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That, of course, does not mean that they run the risk of a stretch in jail. On the contrary, there are well-established legal means by which this thieving can be done.

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In order to see that it does, he introduces all kinds of speed-up schemes such as Measured-Day Work in the factories and Devlin Phase Two on the docks.

The idea is that a worker must produce more and more profit for which he gets paid far less in extra wages than the value he produces. In addition, he is forced to work much harder under more strenuous conditions that may well shorten his life.

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But that is not the end of the story. Having got their speed-up, the employers then go on to seek ways and means to cut their labour force.

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That is why they are quite rightly determined to make the employers pay as much as possible, otherwise they may find half the present labour force doing the work which 47,000 men do now.

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

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BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

from the docks delegates' conference, support was coming in from the E Yorkshire busmen's 10/15 T&GWU branch for the strike.

The meeting discussed a resolution passed the previous day by busmen on late turn. This took place despite attempts by the local Tory 'Yorkshire Post' to isolate dockers by implying that wages were already too high on the docks.

In reply to these attacks dockers excluded from their meeting all reporters from the capitalist press.

One dockworker angered by these reports, produced his pay slip. Over the course of 33 weeks his wages had netted £433—an average of £19 a week.

### Roasting

The chairman said 'Jones got a roasting' from the delegates' on Wednesday for attempting to call off the strike.

One shop steward, expressing the anger felt by the dockers, said afterwards 'Jones will get a knighthood for that—but I wish I was swinging the sword'.

At other ports, dockers in Hull were told that the union demand for an increased basic rate would not affect piecework.

Brian Parker said afterwards: 'These rates are negotiated locally and are not directly related to the basic. Our claim, made clear by Jack Jones at the docks delegates' meeting, would not mean an increase in the piecework rates, but it would affect overtime, waiting time and holiday pay.'

A strike committee was set up consisting of T&GWU officials, delegates from union branches, lay delegates, the district committee and a representative from the 'Blue' Union (NAS&D).

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'We support the dockers' demand for the full claim without strings and urge them to have no truck with the Tory minister's court of inquiry into the dispute.'

'We call on all affiliated organizations to rally the fullest support for the dockers' strike.'

'We call on all trade unionists to give full support to the claim demanding settlement in full, the lifting of the emergency regulations, nationalization of the docks and the immediate resignation of the Tory government.'

The central question is class action by all sections of workers around such a policy, otherwise the resolution is reduced to a verbal expression of solidarity, no matter how welcome this may be.

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The decree lays down penalties for workers who arrive late for work or leave early. Meetings will in future have to be held after working hours.

The purpose of this decree is not hard to fathom. Despite a thoroughgoing purge of the Communist Party, civil service, army and the universities, the Husak government has had little success in breaking working-class opposition to the Soviet-backed regime imposed after the 1968 invasion.

By tightening up 'labour discipline' and taking away the workers' right to meet at workers in their factories, the government hopes to lay the groundwork for a purge of the working class as well.

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The decree coincides with the publication in the official paper 'Rude Pravo' of a long article justifying the expulsion from the party of Alexander Dubcek.

It attacks him as a weak but willing tool of the counter-revolutionary forces, and tries to put an end to what it calls 'the legend of A. Dubcek'.

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They are also to recommend no further wage increases until July 1971, and no site or sectional claims in this period.

Those groups that have fallen behind in the rate structure will have to wait until April 1971 for review if the proposals go through.

The stewards' recommendations also include co-operation in the introduction of new techniques, processes and production monitoring.

CAV management has been pressing for the 'big brother' tele-control monitoring system for some time.

Other proposals include a piecework joint committee, consisting of the superintendent, a nominated work-study engineer and two shop stewards.

A similar committee which operated in the factory some time ago earned the nickname 'the fire brigade'.

Stewards are to report their recommendation to a factory-gate meeting on Wednesday at 8.30 a.m.

All CAV workers, who have up to now successfully kept tele-control out of Acton, must ensure these proposals are rejected.

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It quotes a report from International Workers' Federation (1966) as saying: 'Containerization does away with manpower almost completely; not only water-side workers, but tally clerks, foremen, shipwrights, transport workers, harbour workers, customs clerks, tug-men, ship repair

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'However, this amounts to extracting a toll or royalty for each container or unit handled over a dock or quay. 'Such a fund could be justified if it were temporary and were applied directly to solving the need for transition—retraining, upgrading, relocating, etc. 'Otherwise, it is an uneconomic penalty against progress.'

The future, as far as the United Nations is concerned, lies in continuous introduction of modern methods by employers to cut handling costs. There is the possible use of container ships on the Atlantic run, making 50 crossings each a year (a conventional container ship averages 26 runs), the speed-up of rail freight container carriers (in Canada, rail speeds have risen by 30 per cent in the last 15 years and mile-long trains are not uncommon), and a trend towards fewer ports.

