gives ample evidence of this outlook in his essays on 'Algeria'. This outlook has its social roots in the aspirant petty bourgeois oppressed by imperialism and striving for recognition as a class.

Similarly social-chauvinism in the imperialist countries has its social source in what Engels some 90 years ago called the bourgeoisieification of a section of the workers in the imperialist countries, as a result of their corruption by the super-profits wrung out of the cheap labour of the colonial toilers.

An understanding of these social roots is necessary to reply to 'African nationalism' on the one hand and to a social-democratic 'criticism' of this nationalism on the other, which is, at bottom, nothing but white racism—however subtly concealed—and, as such, is a mortal foe of a Marxist critique of Fanon.

When Fanon resigned his post in Algeria in 1956, he wrote to the Governor-General stating that the immediate reason was the brutal punishment by the French of the workers who came out on strike July 5, 1956. (p. 64). He then wrote continuously for the FLN central organ, 'El Moudjahid' ('Fighter').

He condemned France for attempts to blame the FLN for anti-Semitic pogroms, which the FLN refuted in an open letter to the Jews of Algeria.

He condemns the collaborationist Algerian Nationalist Movement (MNA), led by Messali Hadj, as active agents armed and used by the French enemy.

But he failed to see the social seeds of the same collaboration—that which led to the Evian sell-out, in the FLN itself.

#### LOYAL PART

While it was the necessary task of the revolutionary party to be a loyal part of the military struggle against the French imperialist enemy, Fanon had little or no political independence from the FLN, an equally necessary duty of the revolutionary in the war.

This, again, bespeaks his petty bourgeois politics.

At the same time, in relation to the betrayal of Algeria and of their own class interests by 'French workers and peasants' (p. 75), Fanon made several attempts to breach the 'national unity' of France by appeals to the French workers and sections of the French left.

He is particularly merciless in dealing with the 'French intellectuals' who covered up the French atrocities in Algeria, as retold by Henri Alleg's 'Question' and other accounts.

The war in Algeria was waged under the leadership of the French 'Socialists'. The Communist Party complained that the war was 'costly' and constantly opposed Algeria's struggle by demanding not Algerian victory over France, but peace.

Fanon shows how M. Laurent Cassanova, on March 17, 1957, defended the French CP betrayal by blaming the 'spontaneous attitude of the French popular masses on the question' (p. 95).

But the CP, like the Socialist Party, gave no lead for the French workers and otherwise. They merely reflected the political backwardness of the 'masses' they had failed to educate and lead.

These are facts of vital importance especially to the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries themselves, movements which cannot make headway until they recognize the political backwardness of these 'advanced' countries and the basic reason for this backwardness: the colonial system under which imperialism feeds sections of the workers on the super-profits bled from the colonial workers a corrupting which is a root cause of the betrayals of social democracy—and to a lesser extent of Stalinism.

Together with the semi-colonial bourgeoisie, they become the main betrayers of the working class internally.

Fanon's observations on the 'left' in France during the Algerian war offer many valuable lessons on this fundamental question: the contemporary causes of social-chauvinistic betrayals, such as those of the social democrats and Stalinists during the war in Algeria.

The betrayal of Algeria by the major 'left' parties of France did not prevent Fanon from addressing himself to the 'French left', calling upon them to strike, spread information and desert the French army.

He saluted those 'who had the courage to refuse to take up arms against the Algerian people and who are now in prison' (p. 101), lamenting only the smallness of the number of such people.

At the same time Fanon had the most naive faith in J. F. Kennedy and, perhaps worse still, in the 'British Labourites' (p. 121), who deceived him where a more astute Boigny, the pro-French Quisling, could not.

(Fanon calls him 'the travelling salesman of the French

colonialism'—as indeed he was also during the Biafran war. But Fanon could not say the same of the British Labourite 'travelling salesman'.)

Despite his criticism of social democracy, Fanon fell for one of its greatest ideological betrayals, namely the concept and policy of 'neutrality' and of a 'third world', neither pro-West nor pro-Soviet.

This is the foreign policy of independence; of the semi-colonies set up by French, British, Belgian and American imperialism after the Second World War.

#### 'NEUTRALISM'

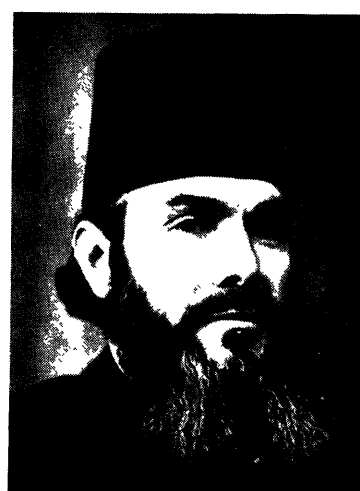
This 'neutrality' is as neutral as the 'independent' states are independent.

