July £1000 Appeal Fund

starts at

rest.

We know that you appreciate that we cannot have a rest over our fund. The possibility of a dock strike makes

PRICE 6d.

As dockers are forced to strike

E29 28 THE FUND campaign will be tough this month. About that we have no illusions. We are now at the peak of the holiday season and our readers are quite rightly looking forward to a well-deserved rest. What

we think

Stalinists defend troops Ulster

THE BRITISH ruling class is getting ready for open and direct attacks on the working class and its trade

The N Ireland crisis, in which workers have already been killed by troops, points the future for the rest of Britain under the Tory government.

The fight for Marxist principles is essential to pre-pare the working clars to answer these attacks.

That is why the Socialist Labour League, through the Workers Press and its predecessor 'The Newsletter' has demanded the withdrawal of all British troops from Ulster, even before the reinforcements were sent by Wilson last August.

Then, the Labour 'lefts', the 'state capitalist' 'International Socialism' and the Communist Party were all saying that the British Army would protect the lives of Catholic

But today, after the troops have been in action against Belfast workers, the Stalinists still defend the right of the imperialist army to be

Yesterday's 'Morning Star' reports a statement from the CP's London District Committee demanding 'Army protection of all sections of the Ulster com-

It also calls for 'the disarming of all unofficial Unionist forces', and 'the banning of the Orange parades and all other parades'. (Our empha-

Here is the outcome of the 'peaceful-road-to - socialism' line peddled by the CP for 20 years.

For the essence of that Fabian idea is that the state is not an instrument of violent oppression of one class by another, as Marxists understood it, but a 'neutral' institution, which can be 'democratically' used in the interests of all sections of 'the community'.

In 1970, the full meaning of this anti-Marxist 'theory can be seen in N Ireland.

With their 'shoot-on-sight' orders and their CS poison gas, the troops play the role of any other occupation

They have to terrorize the people of Ulster, because that is how they ensure the maintenance of imperialist 'law and order' and its instrument the Unionist regime.

This is the force that Stalinism appeals to to disarm the Orange Order and the Unionists.

Meanwhile, the working class is to be held in check by Ulster trade union leaders, many of whom are

This treacherous policy must where as a warning.

It shows just what Stalinism and its hangers-on will do to cover up the actions of the employers and their

For the workers' movement to prepare to defeat the Tories, a fight to grasp the depth

the whip

BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THREE THINGS emerge clearly out of the present impasse on the dockers' pay claim.

FIRSTLY, the rank-andfile dockers, 'Blue' and 'White' alike, are determined to fight for and win the £20 minimum, even if this, as it surely must, ruins the prospects of implementing Devlin Phase Two by the employers and the government in 1970.

SECONDLY, the trade union leaders, having failed to put aside the question of the basic wage and rush through the productivity deals for Phase Two, have shown no inclination to fight the government and will certainly sound the retreat at the first opportunity.

THIRDLY, and this is the most significant aspect of the present crisis, the Tory government is equally determined to use all and every means, from the use of troops to the use of the trade union bureaucracy, to defeat the dockers as a pre-condition for the enactlegislation and the massive rationalization of industry this

This was the meaning of Prime Minister Heath's address to the Tory 1922 Committee on Thursday night when he appealed for steadiness, unity and determination in the Tory Party 'while the government took possibly unpleasant measures to bring

His audience was in no doubt that they would be 'unpleasant' when he referred to the dock strike threat 'which we shall have to handle with coolness and determination. We have to set about these matters in the way in which we mean to go on'.

Not bluffing

Mr Heath was not bluffing. In fact he cannot afford to.

The Tory government was returned — and Heath was specially chosen to lead it because the ruling class was unanimously decided on the inescapable necessity of disciplining the working class and stopping the 'wage explosion' and the consequent decline of

This is what his 'struggle against inflation' means.

1967 strike

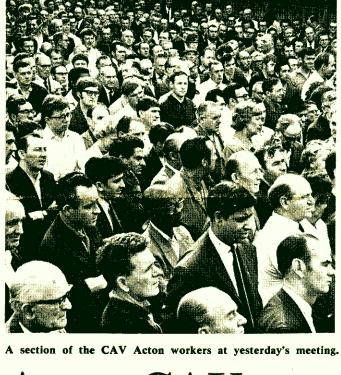
The employers know only too well that the 1967 strike Liverpool and London dockers played havoc with the implementation of Phase One and pushed their modernization plans back almost three years, whilst increasing wage rates by over 50 per cent in

It also broke the Wilson wage barrier effectively.

A successful strike by the dockers in 1970 would not only push back 'modernization' and productivity dealing by a decade, but would certainly and inevitably raise again the question of nationalof the British docks in an entirely different and a much more critical context.

Like 1967 this is not just a strike over more pay, but a political struggle against the Tory government's rationaliza-

Every docker knows that the real and only reason that the demand for an increase in basic pay was raised by the rank and file and not the ● PAGE FOUR COL. 9



Acton CAV men vote for August SEVERAL THOUSAND

REPORTER

endorses

Tory policy

TUC general secretary Victor

Feather told a recent meeting of the National Union of

Teachers executive, according

the last two years particularly of what the Labour govern-

ment were doing because we

thought they were holding back, stultifying economic growth, because of the balance

'We think that the present

'We think that they will in

fact go for expansion and will

not place as much emphasis on the balance of payments

problem, partly because, we

think, there is no need to at the present time—we thought

that, quite honestly, some 12

months ago.'

of payments problem.

to a union spokesman, that:

workers from London's Acton CAV plant voted overwhelmingly yesterday morning to strike from August 18 unless the company concedes their factory-wide pay claim.

Only six hands were raised in opposition when joint shop tewards' committee chairman Arthur Mason put to the vote a resolution endorsing the stewards' action in breaking off negotiations and calling

for strike action. After a lengthy report on several months of talks from Amalgamated Engineers' and Foundryworkers' convenor John Paxman, workers heard that the management's answer to their claim-£6 for men and £8 for women-had at 6 p.m. on Thursday amounted to only 30s for men and 35s for women.

ditions that were completely

Warning

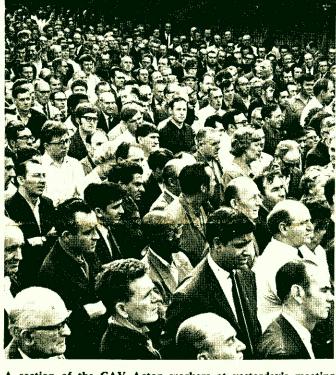
that we don't sell out all the things we've had to fight for the years,' convenor Paxman warned.

ted a ceiling on piecework to implement work study, a and an 18-month pay stand-

Paxman's report, however, revealed that leading stewards had been prepared to go at least part of the way along the road with the manage-

This involves a job-ranking exercise designed to end the chaos' in the factory's paystructure resulting from sectional claims over the last

CAV workers must remain on their guard against this trend throughout the next



BY A WORKERS PRESS TUC chief

But this derisory offer was itself hedged round with congovernment will do very many of the things we were wanting the previous government

'We have got to be careful

The management had wanearnings, complete freedom blank cheque for introduction of the notorious 'tele-control'

bonus system. already three years behind completion date. One pipe fitter involved in the strike said he had spent the last four months taking out

Foundryworkers. News of the union executive's decision arrived shortly before a mass meet-

unanimously to reject a 'no strings' management offer of £2 5s $10\frac{1}{2}d$ —wrung out or them after eight hours of negotiations on Thursdayand to carry on their fight.

This largely unreported strike, which began over a 15s management 'good will' offer linked to a swingeing six-point productivity pro-gramme, has helped to focus opposition to engineering industry speed-up dealing both in and around Erith an area hard hit by factory closures and rundowns-and

Strengthened

regretting it and a lot who've had these deals slung at them and are now determined to stand firm.' A well-organized strike committee has sent out well

over 5,000 appeals for support and financial help to trade union branches, shop stewards' committees and factories all over the 'We've had a response

from places as far away as Redruth-in Cornwall-and even Aberdeen,' says Smith. At Sovex, where custombuilt conveyors, mechanical handling systems and selectors for concerns including the Post Office, various airports and some of the national newspapers are made, the pay of the highly-

Prolonged fight due at **Dungeness**

SIXTY men employed by Capper-Neill's on the site of Dungeness 'B' power station have now been on strike for days over bonus payment and threatened redundancy.

The firm has offered 9s 6d an hour. The men are demanding 15s until negotiations can be opened on a workable This notorious station is

Capper-Neill have moved all foremen to other sites in what strikers say is expectation of a prolonged stoppage. A member of the strike committee said that they would not go back until the full demand was met and there would be no further meeting until next Wednesday.

pipes already laid.

BY A WORKERS PRESS

it vitally necessary for our paper to continue with its work of building and organizing the revolutionary party. We are sure you agree with us over this. Now let us all go into action together. Send us every donation you can as soon as possible for the fund. quarters, Transport and Post them to: Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. General Workers' national docks officer Tim O'Leary

£2 5s offer turned down

OFFICIAL BACKING FOR SOVEX

STRIKERS from Kent's Sovex elevator and conveyor plant at Erith continued their strike for a £6-a-week pay rise into its ninth week yesterday with official backing from the Amalgamated Engineers and

AEF convenor Laurie Smith speaking to yesterday's meeting. ing at which the 130 workers involved voted up of a £20 17s 6d flat rate and bonus earnings of usually £3 or £4 a week. Those involved in the strike include platers. machine-shop workers from the factory and fitters and platers engaged in outside

Executives of the Transport and General Workers and the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, whose Sovex members are also on strike, are now expected to follow the AEF's lead.

nationally.

'Our district committee has always been opposed to

productivity deals,' AEF convenor Laurie Smith told the Workers Press, 'but the strike has really strengthened this feeling in the area. 'We've visited many factories who've already sold things and are now bitterly

indicates that the plan is being carefully studied.
This is confirmed by this week's statement by Egyptian spokesman Anis in Cairo. While the Arab radio stations, including Cairo's, put out general denunciations of American policy, Anis said that the US proposals were being looked at carefully in

issue.

Middle East.

Cairo, 'even between the lines', to find possibilities for discussion. It is now clear that the statements from Nixon and his advisers last week about the danger of a Soviet 'takeover' in the Mediterranean were only part of the jostling for position in the bargaining

> On the Soviet arms aid to Egypt, Michel Tatu writing in yesterday's 'Le Monde' was close to the mark when he 'The Soviet military pre-

> sence in Egypt protects that country against enemy invasion, but also against itself: less and less are the Egyptian leaders able to take decisions on the military plane without the agreement of the Soviet General Staff.'

In other words, while coming forward as the protector of the Arab cause, the Soviet bureaucrats are only con-cerned to hold back the struggle against Zionism.

When the White House spoke about 'a Middle-East Cuba' last week, it may have been speaking the truth-but

not as it intended.

The Soviet missile bases on

hangs over dockers' strike THREATS that Edward Heath's three-week-old Tory government would declare a state of **Pogrom** emergency and move in troops against the striking dockers grew yesterday, when docks union leaders and employers visited the Department of Employment and Productivity for talks

Troops threat still

aimed at averting the strike. Arriving at the DEP's BY DAVID MAUDE St James Square head-

work in central London, Hull, Bradford and Amster-

British Belting and Asbes-

tos, which owns Sovex, claims not to have made a

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

Cuba in 1960 were not part of

the defence of the Cuban

revolution, but highly danger-

ous bargaining counters in a

deal with Kennedy, and a

means of bringing the Cuban

revolution under control.

profit on its Erith ope PAGE FOUR COL. 1

Egypt takes 'long

look' at US plan

WHILE Israeli and Egyptian spokesmen concentrate on

the air war in the Suez Canal zone, the diplomatic

preparations for a Middle-East deal continue.

The relative strengths of US

military aid to Israel and Russian rocket installations on

the Egyptian side of the Canal are not really the central

Nasser's visit to Moscow,

now ending its second week, has still not produced any

policy statement in relation to

the US 'peace plan' for the

The extension of the visit

was 'not unhopeful' that some suggestion might be made to avert a strike.

'. . . But I am not optimistic.' While the unions had no set programme, he said, 'we will do our damnedest to avert a strike. We do not want a

... We are not that big that we will not accept help if offered. As he left the DEP O'Leary

'If arbitration is set up by the government through the TUC, we wouldn't refuse to go, but we would reserve our position, as we always do.'
Asked if this could mean calling off the strike he said: Only the conference can de-

cide that'. O'Leary said that they had been supplying the DEP with all the facts up to date and might, following separate talks with the employers, be asked to come back later in the night or today:

'That is of course, if there is any bridge possible between the two points of view.'

