General de Gaulle, 79, is on a three-week holiday in Spain

See Vorster's European

tour, page four.

with his wife.

'Go slow' on

nationalization

-says miners' M.P.

DICK KELLEY, MP in the last government for Don

Valley (South Yorkshire), blamed the working class

for Britain's economic difficulties and called for a go-

slow on nationalization at a meeting in Brodsworth.

Asked by a miner why the

Labour government had not

attacked the wealthy more,

'When you get dockers ask-ing for £60 a week, there are

other people besides sur-tax

'Many people feel the Ford

workers were not being reasonable when they de-

'Exploit'

When other miners called

for an end to interest pay-

ments and for the nationaliz-

ation of mining machinery manufacture and coal distri-

'We live in a free country.

You have got to give people

the freedom to exploit what

they have. We could nationalize tomorrow if you wanted

Kelley's remarks are a sharp lesson for the S Yorkshire miners and for all workers.

He became Labour MP for Don Valley in 1964, after years

as secretary of the Hatfield Main branch of the National

Union of Mineworkers (NUM)

and was presented to the

He was featured on several

occasions in the columns of

the Communist Party's 'Morn

ing Star' (then the 'Daily Worker') as a 'left' Labour

MP.
He made a number of trips

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bution, Kelley replied:

a totalitarian society.

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This one-time 'left'

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tinued:

What we think

B.M.A., the Tories and the **Election**

THE PROS and cons of the doctors' pay claim apart, there is little doubt in most voters' minds that the furore unleashed by the Tories and their press has nothing to do with doctors' pay and a hell of a lot to do with the declining electoral fortunes of Mr Heath.

Some months ago the Tory leader, thinking his chances were assured because of the massive Labour abstentions in the by-elections, proudly nailed his colours to the Tory mast in Selsdon and declared total war on the unions, the consumers, the immigrants and anybody who dared to tangle with the forces of 'law and

'We shall not be pushed over by the unions' he bellowed from his Surrey sanctuary. He really thought he was in for a landslide victory.

So confident were the Tories in February that they meticulously prepared the greatest propaganda barrage in the Party's history.

The Tarty's insury.

The Tory programme, according to the 'Statesman' 'had been planned, over four years, through the agency of committees and studygroups too wearisome to enumerate; it was recorded in a mass of paperwork sufficient to fill the cellars of the largest department in Whitehall. . . . He [Heath] is probably the only man ve to have accords read

all these documents. . . .' What happened to all this massive compilation and research?

Again, according to 'Statesman', most of them have now been hurriedly stuffed back into the cupfaces the electorate virtually without a programme. He must be the first political leader to discard his promises even before polling ('Statesman', June 5,

Having gone out to shear, Mr Heath has come back shorn

of all credibility. Mr Heath had reckoned without his host: the millions of workers and, more important, the large masses of white-collar and professional employees—including a good section of the medical service-some of whom would have, in the old days, undoubtedly have voted Tory

But because of the growth of unionism, coupled with the brutal threats of 'Selsdon man' himself, these sections have turned decisively against the Tories.

The apparition of the 'floatvoter'-a regular feature of previous electionshas virtually disappeared in 1970 because of the massive growth of unions and wage bargaining in sections which previously considered themselves above unions—and

even politics. The appearance of Powellism —an undoubted danger while it has tended to create a new pole of attraction in the Tory Party and intensified the leadership crisis, has not in any way enhanced the prospects of the Tory

Party in June. Thus it was that precisely when the credibility gap of the Tories was reaching breaking point, the Kinder sley Committee and the British Medical Association (BMA) arrived on the scene hoping to anaesthetize the electorate with their claims of having been betrayed by

the government.
The Tories, predictably, have jumped on the BMA bandwagon and are trying to stampede voters with a new -new for the Toriesthat the 'economy is in peril' because the govern-

ment will not grant the doctors' claims! should be hood-Nobody winked by this latest election gag, nor should voters be taken in by the 'doctors'

The BMA has always opposed any step towards socialized medicine and was the biggest opponent of National Health Service.

The doctors, under the present awards, have done much better than most sections of workers who have had to fight the Labour government's wage freeze to get

much less. Young doctors have won their award in full and senior ● PAGE FOUR COL. 3 ->

Kremlin-N. Vietnam rift

Moscow attacks Hanoi

THE VIETNAMESE Revolution is in danger. In the Moscow journal 'New Times', the Kremlin warns N Vietnam that making common cause with China in a struggle against imperialism would only bring Hanoi 'defeat and destruction'.

What lies behind this attack is the Soviet bureaucracy's desire to compel the Vietnamese people to make

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N Vietnam, along with N Korea and China, withdrew its Ambassador a month againd now recognizes the exile Sinhanouk government as the legitimate Cambodian ruler.
On Sunday, the N Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong announced—no doubt to the consternation of Kosygin and Brezhnev—that the military and political that the military and political situation was more desperate than ever for the US imperial-

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The Saigon regime, which in recent weeks has been attacked by massive student demonstrations in the streets of the capital itself, was des-cribed by Van Dong as rotten, powerless and utterly unpopular'

Van Dong's militant speech is an obvious re-buff to the Soviet advocates peaceful co-existence with US imperialism.

He concluded by saying that the N Vietnamese were standing 'shoulder to shoulder with Laotian and Cambodian people-something that certainly cannot be claimed by Soviet bureaucracy and its diplomats in Phnom Penh.

The Kremlin is clearly on the point of an open rift with the N Vietnamese leadership.

Faced with the growing threat of an all-out Indo-Chinese war, involving not only S Vietnam and Cambodia, but Laos and Thailand, they are compelled to adopt a more militant line and work more closely with the Chinese government.

Yet as the war daily grows in scope and intensity, Moscow Radio merely calls on the Nixon Administration to display 'a sensible approach The Soviet bureaucracy has

been applying behind-thescenes pressure on Hanoi for at least five years to make a deal with the US imperialists and their servants in Saigon. The escalation of the war into Cambodia now finds the Kremlin advocating these same policies of capitulation quite openly.

Stalinism remains a deadly danger to the SE Asia revolution.

Town hall poll strike off

DELEGATES to the National and Local Government Officers Blackpool conference have abandoned their threat to strike during the election

The officers - the people who man the polling booths— accepted a 12.5 per cent pay increase and decided to press for a better pay-and-conditions

Thai troops

Vietnam.

This was revealed on Sunday

Secret files opposed

NEWCASTLE Trades Council

The motion says the Council 'notes with concern the ever-increasing amounts of personal information demanded by prospective employers, government agencies, etc. from the public and the intrusion that this represents into the privacy of our members and their families.

'We consider that by the very nature of the information demanded there is an implied threat of discrimination against and infringement of the rights and liberties of the individual. (The use of confidential files to operate a

example.) 'This Trades Council advises all its affiliated members to oppose giving detailed information, photographs, etc. that may be used in the future against their person or their families.'

The issue of employers' secret files—first raised by the students at Warwick University and later in connection with the computer files on Civil Servants—is an important one for all workers.

pays for

THE UNITED STATES has been paying the government of Thailand \$50 million a year since 1966 to maintain a combat division in S

by the US Congress. Thailand's new commitment to the pro-US regime in Cambodia is obviously a continuation of this same policy.

has passed a motion opposing employers keeping secret files and calling on affiliated branches to oppose any attempts by the employers to collect such information.

"blacklist" against shop stewards and militants is an



The pro-Unionist Pride of Shankhill band marching down the Crumlin Road, Belfast, in another manoeuvre

Moves to

stop paper

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LATE

The Newspaper Unions accepted the invitation of the

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which last week sparked off bitter fighting.



Commandos

TROOPS and police have been out in force on the Crumlin Road and its surrounding streets in Belfast.

> They were operating for the first time new and much stiffer plans for dealing with fights and demonstrations, plans announced by senior police and army representatives at the weekend.