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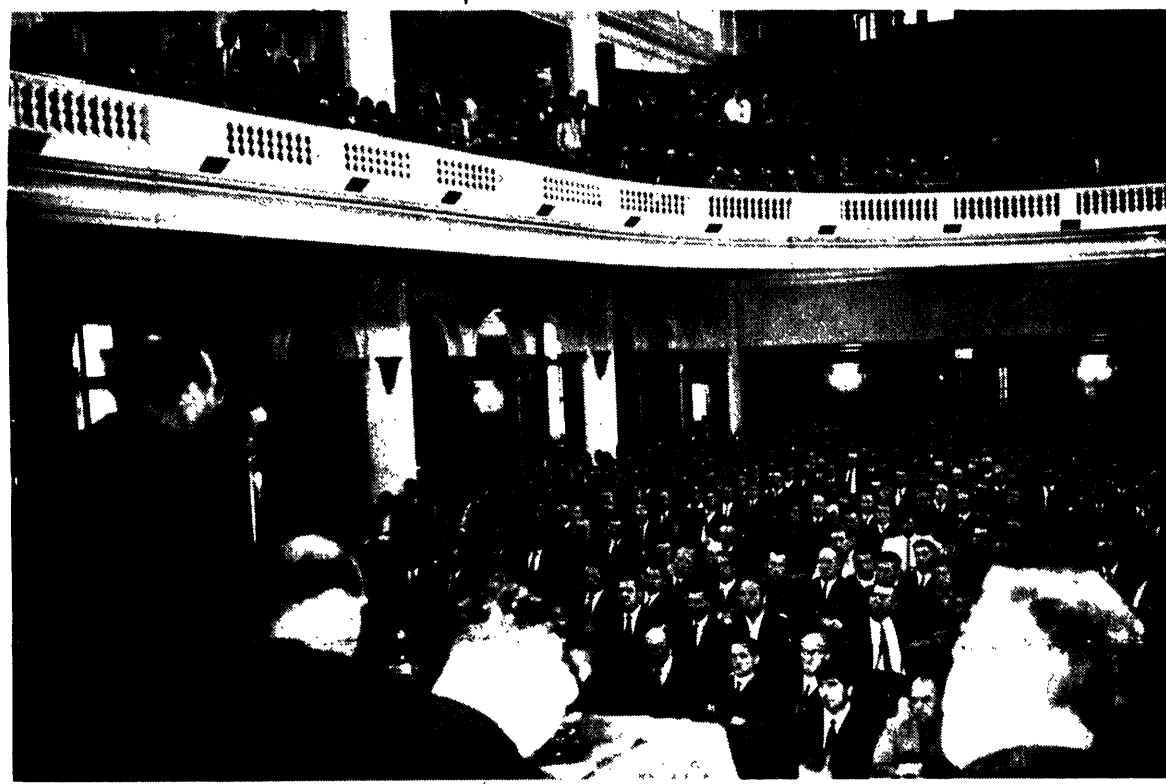
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WE ARE looking forward to a bumper weekend for the fund.

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## (iii) 'Source of Income' and class

BEFORE MARX, the political economists of the classical school, culminating in Adam Smith and Ricardo, had analysed in detail the distribution of the product between different classes, which manifested itself as a law in and through the apparently chance and accidental play of the market.

This definition of classes—according to respective source of income—was the highest point reached within bourgeois social theory on this question. It requires a leap beyond the limits of the historical conditions of capitalist production to penetrate deeper than these distribution relations.

Marx concerned himself, as we have seen, with the basic social relations of production underlying the mode of distribution; relations of production which were themselves historical, i.e. transitory as well as necessary products. Where the political economists took these production relations as natural (and this was true even of Millar and the whole Scottish school, who outlined the economic basis of all 'ranks',<sup>10</sup>) Marx sought their origin and law of development.

If the production relations of a society, and the new production relations which would replace them, were themselves historical products, then the classes in which men struggle to reproduce and produce them must be analysed at this level of production first of all.

## Defended

Once again we find that the outstanding Marxists, such as Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, have always defended this conception of class against those who proceeded from more simplified and descriptive definitions, which in essence were restricted to the surface of society. Lenin, in one of his many criticisms of the unhistorical and idealistic views of the Narodniks, says:

"To look for the fundamental distinguishing feature of the various classes of society in their sources of income is to give precedence to relations of distribution, which in reality are only a consequence of relations of production. This error was long ago pointed out by Marx, who described as vulgar socialists those who failed to see it. The fundamental criterion by which classes are distinguished is the place they occupy in social production, and, consequently, the relations in which they stand to the means of production. Appropriation of one part or another of the social means of production and its application to private enterprise, to undertakings organized for the sale of the product, is the fundamental distinction of one class in present society (the bourgeoisie) from the proletariat, which is deprived of the means of production and sells its labour power."

... it is the exploitation of wage-labour that leads to the division of society into irreconcilably opposed classes, and... only from the point of view of this class struggle can all other manifestations of exploitation be consistently gauged.<sup>11</sup>

Engels notes that in Marx's method,

"Every economic relation is first conceived from the point of view of production, apart from all historical determination."<sup>12</sup>

Capitalist society itself facilitates the abstraction of 'economic' from other characteristics of social differentiation, because of the necessary conditions of its own emergence and daily reproduction, i.e. the freeing of wage-labour and capital from all except economic ties.