NO NEGOTIATIONS

Employers' chairman George Tonge ruled out the possibility of negotiations taking place at yesterday's talks. 'It's a matter of reporting,' he

The port employers' chairbe hopeful that the unions would accept some form of Answering questions in the Commons earlier, employment productivity Robert Carr made clear that the docks were to be the proving ground for the government's anti-union policies. 'It is the duty of everyone in this country to emphasize that unless we do relate total increases in earnings to national production, there is no future increase in pros-perity for his country of a

wise have.' ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

scale which we could other-

National Docks conference

LIVERPOOL: Saturday July 18, 2 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. 'Scrap Devlin Phase Two! Fight the Tories! For a £20 basic wage and nationalization under workers' con-

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

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS

threat by Ulster **Tories**

BY A WORKERS PRESS

EIRE premier Jack Lynch is thought likely to be planning a nationwide television and radio broadcast on Sunday night, eve of the Orange Order parades in Belfast.

The Order's insistence on continuing with the parades and the non-intervention of Stormont and Westminster have fuelled fears that an anti-Catholic pogrom is planned for July 13.

British troop strength has been stepped up in order to allow the parades to proceed. Lynch's Fianna Fail party is the Eire counterpart of the Ulster Unionist government, and leans just as heavily on the partition of Ireland, de-spite verbal adherence to the

idea of a united Ireland. His broadcast will be primarily designed to calm opinion at home, where he faces growing opposition.

His external Affairs minister Dr Patrick Hillery visited Belfast secretly this week as part of Lynch's fake anti-Unionist campaign.

Challenge

Yesterday, however, leading Unionist Chichester - Clark, Westminster MP and brother of the N Ireland premier, challenged Hillery to 'make a gesture' for a 'peaceful and harmonious climate in the province'.

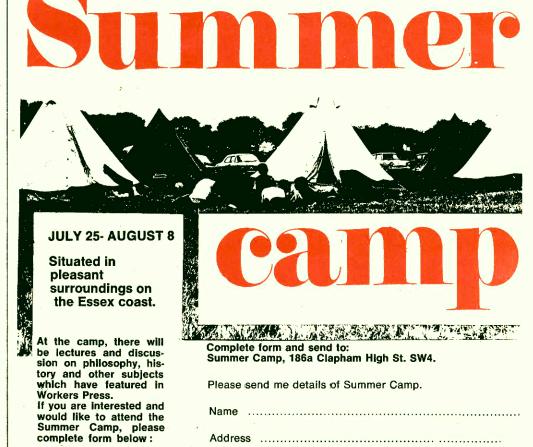
If the Orange Order abandoned their parade on July 13, Chichester-Clark said, the Eire government should drop their opposition to partition and recognize the six coun-The Ulster Tories clearly want to use the threat of anti-

Catholic pogroms to black-mail Lynch and tighten their grip on the six counties. A man and two youths, aged 17 and 18, were yesterday sent to prison for six for throwing stones at police and soldiers during rioting a

fortnight ago. 71 charged

A total of 71 people were due to appear in the special Belfast court yesterday on charges arising from last week's fighting. More than 50 are charged with possessing explosives.

British soldiers acting on a tip-off found a rifle and large amounts of ammunition at two houses in Belfast suburbs vesterday.



Troops threat still

hangs over dockers' strike

BY DAVID MAUDE

was 'not unhopeful' that

some suggestion might be

'. . . But I am not optimistic.'

While the unions had no

set programme, he said, 'we

will do our damnedest to avert a strike. We do not want a

'... We are not that big that we will not accept help

As he left the DEP O'Leary

'If arbitration is set up by the government through the TUC, we wouldn't refuse to go, but we would reserve our

position, as we always do.'
Asked if this could mean

calling off the strike he said:

'Only the conference can decide that'.

O'Leary said that they had been supplying the DEP with

all the facts up to date and might, following separate talks

with the employers, be asked to come back later in the night

is any bridge possible between the two points of view.'

NO NEGOTIATIONS

'That is of course, if there

or today:

made to avert a strike.

As dockers are forced to strike

F29 28 THE FUND campaign will be tough this month. About that we have no illusions. We are now at the peak of the holiday season and our readers are quite rightly looking forward to a well-deserved rest. What

we think and the state of the stat

Stalinists defend troops

THE BRITISH ruling class is getting ready for open and direct attacks on the working class and its trade

The N Ireland crisis, in which workers have already been killed by troops, points the future for the rest_ of Britain under the Tory government.

The fight for Marxist principles is essential to pre-pare the working reserved answer these attacks.

That is why the Socialist Labour League, through the Workers Press and its predecessor 'The Newsletter' has demanded the with-drawal of all British troops from Ulster, even before the first reinforcements were v Wilson last August.

Then, the Labour 'lefts', the 'state capitalist' 'Inter-national Socialism' group and the Communist Party were all saying that the British Army would protect the lives of Catholic

But today, after the troops have been in action against Belfast workers, the Stalinists still defend the right of the imperialist army to be

Yesterday's 'Morning Star' reports a statement from the CP's London District Committee demanding 'Army protection of all sections of the Ulster com-

It also calls for 'the disarming of all unofficial Unionis forces', and 'the banning of the Orange parades and all other parades'. (Our empha-

Here is the outcome of the 'peaceful-road-to - socialism' line peddled by the CP for

For the essence of that Fabian idea is that the state is not an instrument of violent oppression of one class by another, as Marxists understood it, but a 'neutral' institution, which can be democratically' used in the interests of all sections of

'the community'. In 1970, the full meaning of this anti-Marxist 'theory' can be seen in N Ireland.

With their 'shoot-on-sight' orders and their CS poison gas, the troops play the role of any other occupation

They have to terrorize the people of Ulster, because that is how they ensure the maintenance of imperialist 'law and order' and its instrument the Unionist

This is the force that Stalinism appeals to to disarm the Orange Order and the

Unionists. Meanwhile, the working class is to be held in check by the Ulster trade union leaders, many of whom are

This treacherous policy must be seen by workers every-

where as a warning. It shows just what Stalinism and its hangers-on will do to cover up the actions of the employers and their

For the workers' movement to prepare to defeat the Tories, a fight to grasp the depth of Stalinist betrayal is vital. | • PAGE FOUR COL. 9

the whip

BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THREE THINGS emerge clearly out of the present impasse on the dockers' pay claim.

FIRSTLY, the rank-andfile dockers, 'Blue' and 'White' alike, are determined to fight for and win the £20 minimum, even if this, as it surely must, ruins the prospects of implementing Devlin Phase Two by the employers and the government in 1970.

SECONDLY, the trade union leaders, having failed to put aside the question of the basic wage and rush through the productivity deals for Phase Two, have shown no inclination to fight the government and will certainly sound the retreat at the first opportunity.

THIRDLY, and this is the most significant aspect of the present crisis, the Tory government is equally determined to use all and every means, from the use of troops to the use of the trade union bureaucracy, to defeat the dockers as a prc-condition for the enactment of the anti-trade union legislation and the massive rationalization of industry this

This was the meaning of Prime Minister Heath's address to the Tory 1922 Committee on Thursday night when he appealed for steadiness, unity and determination in the Tory Party 'while the government took possibly unpleasant measures to bring inflation under control'.

His audience was in no doubt that they would be 'unpleasant' when he referred to the dock strike threat 'which we shall have to handle with coolness and determination. We have to set about these matters in the way in which we mean to go on'.

Not bluffing

Mr Heath was not bluffing. In fact he cannot afford to.

The Tory government was returned — and Heath was specially chosen to lead it because the ruling class was unanimously decided on the inescapable necessity of disciplining the working class and stopping the 'wage explosion' and the consequent decline of

This is what his 'struggle against inflation' means.

1967 strike

The employers know only too well that the 1967 strike of Liverpool and London dockers played havoc with the implementation of Phase One and pushed their modernizayears, whilst increasing wage rates by over 50 per cent in

It also broke the Wilson wage barrier effectively.

A successful strike by the dockers in 1970 would not only push back 'moderniza-tion' and productivity dealing by a decade, but would certainly and inevitably raise again the question of nationalization and workers' control of the British docks in an entirely different and a much more critical context.

Like 1967 this is not just a strike over more pay, but a political struggle against the Tory government's rationalization policies.

Every docker knows that the real and only reason that the demand for an increase in basic pay was raised by the rank and file and not the



A section of the CAV Acton workers at yesterday's meeting.

Acton CAV men vote for August SEVERAL THOUSAND

BY A WORKERS PRESS

REPORTER

TUC chief

endorses

Tory policy

TUC general secretary Victor

Feather told a recent meeting

Teachers executive, according

to a union spokesman, that:

the National Union of

'We were highly critical in

the last two years particularly of what the Labour govern-

ment were doing because we

fact go for expansion and will

not place as much emphasis on the balance of payments

problem, partly because, we

think, there is no need to at

the present time—we thought

that, quite honestly, some 12

months ago.'

overwhelmingly yesterday morning to strike from factory-wide pay claim.

Only six hands were raised in opposition when joint shop stewards' committee chairman Arthur Mason put to the vote resolution endorsing the stewards' action in breaking off negotiations and calling

Foundryworkers' convenor

thought they were holding back, stultifying economic growth, because of the balance and 35s for women. But this derisory offer was itself hedged round with conditions that were completely

'We have got to be careful that we don't sell out all the things we've had to fight for

The management had wanted a ceiling on piecework earnings, complete freedom to implement work study, a blank cheque for introduction of the notorious 'tele-control' and an 18-month pay stand-

Paxman's report, however, revealed that leading stewards had been prepared to go at least part of the way along the road with the manage-

year.
CAV workers must remain on their guard against this rend throughout the next five weeks.

turned down **OFFICIAL FOR SOVEX STRIKERS** STRIKERS from Kent's Sovex elevator and conveyor plant at Erith

workers from London's Acton CAV plant voted August 18 unless the company concedes their

for strike action.

After a lengthy report on several months of talks from Amalgamated Engineers' and John Paxman, workers heard that the management's 'final' answer to their claim-£6 for men and £8 for women—had at 6 p.m. on Thursday amounted to only 30s for men

of payments problem.
'We think that the present government will do very many of the things we were wanting the previous government unacceptable. to do.
"We think that they will in

Warning

Paxman warned.

This involves a job-ranking exercise designed to end the chaos' in the factory's paystructure resulting from sectional claims over the last

One pipe fitter involved in the strike said he had spent the last four months taking out

yesterday with official backing from the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers.

£2 5s offer

shortly before a mass meet ing at which the 130 workers involved voted unanimously to reject a 'no strings' management offer of £2 5s 10½d—wrung out of them after eight hours of negotiations on Thursday-

and to carry on their fight port and General Workers and the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, whose Sovex members are also on strike, are now expected to follow the

This largely unreported strike, which began over a six-point productivity programme, has helped to focus closures and rundowns-and

has always been opposed to productivity deals,' AEF convenor Laurie Smith told the Workers Press, 'but the strike has really strength-

slung at them and are now determined to stand firm. stewards' committees and

even Aberdeen,' says Smith. At Sovex, where custom-built conveyors, mechanical handling systems and selectors for concerns including the Post Office, various air-

Prolonged fight due at SIXTY men employed by Capper-Neill's on the site of

Dungeness 'B' power station have now been on strike for 5 days over bonus payment and threatened redundancy. The firm has offered 9s 6d an hour. The men are demand-

ing 15s until negotiations can be opened on a workable bonus system. This notorious station is already three years behind scheduled completion date.

BY A WORKERS PRESS

pipes already laid.

Capper-Neill have moved all foremen to other sites in what strikers say is expecta-tion of a prolonged stoppage. A member of the strike committee said that they would not go back until the full demand was met and there would be no further meeting until next Wednesday. meeting until next Wednesday.

starts at

izing the revolutionary party.

We are sure you agree with
us over this. Now let us all go into action together.

Send us every donation you can as soon as possible for the fund.

Post them to:

July £1000 Appeal Fund

rest.
We know that you appre-THREATS that Edward Heath's three-week-old Tory government would declare a state of ciate that we cannot have a rest over our fund. The pos-sibility of a dock strike makes emergency and move in troops against the it vitally necessary for our paper to continue with its work of building and organstriking dockers grew yesterday, when docks union leaders and employers visited the Department of Employment and Productivity for talks aimed at averting the strike.

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

docks officer Tim O'Leary

Arriving at the DEP's

St James Square head-

quarters, Transport and

General Workers' national



continued their / strike for a £6-a-week pay rise into its ninth week News of the union execu-

tive's decision arrived machine-shop workers from the factory and fitters and

15s management 'good will' offer linked to a swingeing opposition to engineering industry speed-up dealing both in and around Erith an area hard hit by factory nationally.

