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Socialist Labour League

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What we think

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Quite correctly, it describes the trial as a 'mockery', in which one of the defending lawyers was sent to prison for a year.

'Those who should be in the dock,' declares the 'Morning Star', 'are the colonels, not their opponents, who are acting to put right the crime committed against their country when the fascists organized their coup.'

Rightly so.

But before anyone takes the 'Morning Star's' declarations on this question at their face value, we must look more closely at the record of Stalinism in Greece.

For the main responsibility for the imposition of the military dictatorship on the Greek workers lies at the door of Stalinism.

Today the Greek ruling class is able to jail for life and torture to death CP members and other working-class fighters only because of the betrayals of Stalinism over the past quarter of a century.

The 'Star's' editor is well aware of the real history of the Greek revolution.

In case he was unclear previously, the statement of Mikis Theodorakis at his recent meeting in London would have put him right.

In 1944, the Greek monarchy could have been overthrown and power taken by the workers.

The Greek Communist Party had behind it the mass of workers and peasants, and its Army, ELAS, was in a powerful position as the German troops moved out.

But, as Theodorakis and other Greek CP members can tell, Stalin carried out his agreement with Churchill and ordered the Greek Stalinists to welcome the British Army bringing back the King.

Stalinism handed over the Greek working class to imperialism and its puppets, bound hand and foot.

The Greek CP allowed the old politician Papandreu to plot with Churchill's representative how to smash the movement of the workers.

Only after the defeat was accomplished did the Stalinists begin the adventurous Civil War.

Of course, the 'Morning Star's' predecessor, the 'Daily Worker', lied about these events, just as the 'Star' today tries to hide the truth about the role of Stalinism in relation to Greece.

But hypocritical indignation can no longer cover the crimes of Stalinism.

When, in 1963, the Greek working class began to rise over from the treachery of 1944, the Stalinists once again led the workers into the trap prepared by the same Papandreu.

Telling them to wait for the elections, they allowed the ruling class to get ready for the military coup.

The 'Morning Star' does not tell its dwindling readership these things, any more than it tells them about the growing diplomatic and economic ties between East European and Russian Stalinists and the Greek colonels.

While it waxes indignant about the attacks on the Communist Party, it remains silent about the junketing of their torturers with the Stalinist bureaucrats, about their ever closer relations with Franco's Spain and about the strike-breaking activities of the Polish government in Spain and Ireland.

The Trotskyist movement has fought continually for internationalist principles in relation to Greece.

We shall continue this fight and will force the Stalinists to answer before the entire workers' movement for the actions of the Soviet bureaucracy and the history of Stalinism in relation to the heroic struggle of the Greek working class.

National dock strike July 14

Dockers all out to win

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BY JOHN SPENCER



T&GWU national docks officer Tim O'Leary speaking to reporters after yesterday's conference

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The employers had offered to make minimum earnings up to £20 for a full week's work. Present basic is £11 1s 8d for all ports except Liverpool.

Piecework

A £20 basic wage would raise dockers' piecework, overtime and holiday pay as well as basic flat-rate earnings, and effectively scotch the dock employers' carefully-laid plans to introduce Stage Two of the Devlin speed-up scheme.

On the key London docks employers have twice been forced to postpone Stage Two and many sections of dockers still adamantly oppose it.

But there are dangers in front. Transport and General Workers' Union docks leaders are said to be less than wholehearted about a fight with the Tory government.

Brokers

'I wouldn't object if the government believed it to be their responsibility to intervene. We'll take them as being honest brokers if they want to,' said national docks officer Tim O'Leary after yesterday's meeting.

O'Leary is thought to have favoured sporadic rather than all-out national action on the claim.

'The employers appear to be united on this issue and the chief concern of Home is in talks today.'

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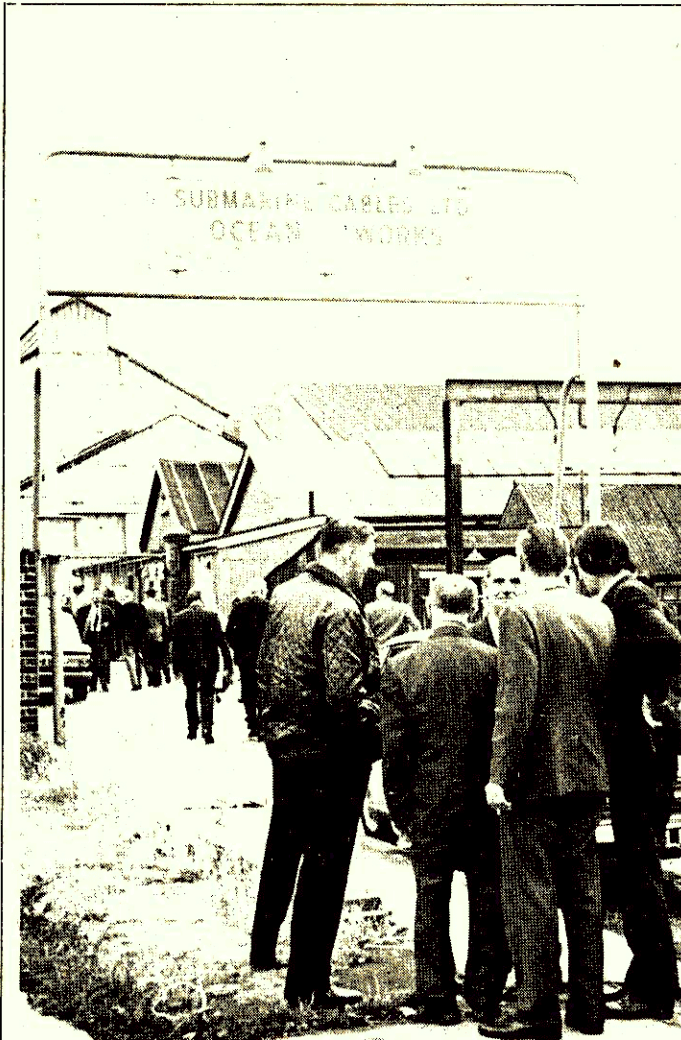
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An agreement with the Iranian government would be important for the British to try to maintain some control in the Gulf.

The election of the Tory government led to speculation that the decision to withdraw would be reversed, but it seems more likely that the Tories will look for other ways to protect oil and other British interests.

The main problem for British imperialism is not the conflict between the various sheiks in the area, nor the development of Arab nationalism, but competition with the US oil firms.

This is likely to be the chief concern of Home in his talks today.



Workers enter the factory yesterday to collect a tax rebate

Cables stewards to lobby talks

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

SHOP STEWARDS from Standard Telephones' Erith and Greenwich Submarine Cables factories are to lobby talks today between officials of the London Association of Engineering Employers and of the five unions involved in their two-week-old strike.

A mass meeting of the Erith strikers, who are fighting proposals to make 280 hourly-paid workers redundant, agreed this yesterday after hearing reports from Transport and General Workers' convenor Bill Wright and Greenwich strike leader Harry Stevens.

If tomorrow's talks do not produce 'anything fruitful', Bill Wright told the meeting, shop stewards from other STC plants in the area could be telling their managements that they might have to consider withdrawing their labour in support of the 450 strikers.

He expresses his heartfelt thanks to Harold Wilson and his colleagues for the wonderful job they have done, which reminds us of the Russian folklore character who used to felicitate mourners at funerals and weep at weddings.

Not satisfied with such gratuitous compliments to the undertakers of the last Labour government, Mr Conway goes out of his way to endorse entry into the Common Market with the specious rationalization that those who oppose such entry and favour East-West trade only do so because they make 'financial fortunes' out of such trade.

We are not too clear who Mr Conway was referring to, since one of the chief exponents of East-West trade and of greater commercial involvement with the USSR was none other than the last Prime Minister—H. Wilson!

Somewhat puzzled by the exact nature of his remarks we turned to a random selection of back numbers of the AEF journal seeking a plain man's guide to this mystery.

In February 1968 we discovered that this advocate of 'Europeanism' and the Common Market was nothing more than a British patriot.

Caught up in the first flush of the 'Back Britain' movement, Conway enthusiastically blew the trumpet and waved the Red, White and Blue with a great vigour:

'Why should we import three-quarters of our new machine tools from European countries,' he lamented and concluded with the 'stirring' call:

'Is it not time for us to think British, buy British?'