> They saw little action on Sunday, despite an attempt by the pro-Unionist Pride of Shankhill band to repeat the coat-trailing manoeuvre which led to last week's street fight-The band marched up the

Crumlin Road with fifes and drums beating out Orange tunes, but the march passed off almost without incident. Provocations like this are expected to get more at the Orange Order and the Paisleyites approach their July 12 festival.

Plans

But police and army plans are aimed at using the growing tension to tighten their grip on the working class, especially in Belfast.

From now on, the authorities say, if trouble flares, the area will be flooded by hundreds of troops aimed at overwhelming opposition by sheer weight of numbers.

Passers-by will be warned at the start that they constitute an illegal assembly. If they don't leave they will be promptly arrested.

In future, too, troops will retaliate against stonethrowers with tougher tactics -more snatch squads and Troops of the 45 Commando

● PAGE FOUR COL. 4 →

Leaders tiptoe round money crisis

BY DAVID MAUDE

'I STICK to my formula', said Tory leader Edward Heath yesterday.

He was answering questions at his London news conference on whether he thought Labour Health Minister Richard Crossman was lying about his reported, and then denied, statement to the doctors last week about 'a period of extreme economic peril'.

'Mr Crossman', Heath's formula ran, 'says' one thing in private and another in public.'

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WAGE FREEZE

Both Labour and Tory leaders tip-toed gingerly round what they would do in the event of a major economic crisis blowing up within a short period of the General Election

'We have stated our opposition to a compulsory wage freeze, claimed Tory leader Edward Heath during a bar-

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But what would the Tories do if their warnings about an impending economic crisis were correct? Wouldn't they have to embark on a policy of

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'Not at all,' floundered a thoroughly rattled Heath, 'you see we have quite a different approach in our policies.'

Heath was equally vague when asked if—as the Post Office Engineering Union alleged last week—the Tories intend to de-nationalize the

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'CONCERNED'

'The union has been creasingly concerned,' said the union's statement, 'about recent statements by Conservative speakers advocating selling off the service to private companies . . . the union understands that the Conservative Party has prepared

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'LAST THROW' Batting back Tory attempts

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BETWEEN NOW and the general election tens of thousands of people, young and old, will be introduced to politics, many for the first time.

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ciation to attend a meeting last night. colour working methods. Liverpool meeting: Gollan ignores economic crisis

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BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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Gollan proposed that the Labour government should cut the profit rates of the monopolies by half. Yet not a month ago Wall St plunged on the announcement that profit rates had been cut by a quarter! Inside the comfortable

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SLL MEETINGS: POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION - DETAILS PAGE 4

De Gaulle

meets Franco

Madrid, Monday—General de Gaulle met General Franco at

It was the first encounter

between the two.

The former French presi-

dent arrived at the palace, on the outskirts of Madrid, for a private lunch with 77-year-old Franco.

General de Gaulle, 79, is on

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See Vorster's European

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'Rotten'

The Saigon regime, which attacked by massive student demonstrations in the streets of the capital itself, was described by Van Dong as rotten, powerless and utterly unpopular'.

Van Dong's speech is an obvious rebuff to the Soviet advocates peaceful co-existence with US imperialism.

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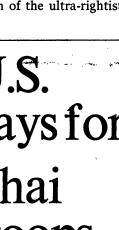
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Wilson on a 'Meet the (young) People' speaking to young school children yesterday.

ELECTION

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SLL MEETINGS: POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION - DETAILS PAGE 4

4 Reform and Revolution in Britain

IT IS a commonplace to say that Chartism was 'dead' by 1850. And in a sense this is correct.

As a mass movement Chartism reached its peak with the great demonstration on Kennington Common, April 10, 1848. After that it declined steadily and by the end of the 1850s had virtually no organized following.

The reasons for its decline are not difficult to locate. As Trotsky wrote in 'Where is Britain Going?': 'Chartism was unsuccessful not because its methods were incorrect, but because it came too early.'

The Charter, as many have noted, meant different things to different people.

The movement fighting for the Six Points was made up of individuals and groups from different levels and strata in society. Some, like the handloom weavers, for whom the future held no hope and for whom the Charter was indeed a 'knife and fork' question; others, such as the skilled craftsman and artisan were already, at this early tending to separate themselves out economically from the rest of the working

Although the Industrial Revolution gave an enormous impetus to the development of capitalism, this process was, of necessity an uneven one.

The survival right into the second half of the 19th century of domestic industry should not be overlooked; it was a factor which had considerable impact upon indust-

Concentrated

and even where domestic industry disappeared, much small-scale industry remained, concentrated in particular areas, such as Birmingham. was from such areas,

with their concentration of skilled craftsmen, that the 'moral force' wing of the movement retained its greatest hold. It is also notable that towns

like Leeds, a commercial centre, rather than of industrial production, saw little support for the 'physical force' wing of Chartism.

London was a similar case: here the Poor Law had little impact and Harney's support was confined largely to the poverty-striken silk weavers of the East End.

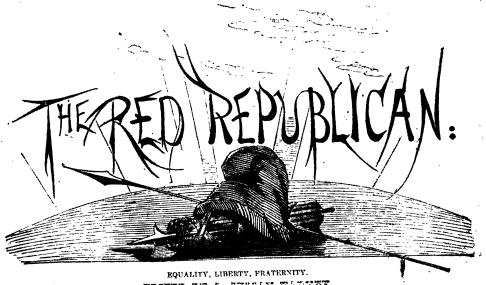
After 1850 this layer of artisans, as we shall see in subsequent articles, was to gain markedly compared with the majority of the working class as British capitalism entered its 'Golden Age'.

Quite different was the situation of the industrial workers concentrated in the northern towns. It was amongst these layers that the 'Northern Star' built up its considerable readership and the ideas of the 'physical force' wing had their largest following.

But even amongst these groups the movement did not develop in a 'pure' manner. J. R. Stephens, Richard Oastler and other 'Tory-Chartists' had a considerable following in the mill towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire: they had a vision of a pre-industrial society in which the rights of ordinary people had been guaranteed,

We are aware that according to the newspapers, Chartism is extinct; that a Reform Ministry has "put down the chimera of Chartism" in the most felicitous and effectual manner. So say the newspapers—and yet, alas, most readers of newspapers know withal that it is indeed the "chimera" of Chartism, not the reality, which has been put down. The distracted incoherent embodiment of Chartism, whereby in the late months it took shape and became visible, this has been put down; or rather has fallen down and gone asunder by gravitation and law of nature: but the living essence of Chartism has not been put down. Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore or the wrong disposition, of the Working Classes of England. It is a new name for a thing which has had many names, which will vet have many. The matter of Chartism is weighty, deep rooted, far extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means end this day or tomorrow.

Thomas Carlyle, 'Chartism' (1839)



EDITED BY 6. JULIAN HARREY. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1850. No. 21.-Vol. 1.]

Serman Communism.

Communiant to be also a Power. II. It is time for the same district an account of the communist properties of the communist properties. The following Manifests, which has since been adopted by all fractions of German Communists, was drawn up in the Ger

Julian Harney's Chartist paper 'Red Republican' published the first English translation of Marx and Engel's Communist Manifesto.

Some pages from the history of the British

working class

BY PETER JEFFRIES

CHARTISM AND ITS LESSONS

rights which industrialization had destroyed.

Their opposition to the Poor Law and their support of the limitation of factory hours were both therefore Utopian and backward - looking in character.

Where there existed, as there did in the 1840s, and particularly in the years 1839-1842, an explosive combination of heavy unemployment, a high cost of living, and the impact of the brutal Poor Law, as well as a widespread movement for factory reform, the Charter was able to pull together and unite all these elements of discontent and despair.

After 1842, with the exception of 1848, which saw the return of economic depression and also the impact of the European revolution, economic forces were at work which tended to undermine and destroy the unity and cohesion of the movement.

It required another period of capitalist development, stretching until the last quarter of the century, to produce a working class which assumed the homogeneous and independent character of a factory proletariat.

Collapsed

But if Chartism did collapse after 1850, in another real sense it not only survived but actually developed. Because out of the Chartist movement there emerged groups who realized that Chartism could only be understood as a class movement representing the working class, a class with interests ranged against the whole of society.