Strengthened

'Our district committee ened this feeling in the area. 'We've visited many factories who've already sold things and are now bitterly regretting it and a lot who've had these deals

A well-organized strike over 5,000 appeals for support and financial help to trade union branches, shop factories all over the

'We've had a response from places as far away as Redruth—in Cornwall—and ports and some of the national newspapers are made, the pay of the highlyskilled labour force is made

Dungeness

struggle against Zionism.

not as it intended. The Soviet missile bases on



AEF convenor Laurie Smith speaking to yesterday's meeting.

up of a £20 17s 6d flat rate usually £3 or £4 a week. Those involved in the strike include platers,

British Belting and Asbestos, which owns Sovex, claims not to have made a

Egypt takes 'long look' at US plan

WHILE Israeli and Egyptian spokesmen concentrate on the air war in the Suez Canal zone, the diplomatic

military aid to Israel and Russian rocket installations on the Egyptian side of the Canal are not really the central issue.

platers engaged in outside

now ending its second week, has still not produced any policy statement in relation to the US 'peace plan' for the

lines', to find possibilities for discussion. It is now clear that the statements from Nixon and his advisers last week about the danger of a Soviet 'takeover' in the Mediterranean were only part of the iostling for position in the bargaining

Egypt, Michel Tatu writing in yesterday's 'Le Monde' was close to the mark when he 'The Soviet military pre-

vasion, but also against itself: less and less are the Egyptian leaders able to take decisions on the military plane without the agreement of the Soviet General Staff.'

When the White House spoke about 'a Middle-East Cuba' last week, it may have been speaking the truth—but

work in central London, profit on its Erith opera-PAGE FOUR COL. 1

ous bargaining counters in a deal with Kennedy, and a

means of bringing the Cuban

which have featured in

Workers Press.

revolution under control.

preparations for a Middle-East deal continue.

The relative strengths of US BY JOHN CRAWFORD Cuba in 1960 were not part of the defence of the Cuban revolution, but highly danger-

Nasser's visit to Moscow, Middle East.

The extension of the visit

indicates that the plan is being carefully studied.

This is confirmed by this week's statement by Egyptian spokesman Anis in Cairo. While the Arab radio stations, including Cairo's, put out general denunciations of American policy, Anis said that the US proposals were being looked at carefully in Cairo, 'even between

On the Soviet arms aid to

sence in Egypt protects that country against enemy in-

In other words, while coming forward as the protector of the Arab cause, the Soviet bureaucrats are only con-cerned to hold back the

If you are interested and would like to attend the Summer Camp, please complete form below:

Employers' chairman George Tonge ruled out the possi-bility of negotiations taking place at yesterday's talks. 'It's a matter of reporting,' he The port employers' chair-

man claimed yesterday still to be hopeful that the unions would accept some form of arbitration before Tuesday. Answering questions in the Commons earlier, employment productivity minister Robert Carr made clear that the docks were to be the proving ground for the government's anti-union policies. 'It is the duty of everyone in this country to emphasize that unless we do relate total increases in earnings to national production, there is no future increase in pros-perity for his country of a

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

wise have.'

scale which we could other-

National Docks conference

LIVERPOOL: Saturday July 18, 2 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. 'Scrap Devlin Phase Two! Fight the Tories! For a £20 basic wage and nationalization under workers' control!

Credentials and further details

can be obtained from L. Cavanagh, 5, Gamlin St,

Birkenhead.

EIRE premier Jack Lynch is thought likely to be planning a nationwide television and radio broadcast on Sunday night, eve of the Orange Order

BY A WORKERS PRESS

Pogrom

Ulster

Tories

threat by

parades in Belfast. The Order's insistence on continuing with the parades and the non-intervention of

have fuelled fears that an anti-Catholic pogrom is planned for July 13. · British troop strength has been stepped up in order to allow the parades to proceed. Lynch's Fianna Fail party is the Eire counterpart of the

and leans just as heavily on the partition of Ireland, despite verbal adherence to the idea of a united Ireland. His broadcast will primarily designed to calm opinion at home, where he

Ulster Unionist government,

faces growing opposition. His external Affairs minister Dr Patrick Hillery visited Belfast secretly this week as para of Lynch's fake anti-Unionist campaign.

Challenge Yesterday, however, leading Unionist Chichester - Clark, Westminster MP and brother of the N Ireland premier, challenged Hillery to make a gesture' for a 'peaceful and

If the Orange Order abandoned their parade on July 13, Chichester-Clark said. Eire government should drop their opposition to partition and recognize the six counties as part of Britain.
The Ulster Tories clearly

want to use the threat of anti-Catholic pogroms to black-mail Lynch and tighten their grip on the six counties. aged 17 and 18, were yesterday sent to prison for six months by Belfast magistrates for throwing stones at police and soldiers during rioting a

fortnight ago. 71 charged

A total of 71 people were due to appear in the special Belfast court yesterday on charges arising from last charges arising from last week's fighting. More than 50 are charged with possessing

explosives. British soldiers acting on a tip-off found a rifle and large amounts of ammunition at two houses in Belfast suburbs

yesterday.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS

SU	mmer
JULY 25- AUGUST 8	camn.
Situated in pleasant surroundings on the Essex coast.	
At the camp, there will be lectures and discussion on philosophy, history and other subjects	Complete form and send to: Summer Camp, 186a Clapham High St. SW4.

Please send me details of Summer Camp.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE:

An introduction

by Cliff Slaughter

(i) Class as an objective phenomenon

IT IS OFTEN said and written that the class struggle is the core of Marx's theories. Marx himself pronounced on this idea:

. no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me the bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove:

- that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historic phases in the development of production;
- (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the pro-
- that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition, to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. . . .'

(Marx letter to Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852).

Thus the Marxist theory of class struggle can only be understood in connection with the basic tenets of historical materialism. This struggle is explained in terms of its historical origins, development, and limits, on the basis of definite and changing economic

This historical view was for Marx the decisive element, and Lenin later explained, on the basis of further experience, just what this meant concretely.

Limits

Lenin pointed out that Kautsky, perhaps the most authoritative writer on Marxist theory, when faced with the First World War and the Russian Revolution of 1917, was unable to go beyond what Marx called the bourgeois limits of recognizing the class struggle, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition to socialism.

'This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and acceptance of Marxism should be tested. And it is not surprising that when history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question in a practical way, not only all the opportunists and reformists, but all the Kautskyists (those who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable Philistines and pettybourgeois democrats repudiated the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

'Opportunism does not carry the recognition of class struggle to the main point, to the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, to the period of overthrow and complete abolition of the bour-

What is essential here, therefore, is to see that Marx's theory of class and class struggle is not a theory only of the structure and function of society, a way of explaining a given social order, after the manner of orthodox sociology. or even of the classical political economists.

It is, on the contrary, that section of Marx's theory which scientifically reflects the process by which 'the whole thing is smashed up'. It is concerned with the creation, consolidation and rendering more or less conscious, of the forces which effect the political changes necessary to abolish the classes made redundant by the development of production and place another class in

The classes which Marx writes about are definite. historically necessary, organs of an historical mode of pro-(1 Lenin, 'The State and Revolution'.)

ideology of these classes, or of sections of them, are reflections of their historical economic interests, though of course the same warnings must be made for the form and mode of this reflection as Engels made for the ideological process in general.

Lenin has given what is the most general definition of 'class' in the Marxist sense:

people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions and method of acquiring the share of social wealth that they obtain. Classes are groups of people one of which may appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy.'2

gulf between this Marxist view of the objective basis of social class and the notion of class in bourgeois sociology. Schumpeter, for example, expresses clearly what many others accept by implication. Complaining that classes are often assumed to exist on a socio - economic basis,

only in the sense that they result from the scholar's classification of economic subjects.'3

Dahrendorf has more recently endorsed this essentially idealist standpoint. For him, classes with only latent interests are 'quasi-groups', and exist only as theoretical con-

'Only by doubtful analogy can we talk about the "members" of such quasi-groups.

The mystery deepens when we learn in the next paragraph

'On the other hand, common groups'.4

A remarkable type of recruitment, since 'only by doubtful analogy' do these quasi-groups have any mem-

Schumpeter tells us further

'... The ultimate foundation on which the class phenomenon differences in aptitude.'

Even though Schumpeter refines this definition by qualifying aptitude as 'socially necessary', he only thereby renders it tautological, since it turns out to be a matter of aptitude

Contrast

There is here a stark and obvious contrast with the Marxist insistence on the historical - economic 'ultimate foundation' of classes, to which individual aptitudes conform through the division of labour and all the institution of the superstructure.

sociologist Cooley:

the employing and handlabouring classes is first of all a matter of personal at-

were able to conclude similarly:

'Collected Works', Vol. 29, p.

(3 Schumpeter, 'Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy'.)

(4 R. Dahrendorf, 'Class and Class Conflict in an Industrial Society', Routledge, 1959, p. 179.)

I would like information about THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4.

Address

duction; the politics and

PART

EIGHT

'Classes are large groups of

Gulf

There is an unbridgeable

'. . . these classes are classes

modes of behaviour are characteristic of interest groups recruited from larger quasi-

for being in the given classes.

The spate of studies of 'social mobility', particularly those concerned with the working class, show very clearly that bourgeois sociology accepts the class structure as 'given'. It does not go beyond the naive 'realism' of the American

'. . . the relation between

Lipset and Bendix in 1959

(2 Lenin, A Great Beginning,

'. . almost uniformly couched in genetic, historical terms, as the Marxist theory itself is, and analytical generalizations as to the role of ideas cannot in principle be proved or disproved by such a method'.6

'. . . the cumulation of dis-

advantages at the bottom of

the social scale is in large

part the result of a lack of

interest [!] in educational

and occupational achieve-

Talcott Parsons, always the

most explicit of sociologists in

his rejection of the claim for

objectivity made by Marxism,

proposes instead a starting-

point justified on the purest

pragmatic grounds. (It can be

said in general that behind the

mountainous 'theoretical' and

abstract constructions of Par-

sons always stands the crudest

pragmatism, in the philosophi-

cal sense. One reason why this

goes unrecognized is that prag-

matism itself is not seen as the

basically 'subjective' philo-

sophy which Peirce, James and

Dewey made of it, whatever

Marxism

Parsons puts aside Marxism

as a basis for examining the

role of ideas in society because

their differences.)

its explanations are

ments'.5

In other words, Parsons will interpret any specific ideas, and their relation to given 'social action', in terms of some supposedly universally valid 'generalizations' about the role of ideas, explicitly abstracting from the specific content and historical role of these ideas, their particular

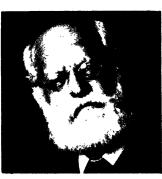
(5 Lipset and Bendix, 'Social Mobility in Industrial Society'. p. 285).

(6 T. Parsons, The Role of Ideas in Social Action, in 'Essays in Sociological Theory', p. 26.)

origin and development in a given struggle of material forces. That it should be this very historical 'specificness', materially determined, which is the key to the 'role of ideas', is beyond the range of Par-'conceptual apparatus'.

KARL MARX

The real result of the apparent 'value-neutrality' and refusal of any 'philosophical' assumptions is to embrace an idealism which repeats the assertions of Schumpeter that reality is essentially a matter of what the observer decides.



KAUTSKY

But Parsons goes further, and transfers these subjective notions into the centre of the social reality under observation. For example, having decided to concentrate on the moral aspect of stratification, Parsons takes up the objection that this procedure might be considered arbitrary:

'It is, however, no more and no less arbitrary than, for instance, the selection of distance as a basic category for describing the relations of bodies in a mechanical system [sic]. Its selection is determined by the place which moral evaluation holds in a generalized conceptual scheme, the "theory of action". The only necessary justification of such a selection at the outset is to show that the categories are applicable [?]. In our ordinary treatment of social rank, moral evaluations are in fact prominently involved. The normal reaction to a conspicuous error in ranking is at least in part one of moral indignation—either a person thinks he is "unjustly" disparaged by being put on a level with those who are really his inferiors, or his real superiors feel "insulted" by having him, in the relevant aspects, treated as their equal."

It is difficult to know where to start, so complete is the conceptual confusion: the words 'applicable', 'ordinary', 'normal', 'conspicuous error', 'really', and 'real superiors' all refer precisely to what needs to be demonstrated, and not at all to some universally agreed reality. To paraphrase Marx's rhetorical question: if the social reality is directly reflected in the consciousness of the actors, what then is the need for social science?

The purpose of this digression is to indicate that the philosophical assumptions of sociology, even where they assert themselves, as in the vast majority of cases, through the mechanism of proceeding without examining in any way what one's assumptions are, affect fundamentally the categories and criteria of selection and significance of what is called 'the empirical data'.

Compare

We cannot therefore simply compare the findings of Marx with those of other sociologists and ask which 'fit the facts', or whether the one can be 'supplemented' by the other. It is a question of the relation between the category 'class' and the whole theory of tl. interpretation between society and nature, subject and object, economy and superstructure.

(7 'Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification', Ibid p. 70).

It is this which Lenin insists upon when he comments upon Marx's assertion that besides the class struggle, its origins and its outcome, the implications of acceptance of the theory must be worked out. Sociology's claim to 'valuefreedom' is precisely its rejection of these implications.

to Marxist

philosophy

Yet another dimension of Marxism, as opposed to 'sociology', must be interposed at this stage of the discussion. The working class—and of course the other classes in relationship with it—must be studied from the point of view of what it is becoming through struggle, and not simply from the standpoint of defining its role in the existing society.