Digging deeper into these monthly editorial thoughts we find him in March 1970 defending the 'so viciously ridiculed' Harold Wilson who

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Group of Ten meeting ends in deadlock

Common Market-US rift widens

BY PETER JEFFRIES

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Considerable American pressure for thorough-going changes in present international monetary arrangements have been completely rejected by the French.

The Pompidou government has re-opened the war against the dollar which characterized much of General de Gaulle's economic policy.

The Americans argued throughout the Paris talks for a significant widening of the present 'parity' margins within which currencies can move before the need for a formal revaluation, together with easier arrangements for more rapid and frequent currency revaluations.

On both counts the French stood firm.

They fear that if these proposals were successful, they would undermine any chance of a common European currency, which they see as a necessary counterweight to the dollar.

Greater flexibility for European currencies would also seriously damage the Common Market's agricultural pricing policy already weakened at the time of the last German mark revaluation.

More than this, the American proposals represent an attempt to destroy the 1944 Bretton Woods arrangements which have been the basis of the post-war monetary system.

At the end of the war it was the Americans who insisted on a highly rigid currency system as a safeguard against the free-for-all which broke out during the financial crisis following 1931.

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Their shift in position on this fundamental issue reveals the deep nature of the dollar's crisis, undermined, as it has been, by the rapid inflation of the past decade.

It is clear that the Nixon Administration hopes that a more flexible system will allow it to pass off the brunt of the crisis in the world

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A RECOMMENDATION for strike action from August 18 will be put by shop stewards to a factory-gate meeting at London's Acton CAV plant this morning.

After four days of negotiations with the management, the executive members of the joint shop stewards' committee met the stewards at a summons meeting in the works canteen on Wednesday.

The convenors reported that talks on their £6-£8 factory claim had broken down on Monday.

It had become clear then that a joint union-management committee which had been proposed to deal with piecework would in fact be expected to work along lines that would limit piecework earnings.

The management claimed that a 20 per cent wage-drift had developed in piecework prices over the last nine months.

They compared output performance rates with those of their plants at Sudbury in Suffolk, Rochester in Kent and Fazakerly.

Different

But the type of work there is very different, especially with regard to Rochester and Sudbury, where the notorious tele-control monitoring system is in operation.

The management, of course, declined to divulge the earnings in these two 'model' factories where everything has been sold, including the tea breaks.

Their wage rates are reputed to be 20 per cent less than at Acton.

Despite all the fuss about the piecework wage drift in Acton, the average earnings for piecework operators is still less than £22.

The management, it appeared, wanted a ceiling imposed by the Acton committee.

They wanted the operators to have the 'opportunity' to earn a 90-minute hour bonus, which is equal to a 250 per cent piecework performance at BSI 125.

'Communist criminals' in cages says Saigon

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

PRISONERS kept in 'tiger cages' on Con Son island were 'communist criminals', said a S Vietnamese government statement yesterday.

The cages, reported by two US Congressmen and a journalist this week, have caused a major crisis for the Nixon government.

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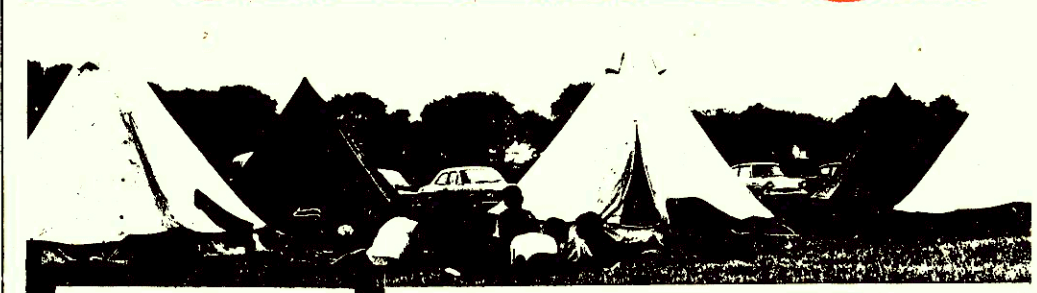
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Why Labour lost



WORKERS are holding the line firm against the Tory government.

Interviews by Workers Press reporters in several areas of London over the last few days found dockers, engineers and 'white-collar' workers all expressing mistrust of the new government's policies and plans.

The antagonism that divides those who sell their labour from those who live off it was vividly revealed by a Bermondsey engineering worker who spoke to us in a public house in the heart of London's dockland.

Ten men

'There was a man in 1934 who said in Edinburgh that Britain would not be sorted out until ten men were waiting outside the factory for one man's job. Churchill, the man who sent troops against the Tonypandy miners. That's the Tories.'

A stevedore, waiting at Scruttons Maltby's Royal docks muster point put it this way:

'The Tories—I know them from old, I know the form book on these boys and I can tell you they have never done us any favours and I'm not looking for any from this government.'

The Churchillian brutality, the Tory braggarts of the 1920s and 1930s crowding over a

demoralized labour force have not been forgotten.

And it is also clear that workers now feel far from defeated, they have the will and the power to make Churchill's heirs pay for the past.

But many workers were not clear why the Labour administration was defeated.

Some still retained the illusion that Wilson had 'done a good job'.

Here are two contrasting views, one from a woman old age pensioner and a life-long Labour supporter the other from an East End engineer.

'When the Tories were in they didn't do nothing and left all the dirty work for Wilson. I feel very sorry for Harold Wilson, I don't understand why the Tories got in,' said Mrs Hogan of Bermondsey.

'They call Wilson's party the Labour Party. When they were in power they were supposed to control the government, but round here rent went up—a big increase. Now the Greater London Council was Tory, we know that, but Wilson should have stepped in and put an embargo on it. Because he didn't he lost a lot of support.'

Most people expressed disgust towards the national press, television and the opinion polls—

'I think the press and the polls made a lot of people sit back and think it was all over. Down here there is a tendency to think that they were all bent. But Wilson was taken in and he was far too complacent,' said the stevedore quoted above.

'I think that they were all bent, they should not have listened to the polls, a poll is not a vote. The press put up these polls but what are the press—the Tories', another

docker from Bermondsey's Tooley St wharf.

The dangers of racialism were also apparent, but many workers have already scented Powell's political trail:

'One thing I think is clear, he has more influence in the Tory Party than they would like to make out. Deep down I don't think that Heath is really opposed to Powell at all since his main aim is to split the working men up,' said a portworker, again from the Royal group of docks—once reported to be a centre of racialism in the capitalist press.

Folklore

Others regurgitated the modern racist folklore that with the help of the press has become a feature:

'I'm not a racist, but the country's overcrowded, Powell has put his finger on what a lot of people think. I know he's a Tory, but what he says just appears to be common sense to me.'