It is this division in the leadership of the movement: between those who began to see the role of the working class as a revolutionary force, as against those who went off in Utopian and ultimately reactionary directions, which is crucial to an appreciation of the significance of Chartism, rather than the division between the 'physical' and 'moral' force wings. So on the one hand we can

movement, a search which led him to socialism and a close

O'Connor's Land Scheme, introduced in 1847 (it collapsed in 1851), aimed at purchasing land through a co-operative scheme which would resettle workers as peasants on the land.

At the time of his entry into Chartist politics, Ernest Jones was a radical. His election address to the people of Halifax in 1847, apart from the Six Points, contained a series of demands such as a voluntary system of education, separation of Church from State, abolition of the Poor Law and capital punishment, which many radicals could have accepted and a little later even members of the capitalist

His debate with a middleclass lawyer, Archer Gurney, in which Jones defended Chart-

'Before I answer the argument of my honourable opponent I must put him right as to the principles of the Charter. They involve socialism no more than despotismthey propound liberty and

equalityl religious rights—but not of property! 'Let every man by his industry earn as much as he can -but the lazy man shall not

live upon the industrious one. That is what your system does, not ours, sir!' In the 1850s, particularly after his release from jail, Iones was to move away from this position. Most important, he began to realize the social

implication of the Chartist movement. It was in his 'Notes to the People', a paper to which Marx contributed regularly, that these ideas were developed. Thus in September 1851:

'Therefore the capitalists of all kinds will be our foes as long as they exist, and carry on against us a war to the very knife. Therefore they must BE PUT DOWN. Therefore, we MUST have class against class —that is all the oppressed on one side, and all the oppressors on the other. An amalgamation of classes is impossible where an amalgamation of interests is impossible also . . . CLASS AGAINST CLASS-all other proceedings are mere moon-

And in the first issue of Harney's 'Red Republican' (June 1850) the paper in which the first English translation of the 'Communist Manifesto' was to be published, a similar

different thing from Chartism in 1840. The leaders of the English Proletarians have proved that they are true Democrats, and no shams, by going ahead so rapidly in the last few years. They have progressed from the idea of simple political reform to the idea of a Social Revolution.'

Forceful

same author, Howard Morton, could write along the same lines, but in even more forceful language: 'Chartism under the red

flag is a vindication of the claims of labour; it is the enunciation of the "Gospel of Work"; the assertion, that the fustian jacket and the paper caps are infinitely more honourable emblems than the ermine robe and the coronet. . . Yes, our cause, "Chartism in 1850"—is the cause of the Veritable People of England; it is the cause of the producers and the battle of this one enslaved class is the battle we fight, but it must be fought under the Red flag. for that is the symbol of the new Epoch, "the banner of the Future". The task given us at present, is to rally our brother Proletarians en masse round this flag, by means of a Democratic and Social Propaganda: an agitation for the Charter

ation, based on the working class could reach its goal. Soon after his release from iail in 1850 he writes in the 'Northern Star':

'Two years ago, and more, I went to prison for speaking three words. Those words



Fergus O'Connor

"Organize - Organize-Organize", and now, after two years, and more, of incarceration, I come forward again to raise that talismatic watchword of salvation and this day again I say "Organize! Organize! Organize!"'

In future the Chartist movement had to be that organization which could embrace and unite all the struggles of the separate working

'The Chartist body should . . . stand forward as the protector of the oppressed—each suffering class should see in it the redresser of its several wrongs-it ought to be the connecting link, that draws together on one common ground, the now isolated bodies of the working classes, self-interest being the tie best able to bind them to each other.'

Collaboration

Jones' ideas had matured largely as a result of his contact and collaboration with Marx and Engels. In fact the course they were advocating for the movement was the one which Jones and those few leaders who had understood the significance of the fight for the Charter in the 1840s were working towards. As Engels noted in his letter to Marx (March 18, 1852):

'From all I see, the Chartists are so completely disorganized and scattered, and at the same time so short of useful people, that they must either fall completely to pieces and degenerate into cliques . . . or they must be reconstituted on an entirely new basis by a fellow who knows his business. Jones is quite on the right lines for this, and we may well say that he would not have got on to the right lines without our reaching, for he would never have discovered how the only basis on which the Chartist party can be reconstituted, namely the instinctive hatred of the workers for the industrial bourgeoisie, can not only be preserved but enlarged, developed and based upon enlightening propaganda, whilst on the other hand one must still be progressive in opposing reactionary desires and prejudices amongst the workers.'

Harney, with whom Marx and Engels were to collaborate during periods in the 1840s and 1850s, had anticipated the development of Jones' thought over a decade earlier. Harney will be remembered

as the leading and most vociferous advocate of 'physical force', but he too also saw the implications of the struggle for the Charter. This can be seen through a study of the 'Democrat', one of Harney's many papers.

The most interesting idea expressed by Harney in the 'Democrat' was an elementary conception of the class struggle in history, far removed from O'Connor's nostalgic and Utopian vision of some golden age which had been super-

Harney described the past as a long process of exploitation, 'one never-ending conspiracy' against the masses in which priests, kings and aristocrats had finally been replaced by the 'profit mongers.'

'In all ages, in all countries, with but rare and momentary exceptions, the many have been the slaves of the few.'

The lesson was clear: the working class would only end its slavery by overthrowing the middle class, the capitalists. Direct armed mass-action was the policy continually advo-cated by Harney amongst the depressed silk weavers in the East End.

It was this development of consciousness and understanding, even though it was confined to a tiny handful of individuals, most of whom were to break with Marx and Engels by the end of the 1850s (as did both Jones and Harney), which was the real gain for Chartism.

Circles

The small circles of workers who kept the ideas of Chartism alive over the next 30 years—a period which saw great changes in the working class and the labour movement-were to play, along with Engels, a significant part in the 1880s during the 'revival of socialism' which occurred at that time

A real, living continuity was preserved between Chartism, the original national tradition of the British Labour Movement' and the later struggles for Marxism which took place at the end of the century.

This is why every worker must study Chartism. It has far greater interest and importance than as a mere historical episode which came

to an end 120 years ago. As Trotsky pointed out in his brief note in 'Where is Britain Going?': contained in Chartism was the whole gamut of proletarian struggle: from petitions to parliament to armed insurrection and the auswers to all the problems which such a movement poses were answered not only theoretically but also in practice.

The coming period, in which the working class will be driven to settle accounts with the bureaucracy which has dominated the movement for so long, will revive all that is best in the tradition of Chartism, only this time on a far higher theoretical and practi-

These books and articles were found useful in preparing this series of articles. It is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good starting point for anybody wishing to undertake some further study of the matters raised in the

Marx and Engels 'On Britain'. Lenin, 'On Britain'.

Both these items are indispensable. They provide a selection of the more important articles, speeches and letters by the founders of Marxism on the problems of the British working class in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?':* A classical study of the traditions in the British labour movement, written on the eve of the General Strike, but retaining all its freshness and

relevance. Brian Pearce 'Some Past Rank-and-File Movements': * A very useful study of the lessons of past rank and file movements.

M. Woodhouse 'Marxism and Stalinism In Britain 1920-1926': * A series of articles appearing in 'Fourth International', theoretical organ of the International Committee of the Fourth International, dealing with this crucial period in the history of the British working class. The

first two parts are of particular value for the subjects discussed in these articles.

S&B Webb 'A History of Trade Unionism': A classical study of the emergence and development of trade unionism. Although openly Fabian in its approach, still the basic work from which all other studies must still start.

A. Briggs (ed) 'Chartist Studies': A series of articles dealing with the regional background to Chartism. Useful material on the relationship of Chartism to the Anti-Corn Law League.