Consciousness

The consciousness by the working class of this role is already an element in the process of abolishing itself as a class. The laws of the market and their implications are an essential basis for defining the working class, but no less essential is the actual struggle of the working class against the domination of these laws and produced by their opera-

'In the ordinary run of things,' writes Marx in 'Capital', 'the labourer can be left to the natural laws of produc-

Direct force, i.e. the coercive force of the state, is used 'only exceptionally', when the proletariat through its struggle resists the dehumanizing effects of these laws of capitalist production in such a way as to threaten capitalist rule. Only social revolution can end the relation of wage-labour sold as a commodity to capital.

But the struggle towards this revolution has resulted at times in reforms, partial victories. A Marxist could not write a 'sociology' of class structure and class conflict without critically analysing these actual efforts of the oppressed classes to become something other than what their oppressors make them.

Victory

Marx, for example, describes the factory legislation of 19th century Britain as a victory of the political economy of the working class over the political economy of the bourgeoisie.

This view was part and parcel of his notion of the working class as a force which would conquer its own emancipation and in the process abolish itself and class society.

Lassalle, in glaring contrast, always spoke in terms of the 'iron law' of wages, and appropriately elaborated a programme of 'State socialism' under the benevolent gaze of the dictator Bismarck.

(ii) Class and 'size of income'

THIS EMPHASIS on conflict (struggle) in the Marxist theory of class is part of that his-torical or dialectical standpoint which distinguishes farxism from sociology.

Where sociology sees concepts like 'class' as terms or concepts which provide more or less useful tools for the description of the functions of a

particular society, or as build-ing-blocks for 'models' which elucidate these functional interrelations, Marxism is always seeking the 'law of motion' of a given social order, the mode of development by which it both reproduces its characteristic features and at the same time generates the conditions of its negation.

Marx's aim, therefore, is not to look for a set of categories of class which will suitably classify, with the minimum number of anomalies, the individual members of the society. He is in fact interested in the actions and utterances of these individuals only in so far as they express with particular sharpness the course of development of classes or sections of classes.

All theories of class which are designed to 'classify' the population can be excluded rom discussion about Marx's

One other common misun-

derstanding may be cleared away at this preliminary stage by pursuing the latter point. When Marx writes about

class struggle he is talking about irreconcilable antagonistic interests rooted in basic relations of production. This clash of interests does not arise from adding together the individual conflicts undergone by individual members of the same class, but from the exploitation relationship and its changes, together with the political steps taken to assure its continuation.

Conflict

All sorts of other conflicts occur in society and are related to class conflict in different ways, but the class conflict is decisive historically, because it is directly related to the development of the mode of production, its con-

BBC 1

10.55 a.m. Weather. 11.00 Open golf championship 1970. 1.30 p.m. Grandstand. 1.40, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Golf. 1.50, 2.20, 2.50 Racing from Newbury. 2.35, 3.05 Athletics. Great Britain v E Germany. 5.30 Results service. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds show.

6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 DAD'S ARMY. 'Battle School'.

6.45 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'King of the Khyber Rifles'. With Tyrone Power. A young army captain is given the job of training a Khyber Rifles regiment in India.

8.20 IT'S LULU. With Ray Stevens, Mike Yarwood and Arrival. 9.05 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'The Tormentor'.

9.55 NEWS and weather.

10.10 BIG FIGHT. The seventies. Who will be the Heavyweight Champion of the World in 1975? 11.00 QUIZ OF THE WEEK. 11.30 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC-1 except: Midlands and E Anglia, North of
England, South and West: 11.32 Wales: 9.15-9.35 Cadi ha. 5.40-6.05
Weather. Dyna wall. 11.32 Weather.

Scotland, N Ireland: 11.32 News, weather.

BBC 2

4.00-5.40 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'Three Little Words'. With Fred Astaire and Red Skelton, Hollywood musical about a

song writing team. 7.30 NEWS, sport and weather.

7.40 WESTMINSTER. Review of the political week.

8.00 GARDENERS' WORLD. 8.15 'DONALD CROWHURST-SPONSORED FOR HEROISM'. Documentary about the round-the-world sailor who never came

9:05 GOLF. Open Championship 1970.

10.00 NOW AND THEN. 'Various Views of Venus'. 10.10 VAL DOONICAN SHOW.

10.55 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'The Victims', part one. 'Progressive Blues'. A lonely singer in her mid-thirties fee! trapped by her husband.

11.25 NEWS and weather. 11.30 DISCO 2.

11.55 MIDNIGHT MOVIE. 'Bonjour Tristesse'. With Deborah Kerr and David Niven. The teenage daughter of a wealthy Paris widower drives away the woman he wants to marry. From the book by Francoise Sagan.

ITV

11.35 a.m. RAC road report. 11.40 House repairs. 12.05 p.m. Better driving, 12.30 Wind in the willows, 12.45 Captain Scarlet, 1.10 News 1.20 World of sport. 1.22 Australian pools. 1.25 They're off! 1.30, 2.00. 2.35, 3.05 Racing from York. 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Wolvenampton. 3.10 International sports special. Tour de France. 4 00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50

Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES. 'Elly Comes Out'.

6.45 ALBERT AND VICTORIA.

7.15 DES O'CONNOR SHOW. 8.15 'THE MARRIAGE-GO-ROUND'. With Susan Hayward and James Mason. A Scandinavian beauty disrupts the lives of a couple

happily married for 16 years. 10.00 NEWS. 10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'Crack Shot'.

11.10 ENGELBERT HUMPERDINCK SHOW. 12.10 a.m. POST MORTEM INTERNATIONAL. /

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 1.10 London. 5.15 Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 News. 6.15 Beverly hillbillies. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: "My Friend Irms". Dean Martin-Jerry Lewis comedy. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.42 Weather. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.10 London. 5.15 Secret ser-vice. 5.45 London. 5.50 Garrison's gorillas. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'The Angel Wore Red'. With Dirk Bogarde, Ava Gardner, Joseph Cot-ton and Vittorio de Sica. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.40 News. 11.50 Weather. Action 70.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

CLASS STRUGGLE:

C BASIS

ntroduction

to Marxist philosophy

by Cliff Slaughter

It is this which Lenin insists upon when he comments upon Marx's assertion that besides the class struggle, its origins and its outcome, the implications of acceptance of the theory must be worked out. Sociology's claim to 'value-freedom' is precisely its rejection of these implications.

Yet another dimension of Marxism, as opposed to 'sociology', must be interposed at this stage of the discussion. The working class—and of course the other classes in relationship with it-must be studied from the point of view of what it is becoming through struggle, and not simply from the standpoint of defining its role in the existing society.

Consciousness

The consciousness by the working class of this role is already an element in the process of abolishing itself as a class. The laws of the market and their implications are an essential basis for defining the working class, but no less essential is the actual struggle of the working class against the domination of these laws and produced by their opera-

'In the ordinary run of things,' writes Marx in 'Capital', 'the labourer can be left to the natural laws of production.'

Direct force, i.e. the coer-

cive force of the state, is used 'only exceptionally', when the proletariat through its struggle resists the dehumanizing effects of these laws of capitalist production in such a way as to threaten capitalist rule. Only social revolution can end the relation of wage-labour sold as a commodity to capital.

The normal reaction

spicuous error in rank-

t least in part one of

indignation—either a

hinks he is "unjustly"

ed by being put on a

h those who are really

eriors, or his real

feel "insulted" by

him, in the relevant

difficult to know

start, so complete is

ptual confusion: the

policable', 'ordinary',

'conspicuous error'.

nd 'real superiors'

precisely to what

be demonstrated, and

to some universally

ality. To paraphrase

etorical question: if

l reality is directly

in the consciousness

ctors, what then is

rpose of this digres-

o indicate that the

cal assumptions of

even where they

emselves, as in the

rity of cases, through

anism of proceeding

xamining in any way

's assumptions are,

damentally the cate-

criteria of selection

ficance of what is

not therefore simply

the findings of Marx

of other sociologists

which 'fit the facts',

er the one can be

nted' by the other.

estion of the relation

the category 'class'

whole theory of the

tion between society

e, subject and objec+,

lytical Approach to

y of Social Stratifica-

p. 70).

and superstructure.

e empirical data'.

willitie.

for social science?

treated as their

But the struggle towards this revolution has resulted at times in reforms, partial victories. A Marxist could not write a 'sociology' of class structure and class conflict without critically analysing these actual efforts of the oppressed classes to become something other than what their oppressors make them.

Victory

Marx, for example, describes the factory legislation of 19th century Britain as a victory of the political economy of the working class over the political economy of the bour-

This view was part and parcel of his notion of the working class as a force which would conquer its own emancipation and in the process abolish itself and class society.

Lassalle, in glaring contrast, always spoke in terms of the 'iron law' of wages, and appropriately elaborated a programme of 'State socialism' under the benevolent gaze of the dictator Bismarck.

(ii) Class and 'size of

income'

THIS EMPHASIS on conflict (struggle) in the Marxist theory of class is part of that historical or dialectical standpoint which distinguishes

larxism from sociology. Where sociology sees concepts like 'class' as terms or concepts which provide more or less useful tools for the de-

scription of the functions of a

particular society, or as building-blocks for 'models' which elucidate these functional interrelations, Marxism is always seeking the 'law of motion' of a given social order, the mode of development by which it both reproduces its characteristic features and at the same time generates the conditions of its negation.

Marx's aim, therefore, is not to look for a set of categories of class which will suitably classify, with the mini-mum number of anomalies, the individual members of the society. He is in fact interested in the actions and utterances of these individuals only in so far as they express with particular sharpness the course of development of classes or sections of classes.

All theories of class which are designed to 'classify' the population can be excluded from discussion about Marx's

One other common misun-

derstanding may be cleared away at this preliminary stage by pursuing the latter point.

When Marx writes about class struggle he is talking about irreconcilable antagonistic interests rooted in basic relations of production. This clash of interests does not arise from adding together the individual conflicts undergone by individual members of the same class, but from the exploitation relationship and its changes, together with the political steps taken to assure its continuation.

Conflict

All sorts of other conflicts occur in society and are related to class conflict in different ways, but the class conflict is decisive historically, because it is directly related to the development of the mode of production, its conditions or relative stability, its contradictions and its change into its opposite.

By way of example, contrast this Marxist view with another approach to social stratification which is often described as 'objective' in character, viz., classification of the population by size of income (whether this be the sole or one of several 'objective characteristics' taken into account).

In the first place, Marx's theory is strictly speaking not one of 'stratification', but of the process by which the forces of transformation of one form of society into another are necessarily born and develop (and, as a by-product, how the ruling class is able for a considerable period to ensure a relative equilibrium or modus vivendi between the contending forces).

Secondly, differences in size of income divide men as individuals from each other just as surely within a given class as across class lines.

'The size of one's purse is a purely quantitative difference, by which any two individuals of the same class may be brought into con-

Magnitudes

The last point may emerge more clearly if posed in another way: the magnitudes of individual incomes form a series, more or less a continuum, and each income is, without doubt, an 'objective datum; but the points at which 'class' lines are drawn horizontally across this continuum is an entirely subjective matter decided by the analyst; no matter where a line is drawn, it is evident that many individuals on different sides of it will have more in common than each of them has with others included with him in the same 'class'.

In other words, despite the 'objective' criterion (size of income) here used, the term 'class' has only the significance of 'classification' according to the requirements of the inves-

(And for such purely sub-

(8 Marx. 'Die Moralisierende Kritik' (1847) cited by Bottomore and Rubel op. cit., p. 202.)

jective purposes, Parsons' insistence that virtually any starting-point will do must be accepted.)

Outgrowth

Marx, on the other hand, sees classes as the outgrowth of the basic needs of society's production, and seeks a theory of class which expresses the actual relation, in development, between the classes. Certainly the classes are related to each other, opposed to each other, in every sphere of social life, including the

class is inseparable from his historical materialist theory of base and superstructure.

For Marx, a 'class' is not an aggregate of all those with similar incomes or even possessions, but consists of all those with a similar property relation to the means of production, and thereby to other classes who stand in a different property relation. The sphere of consumption is secondary, derived. A scientific concept will indicate the derivation and development, not summarize the end-product. Sociologists who proceed in the latter manner would qualify for

the treatment given to the

features, yet such definitions are used as classifications rather than as concepts which are part of a whole historical theory of society.

Dahrendorf's refutation of Marx's theory of class, for example, proceeds from such a

'Thus we follow Sering in expecting the typical capitalist to be at the same time the legal owner of his factory, the practical manager of production, and the supreme commander of his workers."9

The class of capitalists will consequently consist of all these 'typical capitalists'. A highly convenient definition! It then only remains to show that these 'typical' roles have been 'differentiated' in the last 100 years in order to refute the Marxist theory!