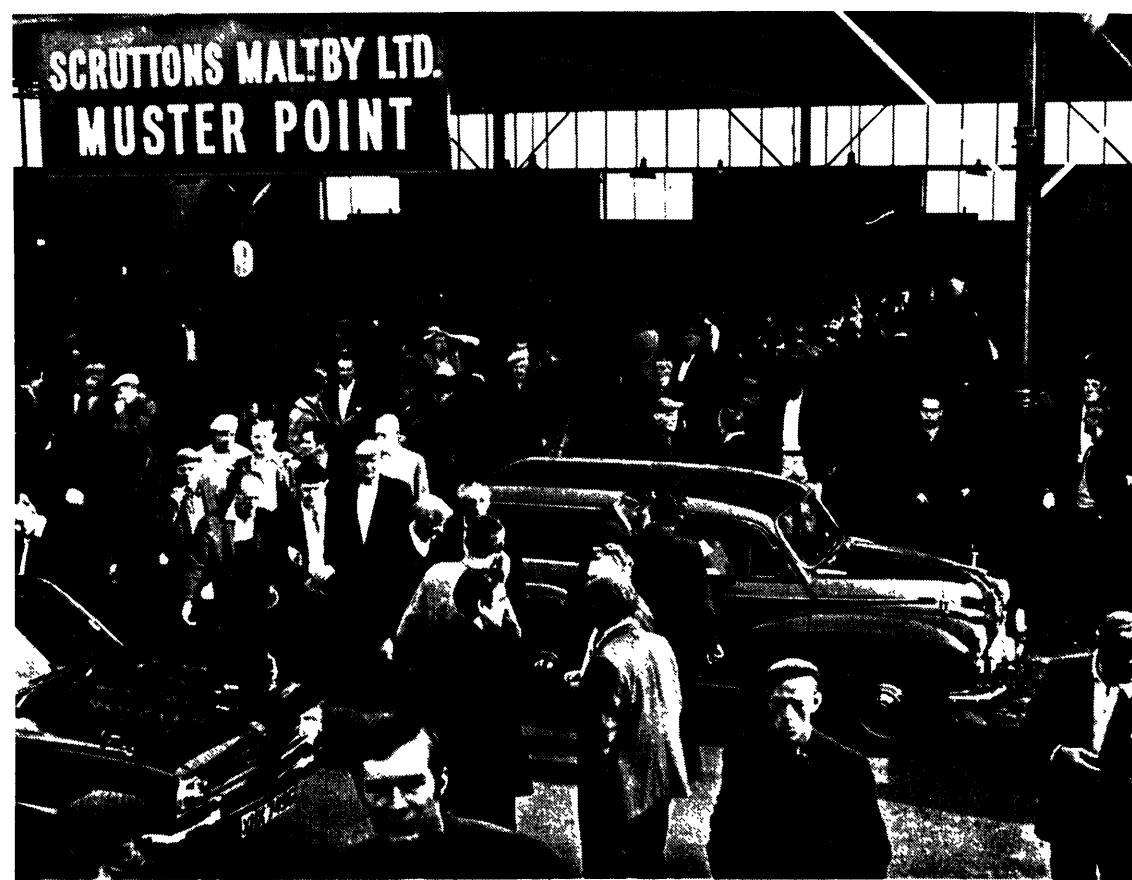
The question that bit deepest, however, was defence of the trade unions.

That there would be strikes, go-slows, overtime bans to defend standards and oppose anti-strike laws was a common view, but what if the trade union leaders betrayed?

What preparation could be made right now?

A lorry-driving member of the Transport and General Workers' Union from Wapping told us:

'I don't know if the leadership of our union is going to fight or not. But if the Tories attack the unions there'll be an explosion.'



Dockers mustering near London's Royal group of docks earlier this week.

BOB PERT, a member of the strike committee at Erith's Sovex elevator and conveyor plant, told us:

THE WORKING class is certainly under attack from the Tories on a wide front.

Their intention to attack the trade unions with legislation demanding binding contracts of employment, which will seek to curb the activities of trade unionists in struggle, has to be seen in relation to their other proposed law reforms.

Certain trade union leaders have already voiced opinions which the employers' press have called militant, which on close examination turn out to be means of accommodation with the employers.

We must not be misled by these people, but fight even harder so as not to be misled by the reformists.

The Tories themselves offer us enough diversions with their proposals on immigration, housing, their financial plans and their moves to allow greater participation in government on Scotland on a nationalist basis.

All of these proposals have some appeal to some sections of the working class who don't think in a socialist way—the result being that we're involved in the prevention of splits and divisions amongst ourselves instead of fighting the common

enemy and challenging for the ownership of land and industry.

Can any regional plan, housing plan or education plan be fair to the working class when it's not based on socialism? No Tory ever gave a worker anything unless he already had provision twice as much away again. That's the principle of productivity dealing.

Of course the attack on the working class by the Tories is going to take place in the Middle East, SE Asia, the Persian Gulf, Rhodesia and Nigeria as well as in Britain—this was made quite clear by the Queen's Speech.

Again we will be involved in anti-working-class thinking if we are encouraged by any of the right-wing leaders in the labour movement who have already expressed some measure of support for some of the Tory proposals here.

The other major battle we are confronted with is the Common Market.

This again will set the working classes in opposition to one another and can only be defeated by united action of this country and the Common Market countries within the organized sections of the working class.

DOUG BLOW, convener of Dagenham's Victor Engineering works and a former member of the Amalgamated Engineers' and Foundryworkers' policy-making National Committee, told a Workers Press reporter:

HEATH and the Tories have carried a colossal confidence trick in kidding the electorate that they can reduce taxes, halt rising prices and spend more money on policing East of Suez while expanding education and joining the Common Market. At the same time they propose to introduce commercial radio. Consumers must pay the extra advertising cost.

It is to be noted that the government have not committed themselves to dates for this reduced taxation and the rest.

No doubt they intend to rob Peter to pay Paul and cut the social services.

Industrial relations legislation can only end in a general strike and I am sure that the workers of this country, who gave birth to trade unionism, are not going to allow their birthright to be taken away.

We shall resist and we shall overcome.

If the government negotiates our entry into the Common Market without a referendum then they will have destroyed our independence as a nation and sold out to the monopolists of the world. We should use all means at our disposal to defeat their objectives.



Three of the seven dockers' leaders tried on conspiracy charges under Wartime Order 1305 in 1951 carried shoulder high from the courtroom after their acquittal. Left to right: Bill Johnson, 'Nudger' Harrison and Harry Constable.

DAN FLYNN, a Transport and General Workers' Union member from the Royal docks, had this to say:

WHERE I live the Tories pushed up their vote by about 2,000 votes.

I think a lot of this must have been made up by women affected by the way prices are rocketing up in the shops. Conservatives made a lot of the old sex-war theme: the husband's wages going up, but prices also rising fast.

Of course a lot of Labour voters just abstained. And although most Labour

supporters still turned out, Wilson's credibility's gone—they just saw him as the lesser of two evils. People remember what Wilson did.

He made loans to big business; he made loans to shipbuilding — but wouldn't nationalize it—and he made a fool of himself over Rhodesia.

That isn't socialism! A lot of people in my income bracket are buying their own houses. Wilson increased the

tax on loans and many of them got done an extra £1 a week, in other amenities — like central heating — the National Coal Board's loans had gone up from £4 a month to £5 a month.

In other words the Labour leaders were taxing their own supporters.

It was a capitalist government.

On the Tories' threats against the unions, I think that regardless of what laws are brought in dockers — and workers in general — will carry on. This'll obviously mean clashes.

Already a lot of dockers are talking about 1951, when they tried to put Harry Constable and others in jail on conspiracy charges under 1305. What's being said is 'they've tried to break us through the courts before—and failed'.

Even with local union officials and lay delegates, where they were prepared to co-operate with the Labour government, there's now a mood building up not to go along with the Tories at all. But we're not so sure about our union leaders.

Dockers were very disappointed when they came out on strike to strengthen the ports nationalization bill and found Jack Jones, our general secretary, saying he knew nothing about it. And we still want nationalization: there'll be more strikes on it no matter which government's in.

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Some Past Rank and File Movements

MARXISM and the TRADE UNIONS

Two articles by LEON TROTSKY

Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay • Communism and syndicalism •

New Park Publications Ltd, 186a Clapham High St, London, S.W.4.

...and how to fight the Tories

JOHN BARBER, a former National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers steward at Tilbury, now working on London's Royal group of docks, told the Workers Press:

LABOUR lost the election because it had been found out in six years to be more Tory than the preceding Conservative governments.

Apathy's not really the word to describe what happened, because workers just had no alternative to vote for: if a working man can't vote Labour what can he vote? He's got a vote, he wants to vote but there's no one to vote for.

So a lot of people just stayed home on polling night.

There seems to be a different reaction to the Tories getting in among different age groups. Some of the younger ones have still just got their fingers crossed, a little older and they know they've

got a battle on their hands, while those who have lived through a bit more know that Tory is the worst word in the book.

But in some ways I'm glad the Tories are in.

A lot of people were kidded that the Labour government would be a government of the people because it was the government of our choosing.

They held back.

Certainly if Heath had been the one to try and introduce 'In Place of Strife' he would have had a general strike on his hands. And it'll be a good thing if the Tories do try to take on the unions; then we will see how the cards are stacked.

MARGO BOVELL, a NW London bank employee, said:

I THINK one of the big factors in the Labour defeat was these polls.

They must have been fixed. A lot of people didn't vote because they thought everything was settled.

Wilson was confident and he just let things stay as they are, but Heath gave lots of promises about tax reductions and things like that. I think this caused a lot of people—especially women—to vote Tory.