M. Hovell, 'The Chartist Movement': Despite its distortions, still a useful book for the basic facts of the Chartist movement, especially in its

earlier period. A. R. Schoyen, 'The Chartist Challenge': A lively study of George Julian Harney, one of the

prominent 'physical force' Chartists. G. Wallace 'The Life of Francis Place': An old work, written by a prominent early Fabian. Provides a good insight into the role of

radicalism in the early working-class movement. R. J. Harrison 'Before the Socialists': A series of specialist studies in working-class politics, 1860-1880. Useful work which tries to overcome

some of the distortions of Stalinist historians. A. Saville, 'Ernest Jones': A brief account of Jones's life and its relationship to Marx. Also includes a selection of Jones's articles, letters

G. Dangerfield, 'The Strange Death of Liberal

* These books and pamphlets available from New Park Publications Limited, 186a Clapham

High Street, London, SW4.

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Chartists attack soldiers who were escorting Chartist prisoners after the plug riots in 1842. point to Ernest Jones; a late arrival from the upper class to the cause of Chartism, he began during the difficult years after 1848 to search for an effective and durable basis for the continuation of the

collaboration with Marx and On the other hand Fergus

Evolution

The evolution of Jones' ideas in the late 1840s and early 1850s, before his break from Marx and Engels, are therefore of considerable significance for understanding the real gains of Chartism for the British working class.

ism, indicates his position:

'CHARTISM in 1850 is a 'Libertyl but not licence; of political and

And in the same year, the

and something more.

Alongside this realization of the implications of a fight for the Charter went a growing understanding on Jones' part that only a powerful organiz-

FRIENDS

LIKE THESE

ENEMIES?

ROSS HILL AFFAIR SHOWS

The price of publicity seeking

IT CAN be safely stated that you can judge a movement by its attitude to the capitalist press.



Undying scepticism towards capitalist press and TV propaganda and a refusal to co-operate in any way in their witch-hunts are two unfailing principles of the revolutionary movement.

proud of its record on these two points. We give no quarter and ask for none from the news media because we understand the class role of the press, radio and TV as the mouthpieces of monopoly capitalism, the consistent defenders of capitalist morality, religion and, above all, property.

Reactionary and venal as the press may be, we know that the news media have a certain credibility among sections of the working class and that they can, and have, distorted the truth, misrepresented vital issues and worked people into a frenzy of hysteria over seemingly small questions.

Contempt

Strategically speaking we treat it with contempt, tactically speaking, however, we treat it as we would a rattlesnake; with a judicious mixture of hostility, wariness and discretion.

If we do use the capitalist press to advertise our paper or to publicise our views, we do so only under conditions where there is absolutely no possibility of distortion. We do so while recognizing the immutably reactionary nature of the capitalist press and also its influence. Politics to us is not a game and the capitalist press is not a joke.

We treat both with deadly seriousness.

(Any capitalist newspaperman or TV reporter who has ever approached the Socialist Labour League will warrant for this.) The revisionists, however, have

no such scruples. Their attitude to the press, like their attitude to everything else, is determined not by the interests of a revolutionary class which has 'nothing to lose but its chains', but by the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie and a section of the aristocracy of the working class who are hostile to proletarian revolution.

Steer

They try to steer a middle course between monopoly capitalism and the working class, one moment running over to the workers for 'help', the next rushing to the capitalist press and TV

for publicity.

If they do not possess a daily press or a disciplined party organization it is simply because they do not see the need for them and imagine that imperialism cannot be overthrown but must inevitably grow over into state capitalism.

Lenin was contemptuous of

such people and called them the representatives of 'petty-bourgeois revolutionism . . . which differs in all essentials from the conditions and requirements of the sustained proletarian class

Dissected

The Trotskyist movement is In his book 'Left-Wing Communism' he dissected this tendency to its last petty-bourgeois foible:

'... the small proprietor ... who, under capitalism, suffers constant oppression and very often an incredibly sharp and rapid worsening of conditions of life and even ruin, easily becomes extremely revolutionary, but is incapable of displaying perseverance, ability to organize, discip-line and firmness. The petty bourgeois, "furious" over the horrors of capitalism, is a social phenomenon which, like anarchism, is characteristic of all capitalist countries. The in-stability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, its ability to become swiftly transformed into submission, apathy, fantasy, and even into a "mad" infatuation with one or another bourgeois "fad" [read "state capitalism" and "permanent war economy"-Ed]—all this is a matter of common knowledge.' (Chapter 4. p.

The 'instability' and 'barrenness' of petty-bourgeois revolu-tionism which Lenin spoke of 50 years ago was starkly revealed by the antics of Mr Ross Hill of the International Socialism (IS) group during the Pilkington strike and particularly by his attitude to the press.

Refused

Unlike the SLL, which fought the press witch-hunt and refused to give any interviews to the press during the witch-hunt of Rosemary Whippe at CAV-Gir-lings, Mr Hill set out from the start to solicit the attention of the capitalist press without any regard for the repercussions on the Pilkington strike.

Mr Hill addressed the strike meeting on May 20 at the invitation of the strike committee and as a representative of the paper 'Railway Underground'. So far so good.

But in the course of his speech and in full view of the press, Mr Hill gave the strikers an example of the 'barrenness' and irresponsible cynicism which typifies his group.

'Jokingly I suggested that if Lord Pilkington tried to open future garden fêtes he should get a couple of rotten tomatoes.' ('Socialist Worker', May 30,

This remark, worthy of a goon or a provocateur (we are not suggesting Mr Hill is either), had the desired effect.

Next day the centre page of the 'Daily Express' (May 21, 1970) screamed in 80 pt. type "Pelt the boss" says Red Ross'. Beneath the title was a completely distorted account of what

happened at St Helens the day

before. The press had a field day. And why not?

Read on and listen to Mr Hill

'I was then foolish enough to reporters wanted was a "reds under the beds" story.

'The "Daily Express" story was headed "Confessions of a Trotskyite". What I was guilty of, apart from stupidity (!) in talking to these professional fact twisters, I shall never know.'

The interview given by Mr The interview given by Mr Hill not only gave the press another opportunity to exploit the allegation of 'outside interference' and 'Red agitators' but, worse still, allowed it to falsely represent Mr Hill's idiocy and 'barrenness' as 'Trotskyism'.

This is not 'stupidity' as Mr

It is much more dangerous than that. It represents the political ad-

and an indifference to revolution-

and an indifference to revolutionary theory and organization.

It is no accident that the same issue of 'Socialist Worker' carrying Mr Hill's story has a front page lampoon of Roy Jenkins and an article which suggests that there is little or no difference between Tory and Labour.

Nowhere does it call for the defeat of the Tories on June 18.

Nowhere does it call for the defeat of the Tories on June 18. Another piece of stupidity? We hardly think so.

The moral of Mr Hill's intervention is as plain as a pikestaff: the demagogy and political charlatanry of the IS group is coming more and more into con-

coming more and more into con-flict with the needs, desires and struggles of the working class. Far from strengthening the working class, these reformists weaken it and strengthen re-

again:

grant an interview to the press. I had nothing to hide, but I should have sensed that what the

Adventurism

venturism, anarchist indiscipline and middle-class flabbiness of the IS group. Behind this instability of course, is concealed a deep contempt for the working class

action. This is true not only of industrial struggles, but also of the major political struggles such as the General Election.

BBC 1

Roundhouse production of Arnold Wesker's 'FRIENDS' -reviewed here by BRIAN MOORE. It's hard to see the 'Friends' in any other light.

set of William Morris In it idealism has reached orgiastic proportions. Seldom have I seen fantasy and self indulgence unite in such deadly wallpaper whose curling leaves seem to have taken root, threatening to creep earnestness and irrelevance. It is verbose, formless, arbitary. One might echo Bernard Link in out over the audience Mercer's 'After Haggerty' in describing the 'Friends' as 'a series of enigmatically related con-

In so far as the piece has a plot or even simply a development line it is this.

Taste and beauty

The 'Friends' are a group of interior decorators of northern working-class origin who set up shop in the early 1960s to bring taste and beauty to the masses, and ten years later they are in a state of erosion, fatigue and despondency.