The political role of a given class at particular stages of its own and society's economic development, the ideological characteristics of a given class at particular stages of its own and society's economic and political development, the influence upon both of these of the class struggle in other states at dissimilar stages of economic or political development, etc. etc., each of these is a matter for detailed historical investigation in every particular case.

Political

But from what has been said it follows that the political and ideological representative of a class will not necessarily speak with the 'average' consciousness of the individual members of that class, nor will he necessarily share the economic way of life of its members.

direction and limits of the objective economic and political role of the given classes, and interpret the political and ideological currents in society in relation to these.

method. We shall suggest later its application to the question of the 'middle classes' and their role.

(9 Dahrendorf, op. cit.) Continued next Saturday.

most remote realms of ideology, and the investigator may

choose to select any one of

these sets of relations.

But the further away he moves from the sphere of production. Marx would argue, the more likely he is to seize upon differences and relationships which are transitory, confined to a given sphere of activity, and even quite ephemeral. A dialectical definition of class must begin from where the antagonistic relations themselves originate, and develop concepts which accurately trace the reflection of this fundamental conflict.

In this way Marx's view of

BBC 1

bourgeois economists in Vol. III of 'Capital', in which ' . . . it will be shown what

LENIN

the Philistine's and vulgar economist's way of looking at things stems from, namely from the fact that it is only the direct form of manifestation of relations that is reflected in their brains and not their inner connection. Incidentally, if the latter were the case, what would be the need of science?' (Marx, letter to Engels, June 27, 1867.)

Very often a definition will be given which appears 'objective', even to the extent of taking into account Marx's view and adding to it other

A Marxist analysis will demonstrate the necessary

In 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' Marx gives a classic illustration of this

BBC 1

10.55 a.m. Weather. 11.00 Open golf championship 1970. 1.30 p.m. Newbury. 2.35, 3.05 Athletics. Great Britain v E Germany. 5.30 Results service. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds show.

6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 DAD'S ARMY. 'Battle School'.

6.45 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'King of the Khyber Rifles'. With Tyrone Power. A young army captain is given the job of training a Khyber Rifles regiment in India.

8.20 IT'S LULU. With Ray Stevens, Mike Yarwood and Arrival. 9.05 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'The Tormentor'.

9.55 NEWS and weather.

10.10 BIG FIGHT. The seventies. Who will be the Heavyweight Champion of the World in 1975? 11.00 QUIZ OF THE WEEK. 11.30 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC-1 except:

Scotland, N Ireland: 11.32 News, Midlands and E Anglia, North of England, South and West: 11.32 Weather.

BBC 2

4.00-5.40 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'Three Little Words'. With Fred Astaire and Red Skelton. Hollywood musical about a song writing team.

7.30 NEWS, sport and weather.

7.40 WESTMINSTER. Review of the political week. 8.00 GARDENERS' WORLD.

8.15 'DONALD CROWHURST-SPONSORED FOR HEROISM'. Documentary about the round-the-world sailor who never came

9,05 GOLF. Open Championship 1970.

10.00 NOW AND THEN. 'Various Views of Venus'. 10.10 VAL DOONICAN SHOW.

10.55 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'The Victims', part one. 'Progressive Blues'. A lonely singer in her mid-thirties fee!s trapped by her husband.

11.25 NEWS and weather. 11.30 DISCO 2.

11.55 MIDNIGHT MOVIE. 'Bonjour Tristesse'. With Deborah Kerr and David Niven. The teenage daughter of a wealthy Paris widower drives away the woman he wants to marry. From the book by Francoise Sagan.

11.35 a.m. RAC road report, 11.40 House repairs, 12.05 p.m. Better driving. 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 News 1.20 World of sport. 1.22 Australian pools. 1.25 They're off! 1.30, 2.00. 2.35, 3.05 Racing from York. 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Wolver hampton. 3.10 International sports special. Tour de France. 4 00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES. 'Elly Comes Out'. 6.45 ALBERT AND VICTORIA.

7.15 DES O'CONNOR SHOW.

8.15 'THE MARRIAGE-GO-ROUND'. With Susan Hayward and James Mason. A Scandinavian beauty disrupts the lives of a couple happily married for 16 years.

10.00 NEWS. 10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'Crack Shot'.

11.10 ENGELBERT HUMPERDINCK SHOW. 12.10 a.m. POST MORTEM INTERNATIONAL.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 1.10 London. 5.15 Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 News. 6.15 Beverly hillbillies. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: "My Friend Irma". Dean Martin-Jerry Lewis comedy. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 12.05 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.42 Weather. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.10 London. 5.15 Secret service. 5.45 London. 5.50 Garrison's gorillas. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'The Angel Wore Red'. With Dirk Bogarde, Ava Gardner, Joseph Cotton and Vittorio de Sica. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.40 News. 11.50 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 12.45 Skippy, 1.10 London.
5.15 Robin hood. 5.45 London. 5.50
Voyage to the bottom of the sea.
6.45 London. 7.15 Western: 'Pony
Express'. With Charlton Heston and
Rhonda Fleming. Buffalo Bill Cody
and Wild Bill Hickok are commissioned to establish the Pony Express.
9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London.
10.10 Cinema: 'The Chapman Report'.
With Jane Fonda, Claire Bloom,
Shelley Winters, Glynis Johns and
Efrem Zimbalist Jr. Resea: hers move
into a suburb of Los Angeles to conduct a sex survey. 12.15 Weather.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.45-7.15 Hyd a lled.

ANGLIA: 12.55 Seaway. 1.10 London. 5.53 Branded. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 'The Power and the Prize'. With Robert Taylor and Elisabeth Mueller. A young executive involved in a shady deal meets an attractive European refugee. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.45 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 London. 5.50 Albert and Victoria. 6.20 Adventure: 'Tarzan and the Amazons'. 7.35 Name of the game. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 'Twelfth Night'.

ULSTER: 1.10 London. 5.45 News. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Film: 'I Was Monty's Double'. With John Mills and Cecil Parker. An unknown actor poses as General Montgomery during the last war. 8.25 Sports results. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 'Twelfth Night'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.30 Archery. 11.55 Floris. 12.20 Huckleberry Finn. 12.45 Woobinda. 1.10 London. 5.15 Big valley. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 'The Inspector'. With Stephen Boyd and Dolores Hart. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. Midnight weather.

GRANADA: 11.50 House repairs. 12.15
Better driving. 12.40 Stingray. 1.10
London. 5.15 Flipper. 5.45 News
5.50 Laurel and Hardy. 6.05 Cartoon
time. 6.15 Des O'Connor. 7.15 Tough
guys: "Blackbeard the Pirate'. With
Robert Newton, Linda Darnell and
Keith Andes. The King of England
orders Blackbeard's destruction. 9.00
Callan. 10.00 London. 10.15 Man in a
suitcase. 11.10 London.

TYNE TEES: 12.40 Joe 90, 1.10 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 London. 8.15 Film: 'That Kind of Woman'. With Sophia Loren and Tab Hunter. 10.00 London. 12.10 Epilogue.

BORDER: 12.20 All our yesterdays. 12.43 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 London. 5.50 Joe. 6.29 Branded. 6.45 Kenny Everett explosion. 7.15 London. 8.15 'Three Violent People'. With Charlton Heston and Anne Baxter. Trappers, gamblers and carpetbaggers in Dallas, Texas, after the American Civil War. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Two-shot golf.

SCOTTISH: 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.10 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 Movie: 'Sea of Sand'. With Richard Attenborough, John Gregson and Michael Craig. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Late call. 10.15 Movie: 'Somewhere I'll Find You'. With Clark Gable and Lana Turner.

GRAMPIAN: 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Skippy. 1.10 London. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 Movie: 'Ace in the Hole'. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Movie: 'I Want to Live'. With Susan Hawkard.

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 1.59 News headlines. 2.00 Open golf championship 1970. 2.30 Echoes of Llangollen. 3.15 Film: 'The Count of Monte Cristo'. With Robert Donat and Elissa Landi. 5.05 Life at large looks at The Golden States, modern California.

5.55 SHARI LEWIS SHOW.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 THE ATHEIST AND THE ARCHBISHOP. Marghanita Laski

and Archbishop Anthony Bloom. 6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE.

7.25 PAUL TEMPLE. 'Murder in Munich'. Part one. 8.15 KENNETH MORE FILM SESSION. 'Raising A Riot'. With Kenneth More, Mandy Miller, Gary Billings and Fusty Bentinue. A naval commander comes home on leave and finds himself in charge of three lively children.

9.45 NEWS and weather. 9.55 OMNIBUS. 'Raymond Chandler-Down These Mean Streets A 10.50 MY WORLD . . . AND WELCOME TO IT. 11.15 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC-1 except: Midlands and E Anglia, North of England, South and West: 11.17 Wales: 3.15-3.40, 4.10-4.35 The Doctors.

3.40-4.10 He who dares. 4.35-5.05 Maggie Smith's cinema. 6.50-7.25 Dechrau canu dechrau canmol. 9.55-10.50 O'r neuadd gyngerdd. Scotland, N Ireland: 11.17 News, weather.

BBC 2

1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. Leicestershire v Glamorgan.

7.00 NEWS review and weather. 7.25 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Trini Lopez and Nanette

8.15 WORLD ABOUT US. Trans-African Hovercraft. Part one, 'Ten

Davs to Bamake'. 9.05 MUSIC ON 2. Don Quixote—fantastic variations on a theme of knightly character by Richard Strauss.

9.55 WHERE WAS SPRING? With Eleanor Bron and John Fortune. 10.20 THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. 'Nothing Ventured'.

11.05 NEWS SUMMARY, cricket scoreboard and weather.

11.15 LINE-UP. ITV

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday session. House repair. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Sports arena. Tennis. 2.45 Big event. Tour de France. 3.15 Do your own London. A visit to Old Warden airfield where old airplanes are kept. 4.15 Joe. With Joe Brown, The New Temperance Seven, The Breakaways, The Shandy Gaff and Nina. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers.

6.00 POLICE 5. 6.15 NEWS. 6.15 'A MAN AGAINST HIS AGE'. Special adaptation of Jack Emery's play on the life and conversion of John Wesley. 7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.

7.25 PLEASE SIR! 'They're Off'. 7.55 'THE PRODIGAL'. With Lana Turner, Edmund Purdon, Audrey Dalton, Louis Calhern and Neville Brand. The story of the Prodigal Son Micah who fell in love with Samarra, High

10.15 'TWELFTH NIGHT'. With Alec Guiness, Tommy Steele, Ralph Richardson and Joan Plowright. Shakespeare's comedy. REGIONAL ITY

Priestess of the pagan Goddess of Love.

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.40 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Golf tips. 3.20 Road West. 4.10 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Stalag 17' with William Holden and Don Taylor. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck show. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Epilogue, weather.

Two tug crews wait out a storm in a Spanish fishing village. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 London. 7.25 Picture. 'Battleground'. With Van Johnson, John Hodiak, Ricardo Montalban and George Murphy. The Battle of the Bulge in Second World War. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 London. 12.10 Weather. Action 70.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.45 London. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather. HARLECH: 11.00-12.40 London. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Court martial. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Screen: 'Ice Palace'. With Richard Burton and Robert Ryan. Zeb Kennedy returns to Alaska after the First World War determined to succeed. 10.00 London. SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 12.15-12.45 London. 1.45 Weather. 1.48 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 'Sea Fury'. With Stanley Baker, Victor McLaglen and Luciana Paluzzi.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.45 London. 1.40 Cannonball. 2.15 Royal Show. 3.15 'Kill Me Tomorrow'. With Lois Maxwell, Pat O'Brien, George Coulouris and Tommy Steele. Suspense story about a crime reporter. 4.45 London. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film. 'The Last Time I Saw Archie'. With Jack Webb, Robert Mitchum, Martha Hyer and France Nuyen. Army comedy. 9.05 Saint. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck. 11.15 Man in a suitcase, weather.

ULSTER: 12.15-1.05 London. 2.15 London. 3.15 Cartoon time. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 London. 7.25 Peyton Place. 8.15 Movie: "Treasure Island". With Wallace Berry and Jackie Cooper. The 1934 version of Robert Louis Stevenson's story. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck. 11.15 Moviemen.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-12.40 London. 1.05 100 years at school. 1.30 Yorkshire matters. 1.50 Farming diary. 2.25 Sport. 3.20 'Abbott and Costello Meet the Killer'. Strange goings on at the Lost Caverns Hotel. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hawaii five-o. 8.20 Film: 'The Gazebo'. With Glenn Ford and Debbie Reynolds. A mystery writer finds himself caught up in a real life mystery. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-12 noon London. 12.35 Better driving. 1.00 Archery. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Interpol calling. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Time tunnel. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Cartoon time. 5.35 H.R. Pufnstuf. 6.00 London. 7.25 Picture: "Casanova Brown". With Gary Cooper, and Teresa Wright. Casanova Brown about to marry receives a letter from a maternity home. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 10.15 Post graduate medicine. 11.00-12.15 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Matinee: 'Tarzan and the She-Devil'. With Lex Barker and Raymond Burr. 4.45 London. 5.30 Stingray. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film: 'Dangerous Moonlight'. With Anton Walbrook and Sally Gray. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 10.00 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at . . 12.10 W. C. Fields 'Night Must Fall' and 'The Voice of Prayer' read by Maxwell Deas.