From the time I grew up I have always known that Labour is supposed to be for the working class and that the Tories are for the rich. I haven't been really all that interested in politics so far, but after the election I think we must fight hard to get the Tories out.

The trouble is that a lot of coloured people say they aren't interested in politics, that they just don't want to know. They are not aware of the dangers of racism from people like Powell.

What Powell says is stupid. But I'll tell you this: he couldn't

get up and say these things unless there was somebody backing him.

I think Heath really agrees with him and tells him what to say.

One of my brothers is in the army in N Ireland and while it seems to be religious trouble over there there's a lot more to it than that. There is high unemployment, bad housing and poverty—that's why they're at each other's throats.

The government want them to be at each other's throats. I'm worried for my brother and I want him to come back.

One of the worst things over here is housing. We used to live in Wembley and we tried to get a house, but people said houses were not for sale because they didn't want coloured in the area.

Then some time ago the landlord put up the rent here £2.

My mother complained, but it made no difference—she didn't want to take it to a tribunal because we wanted no bother.

BBC 1

11.00 a.m. Golf. The Open Championship 1970. 1.30 p.m. Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 1.55-2.55 Maes a mor. 3.00 Golf. 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.

6.20 GOLF.

6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'The Girl on the Glass Mountain'. 7.55 DON'T ASK US. New review series. 8.20 ME MAMMY. 'The Day the Saints Went Marching Out'. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT. 'JeuX sans Frontieres'. Teams compete for the Eurovision Trophy.

10.25 24 HOURS.

11.00 INTERNATIONAL ATHLETICS. Great Britain v East Germany. 11.30 WEATHER.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

7.05-7.30 O Ilwarg Llangollen. 7.30-7.55 Week in week out.

Scotland: 6.00-6.25 Reporting Scotland. 11.32 News headlines and weather. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six, weather. 11.32 News headlines and weather.

South and West: 6.00-6.20 Points west, south west, spotlight south-west, weather. 11.32 News headlines and weather, weekend road works report.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play school. 4.40-6.30 p.m. Golf. The Open Championship 1970.

7.30 NEWS and weather.

8.00 A GRINGO'S HOLIDAY. Part one, 'Brazil'. 9.10 THE SMITHSONS ON HOUSING. Are tower blocks obsolete? 9.35 AN EVENING WITH... ALAN BENNETT. Personal choice of prose and poetry. 10.30 GOLF. The Open Championship 1970. 11.00 NEWS and weather. 11.05 LINE-UP.

ITV

2.45 p.m. Racing from York. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Two D's and a dog. 5.50 News. 6.03 EARLY BIRD. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE. 7.00 KENNY EVERETT. 8.30 HARK AT BARKER. 'Rustless on Music'. With Ronnie Barker. 9.00 CONFESSION. 'Death of a Ladies' Man'. 7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Mr Sam'. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 INTERNATIONAL GOLF. Jack Nicklaus v Tony Jacklin. 11.00 AQUARIUS. 11.45 'THE PARTY'S MOVING ON'. With Pete Atkin, Julie Covington and Russell Davies. 12 midnight POST MORTEM INTERNATIONAL.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 2.15-4.10 London. 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Channel news and weather. 6.10 Channel report. 6.35 Land of the giants. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 The sky's the limit. 7.35 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.40 Weather.

WESTWARD: 2.15-4.10 London. 4.25 Westward news headlines. 4.27 Gunyban show. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Westward diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 The sky's the limit. 7.35 Dangerman.

8.30 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.50 Weather.

HARLECH: 2.45-4.10 London. 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 The sky's the limit. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Kenny Everett. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

ITV (Wales) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25 and 6.01-6.35 Scene west. ITV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except:

11.00 Y dydd. 11.30 This won't hurt a bit. 12 midnight Weather.

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

ANGLIA: 1.00 The Royal show. 2.15-4.15 London. 4.25 Anglia newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It takes a thief. 8.00 Glamour. 7.0. 8.20 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 'The Enforcer'. With Humphrey Bogart and Everett Sloane. E. District Attorney matches himself against a nationwide empire of killers for hire. 12.40 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.00 The Royal show. 2.15-3.45 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 The champions. 8.25 London. 10.30 Legends of the west. San Bas. 11.00 London. 11.45 Midlands member. Peter Archer, MP for Rowley Regis and Tipton. 12.03 Pulse followed by Weather.

ULSTER: 2.15 London. 4.15 The enchanted house. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 Ulster news headlines. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Ulster news. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Friday cinema. 'Let's Be Happy'. With Vera Ellen, Tony Martin and Robert Flennegay. A New England drudge decides to have a fling in Scotland. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 The Royal show. 2.15 London. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25 Pastures of the blue crane. 4.50 Phoenix. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar and weather. 6.30 The Beverly hills. 7.00 'A Gay Named Joe'. With Spencer Tracy, Irene Dunne, and Van Johnson. After a reckless flyer dies his mission in heaven is to be the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 It takes thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.15 London. 4.10 News followed by the short story. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newview. 6.30 Julia. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.20 Hark at Barker. 8.50 Put it in writing. 9.00 London. 10.30 NYPD. 11.00 London. 11.40 'Dizzy Detective' with The Three Stooges.

TYNE TEES: 2.15 London. 4.10 North east 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 thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 The untouchable. 12.10 Border news summary and weather.

BORDER: 2.15 London. 4.13 Border news headlines. 4.15 Archery. 4.40 London. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.15 London. 6.00 Border news headlines. 6.05 Border roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 The sky's the limit. 7.30 Albert and Victoria. 8.00 Bracken's world. 9.00 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.15 The untouchable. 12.10 Border news summary and weather.

SCOTTISH: 2.15 London. 4.15 Dan. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 Name of the game. 8.30 London. 10.30 in camera. 11.00 London. 11.45 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 1.00 The Royal show. 2.15-4.15 London. 4.30 Rumble, rumble. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Gramplan news. 6.10 The sound of Roger Whittaker. 6.35 Pop scotch 7.00 The sky's the limit. 7.25 Preview. 7.35 Garrison's gorillas. 8.25 London. 10.30 Finders seekers. 11.00 London.

EGYPT in 1952 was a country that had been shaping up for revolution.

The previous year had seen nearly 50 strikes by workers. In the second half of 1951 there were several peasant uprisings in which the demand was raised for the land to be given to those who tilled it.

The corrupt regime of King Farouk and his ministers had been profoundly discredited by its debacle in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.

A popular guerrilla struggle was being waged against British occupation forces in the Canal zone. On January 26, 1952, the masses of Cairo took to the streets, and their demonstrations against imperialism turned into a massive outburst of fury against the conditions they endured, expressing itself in violence and the burning of property.

At the centre of discontent among army officers was a group known as the Free Officers' Movement, a nationalist movement in which were figures such as Anwar el Sadat, Khaled Mohieddin, and Gamal Abdul Nasser. Smarting under the disaster of 1948, these nationalists were bitter and contemptuous of the regime, and they were moving towards a clash with the government.

In 1951, they had issued a proclamation: 'The Executive Committee of the Officers demands that the army's function should be the achievement of the country's independence, and it will not permit the army to be used for the destruction of nationalist movements... the army has value only in a strong, liberated country. We demand arms for the army from all countries which sell us weapons, either from the East or West... We demand that the people be granted all the freedoms, since the people cannot struggle against imperialism when it is chained by laws which limit its freedom.'

In 1952, the Free Officers accused the monarchy in another proclamation: 'You, who are accumulating wealth from the sweat of the people to spend on purposes which will not benefit it... And later they declared: 'Here in Egypt, its masters and leaders are living a life of pleasure and staging celebrations and parties on every occasion: are they possibly forgetting the people and its condition, the hungry, naked and the wretched people?'

In July 1952, the Free Officers' movement seized power, according to a military plan, and set Egypt on the course to which it has stuck since—a nationalist military regime, balancing between popular support and imperialism to pursue its nationalist policy.

Arab Bonapartism was born. Since 1952, the Nasser regime which emerged from the coup has extended its influence and had numerous imitators, and today there are comparable regimes in Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Algeria and Libya.