A common objection to historical materialism is that its notion of economic relations as the 'base' is a reflection of capitalist society's own pre-eminent concern with economic or 'material' considerations, whereas in other forms of society religion or politics predominated in social

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ronald Meek, The Scottish School of Political Economy in 'Democracy and the Labour Movement', ed. J. Saville.

<sup>11</sup> Lenin 'Vulgar Socialism and Narodism', in 'Collected Works', Vol. VI, pp. 264-265.

<sup>12</sup> 'Anti-Duhring'.

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE:  
THE ECONOMIC BASIS

(2)

An introduction  
to Marxist  
philosophyPART  
NINE

by Cliff Slaughter

'...it is the exploitation of wage-labour that leads to the division of society into irreconcilably opposed classes, and... only from the point of view of this class struggle can all other manifestations of exploitation be consistently gauged.'

Lenin 'Vulgar Socialism and Narodism', in 'Collected Works', Vol. VI, pp. 264-265.



Lenin speaking at the unveiling of the monument to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Moscow, 1918.

relations. A German newspaper in America criticized Marx's 'Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy' (1859) on precisely these grounds, and Marx replied:

"In the estimate of that paper, my view that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society, is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political, and intellectual life generally, all this is very true for our own times, in which material interests preponderate, but not for the middle ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics, reigned supreme."

"In the first place it strikes one as an odd thing for any one to suppose that these well-worn phrases about the middle ages and the ancient world are unknown to anyone else. This much, however, is clear, that the middle ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics. On the contrary, it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why here politics, and there Catholicism, played the chief part. For the rest, it requires but a slight acquaintance with the history of the Roman republic, for example, to be aware that its secret history is the history of its landed property. On the other hand, Don Quixote long ago paid the penalty for wrongly assuming that knight errantry was compatible with all economic forms of property."<sup>13</sup>

The feudal 'estates' and differences of rank had to be wiped out in order to allow commodities to confront each other with perfect freedom. 'Equality before the law' was added to 'Equality in the sight of God'.

This was especially necessary for the essential commodity, labour-power: in order for it to be bought and sold on the market its possessor, the proletarian, must be free from all oppressive legal ties, able to dispose of his commodity like every other citizen.

Thus far bourgeois social and economic theory. But to expose the historical basis in changing production relations of these economic mechanisms necessitated what Marx called

'the standpoint of socialized humanity' and not 'the standpoint of the isolated individual in civil society'. It was in the production relations that the source of overthrow of bourgeois society was to be found.

Only on the basis of these considerations can we understand why Marx's unfinished chapter III of 'Capital', Vol. III, entitled 'Classes', has been so consistently misinterpreted.

## Dissolution

It is in a sense the *coup de grace* of his whole 'critique of political economy'. Here he returns to the dissolution of the 'economic' categories in the real movement which puts an end to the society of which the categories are the reflection. A certain amount of direct quotation is necessary.

Marx's intention in Volume III was to explode the solutions hitherto provided by Smith, Ricardo, etc., showing that the contradictions in them were resolved by the recognition of surplus value and its consequences for the division of income and that having thus gone behind the 'apparent movement' to which political economy was restricted, it was possible to proceed to the struggle of classes which actually would settle the fate of the capitalist mode of production.

Marx explained what he was about in a letter to Engels (April 30, 1868):

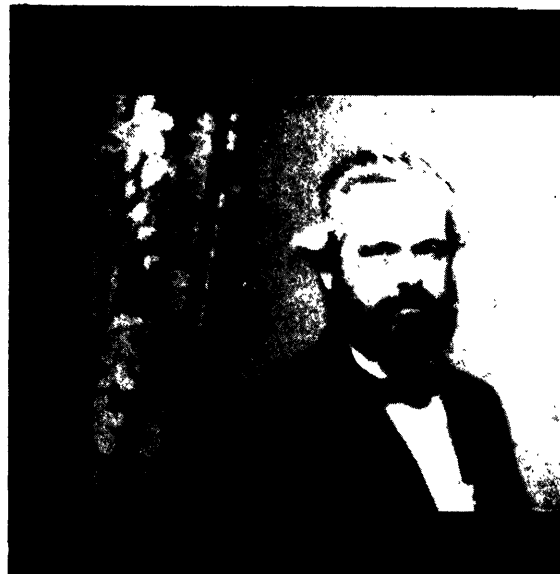
"At last we have arrived at the forms of appearance which serve as the starting point in the vulgar conception: ground rent coming from the earth,

profit (interest) from capital, wages from labour. But from our point of view the thing is now seen differently. The apparent movement is explained. Moreover, A. Smith's nonsense, which has become the main pillar of all economics hitherto, that the price of a commodity is derived from those three revenues, i.e., only from variable capital (wages) and surplus value (ground rent, profit, interest), is overturned. The whole movement takes place in this apparent form. Finally since these three (wages, ground rent, profit (interest)) constitute the respective sources of income of the three classes of landowners, capitalists and wage labourers, we have, in conclusion, the class struggle, into which the movement of the whole Scheisse (shit) is resolved."