The 'third world', in fact, is the group of semi-colonies on which imperialism depends for its very life and which are political dependencies, in turn, of their imperialist masters.

There is no capitalist country which is neither imperialist nor a colony (or semi-colony).

A capitalist country is either a colony or an imperialist country.

There is no 'third world' between capitalism and socialism. There are no exceptions to this rule. It is an iron law of the very nature of capitalist society. The theory of the 'third world' is a petty bourgeois, nationalist,



Messali HADJ

social democratic illusion and deception.

That apostle of the 'third world' theory, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, admitted:

'We belong to the West.'

This is its reality: it is a pro-imperialist position.

Fanon died before Nyerere revealed the 'secret' of the nationalist illusion. But when he lived he believed in it, after it had been blessed by Tito, Nasser, Nehru, Nkrumah and at the Bandung conferences, by the Stalinist bureaucracies of both the Kremlin and Peking.

He was not alone in this

desperate petty-bourgeois attempt to escape from reality.

His belief was not unique, but it was perhaps the fullest expression of his real political position, as far as this had formed itself before his short life was brought to an end by his suffering at the hands of French imperialism, abetted by the same social democrats and Stalinists who spawned the notion of the 'third world' for which he gave his life.

Fanon's essays on 'The Cold War' and 'The Third Bloc' (pp. 134-136) fully reveal his commitment to 'positive neutrality'.

It goes without saying that he stood to the left of the CP of France on the whole question of the war and on the plebiscite for de Gaulle, on which he correctly advocated a boycott (a vote was a vote for French imperialism, he says p. 143).

(Fanon's stand was followed only by Sekou Touré at the time, Guinea giving the only 'no' in Africa to de Gaulle's plan for a new French Union.)

But, in the end, one of his heroes, Ben Bella, did say 'yes' to de Gaulle, when he sold Algeria at the Evian conference, where Algeria became a French semi (economic) colony.

In the final two years of his life Fanon spent some time examining the 'newly independent' countries in Africa.

He concluded that they 'are as unstable as their new middle

classes or their renovated 'princes'. (p. 196.) He foresaw 'pitiless' repression of the workers in these states, so that 'the people who had given everything in the difficult moments of the struggle for national liberation would, before their empty hands and bellies, as to the reality of their victory'. (p. 197.)

#### 'BACK TO MARX'

He declared: 'We must again come back to the Marxist formula' (p. 197), but persisted with his neutralist and Pan-Africanist illusions, even in his sharp articles on the murder of Lumumba by the UN, Tshombe and Belgian imperialism.

He criticized Lumumba for calling in the UN, which he came to condemn as a rescue agency of the colonialists. He commented that, before the arrival of the UN, there were no massacres in the Congo'. (p. 215.)

He mercilessly brands African leaders who endorsed the imperialist police in the Congo (p. 206) and who later 'vie with one another in shedding crocodile tears around the tomb of Lumumba' (p. 206), adding 'no one knows the name of the next Lumumba'. (p. 207.)

Although he was not killed in the same way, Frantz Fanon himself was in fact within one year, to become 'the next Lumumba'.

## TEAMSTERS



### US Round-up



Jerome, Epton, Millt Rosen, Scheer.

## Class tensions break up Maoists

THE INTERNATIONAL working-class upsurge creates havoc in those organizations which have studiously avoided the fundamental struggle for Marxist theory and for a clear understanding of the history of the Marxist movement—two inseparable tasks.

This crisis takes on an even sharper and more violent form within an organization which has attempted to confront seriously the working class.

Such is the case with the Progressive Labour Party, the American Maoist organization.

Originating as a 'left' faction within the Communist Party (USA) and splitting off in 1960, PL is now breaking apart under the strain of class tensions.

The expulsion of Bill Epton along with nine other members, is the most recent indication of this crisis.

Epton had played a leading role in PL since its inception as a tendency in the CP.

In 1963 he was placed on the editorial board of the party's theoretical magazine. At a later stage, Epton was elected PL's vice-president.

It must be noted that he was the leader of a section of the party with working-class roots. His principal work up until the time of his expulsion, as an IUE (electricians' union) member, was among Negro workers and students.