They gather round the bed of one of their dying partners and lecture each other, bicker, bare their souls at the drop of an art nouveau hat.
For some inexplicable reason

they describe themselves as 'revolutionaries'.

roads. 7.00 'Battle Taxi' with Sterling Hayden, Arthur Franz and Marshall Thompson. The work of an unwilling helicopter pilot during the Korean War. 8.25 London. 11.29 'The Hero Of My Life'—Charles Dickens. 12.48 Reflection.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above

except: 4.03-4.05 Report West. 5.30 Lone Ran-ger. 5.38-5,45 Peter. 5.55-6.30 Scene West.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white

service as above except: 5.30-5.40 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Etholiad cyffredinol.

ULSTER: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.10 Romper room. 4.30 News. 4.35 London. 5.30 Summer season. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Road to Hong Kong' with Bing Crosby, Bob Hope and Dorothy Lamour. Comedy about two exvaudeville dancers. 8.30 London. 10.45 Campaign Ulster. 11.15 'Hero Of My Life'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.20 Tingha and Tucker. 4.35 London. 5.30 Calendar, weather. 5.45 London. 6.30 Election calendar. 7.00 Father, dear Father. 7.30 'They Met in Bombay' with Clark Gable, Rosalind Russell and Peter Lorre. Thriller. 9.00 London. 11.20 All our yesterdays. 11.50 Weather.

above except: 6.30-6.35 Cartoon.

The questions that they con-

I hate, what do I value?' . Esther, the dying one, opens up the score board with a list of

front each other with, and them-

selves are of the order 'What do I think, what do I love, what do

likes ranging from coffee to pre-Raphaelite girls.

Macey, their older Jewish manager, likes words, sensible proposals and resents his wife.

Roland likes meditation and hates himself.

Manfred loves books and people till he discovers he hates working class. Crispin likes sculpture, York-shire dialect and making love to

shire dialect and making love to old ladies.

Stripped of the verbiage, the moralizing, the 'Readers Digest' philosophizing and the breast-beating this is the content, apart from the rallying call at the end to try and continue as before and recharge the old illusions.

irt ineatre of th

that was humane, love filled, and decent.

That's all Wesker offers in the 'Friends' and the bourgeois audience opens up its welcoming arms; there's nothing to worry about after all, these revolution-

like William Morris after all.

and recharge the old illusions.
Or is it?
What is the political content

of their despondencies and the ideas that first nurtured them? Wesker offers us no insights here because at this stage he is incapable of breaking from them or understanding them.

'Good life'

From the outset as a playwright, Wesker has delivered 'visions' from the stage of the Life' of 'Jerusalem'.

He propounded a view of life

With a messianic fervour he pursued his dream of bringing

art and beauty to the masses.

Trouble was that his dream was never more than an idea in his own head in the first place and, like all idealists when the real world intervenes with its contradictions and class con-flicts, the weight of history, the very uneven living process of struggle, they fall prostrate to despair and disillusion.

That fallacy came ironically full circle at the Roundhouse, and echoed hollowly not holly under that old railway dome.

But illusions die hard and nothing is more persistent than British radicalism. It is better to describe defeat in merely terms of human weakness, tiredness lack of conviction, repeat the old moral imperatives rather than confront the falseness of the basic premise.

aries' are decent and unhappy. Who knows perhaps Lenin was

Well there are a few shocks in store for the bourgeoisie, and Wesker too I think, on that score.
Class conflict you can't duck,

and it's through this conflict in all its impurity and harshness and blackness and violence, not in the name of Jerusalem, but Marxism, that the revolution will

And it won't happen in the way that the idealist and the middle class would like it to. That, of course, is the pressure what's bad, or what's convenient fear. That's why all these middleclass radicals who've ruled the roost roost for so long, lecturing, patronizing and idealizing the

working class, are in retreat and

In this the requirements of art and revolution unite. To understand the real processes of life dialectically is no easy task, and neither does it rely on a few abstract ideas or wishes in the

rowest sense of the word of the

illusions inside the author's head.

 VVHO

Dead

Wesker's play is dead for precisely these reasons and politi-cally dangerous too. When reality does not square

up to an abstract idea of it, despair or reaction can only It is no accident that Manfred



ARNOLD **WESKER**

in that retreat shift firmly to the right.

Revolution is not an inventory of what the petty bourgeois likes and doesn't like, what's good and wht's bad, or what's convenient for their souls.

And it isn't something that can be capriciously manipulated like Wesker manipulates his charac-

ters for his own ends. The form, content and structure of the play reflect the formalism of the idealist. That's why the characters are merely mouthpieces, shifting gear whenever it suits the author.

They have no independent life. They have no real social basis. They are inventions in the nar-

in the play gives a long outburst against the stupidness and submissiveness of the working class.

This is the only road that idealism can lead to. And there are those now who would be only too happy to drive the motor to

All this, of course, is far from the consciousnesss of Wesker. But what we are pointing out here are the real dangers of his method of thinking.

Sentimentality and good intentions often become their opposites, given a changing social

In this sense a faded William Morris print can easily become the blueprint for some very reactionary future.

Available from NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS, 186a Clapham High Street, Price 12s. 6d.London. S.W.4

GRANADA: 11.00-2.30 London. 3.50 News, London. 4.10 Short story. 4.35 London. 5.25 Newsview. 5.45 London. 6.30, Gilligan's island. 7.00 Film: 'Murder at the Gallop' with Margaret Rutherford, Robert Morley and Flora Robson, Miss Marple is on the trail of another murderer. 8.25 London. 11.10 'Hero Of My Life'.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.20 Newsroom. 4.22 Enchanted house. 4.35 London. 5.30 Today. 5.45 London. 6.30 Film: 'Kind Hearts and Coronets' with Alec Guinness and Valerie Hobson. Comedy with Alec Guinness playing eight roles. 8.30 London. 11.20 Survival. 11.50 News. 12.05 Watch and pray.

BORDER: 1.45-2.55 London, 3.52 High living. 4.18 News. 4.20 Origami. 4.30 Floris. 5.00 London, 5.30 News. Lookaround. 5.45 London, 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western: 'Gunfight at Comanche Creek' with Audie Murphy, Ben Cooper and Colleen Miller. Outlaws in Colorado. 8.30 London. 11.10 'Hero Of My Life'. 12.40 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.00 Scotland early. 4.10 London. 5.25 Scotland now. 5.45 London. 6.30 High living. 7.00 Western. 'Cripple Creek' with George Montgomery and Karin Booth. 8.25 London. 11.20 'Hero of My Life'. 1.00 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58-2.55 London, 4.05 High living, 4.35 London, 5.30 News, Farming news, 5.45 London, 6.35 Crossroads 7.00 Comedy: 'Carry On Sergeant', 8.30 London, 11.15 'Hero Of My Life',

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-2.30 London. 3.25 ATV today. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.20 Origami. 4.30 Flaxton boys. 5.00 London. 5.25 Women today. 5.45 London. 6.25 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western: 'Fort Dobbs' with Clint Walker, Virginia Mayo. 8.25 London. 11.20 'Hero of My Life', weather. nolds, Thelma Ritter and Andy Griffin. A young widow emigrates to Arizona and is taken on as a ranch-hand. 8.50 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather. HARLECH: 11.00 London. 2.55 Championship Tennis. 4.05 Floris. 4.35 London. 5.30 Report. 5.40 Election special. 5.45 London. 6.30 Election special. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 11.20 'Hero of My Life', 12.50 Weather. 'GALE IS DEAD'. Tuesday's documentary about the problems

THE LIGHTS go up on a

Centre stage is a large

brass bed and in it Esther, a

woman who is dying. Above

the bed is a portrait of Lenin.

Throughout the interminable

longeurs of the play, I stared up at that face, wry, firm and in-telligent, and I swear it took on

an expression of bewilderment, as if to say, 'What the hell am I doing here?'

And Lenin might well ask.

There were many bewildered faces in the audience at the Roundhouse watching Arnold Wesker's latest offering, but none more so than his.