In previous articles and reviews in 'The Newsletter' and Workers Press we have attempted to analyse and assess, from a Marxist point of view, the significance of Nasserism, and the social forces at work in Egypt and the other Arab countries.

A Marxist social analysis of these complex phenomena is essential if we are to understand what is happening in the Middle East. It is especially important now, both because of the renewed importance of the Middle East itself in world affairs, and because of the emergence of new Bonapartist regimes in other parts of the world.

'Analysis' For the Soviet bureaucracy, of course, and for those who follow its lead, no such analysis is necessary or possible. In their hand-to-mouth manoeuvres they have variously categorized the Nasser regime as being a 'stogie of US imperialism and, more recently as a 'socialist state'. Their 'analysis' is decided by the exigencies of diplomacy. Our requirement, however, is for a serious analysis, so that as revolutionaries we can understand what is going on and how we can change it.

This book by Eliezer Be'eri provides a tremendous wealth of useful detail which helps to fill out the picture of what is happening. The book contains some interesting details of how the preparations were made for the Free Officers' coup, and they offer an added insight into the Bonapartist nature of the regime which resulted.

While preparing to take the power, the Free Officers' Movement took steps to establish contact with the other political forces at work in Egypt. They were in touch with the Wafd, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Communist Party (Hadutu).

Khaled Mohieddin introduced Nasser to CP contacts, and according to one source, they even had Nasser listed as a member. At the same time, the Free Officers' group was in liaison with the US Central Intelligence Agency. The person chiefly involved in contact with the CIA was Ali Sabry. At a cocktail party in Alexandria on July 19, a few days before the coup, a number of Free Officers met with the

BOOK REVIEW

Arab Bonapartism examined— Author's vision distorted by Zionism

There were 10,000 workers employed in the Misr company's Kafir al-Dawar weaving plant, near Alexandria. For several months the workers had been demanding higher pay, an increase in their annual paid leave—they only got four days—and union recognition. On the evening of August 12, night-shift workers gathered in front of the manager's office and proclaimed a strike. Evidently they believed that the new regime meant a new, better era, for the workers.

The officers' regime met its first test three weeks after the coup, with the textile workers' strike at Kafir al-Dawar. The ruthless measures it took to suppress the workers showed that however much the Free Officers' group might express its concern for the plight of the masses, it intended to keep them firmly down. There were 10,000 workers employed in the Misr company's Kafir al-Dawar weaving plant, near Alexandria. For several months the workers had been demanding higher pay, an increase in their annual paid leave—they only got four days—and union recognition.

On the evening of August 12, night-shift workers gathered in front of the manager's office and proclaimed a strike. Evidently they believed that the new regime meant a new, better era, for the workers. They cheered Neguib, the army, and the Revolution. They were to be very cruelly disillusioned. The management replied to their demands by calling in the police to disperse them, the police used force, fighting broke out, and the police opened fire. The workers decided to call a sit-down strike. The following morning troops were brought in from Alexandria, and used their weapons, to clear the workers out of the factory. In the course of the fighting two soldiers and a policeman were killed—as were some half a dozen workers, and more than 20 workers were wounded. Two hundred of the strikers were arrested. The suppression was not over. On August 18, a military court, with no right of appeal, sentenced some of the strikers to various terms in prison—six of them got sentences of over ten years hard labour—and two militants, Mustafa Mohammed Khamis and Mohammed Hassan al-Bakri, were sentenced to death. To demonstrate its character, the Officers' regime had about 1,000 workers rounded-up in the factory football ground, surrounded by armed troops and tanks, with Khamis made to stand in the middle of the field, and the death sentence read out over a loudspeaker. The government could still have cancelled the death sentences. What did happen was that Khamis was brought before Neguib in Cairo and told that his life would be spared if he agreed to name people who were 'behind the strike, to reveal communist conspirators and agitators, that is, to help the regime stage a witch-hunt. Khamis refused to co-operate. The workers had only fought for their rights, believing that they were entitled to something from the Revolution which promised liberation. On September 8, Mustafa Mohammed Khamis and Mohammed Hassan al-Bakri were hanged.

By CHARLES PARKINS

But what none of the Arab Bonapartist regimes have been able to tolerate is any striving by the working class to assert its political independence, to have its own organizations and parties. The same pattern has been followed throughout—suppression of the communists in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Sudan, subordination of the trade unions to the state, as in Egypt and Sudan, enrolment of the masses into the one, state-controlled organization such as Nasser's Arab Socialist Union.

All power is monopolized by the ruling military clique on behalf of the nationalist middle class. In Iraq, the Communist Party has gone underground; but in Egypt, the liquidation of the party was carried out with the assistance of the Stateists themselves, following Khrushchev's visit to Cairo in 1964. Nasser released CP members from jail, but warned that anyone attempting to organize would be arrested. Even if we have to do it as in India, (where mass arrests without trial were taking place.)

'When I appointed Khaled Mohieddin to "Akbar al Yom", it was in the knowledge that Khaled Mohieddin is part of the

regime and not a part of the communists. We will under no circumstances deliver the press to the communists, and we will not permit a single one of them to form an organization in the country. In my opinion, anyone who says he is a Marxist is free to do so. However, the establishment of a political organization is against the league of popular labouring forces. In other words, Nasser was saying, you can interpret the world as much as you like, so long as you don't try to change it. In fact, a 'Marxist' interpretation—that is, the use of 'Marxist' phrases and phrasemongers could serve the regime; and in 1965, the leaders of the Communist Party decided to serve the regime by dissolving their own party and joining, as individuals, the Socialist Union, declaring that this body, led by Nasser, could achieve socialism. (This liquidation has been approved by Moscow. Khaled Mohieddin, part of the regime, being a regular contributor alongside the representatives of various Communist Parties, to 'World Marxist Review' and similar publications.)

The Syrian Stalinist leader Khaled Baghdash has recently repeated the line that socialism is being achieved in the Middle East by leaders like Nasser—confirming, in effect, that this is the line of the Soviet bureaucracy. A correct analysis of Arab Bonapartist regimes is vitally important for Marxist revolutionaries. The importance of their development has also been recognized, for obvious reasons, by the enemy. The forces of imperialism and counter revolution are understandably interested in them. Bodies such as the RAND corporation in the United States have devoted considerable resources and energy to studies of the role of the military in the 'developing nations'. The difficulty of such efforts however is that while the counter-revolutionaries need to objectively understand what is happening, their own position in the class struggle precludes them from attaining a real understanding. (Consider, for example, the ridiculous efforts of US imperialism, its agents, and its hired academics, to develop a political and social arm to its counter-insurgency efforts in SE Asia.)

The kind of academicism which is sustained by the finance and facilities of bodies like the CIA tends to derive its outlook from the same sources. This sustenance resuscitates the dead language of bourgeois 'political science', and its practitioners, a latter-day Jesuit order, deal entirely in abstractions, political forms and pure phrases completely removed from class forces. They place all their faith in manipulation and will not recognize class forces at work because they can't face the reality of which they are part. Although this book by Eliezer Be'eri contains, as we have said, a wealth of useful detail, and it displays prodigious efforts of research, it is hampered as a serious analysis by the same sort of obstacles as the kind of work we have described. Be'eri is probably better equipped than many western writers in that he has some acquaintance with a 'Marxism' of sorts, but what dominates this book is the reality of providing a real analysis is the author's political adherence to the bourgeois ideology of Zionism, which is intellectually crippling. As an example of attention to detail, Be'eri gives a complete list of Egyptian officer casualties in the 1948 war, with age, rank, and family background, as a help towards analysing the social background of the military in Egypt. This sort of material is impressive and useful; but it does not meet the need for a proper analysis of the historical development of Egyptian society, and the relationship of the classes in it, and their relationship to imperialism, which is the only way to approach an understanding of the particular role of the Bonapartist regime. Despite all its impressive detail, Be'eri's book does not attempt this analysis. When it comes to the international aspects of the Egyptian Revolution, the reasons for Be'eri's failure becomes obvious. To show the way the Nasser regime's progress has been shaped by the way it has responded to imperialism means tracing out the course of this interaction, through events such as the Israeli aggression of 1956—and Be'eri belongs to a party which participated in the launching of this aggression—and that of 1967. A proper analysis of Nasser's



Abdul Gamel NASSER

US Round-up

Cleveland anti-war conference sorts them out

The Progressive Labour Party (P.L.) substituted 'guerrilla theater' (above) for independent working class action demanded by American Trotskyists of the Workers League.