After the Harlem rebellion of 1964, in fact, he was arrested on charges of criminal anarchy and rioting.

The real dimensions of PL's crisis became evident in the autumn of 1969. Its pragmatism proved increas-

A REAL body-blow was dealt to Nixon's plans for voluntary wage restraints by the recently-signed International Brotherhood of Teamsters' contract.

Nearly half a million union members won an hourly increase of 13 per cent or \$1.85 (15¢) spread over 39 months.

This gain, though itself not at all satisfactory to militants in the union, was achieved only by the efforts of the rank-and-file, who refused to capitulate to the ITB bureaucrats and rejected the contract they signed in April which provided for a raise of only \$1.10 an hour.

Teamsters in Los Angeles, St Louis, Cleveland and Chicago resisted this national sell-out, but only in Chicago did they stick at it.

Local 705 held out during a 12-week strike and lock-out for \$1.65 an hour over 36 months—and won it.

This increase, under the terms of the April agreement, necessitated an entire re-negotiation of the national contract.

The extra 20 cents was added to match the additional three months of the contract.

The wage gains are believed to be the largest ever negotiated nationwide and yet are definitely less than the \$2 increase claimed over a shorter period by the militant drivers.

This will make it very difficult for the other union leaderships—in particular, the auto workers' who face major negotiations this autumn—to accept anything less without seriously undermining their own position.

The sagging-bellied ex-Marines, the retired insurance salesman and their hardran wives, could browse through stalls at the Rally selling such items as the chemical spray MACE, black-jacks and heavy, metal judo sticks.

A get-together like that is obviously more than simply ludicrous and absurd.

Many of those Birchers would be among the first volunteers for a 'genuine American' version of the Frei Korps.

of opposition to the Indo-China war in those participating:

Some of the more significant demands included:

- 1) Immediate withdrawal of all US troops from Indo-China.
- 2) Establishment of enlisted men's review boards to rule on pre-trial confinement of Negro soldiers accused of crimes.
- 3) Creation of a civilian inspector general to fill the posts now held by officers.
- 4) End to all discrimination in assignments and duties.

IT WOULD be difficult to let this month pass without commenting on the celebrations that inevitably take place on July 4, American Independence Day.

It would be impossible with this in mind not to mention the eighth annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country.

Yes, there really is an annual New England Rally for God, Family and Country.

This flag-bedecked, patriotic affair is held each year in the city of Boston, Massachusetts. It is sponsored by the ultra-right, anti-communist crusading John Birch Society.

Lectures this year included one by the Rev William S. McBirnie of Glendale, California, who informed his enraptured audience that the communist time-table for world rule by 1973 had been dealt a temporary set-back (until 1975) by US action in Vietnam.

An article in 'American Opinion', the official Birch Society journal, informed its readers that communist control of American life had increased during the past year from 60 to 80 per cent.

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## The 'Unsatisfied Soldiers' Movement' celebrates July 4

A DIFFERENT sort of Independence Day rally was held at Heidelberg University in W Germany. Four hundred Negro GIs took part in a 'call for justice', organized by the 'Unsatisfied Soldiers' Movement'.

The soldiers came from all the major US Army bases in Germany. Two hundred W Germans, primarily students, attended as well.

This meeting was the largest black-power conference ever held in the US Army in Europe. The four-hour meeting included the reading of a series of demands, which indicate the illusions, the reformism and the groundswell

# REVOLUTION BETRAYED



WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION AND WHERE IS IT GOING?

## TROTSKY



# Draughtsmen out at Rolls-Royce

NINE HUNDRED Rolls-Royce, Coventry, draughtsmen have been on strike for the whole of this week demanding a substantial wage increase.

The Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association (DATA) Executive Committee has been negotiating for an increase throughout the Rolls-Royce combine since June.

A 7 per cent offer has been rejected.

This led to various union sanctions on the company. In Coventry, Rolls-Royce management wrote to all DATA members that unless they stopped these sanctions they would be suspended without pay as from Tuesday. The men walked out instead on Monday.

DATA Executive member Dick Jones, strike leader at Coventry, told Workers Press:

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

'This is an important wages issue. The firm told us that if we could persuade other Rolls-Royce factories to accept less than 7 per cent they would give Coventry DATA members more. Alternatively, if we accepted strings we could have more. We refused to even discuss strings.

'DATA members in the rest of the combine are giving us full financial support. Manual workers are giving us support by not doing any work normally done by DATA.'