BORDER: 11.00-12 noon London, 12.15-12.45 London, 1.45 Diary, 1.50 Farming outlook, 2.20 Sport, 3.20 Saint, 4.15 Hogan's heroes, 4.45 London, 5.30 Tom Grattan's war, 6.00 London, 7.55 'The Beauty Jungle', With Ian Hendry, Janette Scott, Ronald Fraser and Edmund Purdom, 10.00 London, 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 12.15-12.45 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm pro-gress. 2.55 No easy answer. 2.50 Saint. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 Lon-don. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Lon-don. 7.55 Feature: "Teacher's With Clark Gable, Doris Day and Gig Young. 10.00 London. 12.15 Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 12.10-12.40 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Seaway. 4.10 London. 5.30 Flintstones. 6.00 London. 7.55 Cinema: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 12.10 Why, Oh Why.

A RECENT issu Monde' published

questionnaire sen

Czechoslovak care in service on April Completion is and the results are t to the personal fi

It asks over 5 questions covering 1968-1969, and, in demand for a co count of each perso conduct during t with evidence to s It also asks abou

WHEN Stalinist m

ist these days s sounds. Thus it was wh Marchais, who ha notes on Dubce

Czechoslovak regim

Son Phillip



Available from N

ditions or relative stability, its contradictions and its change into its opposite.

By way of example, contrast this Marxist view with another approach to social stratification which is often described as 'objective' in character, viz., classification of the population by size of income (whether this be the sole or one of several 'objective characteristics' taken into account).

In the first place, Marx's theory is strictly speaking not one of 'stratification', but of the process by which the forces of transformation of one form of society into another are necessarily born and develop (and, as a by-product, how the ruling class is able for a considerable period to ensure a relative equilibrium or modus vivendi between the contending forces).

Secondly, differences in size of income divide men as individuals from each other just as surely within a given class as across class lines.

'The size of one's purse is a purely quantitative difference, by which any two individuals of the same class may be brought into con-

Magnitudes

The last point may emerge more clearly if posed in another way: the magnitudes of individual incomes form a series, more or less a continuum, and each income is, without doubt, an 'objective' datum; but the points at which 'class' lines are drawn horizontally across this continuum is an entirely subjective matter decided by the analyst; no matter where a line is drawn. it is evident that many individuals on different sides of it will have more in common than each of them has with others included with him in the same 'class'.

In other words, despite the 'objective' criterion (size of income) here used, the term 'class' has only the significance of 'classification' according to the requirements of the inves-

(And for such purely sub-

(8 Marx. 'Die Moralisierende Kritik' (1847) cited by Bottomore and Rubel op. cit., p. 202.)

jective purposes, Parsons' insistence that virtually any starting-point will do must be

Outgrowth

Marx, on the other hand, sees classes as the outgrowth of the basic needs of society's production, and seeks a theory of class which expresses the actual relation, in development, between the classes. Certainly the classes are related to each other, opposed to each other, in every sphere of social life, including the class is inseparable from his historical materialist theory of base and superstructure.

For Marx, a 'class' is not an aggregate of all those with similar incomes or even possessions, but consists of all those with a similar property relation to the means of production, and thereby to other classes who stand in a different property relation. The sphere of consumption is secondary, derived. A scientific concept will indicate the derivation and development, not summarize the end-product. Sociologists who proceed in the latter manner would qualify for the treatment given to the



most remote realms of ideology, and the investigator may choose to select any one of these sets of relations.

But the further away he moves from the sphere of production, Marx would argue, the more likely he is to seize upon differences and relationships which are transitory, confined to a given sphere of activity, and even quite ephemeral. A dialectical definition of class must begin from where the antagonistic relations themselves originate, and develop concepts which accurately trace the reflection of this fundamental conflict.

In this way Marx's view of

bourgeois economists in Vol. III of 'Capital', in which

. it will be shown what the Philistine's and vulgar economist's way of looking at things stems from, namely from the fact that it is only the direct form of manifestation of relations that is reflected in their brains and not their inner connection. Incidentally, if the latter were the case, what would be the need of science?' (Marx, letter to Engels, June 27, 1867.)

Very often a definition will be given which appears 'objective', even to the extent of taking into account Marx's view and adding to it other

features, yet such definitions are used as classifications rather than as concepts which are part of a whole historical theory of society.

Dahrendorf's refutation of Marx's theory of class, for example, proceeds from such a

'Thus we follow Sering in expecting the typical capitalist to be at the same time the legal owner of his factory, the practical manager of production, and the supreme commander of his workers '9

The class of capitalists will consequently consist of all these 'typical capitalists'. A highly convenient definition! It then only remains to show that these 'typical' roles have been 'differentiated' in the last 100 years in order to refute the Marxist theory!

The political role of a given class at particular stages of its own and society's economic development, the ideological characteristics of a given class at particular stages of its own and society's economic and political development, the influence upon both of these of the class struggle in other states at dissimilar stages of economic or political development, etc. etc., each of these is a matter for detailed historical investigation in every particular case.

Political

But from what has been said it follows that the political and ideological representative of a class will not necessarily speak with the 'average' consciousness of the individual members of that class, nor will he necessarily share the economic way of life of its members.

A Marxist analysis will demonstrate the necessary direction and limits of the objective economic and political role of the given classes, and interpret the political and ideological currents in society in relation to these.

In 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' Marx gives a classic illustration of this method. We shall suggest later its application to the question of the 'middle classes' and their role.

(9 Dahrendorf, op. cit.) Continued next Saturday.

EAST & WEST European REVIEW

Anything to declare?

A RECENT issue of 'Le Monde' published in full a questionnaire sent to all Czechoslovak career soldiers

in service on April 1 (!). Completion is compulsory

and the results are to be added to the personal file of each soldier. It asks over 50 detailed questions covering the years 1968-1969, and, in effect, is a

demand for a complete ac-

count of each person's political

conduct during the period,

with evidence to support the It also asks about the political activities of the other soldiers in the unit, and about relations with foreign soldiers in Czechoslovakia.

What stands out is that the

wants to hide his support for reforms and his opposition to regime have embarked on a the Soviet invasion.

Prague 1968: Soviet tanks

The army questionnaire is apparently typical of those that have been sent to many types of State employee, university staffs and so on.

Mountain

This mountain of paper, now being inspected and sorted by reformed Security Services under the close supervision of Soviet 'experts', is a tribute to the continuing resistance to the bureaucracy.

Only by checking on everyone, all the time, can the Stalinists hope to maintain any political control.

And there can be no doubt that the questionnaires will all be read with a view to use in future frame-up trials.

WHEN Stalinist meets Stalinist these days silence re-

Thus it was when Georges Marchais, who handed over notes on Dubcek to the Czechoslovak regime on behalf of the French Communist Party headed a recent Party delegation to Rome for talks with Enrico Berlinguer of the Italian Party.

The 'exchanges' were, we are given to understand, 'full and friendly'.



was issued which had nothing to say about Czechoslovakia

As is well known, the two on the subject.

elections the Party has been wooing the Socialist leaders for local coalitions, and have even condemned the expulsion of Dubcek from the Czech CP in 'Unita', the Party daily—a change from a few months ago, when news from Czechoslovakia appeared in the fagend of columns, without com-

But 'L'Humanité', organ of

the French Party, maintains its 'discretion' to the last, Not, of course, that the

French lack the Italians' valiant desire for 'respectability'.

skyists, and searching questions from many militant workers, the French Stalinists want to leave themelves a free hand to endorse purge trials in Czechoslovakia while they collaborate with the police against those they slander as 'fascists of the left' in Paris.

BBC 1

HARLECH: 12.45 Skippy. 1.10 London. 5.15 Robin hood. 5.45 London. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 London. 7.15 Western: 'Pony Express'. With Charlton Heston and Rhonda Fleming. Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickok are commissioned to establish the Pony Express. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Cinema: 'The Chapman Report'. With Jane Fonda, Claire Bloom, Shelley Winters, Glynis Johns and Efrem Zimbalist Jr. Reseal.hers move into a suburb of Los Angeles to conduct a sex survey. 12.15 Weather.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.45-7.15 Hyd a lled.

ANGLIA: 12.55 Seaway. 1.10 London. 5.53 Branded. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 'The Power and the Prize'. With Robert Taylor and Elisabeth Mueller. A young executive involved in a shady deal meets an attractive European refugee. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.45 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 London. 5.50 Albert and Victoria. 6.20 Adventure: 'Tarzan and the Amazons'. 7.35 Name of the game. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 'Twelfth Night'.

ULSTER: 1.10 London, 5.45 News, 5.50 Laredo, 6.45 Film: '1 Was Monty's Double'. With John Mills and Cecil Parker. An unknown actor poses as General Montgomery during the last war, 8.25 Sports results, 8.30 Albert and Victoria, 9.00 Des O'Connor, 10.00 London, 10.10 Saturday Night Theatre. 'Twelfth Night'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.30 Archery. 11.55 Floris. 12.20 Huckleberry Finn. 12.45 Woobinda. 1.10 London, 5.15 Big valley. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 'The Inspector'. With Stephen Boyd and Dolores Hart. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. Midnight weather.

GRANADA: 11.50 House repairs. 12.15
Better driving. 12.40 Stingray. 1.10
London. 5.15 Flipper. 5.45 News
5.50 Laurel and Hardy. 6.05 Cartoon
time. 6.15 Des O'Connor. 7.15 Tough
guys: 'Blackbeard the Pirate'. With
Robert Newton, Linda Darnell and
Keith Andes. The King of England
orders Blackbeard's destruction. 9.00
Callan. 10.00 London. 10.15 Man in a
suitcase. 11.10 London.

TYNE TEES: 12.40 Joe 90. 1.10 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 London. 8.15 Film: 'That Kind of Woman'. With Sophia Loren and Tab Hunter. 10.00 London. 12.10 Epilogue.

BORDER: 12.20 All our yesterdays. 12.43 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 London. 5.50 Joe. 6.29 Branded. 6.45 Kenny Everett explosion. 7.15 London. 8.15 'Three Violent People'. With Charlton Heston and Anne Baxter. Trappers, gamblers and carpetbaggers in Dallas, Texas, after the American Civil War. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Two-shot golf.

SCOTTISH: 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.10 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 Movie: 'Sea of Sand'. With Richard Attenborough, John Gregson and Michael Craig. 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Late call. 10.15 Movie: 'Somewhere I'll Find You'. With Clark Gable and Lana Turner.

GRAMPIAN: 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Skippy. 1.10 London. 5.50 Bonanza, 6.45 Movie: 'Ace in the Hole', 8.30 Albert and Victoria. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Movie: 'I Want to Live', With Susan House of the World Strand Control of the Wor

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and 2.00 Open golf championship 1970. 2.30 Echoes of Llangollen. 3.15 Film: 'The Count of Monte Cristo'. With Robert Donat and Elissa Landi. 5.05 Life at large looks at The Golden States, modern California.

5.55 SHARI LEWIS SHOW. 6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 THE ATHEIST AND THE ARCHBISHOP. Marghanita Laski and Archbishop Anthony Bloom. 6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE.

7.25 PAUL TEMPLE. 'Murder in Munich'. Part one. 8.15 KENNETH MORE FILM SESSION. 'Raising A Riot'. With Kenneth More, Mandy Miller, Gary Billings and Fusty Bentinue. A naval commander comes home on leave and finds himself in charge of three lively children.

9.45 NEWS and weather. 9.55 OMNIBUS. 'Raymond Chandler-Down These Mean Streets A Man Must Go'.

10.50 MY WORLD . . . AND WELCOME TO IT. 11.15 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC-1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia, North of England, South and West: 11.17 Wales: 3.15-3.40, 4.10-4.35 The Doctors.

3.40-4.10 He who dares. 4.35-5.05 Maggie Smith's cinema. 6.50-7.25 Dechrau canu dechrau canmol. 9.55-10.50 O'r neuadd gyngerdd. Scotland, N Ireland: 11.17 News, weather.

BBC 2

1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. Leicestershire v Glamorgan.

7.00 NEWS review and weather. 7.25 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Trini Lopez and Nanette

8.15 WORLD ABOUT US. Trans-African Hovercraft. Part one, 'Ten Days to Bamake'.

MUSIC ON 2. Don Quixote—fantastic variations on a theme of knightly character by Richard Strauss.

WHERE WAS SPRING? With Eleanor Bron and John Fortune. 10.20 THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. 'Nothing Ventured'. 11.05 NEWS SUMMARY, cricket scoreboard and weather.