The last sentence of this quotation may be taken as the starting point of unfinished chapter Classes (Vol. III of 'Capital'). First Marx states that sources of income are rooted in opposed property or non-property in the means of production, and this must be borne in mind for the remainder of the text:

"The owners merely of labour-power, owners of capital, and landowners, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground-rent, in other words, wage-labourers, capitalists and landowners, constitute the three great classes of modern society based upon the capitalist mode of production."

Next, Marx acknowledges that even in England, where 'modern society is indisputably most highly and classically



'We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of the capitalist mode of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour, and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups. . . . Marx (Capital, Vol. III p. 862.)

developed in economic structure . . . the stratification of classes does not appear in its pure form'. He does not ignore the existence of intermediate and transitional strata, but simply abstracts from them at this level of analysis:

"Middle and intermediate strata even here obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere (though incomparably less in rural districts than in the cities). However, this is immaterial for our analysis."

In other contexts, and specifically the political, Marx of course paid great attention to these 'impurities'.

This 'abstraction' is not arbitrary, according to Marx, but itself reflects the process by which capitalism is actually crushing out all non-capitalist forms of production and social groups:

"We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of the capitalist mode of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour, and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage-labour and the means of production into capital. And to this tendency, on the other hand, corresponds the independent separation of landed property from capital and labour, or the transformation of all landed property into the form of landed property corresponding to the capitalist mode of production."<sup>14</sup>

## Constitutes

Now Marx turns to the general question, 'What constitutes a class?' and says he will proceed to answer it through the answer to another question: 'What makes wage-labourers, capitalists and land-lords constitute the three great social classes?' He first of all proceeds to show why source of income, which appears to be the answer, is inadequate:

"At first glance—the identity of revenues and sources of revenue . . ." (my emphasis, C.S.)

This 'appearance' is then presented in its everyday form:

"There are three great social groups whose members, the individuals forming them, live on wages, profit and ground-rent respectively, on the realization of their labour-power, their capital, and their landed property."

However, says Marx, there are many other, smaller divisions which would more exactly classify the population according to source of income. All these social groups are not, however, social classes like the 'three great social classes'.

"However, from this standpoint, physicians and officials, e.g., would also constitute two classes, for they belong to two distinct social groups, the members of each of these groups receiving their revenue from one and the same source. The same would also be true of the infinite fragmentation of interest and rank into which the division of social labour splits labourers as well as capitalists and land-lords—the latter, e.g., into owners of vineyards, farm owners, owners of forests, mine owners and owners of fisheries . . ."<sup>15</sup>

## Expansion

At this point the manuscript breaks off. We have indicated earlier that Marx's exposition would have been an expansion of the first sentence of his chapter, where types of ownership and non-ownership in means of production, giving rise to a definite, historically-conditioned form of exploitation, are placed at the root of the three main types of source of income and class under capitalism.

This is confirmed not only by the general character of Marx's writings, but particularly by the preceding chapters in Volume III and the various letters he wrote to Engels on his purpose in section VII of this volume.

These earlier chapters are devoted specifically to dispelling the illusion that the three types of revenue (wages, profit and ground-rent) are 'realizations' of labour-power, capital and landed property.

These three types of ownership are the bases of the three great classes, but it is not true that their respective types of income are rewards or 'realizations' of their respective contributions to production. Much of Volume III is taken up with a detailed disproof of such notions and an exposition of how these characteristic ideological illusions arise.

It is shown that, in fact, labour is the source of all these incomes: first of wages; but also of ground-rent and of the profits of the various types of capitalist, which are each proportions of the total surplus-value, the unpaid labour of the proletariat.

<sup>14</sup> 'Capital', Vol. III p. 862.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 863.

Continued next Saturday.

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<sup>13</sup> 'Capital', Vol. I, p. 54.)

THERE IS safety, it is said, in retrospect.

Accordingly the whole of bourgeois and official France lined up on Tuesday to celebrate a revolution that is past.

On July 14, 1789, the revolutionary people of Paris, joining with soldiers, conquered the Bastille, the royal prison and fortress which dominated the east of Paris.

The inmates they freed—four forgers, two lunatics and a dyspomanic young aristocrat—were less important than the arms they took.

The Bastille, whose guns had threatened the working-class district of the Faubourg St Antoine, was razed to the ground, and the revolution passed out of the control of the middle-class lawyers and politicians.

From that point on it was no respecter of persons.

In terror of the Paris 'mob' and the peasants in the countryside, the National Assembly deputies vied with each other to end all feudal privilege.

The revolution drove its leaders on to decapitate the King and decimate the aristocracy and seemed to threaten even private property itself.

EAST & WEST European REVIEW

And at night, at state expense, a sea of alcohol and a galaxy of fireworks helped banish the spectre of insurrection.