The ubiquitous Mr J. Willard Marriott

OVER THE week-end of June 20-21 the National Emergency Conference against the Indo-China War was held in Cleveland, Ohio, attended by approximately 1,500 people. The class forces underlying every speech and every vote were brought into sharp focus from the outset. There were three major forces represented at the conference: (1) the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance (Pabloite) SWP-YSA; (2) Progressive-Labour Party (Maoist) PL; and (3) the Workers League, the American Trotskyists. The first struggle arose over the question of a demonstration scheduled by the SWP-YSA leadership against the presence of Vice President Spiro Agnew in Cleveland. The Maoist-proposed that the demonstration be against both Agnew and the city's black mayor Carl Stokes, who had called the troops out against striking Teamsters. The argument that the Pabloites used against this proposal is the classic revisionist line. **Incorrect** They maintained that since the majority of black workers had voted for Stokes it was incorrect to demonstrate against both. Both working-class policies for fear of alienating these workers. Excellent logic! This is socialism for book-keepers! Another SWP spokesman made an even more dangerous remark. Against the Maoists' call for support to rank-and-file militancy and specifically to the Teamsters, he stated: 'Those Teamsters you talk so much about are all racists and reactionary.' This is the end-product (or perhaps waste-product would be more correct) of adaptation and liquidationist politics. Neither was PL, as the 'left' shadow of the US CP, able to pose independent working-class action. Instead they indulged in outbursts of demagoguery, fist-shaking, chanting and 'guerrilla theatre'. **Disrupt** These Stalinists, in fact, attempted systematically to disrupt the conference from beginning to end. And all their attacks were objectively attacks on Trotskyism, although the target of much of their violence, the SWP, no longer answers to that description. How could the SWP respond in a principled, political manner to these attacks? They posed Popular Front-style politics... which brought them right back into the camp of Stalinism? Only the Workers League intervened and fought for the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class and its SE Asian war through the construction of a labour party.

When black is bountiful

'A BLACK bank is able to make money available to black people. This is what the bank is all about.' So said David B. Harper, president of the First Independence National Bank, opened last week in Detroit, Michigan, the car-producing centre of America and a city with a black population of 650,000. What has been the reaction of the Big Three automakers, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—to this black bank? Enthusiastic. The Ford Motor Co. alone, notorious in Detroit as well as in Dagenham for its speed-ups and conditions, and an employer of large numbers of black workers, has deposited \$500,000 in First Independence. What we see clearly is capitalist subsidies for separate black institutions. In New York City, it was the Ford Foundation which subsidized and supported 'community control' of schools. This is no coincidence. **'Black Capitalism'** One of the first undertakings of the Nixon administration in March 1969 was the establishment of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise. The stated aim of this bureau is to encourage 'black capitalism'. It must be repeated that certain far-sighted capitalists have already done their share. Corporations such as Aero-Jet General, Fairchild Hiller, E. G. & G., Martin Marietta and Warner & Swasey have set up 'black subsidiaries' as a sop to the ghetto, to divert its rising militancy down the blind ally of 'community control'. In Harlem these days, two outin interest just as any other.

Stalinism

Their politics are the politics of revisionism, Stalinism and class collaboration. As a final clincher here is a quote from the adopted (SWP-supported) resolution: 'The desire for peace cuts across political, racial, religious and national lines.' What more could be added? ONE SMALL yet poignant indication of the anxiety besetting top echelons of US society was to be found in last week's 'Time' news magazine whose entire front cover was devoted to the national flag. The editorial noted that the only previous time when the flag 'Old Glory' had occupied this position was when the United States had just entered the war in 1942 and 'the outcome was still far from clear'. 'The country is again at war, not only in SE Asia but also against frightening forces within American society.' Then follows no less than six pages devoted to a survey of attitudes to the flag which concludes that opinion is polarizing. The right increasingly use it as a symbol to whip up patriotism. While the other wing burn and perform other less mentionable acts on it. The survey laments over the tasteless exploitation of 'Old Glory' from the hippy's trouser patch (now very popular) to the multitude of products it now decorates. The article concludes 'Old Glory has become so ubiquitous and frequently so bewildering in

GLORY, GLORY...?

'Some have decided, rather sadly, not to fly the flag these days lest it be misinterpreted.' The flag, to quote one interviewee, just 'no longer means motherhood and apple pie'. **Heroism** I have set out this episode in full because I believe it should be remembered, not only for what it illustrates of the real nature of the officers' regime, but because it features people who seldom receive much of a mention in most of the books, articles or speeches about the Middle East—the Arab working class. The heroism of men like Khamis is generally ignored while the news media—capitalist and Stalinist alike—concentrate on the swaggering and posturing of the colonels and demagogues. The Egyptian workers and peasants have often been described as inherently submissive, or depicted as merely a manipulated mass. The answer is Kafir al-Dawar. Bonapartism requires that the masses be manipulated. Bonapartist leaders may court the masses, bring them out onto the streets, assemble them, give speeches by the leader, who will flatter them and tell them of their importance to the revolution. But let the crowd on the streets take on human faces, let it assert itself as a class, let the workers organize for their own demands, and like the workers of Kafir al-Dawar, struggle for them courageously—and then Bonapartism brings out the police, the army, the tanks and the hangman's noose. In 1954, in the course of taking over from Neguib and consoli-

Black Capitalism

Do the rats in the overcrowded ghettos notice the change? Do the walls repair themselves? Efforts are being made by the federal government and private enterprise to supply a few black businessmen with a few crumbs from the table. A very few crumbs to a very few men. The establishment of a new black bank is the culmination, the logical end-product of this process. And what is our answer to the statement by the Rev Charles E. Morton, chairman of Detroit's Inner City Business Improvement Forum, that 'The black economy needed strong, viable financial institutions over which we ourselves had control?' A bank is a bank is a bank... And, whatever its clients, it must extort the same sky-high interest rates and close its doors in Harlem these days, two outin interest just as any other.

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tioners, a latter-day Jesuit order, deal entirely in abstractions, political forms and pure phrases completely removed from class forces. They place all their faith in manipulation and will not recognize class forces at work because they can't face the reality of which they are part. Although this book by Eliezer Be'eri contains, as we have said, a wealth of useful detail, and it displays prodigious efforts of research, it is hampered as a serious analysis by the same sort of obstacles as the kind of work we have described. Be'eri is probably better equipped than many western writers in that he has some acquaintance with a 'Marxism' of sorts, but what dominates this book is the reality of providing a real analysis is the author's political adherence to the bourgeois ideology of Zionism, which is intellectually crippling. As an example of attention to detail, Be'eri gives a complete list of Egyptian officer casualties in the 1948 war, with age, rank, and family background, as a help towards analysing the social background of the military in Egypt. This sort of material is impressive and useful; but it does not meet the need for a proper analysis of the historical development of Egyptian society, and the relationship of the classes in it, and their relationship to imperialism, which is the only way to approach an understanding of the particular role of the Bonapartist regime. Despite all its impressive detail, Be'eri's book does not attempt this analysis. When it comes to the international aspects of the Egyptian Revolution, the reasons for Be'eri's failure becomes obvious. To show the way the Nasser regime's progress has been shaped by the way it has responded to imperialism means tracing out the course of this interaction, through events such as the Israeli aggression of 1956—and Be'eri belongs to a party which participated in the launching of this aggression—and that of 1967. A proper analysis of Nasser's

Rift widens

● FROM PAGE ONE
monetary system on its weaker European rivals.

As 'Le Monde' commented (July 8):

'If these points [from the Americans] were accepted, nothing would be left of the essential dispositions of the Bretton Woods agreements.'

Behind this growing European-American financial war is the dollar crisis.

The latest EEC Commission report has warned of world liquidity as a result of the widening American balance of payments deficit.

The report goes on to predict that the unchecked American inflation, by stimulating imports, will further weaken the payments balance.

IMPRUDENT

Commenting upon the Commission's report and upon the Paris talks French Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing attacked the many 'imprudent' studies and initiatives which had as their object the 'weakening of existing rules of the international monetary system about the parity of exchange rates'.