11.15 LINE-UP.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Service. 12.15 p.m. Sunday session. House repair. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Sports arena. Tennis. 2.45 Big event. Tour de France. 3.15 Do your own London. A visit to Old Warden airfield where old airplanes are kept. 4.15 Joe. With Joe Brown, The New Temperance Seven, The Breakaways, The Shandy Gaff and Nina. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers.

6.00 POLICE 5. 6.15 NEWS. 6.15 'A MAN AGAINST HIS AGE'. Special adaptation of Jack Emery's play on the life and conversion of John Wesley.

7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY. 7.25 PLEASE SIR! 'They're Off'.

'THE PRODIGAL'. With Lana Turner, Edmund Purdon, Audrey Dalton, Louis Calhern and Neville Brand. The story of the Prodigal Son Micah who fell in love with Samarra, High Priestess of the pagan Goddess of Love.

10.15 'TWELFTH NIGHT'. With Alec Guiness, Tommy Steele, Ralph Richardson and Joan Plowright. Shakespeare's comedy.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.45 London. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather. SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 12.15-12.45 London. 1.45 Weather. 1.48 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 'Sea Fury'. With Stanley Baker, Victor McLaglen and Luciana Paluzzi.

Weather. 1.45 Farming diary; 2.15 Royal Show. 3.15 Kenny Everett explosion. 3.45 University challenge. 5.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.25 comedy: 'The Horse's Mouth'. With Alec Guinness, Kay Walsh and Renee Houston. The misadventures of an eccentric artist. 9.00 Engelbert Humperdinck. 10.00 London. 12.10 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.45 London. 1.40 Cannonball. 2.15 Royal Show. 3.15 'Kill Me Tomorrow'. With Lois Maxwell, Pat O'Brien, George Coulouris and Tommy Steele. Suspense story about a crime reporter. 4.45 London. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film. 'The Last Time I Saw Archie'. With Jack Webb, Robert Mitchum, Martha Hyer and France Nuyen. Army comedy. 9.05 Saint. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck. 11.15 Man in a suitcase, weather.

ULSTER: 12.15-1.05 London. 2.15 London. 3.15 Cartoon time. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 London. 7.25 Peyton Place. 8.15 Movie: "Treasure Island". With Wallace Berry and Jackie Cooper. The 1934 version of Robert Louis Stevenson's story. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck. 11.15 Moviemen.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-12.40 London. 1.05 100 years at school. 1.30 Yorkshire matters. 1.50 Farming diary. 2.25 Sport. 3.20 'Abbott and Costello Meet the Killer'. Strange goings on at the Lost Caverns Hotel. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.25 Hawaii five-o. 8.20 Film: 'The Gazebo'. With Glenn Ford and Debbie Reynolds. A mystery writer finds himself caught up in a real life mystery. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-12 noon London. 12.35 Better driving, 1.00 Archery. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Interpol calling. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Time tunnel. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Cartoon time. 5.35 H.R. Pufnstuf. 6.00 London. 7.25 Picture: 'Casanova Brown'. With Gary Cooper, and Teresa Wright. Casanova Brown about to marry receives a letter from a maternity home. 9.00 Manhunt. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 10.15 Post graduate medicine. 11.00-12.15 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Matinee: "Tarzan and the She-Devil". With Lex Barker and Raymond Burr. 4.45 London. 5.30 Stingray. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film: 'Dangerous Moonlight'. With Anton Walbrook and Sally Gray. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 10.00 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at . . 12.10 W. C. Fields 'Night Must Fall' and 'The Voice of Prayer' read by Maxwell Deas.

BORDER: 11.00-12 noon London. 12.15-12.45 London. 1.45 Diary. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Hogan's heroes. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 'The Beauty Jungle'. With Ian Hendry, Janette Scott, Ronald Fraser and Edmund Purdom. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue.

Equally, of course, they were held behind closed doors. At the end a joint communiqué

colossal task of gathering,

checking and comparing in-

formation in order to be able

to identify almost anyone who



Georges Marchais

parties have their differences

Wooing

Since the Italian regional

But, facing the political challenge of the French Trot-

Son Phillippos

THE COLONELS' FRIEND IN

FOR WEEKS detectives and forensic experts have been investigating the mysterious death of Eugenie Niarchos, wife of shipping millionaire Stavros Niarchos.

Their slow progress has been attributed not to the intrinsic difficulty of the case, but to the fact that it looks set fair, unless handled with the greatest 'delicacy', to in-

volve the military junta itself.

MOSCO

Available from New Park Publications, 186A Clapham High St., London, SW4.

Niarchos married Eugenie Livanos in 1947, and with the help of her father. Stavros Livanos, was able to build his immense fleet.

Companies

Today he owns 40 shipping companies, 80 tankers and freighters with a total tonnage of 2.5 million tons.

Apart from his ships, his pride and joy is the millionaire

playground he has built on his private island Spetsopoula.

It is frequented by King Constantine and consort, the Rothschilds, Alfred Krupp and wealthy German playboy Gunther Sachs.

Charlotte, daughter of Henry Ford, to whom Niarchos was once married—for 15 months. It was on Spetsopoula that

Another visitor

Eugenie died, on May 3, after a violent row between the couple over Niarchos' association with model Jeanette Strass. Aside from his family mis-

fortunes, Niarchos is one of

the most important props of

the dictatorship. He plans to invest \$200 million in the country in the next few years.

Aflame

To keep his economic patriotism aflame the colonels have (according to a recent report in the W German magazine 'Der Spiegel') come to the following gentlemen's agree-

1) Niarchos will hand over the directorship of his business empire to his 18-year-old son Phillippos, assuming for himself the title of honorary president.

2) The government will allow the investigation to continue, but undertake to lay no murder charges. They will raise nothing more serious than an accusation of 'neglected responsibility' (punishable by up to one year's imprisonment).

3) At a later stage all proceedings will be dropped 'for lack of evidence'.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.40 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Golf tips. 3.20 Road West. 4.10 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Stalag 17' with William Holden and Don Taylor. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engelbert Humperdinck show. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Epilogue, weather.

Two tug crews wait out a storm in a Spanish fishing village. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 London. 7.25 Picture. 'Battleground'. With Van Johnson, John Hodiak, Ricardo Montalban and George Murphy. The Battle of the Bulge in Second World War. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 London. 12.10 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 11.00-12.40 London. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Court martial. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Screen: 'Ice Palace'. With Richard Burton and Robert Ryan. Zeb Kennedy returns to Alaska after the First World War determined to succeed. 10.00 London.

All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.55 No easy answer. 2.50 Saint, 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Feature: "Teacher's Pet'. With Clark Gable, Doris Day and Gig Young. 10.00 London. 12.15 Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 12.10-12.40 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Seaway. 4.10 London. 5.30 Fiintstones. 6.00 London. 7.55 Cinema: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 12.10 Why, Oh Why.

Durham miners

must fight for a revolutionary

alternative

AS DURHAM miners march on their Gala day,

more than one in seven has his lungs coated with

FROM JACK GALE

National Coal Board refused

minimum wage.

But the key question remains: Who will lead this

National Secretary Lawrence

Daly, who was voted into office by many men who be-

lieved he was prepared to lead

pay, has proved he will do no such thing.

He worked to end the 1969

writes about inevitable redun-

dancies and 'talks' with the

RUNDOWN

Nor will the Communist

It was prominent members

of the Communist Party— Arthur Horner and Will Paynter—who, as successive

national secretaries of the

union, presided over the biggest run-down of the

They refused to lead struggles over pay, conditions

And it was the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' which built up Lawrence Daly as a

'left' and described the settle-

ment of last year's surface hours strike as 'victory for all

A new leadership is re-

This is the aim of the

Miners' section of the All Trades Unions Alliance, which

puts the following programme

quired in the NUM.

forward for miners:

mining industry ever seen.

and closures.

sides'.

Tory government.

Party provide a lead.

SOVEX

FROM PAGE ONE

tions last year. Its productivity proposals, which the stewards simply refused to discuss, include elimination of tea-breaks; upgrading of mates to do skilled men's work; mates to be allowed to carry out 'repetitive' long runs in place of skilled men; platers and fitters on outside work to be interchangeable; introduction of a 'merit pay' system and reduction of the ratio of mates to skilled

Also included was a proposal to cut out the company's contribution to a sick-pay scheme.

The company said it was prepared to 'chip in' 15s in order to facilitate discussions on its proposals and, on the eve of the strike, made a tentative offer of a further 15s in return for the cutting-out of one tea-break.

Not for sale

'Our position right from the start, says convenor Smith, was that the com-pany's financial situation was its own concern and that none of the rights and conditions we'd fought for for many years were for

We just refused to discuss their plans with them. After four - and - a - half weeks of strike, the company offered a further 5s 'chip-in'—making £1 in all—and implied that there was more money in the kitty if the stewards would only discuss their productivity

Far from mollifying the stewards, this enraged the strikers and even some union officials.

The company had wanted to absorb into its offer a three-year domestic agreement for an 8s rise each December, concluded in

Meanwhile at Vickers-Armstrong's nearby Crayford plant, the management —fearing a similar explosion
—ignored the 1968 package deal and conceded a £2 10s 'no strings' rise with the shop stewards there.

Determined

Hence the Sovex offer.
But with official AEF
backing, growing financial
support from other factories, the shelving of the
company's productivity procompany's productivity proposals and such a demonstration of employing-class solidarity at Vickers, the Sovex strikers are determined to stay out and win.

There is absolutely no why they should



IF THE French workers in May-June 1968 shattered completely the mythical invincibility of the Gaullist regime and opened a new and tumultuous era in French history, then in Britain too the working class, without having to wait ten years, will soon be faced with similar problems.

Given correct political leadership, and learning from the French experience, the British workers will not only defeat the Tories but also put an end to the system which breeds

As the trade union and Labour leaders go to the right, the masses are in flux, basically because of the grave economic crisis and change in the political situation for which it is respon-

It is only in such circumstances that major developments in working-class consciousness can take place. Correct and audacious tactics in the building of revolutionary leadership, to win the confidence of the working

class, are now the essential questions for Marxists. It is essential for the revolutionary party to penetrate, influence, win, and learn from every layer of the working

class drawn into struggle, particularly the youth. This is the key to a development of Marxism. The objective tendency of the movement and experience of the masses is undoubtedly

to the left, against that of the

and trade union But a state of flux in the consciousness of the masses does not mean an inevitable development to the left in

consciousness.

That is precisely the responsibility of Marxists, of the revolutionary party.

There has to be a successful struggle to defeat the struggle to defeat the

SUBSCRIBE NOW On eve of I.P. conference Two editions (For any two days **Full subscription** £10 a year (Posted daily) you select) £1 for three months

£4 a year

Post to: Circulation Organizer, Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

Name

would like to subscribe to Workers' Press for



FREE DEBATE CALL Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu yesterday called for free debate in the world communist movement to update Marxism-Leninism and bring it into line with new political, social and economic trends, according to a report from Vienna.

His plea follows the signing in Bucharest earlier this week of a five-year 'friendship' treaty between Rumania and the USSR which embodied a number of concessions to the Rumanian Communist Party's 'national communist' line and from the Soviet-Czech treaty signed earlier this year.

The second of two articlesthe first of which appeared yesterday

lories canbe

defeated

radical phrasemongering and 'trade union' consciousness which obstruct the growth of revolutionary politics

By Cliff

It is not enough simply to repeat that there is a deepening crisis, it is urgent to act, and that we must intensify our activity.

Proceeding from the objective relationship of class forces, including our own strength and weaknesses, we must fight for a development of Marxism out of our penetration of the changes taking place in the workers' move-Orientation in this fight is

the first prerequisite. To bring home to the working class the lessons of six years of Wilson's government is vital, but it depends

in the first place on clarity mong Marxists about the historical meaning of these six They show the final bankruptcy, even in terms of ruling-class needs, of reform-

ism and of Stalinism. This bankruptcy was known in general before, and the understanding of it guided our political work. But the concrete political situation proluced by this bankruptcy is a development of this objective reality.

We must understand our own work as part of this reality of the struggle of opposites at a new level. Social democracy has done its most direct service to the monopolies precisely by handing power back to big busi-

ness in its greatest crisis, in order urgently to hit back at the working class. But the contradiction within the reformist party and trade unions has matured.

Reformism was necessary as a mechanism of capitalist rule because of the power of the working class. Under conditions where that strength could not be smashed, it has actually consolidated.

Working-class _ power is posed by this situation. There is no way out of the economic crisis except this. But here is the contradic-

Changes

For this outcome, definite political changes in the working class must be worked for. It is not a question only of building up resources and 'waiting for the day', but of engaging in struggle to defeat those factors which stand in the way of the necessary poli-

tical changes.
On the basis of correct policies to unite the working class government and their allies in the working-class movement, we must win definite sections of the masses to our side.

Such correct policies and fighting unity are the only way to prevent the Tories and Powell from splitting off sec-tions of backward workers and white-collar workers.