Towards the end of the play I indulged in a fantasy that maybe the picture would animate

like a cartoon and the lips would part and thunder out, 'What is this balls?'

and choke us.

of drug addiction. **ELECTION BROADCAST** Labour Party. 10.55 VIEWPOINT. 'Kilvert 1870'. Diary of a West Country clergyman. 11.15 Weather. 11.17 MEDICINE TODAY.

9.15 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.00-1.25 p.m. Dyna wall. 1.45-1.53 News

and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55

Shazzan. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Abbott and Costello. 5.30 London.

7.15 LAUGH PARADE: 'The Second Time Around'. With Debbie Rey-

5.50 News including BBC Campaign report and weather.

6.30 ELECTION 70. Journalists question politicians.

6.00 WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia: 5.30-5.50 Midlands today. Look East. 6.30-7.15 Election 70. 11.47 News, weather.

North of England: 5.30-5.50 Look North, weather. 6.30-7.15 Election 70. 11.47 News, weather.

Wales: 4.55-5.25 Telewele. 5.30-.5.50 Wales today. 6.30-7.15 Etholiad Y 70. 10.55-11.15 Heddiw.

cotland: 5.30-5.50 Reporting Scotland. 6.30-7.15 Election 70, 10.55-11.25 Scottish viewpoint. 11.25 Medicine today. 12.05 News, weather.

Ireland: 5.30-5.50 Scene around six. 6.30-7.15 General election. 11.47 News, weather.

South and West: 5.30-5.50 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. 6.30-7.15 Election 70. 11.47 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.

7.05 p.m. MAKING OUT. How it is to be an artist in Britain today. 7.30 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather.

8.00 CODENAME. 'The Alpha Men'. 8.50 HOLLYWOOD IN THE SIXTIES. 'The Counterfelt Traitor'. With William Holden, and Lilli Palmer. A war-time spy story. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party.

10.10 HOLLYWOOD part two. 11.15 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather. 11.20 LINE-UP.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-3.00 p.m. Schools. 3.55 Enchanted house. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 Sooty show. 5.00 Magpie. 5.30 Lone Ranger. 5.45 News. 5.55 WORLD CUP 70.

6.30 NANNY AND THE PROFESSOR. 'The Philosopher's Stone'. 7.00 FATHER, DEAR FATHER. 'The Sultable Sultor'. 7.30 IT TAKES A THIEF. 'The Old Who Came in From The Spy'. 8.30 'THE HERO OF MY LIFE'. A film about the life of Charles

Dickens to mark the centenary of his death with Michael Jayston as Dickens 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.14 NEWS. 10.50 A FAMILY AT WAR. 'The Night They Hit Number Eight'.

11.20 a.m. THE BEST DAYS OF YOUR LIFE. Kenneth Robinson talks

REGIONAL ITV

to Peregrine Worsthorne.

CHANNEL: 11.00-2.55 London. 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Lookaround. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Girls at sea'. 8.25 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.14 London. 11.10 Documentary: 'Hero of My Life'. 12.35 Gazette. 12.40 Commentaires et previsions meteoro-Commentaires et previsions meteoro-logiques, weather.

11.50 WORLD CUP 70.

News. 3.42 Gus Honeybun. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Diary. 5.45 London. 6.30 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 movie: 'Girls at Sea' with Guy Rolfe and Alan White. 8.30 London. 11.10 Documentary. 'Hero of My Life'. 12.40 Weather.

ANGLIA: 10.58-2.55 London. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.20 Enchanted house. 4.35 London. 5.25 About Anglia. 5.45 London. 6.25 About Anglia. 6.35 Cross-WESTWARD: 11.00-2.55 London, 3.40

Chains combine faces national walk-out

PICKETS were out yesterday at the Parkinson Shipley Yorkshire branch of Reynold official pieceworkers' strike for an improvement in the 10s increase in bonus offered

by the management. The new bonus scheme has been under discussion for the last year.

At the end of negotiations at York the management was given 21 days to make an improved offer and this period has now expired.

The present rate for an

apprentice - trained setter-operator on piecework is £21 for a 40-hour week.

'This is the first official strike in the history of Parkinson's apart from national stoppages, said AEF convenor Jim Conway.

'What lies behind this is

the recent realistic increase at Hepworth and Grandages'— the Bradford firm which recently conceded an increase of around £4 a week.

Militancy in the Reynolds

group over low wages reached a new stage on Saturday when a Reynolds shop stewards' meeting at Coventry decided on a one-day national stoppage throughout the group in support of the three factories now in dispute. 2,000 have been out for six weeks at Reynolds Chains, Manchester, along with pat-tern makers at Crofts in

'Reynolds is bottom of the wages league, even at Coventry,' said Jim Conway.

'There a skilled man gets £22 for 40 hours.

'We now have strong liaison

with Manchester since we have supported them with collections in all three works in Bradford and Shipley.'

IRC CHIEF **WARNS OF** EXPLOSION

CHAIRMAN of the Industrial Re-organization Corporation Sir Joseph Lockwood, warned in his annual review yester-day that 'a wages explosion, far in excess of productivity increases, would put all at risk again and mean a return to square one'.

£30 million last year and £38 million this year had already been invested by the IRC in industry—the latest loan being £10 million to British-Leyland to boost their machine-tool

WallSt staggers

WITH THE Dow Jones index showing a loss of 19 points at the end of last week and other indicators pointing to continued inflation along with declining production, there is little confidence on Wall St that the dramatic rally of the previous week can be sustained.

During that week, following President Nixon's Quality talk with top business leaders, the share index leapt by nearly 80 points control from its seven year low speeded up Now the market is down at Ford

BY A WORKERS PRESS

CORRESPONDENT

A MACHINE installed in the

quality-control section at Ford's transmission plant

Halewood, Liverpool, enables

boring and reaming operations on gearbox casings to be checked 20 times faster than

cost £10,000 and gives horizontal, depth and vertical

It uses an optical diffraction

grating system and checks

a normal-sized transmission case in 30 minutes with 30

minutes also required for

Previously, the operations took at least two ten-hour

Some firms are conducting

research into use of electronic

sensor devices on the production line to make some

examinations fully automatic.

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YEAR OF LENIN TROTSKY

measurements to 0.002 in.

tion department.

below 700, for long considered its absolute 'floor' by many investors.

Latest figures show a decline in new factory orders for April, a decline in new construction projects and estimates that capital spend-ing is unlikely to rise during

the current year.

They all indicate that the recession is continuing to bite. But at the same time inflation continues unabated.

Wage control The aim of modern quality-Thomas Wilson, IBM chairman, has added his voice to control techniques is to incorporate examination methods into the operations of the those demanding some form production workers where possible and also to make of wage and prices control. Lack of confidence in Wall St's recent revival is stimulated by the growing conviction that some of the many checking systems semiautomatic, so reducing the need for a separate team of inspectors or for an inspeclargest institutional investors are deliberately manipulating the market in order to make According to 'Target' the gains at the expense of the British Productivity Council Bulletin the Ford's machine small investor.

There is no doubt that some of the largest brokerage houses have made considerable gains during the recent steep decline in share prices.

Selling

They have done so through the technique of 'short selling'—still perfectly legal under Securities and Exchange Com--still perfectly legal under mission regulations.

Large investors 'borrow' stock which they then sell at current prices, wait for the market to fall, buy back the stock at its lower price and pocket the difference.

In other words the largest financiers are preparing to make money out of the crash, just as J. P. Morgan and the other large bankers made fortunes through the Wall St slump after 1929.

B.M.A. and Election

• FROM PAGE ONE doctors haven't done too

badly either. As has been pointed out, a top consultant with a merit A award gets nearly £1,400 a year increase.

That the Tories should be shouting about this massive increase is the most blatant cynicism, since it is de-clared 'Selsdon policy' that there should be 'noninflationary' wage rises in the public service!
If the BMA thinks it can hold

the Labour government to ransom and precipitate a Tory victory by these means, it is gravely mis-And if the Tory press thinks

it is on to a good think by screaming 'crisis', it is in for a massive disillusionment on June 18. Whatever doubts and criticisms workers may have about Labour-and they plenty—they know well that the return of a Tory government, supported by the BMA, threatens all the post-war conquests of the working

The Tories have buried some of their programme temporarily, but they have not forgotten it!