For the Tories, these splits within Europe only add to the crisis surrounding their bid to enter Europe.

While it is well known that British monetary officials are sympathetic to the American proposals for greater exchange flexibility, any public declaration of support for Nixon on this question would bring such sharp opposition from the French that the attempted entry could end in ruins.

Jersey strikebound

OVER 1,000 workers employed by the Jersey local government yesterday decided to continue their struggle in support of their claim for a £3 a week increase without strings.

The strike, begun by the island's dustmen, has been joined by dockers and other sections.

All cargo boat services to and from the island including car ferrying have been halted, although passenger services are still running.

The airport was also expected to close yesterday after the expiration of the strike notice given earlier by firemen, maintenance men and security officers.

The strikers, mostly T&GWU members, are to meet again today.

THE RETURN to office of the Conservative Party, the centuries-old political instrument of the British capitalists and landlords, is an important event, a modification of the relationship of forces between the classes.

By
Cliff
Slaughter

The Tories can be defeated

The first of two articles—the second to appear tomorrow

No attack

If Powell's anti-immigrant speeches won a number of votes, that is because the Labour government would not attack capitalist interests and solve the housing, unemployment and health problems which beset these workers.

The trade union leaders, as always, did their best to help the Labour leaders deliver the working class bound hand and foot to the Tories.

It was not they, but the vanguard of advanced trade unionists in independent strike action, who forced Wilson and Castle to withdraw the proposed anti-union legislation, based on the White Paper, 'In Place of Strife', in June 1969.

The Conservative Party has been returned to office on a policy of direct attack on the standard of life and organized strength of the working class.

The requirements of capitalism today are that the working-class shall operate more advanced industry with intensified exploitation, but with lower consumption and without the ability to increase their share of the product. That is why trade unionism is under attack.

To this end, the Tories intend to introduce a 'value-added tax' which simply increases prices on all consumer goods, while making certain concessions on direct taxation (the level at which surtax starts being paid will be raised, and the standard rate of income tax may be slightly reduced).

The effect is to tax the working class more, but keep the middle class vote with small concessions.

The taxes paid by owners of industry will be reduced, and firms making the highest profits will benefit most. This is what the Tories mean by encouraging free enterprise.

Public expenditure—the money allocated to the exchequer on health, housing, education and so on—will be reduced. Naturally the working class is more dependent on all these provisions than are the middle and upper classes.

It is also likely that import taxes will be imposed at a later date, and that the money supply will be severely restricted—leading to lower consumption, less jobs and great insecurity for workers and their families.

Pressure

These policies are directly in line with the requirements of international capital whose deepening crisis increases this pressure to attack the working class.

Conservative foreign policy differs from Wilson's only in that it is more rabidly imperialist, leaning towards S Africa and Rhodesia and towards more direct involvement in SE Asia. It encourages the most reactionary forces.

Wilson virtually handed government over to the Tories on the instructions of capital.

He was following in the footsteps of Attlee, who also handed over power to Churchill in 1951, even though the Labour government had another four years to run. Like Attlee, Wilson feared the working class and its growing strength more than he feared the Tories.

The election was brought forward to June only because the capitalists could not afford to maintain the situation created by the defeat of the anti-union laws and the workers' wages offensive, while the economic crisis was advancing rapidly.

The TUC leaders, of course, made haste to assure Heath and the Tory cabinet that they hoped for collaboration with the new government.

The 'left' union leaders will go in this direction just as surely as the right.

Significantly, the Tories made no secret of their anti-working-class programme.

'Law and order' legislation, like the 'anti-wreckers' bill of Pompidou and Marcellin in France, will be directed against all working-class youth no secret of their political organizations in preparation for the working-class response to the employers' attacks.

Even before such legislation the sentences handed out to six Cambridge students who demonstrated against the Greek military dictatorship is indicative of ruling-class intentions.

Powell's policies during the General Election become more

directly an encouragement to ultra-right trends.

Powell has no right-wing movement, but the historical meaning of his policy on unions must be taken absolutely seriously. The only answer to Powellism is working-class unity on socialist policies.

Heath's promises to streamline the Civil Service mean little more than that all government departments are going to be strengthened by

troops to Belfast, 'The Times' editorial suggestion that the British troops should act more harshly and the repeated speeches about 'evil minorities' who cause all the trouble in Ulster, are also signs of what is to come in British politics.

The Tories will try to bring in special anti-trade union laws to change the union-organized workers' legal right to pursue a dispute with an employer.

They want agreements made

the world, the British employers are nervous and undecided about how and when to try and break the working class, even though they know it must be broken.

This nervousness will even bring severe divisions on policy, because already the resistance of printworkers (during the General Election), dockers and car workers has shown that the working class will not simply wait for the decision of the ruling class.

Immediately the question is to insist throughout the labour movement that the union leaders break all connection with the Tory government.

The plans of this government, acting on behalf of the unions' enemies, are known to everybody.

Businessmen are running the government.

● No collaboration!
● Fight the government!
● Force it to resign!

CONTINUED TOMORROW



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Treachery

So, even though certain capitalist elements will press for a showdown, the main Tory policy is to take advantage of the union leaders' treachery.

They will tolerate a certain amount of 'left' talk about opposing legislation in the sure knowledge that, since questions of state power are really involved, these union leaders will capitulate, just as their political ancestors did in the General Strike of 1926.

It is a vital task to expose and denounce these 'left-talking' leaders, and above all fight for the building of an alternative leadership which must be based upon Trotskyism, the embodiment of all the

tion that trade union strength is enough, and prepare politically to defeat the Tories.

It is a question of mobilizing the strength of the working class to such effect that the Tories are forced to resign, and not a question of insisting that the government collaborate with the unions, as the union leaders say.

The Tories won their narrow majority by committing themselves to their attack on the unions and to the imposition of law and order; and they need to make some headway on these questions if they are to have any hope of making small economic concessions to the middle-class voters.

But here the difficulties begin.

The economic crisis will quickly worsen and the strike struggles of the working class will continue to build up their confidence.

But in these struggles, wages are inevitably being joined, more and more, by questions of jobs, security, the future of whole industries, nationalization (roads, civil aviation, shipbuilding, road transport and even the press).

These problems unavoidably raise the question of ownership and of the class power which alone can settle such questions.

Yet at the same time the Labour and trade union leaders move to the right.

This question must be brought right to the front in the labour movement: what is the relationship between the Labour and trade union leaders on the one hand, and the Tory government and its policies on the other?

The reality of their appeal for government cooperation is this: their mediation and strike-breaking (and their occasional leading of strikes in order to break them) gives the employers time to break up the working class and prepare the conditions for their Bonapartist dictatorship.

The continued strength of the working class as it fights the effects of the crisis will accelerate this role of the union leaders.

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CONTINUED TOMORROW

Cable stewards

● FROM PAGE ONE
Wright assured the strikers that their appeals for backing from the union executive were being 'put through the machinery'.

Critical
... I must ask you to be patient,' he said.

Criticizing union officials for not insisting that the shop stewards were in on tomorrow's talks, Harry Stevens stressed that a return to work pending the result of the negotiations would be a mistake.

'Provided our strength is maintained,' he said, 'the outcome of this can only be to the advantage of the workers concerned at Erith and Greenwich.'

Directive
T&GWU stewards from all STC plants in the area have issued a three-point directive to union officials on which they say any settlement that is reached must be based on withdrawal of all redundancy notices issued so far, the Erith stewards' proposals for voluntary redundancy terms to be the basis of negotiations and guarantees in principle of future security on employment.

Mass meetings of strikers from both plants have been called for 10 a.m. on Monday to hear report-backs from tomorrow's talks.

WEATHER
London area, SE and central southern England: Bright at first, increasing cloud and rain later. Moderate or fresh SW winds. Normal. Max. 20C (68F).

E and W Midlands: Mainly dry with sunny periods becoming cloudy with rain in South later. Moderate SW winds. Normal. Max. 20C (68F).

Channel Islands, SW England: Cloudy with rain. Moderate or fresh SW winds becoming light easterly later. Normal. Max. 18C (64F).

NW and central northern England: Mainly dry, sunny intervals. Light or moderate SW to W winds. Normal. Max. 18C (64F).