Among the members on the picket lines was a strong suspicion that the £20 million loan given by the government Industrial Re-organization Corporation earlier this year contained provisions for a rigid wages policy to be pursued by the company.

## WEATHER

London area, SE and central southern England, E and W Midlands: Dry, Sunny periods. Warm. Max. 23C (73F). Central northern England: Mainly dry. Sunny periods. Some rain later. Near normal. Max. 20C (68F). Channel Islands, SW and NW England: Rather cloudy, some bright periods inland, drizzle and fog patches near coasts. Wind westerly, light. Near normal. Max. 19C (66F). Edinburgh: Rather cloudy, occasional rain or drizzle. Brighter later. Wind westerly, light or moderate. Near normal. Max. 19C (66F). Glasgow area, N Ireland: Mainly dry, sunny periods. Rain at times. Wind westerly, light. Max. 19C (66F). Saturday and Sunday: Changeable, rain at times, chiefly in North, but mainly dry in South. Temperatures near normal in East, below normal in West.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

LEICESTER: Tuesday July 21, 8 p.m. Queens Hotel, Rutland St. 'The working class can defeat the Tories'

# Italian crisis seeks reactionary coalition

GIULIO ANDREOTTI, the right-wing Christian Democrat charged by Italian President Saragat with reforming the centre-left coalition — of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Socialists and Republicans — which fell with the resignation of Prime Minister Rumor on July 6, is to meet Socialist Party leaders this evening or tomorrow morning.

Though the parties appear scarcely to be divided any more on the essential class issues of national policy Andreotti will be lucky to form a government in the situation of double-talk, conspiracy and manoeuvre at the centre of which he stands.

Number one issue is that of Socialist alliances with the Communist Party in the newly-elected regional assemblies.

A Communist President has already been elected in Tuscany, with Socialist support, while in Emilia, where Communists and left-wing Socialists (PSIUP) have an absolute majority, a Socialist was elected with the votes of his own party, the Communists, left-wing Socialists, Republicans and Christian Democrats.

But the Social Democrats, spearhead of the attempt to isolate the Communist Party, have protested violently against such dealings.

## Essential

The Social Democrats perform an essential role in the employers' plans — to produce a government in which the right wing hold the whip-hand, including an agreement to proceed on questions of 'law and order' and legal sanctions over strikers, while the Socialists continue to plead with the Socialists to end the centre-left.

They will then try to force through the most reactionary measures, threatening worse things if the labour leaders will not sell 'the lesser of two evils' to the rank-and-file.

## Tory attack

FROM PAGE ONE

plans to prevent the Tories and the press from making the dockers into a scapegoat for their devilish attacks.

Their policies, or lack of them, facilitate the witch-hunts and government strike-breaking efforts.

If defeat is to be averted, if victory is to be ensured, the revolutionary labour movement must be mobilized around socialist policies which will attack Toryism at its roots; in industry, banking, land and in the colonies.

This means nationalization of capitalist economy without compensation and under workers' control and the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster and all overseas territories.

The dockers' struggle is inseparable from that of Ulster workers against Unionism and Toryism.

## Leadership

There is no such leadership and policy outside that of the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance.

But we are not complacent. The dangers are extremely grave, the responsibilities unprecedented and there is no time to lose.

The Tories are not preparing for a strike. They are preparing for an all-out attack on the workers.

## Prologue

The dock strike is but the prologue to 'one of the greatest dramas in the world's history. In this struggle the destiny of the British proletariat will be bound up with the fate of all humanity. The whole world circumstances and role of the British proletariat in industry and in society will ensure its victory — given the conditions of a correct and determined revolutionary leadership'.

(Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?' New Park Publications, 1970.) We are confident the Tories will be defeated only when the working class combines the revolutionary realism and 'fanaticism' of Cromwell's Roundheads and the early Chartists pioneers with the Marxism of Lenin and Trotsky and the Russian Bolsheviks — within the revolutionary party of the Fourth International.

To those who do not as yet agree with our policy we call, with special urgency, to Labour Party members to demand of Foot and Heffer and the other 'lefts' to break with Wilson in parliament and oppose all measures to break the strike now or later. No support for any courts of inquiry.

To members of the CP we say: call on your leaders to dissociate from and condemn publicly the unprincipled manoeuvres of Jones and O'Leary and completely oppose the Devlin Plan and all forms of productivity dealing in industry.

Demand that they join with the SLL and YS in a campaign to force the resignation of the Tory government.