BURYING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Naturally, the reformists and Stalinists were there in force. After all, it isn't every day that one can make common cause with the President of the Republic—albeit only against feudalism.

But what was really being celebrated on Tuesday was Thermidor—the counter-revolutionary coup in 1794 which took Robespierre to the guillotine, ended concessions to the workers and poor petty bourgeois, and opened the door for an orgy of capitalist speculation and profiteering.

Bastille Day is organized not to praise the revolution, but to bury it.

Middle-class Paris lined the Champs Elysees for an endless parade of soldiers, atom bombs and dignitaries. Hundreds of new insignia were pinned on an equivalent number of paunches.



The storming of the Bastille

Bureaucrats hide Lenin's family history

AMONG the deluge of Stalinist Leniniana which appeared in connection with the 100th anniversary of his birth was an article by one Siemion Shurtakov in the Moscow 'Literary Gazette' in January entitled 'The Ulyanovs of the village of Adrosova'.

It is mainly concerned with Lenin's paternal family (his family name was 'Ulyanov', 'Lenin' being a pseudonym which he took later) and goes to some lengths to stress the 'purely Russian' character of the village of Adrosova and the Ulyanovs.

Lenin's father is described as 'more than 170 centimetres tall, with perfectly blond hair, mustache and beard, and clear brown eyes'. These are 'facts' adds the author, 'which speak for themselves'.

All of which is as may be, though what 'the facts' are trying to say remains a little obscure.

Evidently what Shurtakov is getting at is that Lenin, in accordance with the best tenets of 'socialism in one country', was in no way 'alien' or non-Russian.

Unfortunately for Stalinist Russophiles, there has appeared in a French magazine the account, by a Polish historian who was in Moscow in 1964, of some further research on Lenin's family which the bureaucracy has suppressed.

In that year Marietta Shaghinian, an author and historian, was studying Russian trade of the early 19th century.

She came across a Jewish merchant, Sender Blank, who changed his name, on baptism into the Russian Orthodox Church, to Alexander Blank.

But Lenin's mother's family name, she recalled, was also Blank.

Returning to the archives she confirmed that Maria Alexandrovna Blank, born into the Jewish family of Sender Blank of Simbirsk in 1835, was converted to Christianity as an adult and married Ilya Nickolaevich Ulyanov.

Lenin was one of the children of their marriage. Shaghinian wrote up her

findings as an article for the periodical 'Voprosy Istorii' ('Problems of History').

The editorial committee welcomed it unanimously, but the matter was referred to the censors and thence to the Party leadership, then under Khrushchev.

Ilychev, then in charge of 'ideological questions', ordered a hasty investigation of the Simbirsk archives, and findings Shaghinian's results to be fully correct, immediately banned publication on the order of the Politbureau.

Belov, once Chief of State Security and then Director of Soviet archives, was severely reprimanded, and two unfortunate workers in the Lenin-gravestone archives, Melamedova and Pavlova, were sacked from their jobs.

Why all the panic? The bureaucracy has never, from the earliest days, been averse to using scarcely-veiled anti-Semitism against their political opponents and victims.

In the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia, in 1952—stage-managed by Russian 'advisers'—11 of the 14 victims were Jewish, and each of them was specifically referred to, in the indictment, as being 'of Jewish origin'.

'Rootless cosmopolitan' and similar phrases were used as terms of racialist abuse.

'Socialism in one country', relying on the most backward sections of the population, turned inevitably back to the most obscene superstitions of class society.

Together with this filth goes a completely unscientific adulation of Lenin, the purpose of which is to hide the real nature of the Bolshevik party, the sharp struggles which went on within it, and the epoch-making part played in the October Revolution by the men, many of whom were Jews, who became victims of Stalin's terror.

This is why when (horror of horrors!) it is discovered that Lenin, even by breeding, was not a 'national phenomenon', the bureaucracy strained every sinew to suppress the fact.



The Ulyanov family in 1879. Lenin (seated right) aged 9

Austrian Social democrats in trouble

AUSTRIAN Social Democratic Chancellor Kreisky, already seriously shaken by the discovery of two ex-Nazis in his cabinet, faces further problems.

It was found that the small Austrian Nazi party (NDP-O) had run candidates in their constituencies by forging signatures on the nomination papers.

His small parliamentary majority is in danger following the removal of 16 deputies, including nine Social Democrats, from parliament by a decision of the Supreme Court.

Over half a million electors will vote again in October, when Kreisky hopes to regain a firm majority. But the Nazi vote probably operated to the advantage of the Social Democrats, being taken mainly from their opponents.

Advertisement for the film 'Where Is Britain Going?' featuring a portrait of Leon Trotsky. Text includes 'Available from NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High St., SW4.'

BBC 1 SATURDAY and BBC 2 program listings. Includes times and titles for various shows like 'Grandstand', 'The Black Tent', 'Swinging Along', and 'The City Versus Lauren R. Watson'.

BBC 1 SUNDAY and BBC 2 program listings. Includes times and titles for various shows like 'Morning service', 'The Great Britain' Comes Home', and 'The World About Us'.