WEATHER

Postal order/cheque for 15s enclosed. London area, SW and central

LATE NEWS

commencing June 1 for 15s.

Belgrade, Sihanouk, the deposed Cambodian leader, returned to Peking today after a two-week visit to N Vietnam, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug

LONDON LOW

Depressing conditions also prevailed in virtually all sections of the London stock exchange today.

The prospects of a government victory at next week's election and the sharp fall on Wall St on Friday were the main factors.

WALK OUT HITS

Flights of Britain's two state airlines were hit yesterday as about 3,000 engineers and maintenance men from and BOAC walked out at London Heathrow airport to attend a union meeting. The meeting was to decide

action over a demand for a fourth week's holiday, and other grievances. Holidaymakers faced further chaos as BEA pilots con-

tinued their work to rule. Twenty four flights were cancelled up to mid afternoon.

BY PETER JEFFRIES

It is the small man, with his life savings sunk into stock, who faces ruin. Lacking the resources to manipulate the market, he is being driven to sell by these same bankers who are de-manding the selling of stocks to repay outstanding loans. But whatever its week-by-

week fluctuations, the general

trend of the market must be

The stock values built up since the war now represent grossly inflated paper values. Only by a wiping out of these values, together with a drive to extract more and more surplus value from the labour of the working class can the rate of profit be

moved into the campus in order to 'arrest' a couple

The so-called 'barricades'

ingly defeated and a national

law - and - order ' campaign

The whole press blows up

On Sunday, the authorities

issued a warning to students on the campus, telling them

Commandos

ready

Ulster

● FROM PAGE ONE

Royal Marines, who arrived in

the Ballykinlar camp only a

week ago, are likely to spear-

Their training includes the

use of troop-carrying helicop-

ters similar to those used in

Vietnam. 'These will be used

if necessary,' army spokesmen

Stormont Home Affairs

minister Robert Porter visited

the Commando base on Sun-

day to inspect units of the

Ulster Defence Regiment,

whose training base is at

The Ulster Defence Regi-

ment is the part-time force which took over the military

role of the B Specials after they were wound up on the

advice of the Hunt Com-

Patrolling

It is an infantry regiment

of the British Army, con-ceived on similar lines to the US National Guard, guarding

The new military machine

was in action in Derry over the weekend, too — 30 Civil

Rights supporters who turned

out for a meeting in front of

the Guildhall were met with

a very large force of troops.

The meeting was called to

when candidates

ling the border.

installations and patrol-

Ballvkinlar.

head the new clamp-down.

for

this affair as a confrontation of police and Maoist 'trouble-

started.

makers'.

known to be Maoists.

SWISS referendum defeated

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE REACTIONARY referendum organized by Tames Schwarzenbach, calling for the deportation of immigrant workers from Switzerland, was defeated by nearly 100,000 votes over the week-

Schwarzenbach, a Zurich publisher and factory owner, had been campaigning under the slogan 'Keep Switzerland

If his proposals had been accepted by the referendum, the number of immigrants in the country — more than 900,000 — would have been reduced by 300,000 over the next four years through forcible deportations. The bulk of the votes for

the referendum were cast in the more backward rural areas where there are, in fact, fewer immigrants. In the industrialized areas

where most immigrants are concentrated, the majority of workers voted against Schwarzenbach's nationalist pro-

The result has been a rebuff to every reactionary anti - working - class inside and outside the Swiss labour movement.

AUSTRALIAN LETTER

Sydney, June 3, 1970 — Last week the ruling class sent the police against striking builders' labourers who are demanding a \$6-a-week (about £3) pay increase—this week they announced pay increases of up to 20 per cent for the aca-

The award will increase the salary of a professor from \$12,000 to \$14,400 a year with corresponding increases for associaté professors and lec-

turers lower down the scale. The Federal government has adopted the recommend-

ations of a report by a judge, a professor, and a civil ser-The increases will be back-dated to January 1 and is the

first increase for academics since July 1967. The labourers, who have been on strike since May 4, have been labelled thugs, terrorists, and criminals, among other things, by the press and local builders for their action in picketing building sites and destroying work done by scab labour.

The government also feels that it cannot afford to meet



the demands of 4,200 members of the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists for a 6.6 per cent wage rise, a 362-hour, five-day week and double time for Saturday

New South Wales government transport workers are also having to fight for their demanded increase of \$10 a week (about £5). Their offer from the government—\$3.60

Vorster's European tour

A new threat

PRIME MINISTER of the racialist S African regime, John Vorster,

A communiqué issued at the end of his meeting with Portuguese dictator Dr Caetano

'The conversations

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT atmosphere of perfect understanding and will

the friendly links existing between the two

After his stay in Madrid,

regime.) Vorster's visit to Madrid and Paris also throws start-ling light on the present

not the only statesman entertained by the Franco Apart from playing host to Vorster, Franco has also

succeeded in winning diplomatic recognition from no fewer than four E European governments — Rumania, Poland, Hungary and only last week, Bulgaria.
The Soviet bureaucracy

has recently opened up a shipping office in Madrid, while the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia is currently engaged in talks on the exchange of Ambassadors. France now enjoys a similar relationship.

The apartheid regime is drumming up all the support it can muster for the continued oppression of the African working class and peasantry-hence the visits to Malawi and Rhodesia, where military operations against the liberation movement were discussed in some detail.

TORY PLAN

The British Tories have

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Fight the Tories'

Tuesday, June 9, 8 p.m.
The Priory Tavern, Belsize Road,
Nr. Kilburn High Rd. BR Station DUNDEE. Wednesday, June 10, 7.30 p.m. AUBTW Hall, Bain Square

to African people

left Lisbon yesterday for Spain, where he is due to have top-level talks with General Franco.

took place in an

contribute to tightening

countries . . .'

Vorster will go on to France, where he will seek military aid from the Pom-(France has already recently sold three submarines and several Mirage jet bombers to the apartheid

in W Europe.

The S African Premier is

The Pompidou regime in

LAVISH

Only a week ago, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko was being lavishly entertained and praised in Paris. Now Vorster is to be Pompidou's guest — hon-oured, we can be certain, with the same VIP treat-

The Vorster tour has im-

African people.

The Pompidou regime is also engaged in military action on the African continent — against the people of Chad-while Portuguese fascism is fighting brutal colonial wars in all of its main African possessions.

already pledged themselves to lend political and military support to the counter-revolution in Africa if returned on June 18.

Defeat for the Tories on June 18, allied to a fight for socialist, internationalist policies inside the labour movement, will be a setback for all the forces of oppression and reaction both in W Europe and Africa.

LEEDS. Wednesday, June 10, 8 p.m.
Prince of Wales Hotel.
Speakers: Jack Gale and Bernard
Diamond.

ABERDEEN. Thursday, June 11, 8 p.m.

Music Hall (West Front Room) OLLERTON. Saturday, June 20, l p.m. Plough Inn.

YOUNG SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATIONS

For Socialist policies! To keep the Tories out!

Assemble 2.30 p.m. Waterloo St, Victoria Sq

SHEFFIELD Saturday, June 13

Assemble 2.30 p.m. Young St, Moor

Saturday June 13 Assemble 3 p.m. Morden St

NEWCASTLE

Vote Labour June 18!

Expose Wilson!

Pact terms **Brandt**

bate within the W German coalition Cabinet under Social - Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt, the terms of the proposed pact with the Soviet Union have been made public.

Government spokesman Conrad Ahlers announced that the Cabinet had agreed on two main guidelines:

THAT the relations between W Germany and the Soviet Union should be based on the mutual renunciation of force or threats of force. • THE renunciation of force should be valid for those

Brandt is now expected to press ahead with negotiations on these terms.