To all workers we say: in the event of troops being used, compel your leaders to cease all collaboration with the capitalist state and 'black' all scabbing activities by the army and other agencies. The era of class compromise is over. There will be no return to that era.

Full support for the dockers' demands!  
● Smash Devlin Phase Two!  
● Force the Tories to resign!

# Mass strike paralyses W Bengal

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE INDIAN state of W Bengal came to an almost total standstill on Tuesday as workers defied thousands of troops and police to stage a 24-hour 'bandh' (complete stoppage of work).

All shops in the capital, Calcutta, were shut, offices were closed and public transport and private vehicles were off the road.

Trains and air flights were cancelled.

The huge Calcutta factory belt was silent and schools and colleges all over the state were closed for the day.

W Bengal has been ruled directly from Delhi since March, and the Congress government of Mrs Indira Gandhi sent thousands of troops and armed units of the central reserve police into the state in an attempt to coerce workers and break the strike.

The police opened fire on demonstrators in Calcutta, and strikers replied by throwing bombs at police vehicles.

Unemployment, low wages, slum housing (or no housing at all) and a massive agrarian crisis combine to make W Bengal the most crisis-ridden state in the entire sub-continent.

In the countryside, there is continual peasant warfare, in which the pro-Chinese Naxalite guerrilla movement has played an important part.

In the overcrowded cities, with hundreds of thousands unemployed, strikes, demonstrations and clashes with the army and the police are everyday events.

The Indian capitalist class is not only unable and unwilling to introduce even the meagrest reforms, but clearly wants to use military repression against the workers and poor peasants.

The two main Stalinist parties (pro-Moscow and pro-Peking) are manoeuvring in this situation, using the movement of the workers and peasants in a labyrinthine series of parliamentary manoeuvres, jostling for power in a reconstituted state government.

One of the main demands of the 'bandh' was for an immediate end to direct rule from Delhi and the holding of new elections for the state legislature.

Hard-hit by the crisis of world, and particularly British, imperialism, the Indian economy is bankrupt.

India's rulers will try to take the Indonesian road against the working class — using religious and caste differences to prepare the way for the decimation of working-class leadership.

Revolutionary leadership is a vital necessity in the situation now in front of the Indian working class.

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# GENERAL STRIKE IN CALABRIA

BY DAVID BARNES

A MAN died in clashes between police and demonstrators on Wednesday, the second day of the general strike called in Reggio Calabria against the decision to place the 'capital' of the newly-formed region of Calabria in the 'toe' of Italy, at Catanzaro. The Communist and Socialist parties have refused to support the strike, on the grounds that no formal decision has yet been made. In the poverty-stricken South of Italy the promises that regional reform will provide jobs to alleviate the chronic unemployment and insecurity represent nothing more than the employers' cynical desire to keep the area 'peaceful' to provide a stream of cheap immigrant labour for the industry of the North and centre. It is openly admitted that all the new regional governments will be riddled with corruption and nepotism — to the point where a leading Republican politician even suggested that the capital of Lazio should not be Rome — in order that at least the regional politics of the area could be free from the 'excessively complicated' atmosphere of the capital.



The Pope and his favourite politician puppet Andreotti.

# A Red scare in the mines

SPEAKING at last week's NUM conference, Sid Schofield, National Union of Mineworkers' vice-president, warned that 'agitators are at work in our midst'.

These agitators, it appears, are 'trying to undermine the status of NUM officials'. They are 'distributing leaflets and calling unofficial meetings'.

Schofield is obviously alarmed at the growth of militancy in the mines revealed by the S Wales resolution passed at the conference, calling for strike action for a £22 minimum wage down the pit.

There is no doubt that the National Executive, which unsuccessfully opposed the strike resolution, is now grasping at straws to find a way out.

After all, secretary Lawrence Daly excused his failure to support the 1969 surface hours' strike by claiming that it was unconstitutional.

Why, then, did he not support the S Wales resolution — which would have made a strike constitutional?

This strike has been voted on by a national conference of the union. You can't get any more constitutional than that.

Yet every miner knows that the Executive will do all they can to prevent it taking place.

The Party whose leadership lied in the service of Stalin, and goes on lying and concealing the truth in the interests of his successors, cannot but develop its trade union work in this way.

Industrial Relations, now to be given greater powers under the Tories.

Earlier generations of Communist Party unionists have moved out of the Party, some to replenish the ranks of the right-wing union leaders, some to maintain a 'left' stance in the labour movement.

Daly of the Mineworkers, Scanlon of the Engineers and Jones of the Transport Workers' Union are examples of the latter category.