FROM PAGE ONE Threat

and unemployment goes up they will be better able to legislatively whip the trade union leaders by the end of the year. They reckon that since they have got Jones on the run they can do the same thing to the rest.

Wilson loses a friend

LEADER of Britain's liberal capitalists, Lord Kearton, chief of the Courtauld's textile empire, opened his own 'left' flank against the working class this week.

Bemoaning the group's disastrous slump in profits the man who said he would vote Labour scoured his workers for the firm's missing millions and urged the Tories into the fray.

Nothing like a nasty dose of the declining margin to wreck those tender liaisons between your 'modern' employer and progressive labour relations.

To be fair, Kearton has had a bad attack. Courtauld's profits for the first (June) quarter are down 25 per cent.

Under this corrosive influence his lefty pre-election chatter has disintegrated; the new Kearton speaks out like the most virulent witch-hunter.

Autopsy Before cash-hungry shareholders gathered in London for the autopsy of the group's losses, Kearton blamed the disruptive power of 'quite small groups' in industry which were 'not union inspired' for the firm's decline.

These unnamed agitators, plus government meddling and the 'strain and stress' of industrial conditions on management.

ILTA lobby on comprehensives MORE than 100 members of the Inner London Teachers' Association lobbied parliament on Thursday evening to demand the withdrawal of circular 10/70 sent to local authorities by Tory Education Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

The circular allows Tory local authorities to terminate comprehensive school programmes and retain the old grammar school-secondary modern system.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS LEICESTER: Tuesday July 21, 8 p.m. Queens Hotel, Rutland St. The working class can defeat the Tories!

WEATHER London area, SE, central southern and central northern England, E Midlands: Dry. Bright or sunny periods.

Winds westerly, light or moderate. Warm. Max. 23C (73F). Midlands, Channel Islands, SW and NW England: Mainly dry. Cloudy. Bright intervals.

Winds westerly, light or moderate. Normal. Max. 19C (66F). Edinburgh and E Scotland, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Cloudy with occasional rain.

Winds westerly, moderate. Near normal. Max. 17C (63F). Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Cloudy. Occasional rain, chiefly in North and West.

Temperatures near normal in the SE, but a little below normal in the North.

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FROM PAGE ONE Devlin

annually at only 15 specialized berths.

In fact, the employers here have not waited for the UN to tell them what to do.

Having got as far as possible by means of 'co-operation' in the introduction of Devlin Phase One, they now propose to utilize Tory backing to bulldoze Phase Two into operation whatever the cost to the port-workers.

This is the threat that lies behind every productivity bargain and every Measured-Day Work scheme.

Seamen, road haulage drivers and other port-workers—in fact, every worker who faces such impositions—has a direct interest in supporting the dockers in their present struggle.

Continuation of the present United Kingdom conditions of inflation with stagnation, with inadequate investment, will lead to nothing but trouble, and severe trouble.

He went on to urge the Tories into the fray against the working class.

While the caution with which the new government is approaching our economic problems has its points, I don't believe that our problems, which seem to spring from a national unwillingness to look facts in the face, are going to be easily solved,' he said.

From Kearton's remarks it appears that Wilson has lost an influential backer.

Insecurity Trouble

Everyone in a position of responsibility in industry, he said, 'believes that the continuation of the present United Kingdom conditions of inflation with stagnation, with inadequate investment, will lead to nothing but trouble, and severe trouble.'

These stoppages, he warned, led to job insecurity and they lessened the company's capacity to pay.

Closing plant, uneconomic under the present conditions, is now a firm policy.

For the second half year we feel the measures being taken which include the abandonment of the United Kingdom processes and the closure of factories which are not economic under the new conditions, will progressively improve our situation,' he said.

I.S. supporter explains why the army is in Ulster

THE BRITISH army's invasion of Ulster was not a typical imperialist manoeuvre and the troops had at first attempted to establish peace and some semblance of civil rights, Eamonn McCann, a leading supporter of the state capitalist International Socialist group and unsuccessful Labour Party candidate for Derry, told his Willesden audience on Thursday at the first public meeting of his current London tour.

McCann reached this conclusion after a lengthy supporting analysis which contained an implicit attack on the policies of the Socialist Labour League and excused his own original support of military intervention in the six counties.

The government in the Republic, argued McCann, had abandoned its attempt to build independent capitalism in the South and was now dependent on largely British investment.

The British ruling class therefore could not continue its old policy of allowing Ulster Unionists a free hand in oppressing the Catholic minority.

INTERVENTION Trouble in the North provoked trouble in the South and workers in the Republic might take reprisals against the British investments in Eire.

More directors for Heath THE TORY leader has named another four businessmen who are to join a special committee to 'improve the machinery of government'.

They are D. G. Rayner, a director of Marks and Spencer; K. F. Lane, a director of Rio Tinto Zinc; H. R. Hutton, a director of Hambros Bank; and Alan Fogg, a director of PA Management Consultants.