Glasgow area: Showers, dying out later. Sunny intervals. Light or moderate W winds. Normal. Max. 16C (61F).

Edinburgh: Showers, locally heavy at first. Sunny intervals. Moderate westerly winds. Normal. Max. 17C (63F).

N Ireland: Showers. Sunny intervals. Moderate to fresh westerly winds. Normal. Max. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Changeable with rain at times in most areas.

Speed-up men seek 'payment by energy' system

WAGE BARGAINING on the basis of calorie expenditure is one of the latest reactionary ideas mooted by a work-study engineer.

BY BERNARD FRANKS

British-Leyland's work-study manager A. L. Minter claims to have worked out tables for energy used by workers on the factory floor, which could be linked to other work-measurements and become a counter in wage bargaining.

Instead of selling, for example, their tea breaks, Minter sees workers selling a certain amount of calories per eight-hour shift.

The cold-blooded, clinical dissection of the working-man and woman as purely a productive force, capable of certain controlled mechanical actions and of expenditure of a given level of horsepower, exposes the real face of the work-study engineer.

It is clear from this latest idea that the current trend in work study is to take in an entirely literal sense the need of the employers to squeeze every last ounce of energy out of the working class in the name of profit.

Energy varies
Minter's paper 'The Estimation of Energy Expenditure', published in the July issue of the journal of the Institute of Work-Study Practitioners, explains that human energy varies from one person to another, and it has not yet been possible to fix general values which could be applied in industrial situations.

'The practical requirement of the work-study practitioner is for a method of estimating energy expenditure without

special equipment, and which will give an estimate applicable to the 'average' operator for whom the work standard is being set.

'The use of special measuring equipment is normally barred because of expense, and because the work-study practitioner usually has neither the time, knowledge, or the permission of the worker to take direct physiological measurements.

'In any event, such measurements would be specific to the individual measured, and difficult to use as a basis of generalization. If a realistic estimate of the rate of energy expenditure for a given task or series of tasks, could be obtained, it would be possible to determine the amounts of time that should be given to work and rest during the work-study period.

Some attempts, he says, have been made to compile tables for estimating the calorie content of a task—'sitting' 0.3 calories per minute, 'kneeling' 0.5, 'standing' 0.6 and 'walking' 1.7 to 3.5 calories.

A further seven pages of graphs and formulas purport to arrive at some general values of energy levels for various activities.

One in particular is linked with the time-measurement-2 (MTM-2) system, so that as well as times for specific movements—reach, grasp, eye action, etc.—the calorie values are also given.

Minter claims that experiments have led to a level of four to five calories, a minute as being accepted as the upper limit for continuous activity.

On the allowance of rest time, he gives formulas which give the total minutes of rest that should be given in a shift worked at certain levels of energy expenditure, but warns:

Loose
'The blind use of these estimates and formulas could lead to very loose standards, since a person will normally use a period of lighter work as a "change" or relaxation from heavier work, so long as the opportunity exists.'

All this could be combined into pay agreements, he explains.

'When we consider the handling of work standards in practice and how their acceptance by employees is obtained, it becomes apparent that what is being negotiated is not so much an amount of achievement as the overall level of energy expenditure.'

'If data on energy expenditure were easily obtained, and the methods given in this paper will lead to more such data, we might eventually work out a certain number of calories in an eight-hour shift to be provided in exchange for a given wage.'

(Our emphasis.)

Dockers

● FROM PAGE ONE
dockers have got to be united,' said one Liverpool delegate yesterday.

Before the election of this Tory government the employers felt less responsible—the docks were going to be nationalized anyway—but now they're back in business and taking a hard line.'

Step forward
Many of the dockers at yesterday's meeting felt the decision to be an important step forward and hoped it would end the fragmentation of unity brought about by local deals in the past.

They reacted with derision to the suggestion that troops could be used to break the strike.

'I think they've enough troops in Ireland.

'If we could relieve the pressure on our boys in Ireland, we'd be doing a good job,' said a Dundee delegate.

Aberdeen dockers Ron Finlay stressed the importance of the dockers' basic claim:

'If the dockers had weakened here it would have weakened the workers in all other industries and unions trying to get an increase in wages.'

Beware
But dockers must beware of complacency about their claim.

Intervention from the TUC and the DEP is almost a certainty and the employers have the full backing of the Tory government.

The most determined and whole-hearted support from all workers is necessary if the dockers are to win this vital struggle.

A.E.F.

● FROM PAGE ONE
despite everything has not been deterred from his task of giving 'this nation back its self respect'.

Famous last words!
What Mr Conway calls the return of 'self respect' turned out in June 1970 to be in fact the return of the most reactionary Tory government in 40 years.

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LATE NEWS

The dockers' claim, he said, could raise the port's wage bill from £85m. to £170m. a year.

Whilst we regret that the union side see fit to take strike action, we see the main job of the employers in all ports is to get through the new modernized labour structure.

Already we have dock workers on £10 more than the average earnings of workers in this country. The claim could add another £15 to average dock earnings.

Tonge added that he could see no reason why modernization discussions should not continue despite the strike threat.

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A section of the June 5, 1969 lobby of the special TUC meeting on the Labour government's anti-union plans, which were pushed back by working-class action

legally binding. Union rules would be under government scrutiny and only those with acceptable rules would be allowed.

(The Devil Report on the docks, for example, objected strongly to the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' rule that negotiated decisions of committees be reported to mass meetings of the members.)

Not at all!
The road to that objective is barred by workers' strength which cannot be broken just by legislation.

However, it is absolutely imperative that the objective meaning of Tory policies, their relation to the most basic needs of capitalism, are understood.

By directing fire against immigrants, an attempt is made to build a force from middle-class people and backward workers, to break strikes and attack workers' organizations.

At the same time Powell is careful to avoid an explicit and frontal attack on trade unions.

In this way he hopes to preserve his base amongst the more backward sections of trade unionists and use it as a basis for his corporatist attack on the trade unions at a future date when he hopes unemployment, racialism and the treachery of the Labour bureaucracy would have cleared the way for his policy.

Powell's policies during the General Election become more

prominent businessmen.

In other words, the big employers of the Confederation of British Industries are sending some of their best-paid experts in exploitation to share the direct running of government, the direct implementation of Tory policy.

Does all this mean that the Tories are set firmly on the road to a totalitarian dictatorship over the working class, in accordance with the needs of big capital!

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Powell's policies during the General Election become more

political and theoretical struggles for Marxism internationally.

Such a revolutionary leadership will have the responsibility of undertaking every inevitable regroupment within the labour movement as the class struggle intensifies.

Success in guiding sections of workers involved in such centrist developments depends entirely upon the construction of an independent revolutionary party, which can only be the party of the Fourth International, the Socialist Labour League.

Strength
We face a situation where the working class, betrayed by the Labour government, turned with temporary success to the direct use of their trade union strength to answer the employers' attacks, and were able to defeat the anti-union laws.

They remained, however, victims of the complacency cultivated by the Labour leaders, so that the election was lost.

The strength of the workers is unbroken, but the situation in which that strength can be exercised is now no longer the same.

The union leaders' treachery will be to create the impression that there has been no change, when the essential question is to break the illu-

Like the bourgeoisie all over

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

National Docks conference

LIVERPOOL: Saturday July 18, 2 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. Scrap Devlin Phase Two! Fight the Tories! Nationalization under workers' control!

Credentials and further details can be obtained from L. Cavanagh, 5, Gamin St., Birkenhead.

MANCHESTER LENIN LECTURES

Two lectures to mark the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. SUNDAY JULY 12, 7 p.m. 'Theory, practice and the revolutionary party'.

SUNDAY JULY 19, 7 p.m. 'Lenin and the coming English Revolution'. Lesser Free Trade Hall, Peters St. Both lectures will be given by G. HEALY, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

GLASGOW: Sunday July 12, 2.30 p.m. Workers Press office, 46, West Princes St. 'Withdraw troops from Ulster! Force the Tories to resign!'

SE LONDON: Sunday July 12, 3 p.m. Kerfield Tavern, Grove Lane, Camberwell Green, SE5. 'Anti-union laws and the Tory government'.

CROYDON: Thursday July 16, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd. 'Fight back now! Force the Tories to resign!'.