# Tory press praise for ex-C.P. railwayman

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

DAVE BOWMAN, former member of the Communist Party's Executive, whose resignation from the CP was announced in the 'Morning Star' on June 30, is this week the subject of a tribute in an extreme right-wing Dundee newspaper.

The 'Dundee Courier and Advertiser' reports that Bowman, a leading member of the National Union of Railwaymen, has been accepted as a member of the Dundee Labour Party.

'Mr Bowman has decided to make the change at the age of 57, after faithful adherence to Communist ideals for the past 30 years,' says the report.

'His oratory on hundreds of platforms and on frequent appearances in the City Square, Dundee, has earned the respect of political friend and foe alike.'

To illustrate the political character of the source of this praise, the same issue of the 'Courier and Advertiser' carries an editorial in support of the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

The CP Executive statement announcing Bowman's resignation from the Party said: 'We regret that Comrade Bowman has decided to resign after many years of active work in various spheres on his behalf.'

'Disagreement' It quotes Bowman's letter of resignation as saying 'he has been in disagreement with the executive committee of the Party on the composition of the political committee and with some of his trade union colleagues in the Party regarding trade union work.'

The Executive statement declares:

## Sharpest struggle

The fight for a communist leadership in the trade unions requires above all the sharpest struggle for principles and Marxist theory.

The evolution of men like Bowman today, as the working class enters the most revolutionary struggles in its history, can only be understood as part of the historic crisis of Stalinism. Its dangers for the workers' movement can be answered only through the building of a party based on the fight against Stalinism.

But since the union leadership is not fighting for such policies, but is actively opposing them, and seeking to undermine the struggle as Daly did in the 1969 surface hours' strike, then it is necessary to build a new leadership in the NUM.

Explained away Communist Party members must realize that this process of defection of prominent Party trade unionists, now becoming a flood, is not a matter of a few 'black sheep'. That was how the ETU experience was explained away by the Stalinist leadership.

What is involved here is the outcome of the break with Marxism embodied in the 'British Road to Socialism', and the history of Stalinism.

The Party 'educates' its trade union leaders with the conception that the employing class will be overthrown

## No need

All miners know that if the leadership was really fighting for the full wage demand and shorter hours, as well as campaigning against the Tory government

for an end to the crippling interest payments and the nationalization of oil, gas, mining machinery, coal distribution and outside contractors, there would be no need for 'agitators'.

But since the union leadership is not fighting for such policies, but is actively opposing them, and seeking to undermine the struggle as Daly did in the 1969 surface hours' strike, then it is necessary to build a new leadership in the NUM.

## No move

'The employers are adamant, determined and predetermined that they were not going to move on this issue of the basic wage claim,' he said.

Jones, according to Rice, said that dockers have to consider the run down of the labour force throughout all the ports of Britain. At the present rate we will soon have only an elitist force.

The mood of the men during the meeting was both subdued and thoughtful. Most insisted that if the strike was to be worth it in places like London and Liverpool some adjustment upwards of the piece rates and bonus must result.

All were hostile to Jones' decision, taken over their heads, to defer the strike.

'The delegates should have been on hand and consulted before any moves or announcements were made,' was a fairly typical comment from one man.

'It will be a long dispute, but we've had these before and without any strike pay. We've grasped the tiger by the tail now and who knows what it will tear off to,' said another.

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**LATE NEWS**

**BELGIAN BLACKING**

DOCKERS at Zebruge and Antwerp in Belgium are to decide whether to black ships which have been diverted to Belgian ports because of the dock strike.

Port employers and union leaders were having further talks at the Department of Employment and Productivity on the dock strike yesterday.

**DOCKERS INQUIRY AND DEBATE**

Employment Minister Robert Carr announced yesterday that a court of inquiry into the docks dispute is to be set up immediately. The Queen's message declaring a state of emergency will be debated in the Commons next Monday.

MANCHESTER CRITICAL Opposition was expressed

by Manchester dockers yesterday to their delegates' vote for the amendment to the strike resolution.

**PETROL PRICE UP**

Esso, Shell-Mex and BP all announced a 1/2 gallon price rise from midnight last night.

**WORK TO RULE ENDS**

BEA and BOAC engineering and maintenance stewards agreed to end work-to-rule and overtime ban pending further negotiations over holiday claim.

**FORD CAB BACK**

Tradesmen at Ford's Southampton factory returned to work after a mass meeting yesterday morning.

They walked out Wednesday lunchtime in support of two suspended welders.

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