They joined Shell director Richard Meyjes, appointed by Edward Heath to head the committee last month.

One of the Tory demands during the election was for a 'businessman's government'. The committee, with five top capitalist enterprises represented, is certainly a step in this direction.

LOW PROFITS FOR LLOYDS LLOYDS Bank yesterday reported lower profits for its first half-year and warned that with its costs rising, profits for the full year 'are expected to be lower than those for 1969'.

Profits before tax were £21,590,000 against an estimate of £21,934,000 for the first half of 1969.

Government restrictions on lending continued to prevent the most profitable use of our resources,' said Lloyds. Shareholders are getting an interim 6 per cent dividend.

FROM PAGE ONE Guerrilla leader Bravo attacks Castro

CASTRO'S LEADING supporter in Venezuela, Douglas Bravo, has accused the Cuban leaders of 'sacrificing the principles of proletarian internationalism'.

In an interview in yesterday's 'Le Monde', Bravo confirms reports circulating last January of a break between his Armed-Force of National Liberation and Havana.

While declaring reports that he had 'insulted the Cuban revolution' to be false, Bravo asks: 'Can one choose the way of economic recovery, sacrificing concrete plans for the liberation of Latin America?'

'It seems to us that the principles of proletarian internationalism, of "continentalism", as defended by the Cuban revolution, by Commanders Castro and Guevara, are being sacrificed.'

Expelled Bravo was expelled from the Political Bureau of the Venezuelan Communist Party in 1967.

At the Havana Congress of OLAS, the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, in August 1967, Castro attacked the 'defeatist' policies of the Venezuelan CP leaders, and singled out Bravo for special praise in his closing speech.

In his interview, Bravo says that since the death of Che Guevara, peasants, workers and students have asked continuously, 'What is happening in Havana? Why does Commander Castro not speak to us as before on Radio Havana?'

Crisis These doubts about the revolutionary intentions of the Cuban leaders do not only arise from Castro's moves to the right as his ties with Moscow get closer; they also reflect the crisis within the Latin American guerrilla movements.

After a series of crushing defeats and the death and capture of some of the leading guerrilla fighters, the entire 'theory' of guerrilla action 'galvanizing' peasants into revolt has been severely shaken.

Bravo says: 'The theses of Regis Debray in "Revolution in Revolution" cannot be mechanically applied.

Debray's book expounded the official Castroite conception, which elevated the Cuban experience into the rule for contemporary revolutions, and was widely applauded in revisionist circles.

Impossible The Venezuelan leader also stresses the impossibility of isolating the Cuban revolution from the rest of Latin America.

'It is impossible to build communism in a single country,' he says.

While sections of the Pabloites hail guerrilla struggle as the new way to defeat imperialism, the guerrilla leader, explains that his movement is 'not a specifically military movement, but political-military, with a civil organization in the factories, schools, universities and, above all, places of work.'

While retaining many of the confused notions inherited from Castroism, Bravo reflects an attempt to face up to the problems of the Latin-American revolution which are evaded in Havana.

BID FOR MET ESTATES A £123 MILLION joint takeover bid for Metropolitan Estates and Property Corporation, the property giant, was announced yesterday by the Commercial Union Insurance Group and the property company Trafalgar House.

The bid is conditional on Metropolitan dropping its £55 million bid for merchant bankers Hill Samuel.

Further Stalinist links with Greece THE GREEK foreign ministry has announced that the following agreements signed in Sofia between Greece and Bulgaria on the water economy of the Nestos and Strymon rivers, electricity links and tourism, a protocol was signed last week between the two governments permanently settling the Greek-Bulgarian border on the Evros river bed.

The Greek government has also announced its approval for the supply of three ultra-high-voltage transformers from E Germany to meet the requirements of the Public Power Corporation.

The cost of the transformers (\$14.3 million) is to be met by the export of Greek goods to E Germany.

The Bulgarian Stalinists, of course, do not confine themselves to the trade—earlier this year they handed over a fugitive Greek Maoist, 27-year-old textile worker Theologos Psaradelis, who was last week sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment by an Athens military court.

There can be no successful struggle against the right-wing dictatorship in Greece without the most ruthless fight against counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

FROM PAGE ONE Army control extended in Turkey

Demirel's government, itself in a chronic internal crisis, is attempting to deal with the working class through legislation which will hand over the trade union movement to the leaders of the completely reformist organization 'Turk-Is', putting an end to many workers' organizations and to national claims.

On June 16 militants of 'DISK', the revolutionary trade union body, led a demonstration of over 20,000 through Istanbul, where there were violent clashes as the government ordered the troops in.

Court martials With two of Turkey's most important urban areas under the direct control of military commanders, the arrests and court martials of left-wingers continue.

Mehmet Gunes, a trade union militant, faces trial in Istanbul this week for 'inciting workers to an illegal strike' and 'obstructing the freedom of work'.

And at Ordu, on the Black Sea coast, 115 people have been charged under the 'illegal meetings and demonstrations' law following a demonstration at which a factory owner, Yusuf Goksal, shot and killed a worker.