So far, the E German government has been very reticent on the projected Pact —a clear sign that Ulbricht looks upon it with great

tiptoe

● FROM PAGE ONE

was 'clear that the last throw of the Conservative leadership—and they've tried this one before—is to try and

He said that the economy had 'a strength such we have not known in this country for years past'.

ment's thinking, he claimed in reply to questions

done . . . largely at the insistence of Barbara Castle at the Department of Employment and Productivity'.

FEAR

class in response to it.

As Wilson commented in a revealing aside yesterday morning, 'we've got to take into account that industrial relations are becoming much more militant all over the world'.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

'Political significance of the General Election'

Wednesday June 17: 'The Political issues in the General Election'. Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary)

Sunday, June 14, 7.30 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall, Euston Rd. Speakers: G. Healy (SLL national A. Thornett (ATUA), J. Simmance (YS secretary)

Co-operative Hall, East Street Speakers: G. Healy (SLL national Frank Willis (ATUA) HULL

SIHANOUK BACK IN

Monday - Prince

WALL STREET AND

The New York stock market continued Friday's downward trend when it opened vesterday.

Selling was not heavy but there was hardly a buyer in sight to absorb the stock on offer.

HEATHROW FLIGHTS

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

southern England, SE England, Midlands: Mostly fine, sunny Scattered thunderstorms is afternoon and evening. Light variable winds. Very hot. Max. 28C (82F). Cooler near

NW and central northern England: Mostly fine, sunny. Perhaps scattered showers. Light easterly winds. Very hot. Max. 27C (81F). Glasgow area, N Ireland: Mostly fine, sunny. Perhaps isolated showers. Light easterly winds. Very hot. Max.

coasts.

26C (79F). Edinburgh: Mostly dry, sunny. Cloudy, misty early and late near the coast. Light or moderate easterly winds. Very warm inland. Cooler near coast. Max. 19C (66F). Channel Islands: Mostly fine, sunny. Light easterly winds. Perhaps occasional thundery

in afternoon. Warm. press for the reformist de-mand of a Bill of Rights for Max. 21C (70F). Wednesday and Thursday: Ulster. Continuing very warm. Rather The General Election in the cloudy at times along NE six counties began in earnest Scattered thundery showers in afternoon and handed in their nominations.

THE RECENTLY-PASSED laws in France, designed to attack working-class organizations under the guise of protecting 'law and order', have soon showed their true meaning.

POLICE

PROVOCATION

IN FRANCE

At Grenoble University, in SE France, the CRS (riot gendarmerie troops have moved into the town in thousands on the preto leave their rooms immediately, whether they have anywhere to go or not, otherwise they could immediately be text of dealing with Maoist students on the campus. On Wednesday, June 3, a truck-load of armed civilians

set up have since been manned Trotskyist militant and author by several hundred people unof several Marxist works, and known to the students, and chairman union of university teachers, reminiscent of the 'Katangais' in his personal capacity: (provocateurs, petty criminals, etc.) who moved into the Sorbonne in May-June 1968. The purpose is only to create a provocation in which AS A TEACHER, and an the students can be resound-

claration issued on Sunday by Pierre Broué, well-known

BY A WORKERS PRESS

having first submitted it to my colleagues and my com-The attempt by armed civilians to remove two Maoist militants on Wednesday, June 3, followed by the massive and

in fact resulted in a situation of exceptional gravity. This can legitimately be considered as the first con-crete application of the so-'anti-smashers' law, which the trade union and political organizations of the working class have already denounced as meaning a future of repression in store for all of us: work will go on under

in permanent fear of provocations. On the one hand, the withdrawal of police forces from the campus, carried out on the evening of June 3, cannot be accepted as sufficient answer to the disquiet and even

The massive presence of the CRS and 'gendarmes mobiles' in the town and its outskirts. as well as their daily actions of harassment, are an intolerable and constant menace weighing on the residents and workers on the campus. On the other hand,

the supposedly fortified area, where, under their protection, totally irresponsible and unconsidered actions are being

be turned against the mass of students.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT victims of the recently-passed We publish below the de-

active trade union and political worker. I consider it my duty, in face of the serious situation in Grenoble, to make public declaration without

provocatory intervention of police forces in the campus, around the Berlioz hostel, has

direct police surveillance and

the fear of the university

résidents.

legitimate concern of students for defence since June 3 has ended in a situa-tion where elements totally foreign to the university and even from outside the region altogether are in control in

perpetrated. The actions of these groups liberty and safety of those who live and work on the campus. They give a constant pretext for renewed intervention by the police forces, which, as on June 3, would

campus hostels to seek shelter elsewhere. Still, many students remain who have no alternative ac-

commodation. They find them-

selves faced with the double menace of grenades and baton charges on the one hand, and motorcycle chain attacks and

The joint trade unions on the campus (university teachers, students and technicians and

tion: given these conditions, the situation could only get worse day by day. The authorities of Universities II and III (at Grenoble)

definite date, against the real wishes and clear interests of the students? Are they going to have to be conducted in a campus with its entrances barricaded, those who, on June 3, threw tear-gas grenades into the

In other words, are the students going to lose a year's work because of indefinite postponement of the examinations, or are they going to enjoy their future in the university in examination rooms where any sort of opposition—and this is already anticipated by the present situation -would constitute the pretext a police intervention of June 3 has already taught people to be fearful?

as well as all democrats. Today, everyone must take up their responsibilities.

A large proportion of the resident students have left the

On the side of the government, it is urgent to have a declaration of whether they are prepared to pursue a path leading directly to havoc and

the destruction of the univer-

sity of Grenoble, to a repres-

sion directed against the

paying directly for the con-

sequences of scandalous gen-

eral policies and measures in

the educational field, the re-

ponsibility for which has never yet been officially settled.

class and democratic organiza-

tions, it is urgent to go for-

ward to actions which live up

to the declarations made: is it

acceptable—yes or no?—that the fate of the university, the

students and the teachers of Grenoble shall be settled by

ministerial or regional officials

according to 'considerations of public order'?

Is it right—yes or no?—to

just wait for a renewed police intervention or for fresh

attacks (which amounts to the

same thing) in order then only

to repeat a platonic protest and allow the press to create

the illusion that it is simply

a quarrel between 'the forces

of law and order' and 'left

wing students', while actually

everybody knows that what is

at stake is the future of

democratic liberties in this

The Grenoble campus affair

Let those who raise their

It is a matter for others to

organize in order to break the

trap which has been prepared

for the students, teachers, re-

searchers and technicians of

the university campus, and not only for them, but through

them the whole of the work-

ing class and its organizations,

is one of concern to the whole

country, because it is a blow

hands in horror say so.

aimed at the youth.

country?

On the side of the working-

The students would then be

students as a whole.

robberies on the other, unable to know which is worst, and knowing perfectly well that each side only justifies its actions by the attitude of the

other workers) on June 4 gave the first basis of a united reply by deciding to strike. But on that day, unity could not be realized between the different trade union con-federations and only this could have turned the situa-

have decided to suspend all activities from Monday, June We are in the examinations period. Should these examinations be put off to an in-

Barnave restaurant, in atmosphere of violence, of nervous tension and anxiety born of a very real insecurity?

> Grenoble, Sunday, June 7, 1970

BIRMINGHAM Saturday June 13

The demonstrations will be followed by public meetings.

Soviet agreed by

By a foreign correspondent

AFTER PROLONGED de-

differences of opinion which persist after the conclusion of the W Germany-Soviet Union pact.

Reticent

Leaders

stir up talk of an economic crisis'.

A compulsory wage freeze was not part of the govern-

But he again refused to be drawn into any more definite statement than 'I believe we can get what is required by gard to what had already been

What is sticking both Party leaders so firmly to their catch-all formulas is, at base, fear, both of the extremely unstable economic situation internationally and of the movement of the working

OXFORD Alma Hall, Alma Place, 7.30 p.m. Wednesday June 10: 'The lesssons of the 1964-1970 Labour government'.

LONDON

SWINDON Friday, June 12, 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, June 10, 8 p.m. ASW Hall, 53 Beverley Road