This unity can be won and the leadership constructed only on the basis of Marxist theory and programme. A period of crisis is one characterized by sharp and unexpected turns in the situation. Revolutionary leadership must be able to respond to all these changes, including those which come not only from the direct experience of the workfactors affecting the economic, political and ideological relations between the ruling class, the middle classes and the

workers. The role of the daily Workers Press is to build up at every stage the necessary background and development of a revolutionary consciousness in the working class and above all the youth. A situation of this kind is

extremely favourable to the training of Marxist leaders

This is vitally necessary, for one particular reason: the young workers, thrown right into struggle by the crisis, will be provoked into premature struggles against the employers the forces of the state, and they will tend to grow impatient with the slow development of the workers'

movement as a whole.
Our own work among the youth, especially with Workers Press, is to anticipate these struggles, to discipline, train and steel a youth leadership on the basis of Marxist

This is the most important part of our responsibility to prevent the trade union leaders from dissipating and destroying working-class combativity in this period.

What are the correct slogans and tactics to break down the obstacles placed in the way of the working class in the solution of its revolutionary tasks? In other words, how can the domination of the trade union bureaucracy the Labour leaders be broken?

As the trade union leaders make haste to collaborate with the Tories and Wilson promises parliamentary support for government policies in the 'national interest', the revolutionary vanguard starts from the readiness of dockers, engineering workers and others to fight.

The working class has not been broken, and it can defeat the Tories' plans.

The wages struggles can be won, but more and more under conditions where the winning of strikes makes more urgent a political advance and revolutionary leadership.

If the attack of the working class continues and grows stronger, as it can, then the real line of the Tories can be forced out.

BUS DISPUTES

TYNESIDE passenger transport authority executive has threatened 1,200 busmen in the Newcastle area that if they do not work Sunday overtime the authority will withdraw a pay rise that has been operating for a month. This has been answered by the busmen with the threat

of strike action on July 26 unless the ultimatum is with-

SIX HUNDRED Rhondda Transport Company busmen staged a one-day strike yesterday in protest at a claim that conductors were 'fiddling' up

to £6 a week.

A union official said that the men were incensed over the accusation, made a fortnight ago by a Labour Party representative at a Traffic Commissioners' meeting in Cardiff.

MANCHESTER LENIN LECTURES

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

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! Porce 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

come out with their real policy for the unions and the working class, and then neither they nor the treacherous trade union leaders will have the time they need for the preparatory period of

the union leaders to reveal their real, right-wing position, and facilitate the struggle for socialist leadership in

Break from the Tory gov-ernment in every way! That is

Relations with the CBI must be broken off, as the anti-working-class policy of that body, supported by the Tory

Party, is fully revealed.

Political campaigning on these slogans, and for socialist policies of nationalization without compensation and under workers' control, is the essential preparation for united actions of the working class, up to the level of General Strike action, as part of a struggle to force the Tory to resign and work for a Labour government

They must be challenged to

Demand

the demand to place on every union executive and on the TUC General Council.

with a socialist programme. Such a socialist programme could only be imposed on the class enemy by a still strong

SOME of the shop stewards from Standard Telephones'

Erith and Greenwich plants who yesterday lobbied the London Association of Engin-

eering Employers' talks with five unions involved in the

two-week-old strike against

redundancies. A mass meeting of strikers will hear the re-

sults at a report-back meeting

Railmen call

for 25p.c.

THE National Union of Rail-

waymen yesterday voted to press for a 25 per cent increase for its 190,000 members.

The demand, made at the

union's annual conference at

Inverness, could bring the

railwaymen's basic wage up to about £20 a week.

But NUR general secretary Sir Sidney Greene told the

delegates that he was con-cerned that there would be

'difficulties' in substantiating

IN AN interview to be broadcast on W German television this Sunday, lead-ing French intellectual Jean-

Paul Sartre says that France

is heading towards a civil war in which intellectuals

Sartre, who is banned from French television be-

must prepare to fight.

such a rise.

on Monday.

Such an offensive will force

The two main parties are Labour and Tory governments

of the nationalized indusbankrupt politically and have no solution to the crisis. They claim to act in th national interest, but they play the game of the big bourgeois who need to destroy even the traditional democratic liber The working class retains its

strength, however.
From the Pilkington glass workers to the dockers and engineers, from Belfast and Londonderry to Oxford, Sheffield and Liverpool, the battle against the Tories, a struggle leading to workers' power, is now joined.

CANCEL CONTINUES

Jersey strikers

stay out

BY A WORKERS PRESS

CORRESPONDENT

emergency after a meeting of

manual workers employed by

this Channel island's govern-

ment voted to continue their

strike and to meet again on

The strikers including dust-

men, sewage workers, dock-workers and ambulance men

have rejected a pay offer of

£2 a week and are sticking

The stoppage has also brought the airport to a stand-

A special meeting of the Jersey parliament—the States Council—was being called to

meet the strikers later yester-

-Sartre

out for their full £3 claim.

Monday.

and militant working class refusing to be pushed back to the 1930s, surrendering none of its economic gains and none of the democratic liberties won in years of class struggle

Only this perspective can turn the businessmen out of Whitehall, place industry and the banks under workers' control, and control the economy as the only way out of the This is, after all, one of the main lessons of six years of Labour government. Leaving it to the parliamentarians led

only to complete capitulation. The working class must be mobilized against capital. A General Strike in such a situation is not some adven-turist call by isolated groups but a necessary stage in the movement of the masses, through their trade union

strength, to the struggle for In any case, in the course of struggles over wages, jobs and the future of whole industries, the take-over of plants by strikers is going to emerge as the only solution for hundreds of thousands of

Firmness

Today is a favourable time for dockers, motor car workers and all these sections moving forward into the struggle to

press home the attack.

The enemy is committed to act decisively against the organized workers, but dare not yet do so. His power of decision can be weakened and

indeed broken. This is the way to under mine Powellism too. Only firmness of action and policy by the advanced workers, which forces retreats

broke the prices and incomes

policy and eventually threw out the anti-union laws.

today, by dockers or any other strong section of the working

class, could start the process

again, but now on a new level

with a new quality, building

on all the gains of the struggle

then begun, and growing in

consciousness through the fight against the Tory govern-

A big action such as this

during the last year for which by the bourgeoisie, will win figures are available (1968-1969). the support of backward workers and the lower middle The dockers' strike of October 1967 set the pace for the whole offensive which

Yet in the same period man-power dropped by 6,210 throughout the Durham coal-Low wages and high redun-dancies are not the result of 'irresponsible' behaviour the miners.

There has not been a single

killer dust.

The latest available

figures (1969) show that

17.1 per cent in N Durham

and 12.9 per cent in

S Durham have some cate-

12.6 per cent of the N Dur-ham men and 10.1 per cent in S Durham have simple pneu-

moconiosis category 1 and the

figures for category 2 are 3.4 per cent and 10.1 per cent.

1.1 per cent of the men

examined in the North and 0.7 per cent in the South have progressive massive fibrosis.

But choked lungs are not

the only price paid for coal by the miners in this area. As

well as high dust disease,

Durham coalfield has low wages, increasing productivity,

sackings and uprooted homes.

OUTPUT UP

Saleable output per man-shift on the face increased by

1.1 per cent in N Durham (to

96.7 cwt) and by 12.3 per cent in S Durham (to 113.2 cwt)

gory of pneumoconiosis.

for years, yet the industry has been decimated here. So much for the right-wing claim that it is strikes which damage the industry.
Durham miners have suffered because of the sub-

ordination — under successive

strike in the Durham coalfield

tries to private capital. FIGHT BACK

Now, with massive attacks on the whole working class being prepared by the Tory government, the Durham miners, like the rest of the working class, will have to

fight as never before. An indication of the miners readiness to fight was given at the National Union of Miners (NUM) conference when a resolution was passed demanding strike action if the

● £30 a week minimum on the face, £22 minimum under-ground and £20 minimum on the surface. These wages to be on a sliding scale, moving up with increases in the cost of Seven-hour shift maximum underground and seven and a half hours on the sur-

face, excluding meal breaks. • Stop all interest payments.

• Get rid of the National Workers' control of the pits.

• No pit to close without

the agreement of the men

working in it, in which case

there must be suitable alter-

native work with no loss of pay. • Democratize the NUM. All union posts to be open to

regular re-election. No 'jobs Extend nationalization coal delivery, mining

machinery and outside con-No more self-appointed strike committees. All such committees to be elected by mass meetings. No agreements on negotiations without the agreement of mass meetings.

• Fight to bring down the Tory government.

• Build the All Trades

The miners' section of the

Nixon's

JERSEY'S governor Air Chief Marshal Sir John Davis yesterday declared a state of

5---

from a SE Asian tour where he took part in the Manila SE Asia treaty conference and visited Saigon for talks with S Vietnam top brass. In London, Rogers

this year. Ties between Nixon and the

Rogers will undoubtedly

London area, E and W Midlands: Sunny intervals and scattered showers. Wind moderate, SW. Near normal.

little rain at times near the South coast. Wind light and variable. Near normal. Max.

ATUA is holding a conference to discuss this programme at

Danum Hotel,
High St, Doncaster
Sunday, September 6.
For further information and delegates or visitors credentials write to:
T. Parsons, 61 Derwent Drive,

Ferry Fryston, near Castleford.

strike action over closures and Heath surface hours strike and in this month's issue of 'The Miner' (NUM journal) he

officials was because of the justified suspicion and fear of most dockers that modernization meant productivity deals,

virtual wage freeze once con-solidation had taken place. The officials and the employers were not opposed to

No mention

The Communist Party's 'Morning Star' avoids any mention of the political origins of this dispute because to do so would bring the Stalinists into conflict with the Transport House officialdom and with the CP's pet concept of productivity deals and collaboration with the and collaboration with the employers and their govern-

That is why the 'Star' editorial (Friday July 10), while pledging support for the dockers says nothing at all about Devlin, and instead appeals to 'people' to 'help the dockers to compel the employers to meet their wage

We brand this as conscious treachery to the dockers.

that if the strike takes place on Tuesday then the Tories and their press and TV will unleash an unprecedented campaign of distortion and witch-hunting not only against the dockers but particularly against the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press opposition to Devlin, to productivity deals and to the

Tory government. The Tories will use the witch-hunt to embarrass the trade union leaders and some of the weaker elements among the shop stewards as part of a campaign to force a retreat on the wage claim and accept

Serious

Devlin Phase Two.

While standing firm against any such intimidation we urge all SLL supporters, Workers Press readers and all sections of the working class to treat the Tory threats with absolute seriousness and to support the dockers in every possible way.

Any attempt to use the Army to break the strike must

be resisted to the end by demands on the trade union executives to not only 'black'

all supplies going or coming

out of the ports, but follow the call of the London telephonists and 'black' anything coming or going to the Army in Ulster as well. There must be no return to the 1927 Mond-Turner era of open class collaboration and

Driven back

We are confident the employers and the Tory government can be driven back and defeated, but only if the dockers and their rank-andfile leaders refuse to be lulled into any complacency by the DEP intervention, the assurances of the trade union leaders or the false optimism and advice of the Communist

Party. The wages struggle of the dockers is an integral part of the political struggle to defeat the employers' offensive on wages, employment, social services, education, civil rights, trade unions and colonial freedom.

That is why it is even more urgent than 1967 that dockers link the wage demand to the demand for the nationaliza-tion of all the ports without any compensation and under workers' control and the complete rejection of Devlin modernization'.

We urge all dockers to attend the All Trades Unions Alliance National Docks Conferene in Liverpool on Saturday, July 18.

 No compromise in the • Reject Devlin now!

• Campaign for the Tory

man Alec Douglas-Home was re-turning to London last night meets after talks in Brussels with the Shah of Iran. On his return he was to meet US Secretary of State William Rogers in London for Heath top-level talks with Prime Minister Heath, starting today. Rogers is on his way back today

expected to discuss with Tory leaders their attitude to the Vietnam war and arrange for Heath to visit Nixon later

Tories are being rapidly cemented, based on a common hatred of the world

working class. ask for closer British co-operation in policing Asia, the essence of the Tories' East of Suez' policy.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT cause of his left-wing views, goes on to say that the working class, and the immigrant workers in particular, live in conditions

'France headed for civil war' 'The factories,' he says, 'have become prisons. As

for the Communist Party, it is a mill-stone round the workers' necks. Arbitrary imprisonment, house-searches and an orgy of police brutality in the jails are on the agenda.'

WEATHER

Max. 20C (68F).
SE, central southern and SW
England: Rather cloudy with some bright intervals, but a

19C (66F).

NW and central northern England, Glasgow area, and N Ireland: Sunny intervals and showers, heavy in places. Wind fresh or strong, westerly. Rather cool. Max. 16C (61F). Edinburgh: Sunny intervals and showers, heavy at times. Wind fresh, SW. Near normal. Max. 17C (63F).

Outlook for Sunday and Mon-

day: Continuing unsettled and rather cool in the North. Mainly dry. Temperatures near or little above normal in the