Backed-up The reactionary Turkish politicians are backed to the hilt in their attacks on the unions and their drive for 'law and order' by both the Turkish employers and the American and European monopolies who have invested large sums in the economy.

But the Demirel government, which also faces widespread unrest in the countryside, is discredited by numerous accusations of corruption.

The threat is that army officers will try to step in, under the guise of a government of 'national progress' in the traditions of Attaturk, to crack down with armed force through the country.

World come to pay homage.' The Congress decided that 'The further maintenance in the mausoleum of the sarcophagus with the coffin of J. V. Stalin is considered inexpedient, because the grave violations by Stalin of Lenin's behests, his abuses of power, mass repressions of honest Soviet people and other actions performed at the time of the personality cult make it impossible to leave his body in the Lenin mausoleum.'

Stalin's corpse was taken out of the mausoleum and buried by the Kremlin wall, with only a flat marker-stone over it.

Earlier this year, as part of a concerted campaign to rehabilitate Stalin, a flattering statue was raised above the grave.

Spiridonov's sacking may well be the prelude to further official glorification of Stalin.

FROM PAGE ONE Dockers DOCKERS at WEYMOUTH, Dorset, said yesterday that they will not handle accompanied cars. This means that ferry passengers with cars will not be able to take them to the Channel Islands.

THE capitalist press is already emphasizing the effect that the strike may have on prices.

In fact, it has been admitted that the strike has been made the pretext for putting up food prices without any reason whatsoever, except to boost profits.

Mr William Brabin, past president of the National Federation of Meat Trades, claims one wholesaler had increased the price of New Zealand lamb by 4d a pound since Monday.

All New Zealand prices have increased at wholesale level within the last 24 hours,' he said.

It is pretty clear that a number of people are trying to get on the bandwagon of the dock strike and the retailer and the housewife have to stand the brunt of it.

Although the press insists that as yet food supplies are plentiful, they state that the continuation of this situation will depend on the use of troops to move perishable cargoes.

Indeed, this argument will be used increasingly to isolate the dockers from other workers and their families and to justify the Tories' use of troops for strike-breaking under the provisions of the state of emergency.



Eamonn McCann

Palestine Arabs tortured by Israeli police

ARABS detained in Israel and the occupied territories have been tortured and murdered by the Israeli counter-intelligence service (Shin Beit), according to a report released in London yesterday by the Jerusalem Committee.

The report, compiled by freelance journalist Malise Ruthven, who recently spent a month in Israel, details ten cases in which Arabs were brutally tortured at the hands of the Israeli authorities.

The mother and daughter of a man arrested by the police, and later said to have 'committed suicide', were themselves tortured.

The mother was tortured with an electric-shock machine and says that soldiers threatened to rape her 17-year-old daughter in front of her.

The mother has been unable to recover her husband's body for burial.

Insane A young shopkeeper from E Jerusalem was tortured so savagely that he became insane.

He was given electric shocks and his arm was burnt with cigarettes.

A bullet was pushed up his rectum. The authorities afterwards decided he could not be tried because of his mental state.

Despite the difficulty of obtaining evidence under the police conditions in Israel and the occupied countries, the ten cases are well-documented.

Tory promises in doubt

CLAIMS made in a leaflet issued by Birkenhead Tories to workers at the town's Cammell-Laird shipyards have been called into question by a statement issued by the Conservative Technology Minister Geoffrey Rippon.

At no time, the Minister said, had he endorsed any specific pledges of new naval work for the yards.

In fact there were no commitments of any specific work for Cammell-Lairds.

But a leaflet handed out to Laird's workers by his party's Birkenhead association on June 16—two days before polling—showed a considerable drop in the town's Labour vote—contained the following statement:

'The Conservative Party believes that, for reasons of national security, the naval shipbuilding capacity, both new and conventional, at Cammell-Laird's must be preserved, and the only way to do this is to keep working.'

'The Conservative Party is also determined to retain facilities at Cammell-Laird's for the refitting of nuclear submarines and will keep open the option to have some of this work carried out at the yard as and when necessary.'

In a Commons adjournment debate earlier this week Birkenhead Labour MP Edmund Dell insisted that this pledge had been reportedly made with the backing of both Rippon and Social Service Minister Sir Keith Joseph.

The agent for unsuccessful Birkenhead Tory candidate Robert Kris, John Cole, has claimed that the June 16 leaflet was issued with the clearance of the then Shadow Cabinet and that he was present when Kris telephoned Rippon and Joseph about it.

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LATE NEWS

JAPAN WAGES UP Wage increases in Japan averaged 16.2 per cent last year, the highest since 1952, according to Tokyo government figures.

Hourly wages of Japanese workers are now on the same level as those in France, the White Paper on the economy says.

'SURRENDER ARMS' APPEAL N Ireland's Home Affairs Minister Robert Porter yesterday appealed for people to surrender arms.

In a statement he said: 'Recent events, including thefts, have indicated clearly the grave risk to security that arises from the holding of firearms in private houses.'