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What we think

Crawling to No. 10

YESTERDAY'S 'Morning Star' carried a front-page picture of three Communist Party leaders delivering a letter to Heath. The letter, signed by CP secretary Gollan, appeals to the Tory government to intervene in the trial of 20 Africans in Pretoria.

The letter 'reminds' Heath that the Tory government had interceded with the apartheid regime at the time of the 1964 Rivonia trial. The Stalinists urge the Tories 'to do no less on behalf of the defendants in the present trial than was done on by the Conservative government in 1964.'

Nothing could reflect the treacherous right-wing line of the CP today more clearly than its crawling to Downing Street on this issue.

The imprisonment and torturing of the Pretoria defendants (19 of the 20 were acquitted in February—and immediately re-arrested), is typical of the Vorster regime. But Heath represents the British imperialist monopolies whose investments in S Africa are the foundation of Vorster's rule.

The government to whom Gollan addresses his appeal is itself engaged in arming the S African racials, as well as assisting and promoting every other action of colonialism everywhere.

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Unless the organized labour movement fights against unemployment, therefore, it is allowing the Tories to prepare their weapons against the whole working class—employed as well as unemployed.

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Do the trade union leaders accept that by Christmas four or five million should be living on the dole?

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No mandate

The Tory government elected in June has no mandate whatsoever for unemployment. It is in office under false pretences.

The fight for full employment means a fight against the Tory government, to force it to resign. The TUC represents over ten million organized workers. The strength of this movement, politically mobilized on this basic question, could force the resignation of the government.

Speak out

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BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

employment, economic stagnation and war.

Millions of pensioners can be rallied behind it. It could win the support of millions of professional and middle-class people whose savings and fixed incomes are eaten away by the monopolists and by rising prices.

The TUC must speak out clearly: the right to a job for every worker!

Capitalism in any case leaves only this 'right' to the working class. It must be enforced.

Such a fight against the government and the employers will mean a big change in TUC policy.

An emergency resolution must be tabled for a campaign throughout the trade union movement to force the resignation of the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government pledged to full employment.

This can be guaranteed only by socialist policies of nationalization of the big monopolies without compensation and under workers' control. It means keeping open, under the management of the workers and their unions, all factories threatened with closure.

It means the unions must enforce the rule: no sackings!

Accepted

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However, our picture—of Southampton dockers (below)—shows the response we can get for the Workers Press.



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Workers Press,
Appeal Fund,
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London, SW4.

Rolls-Royce stewards support DATA strike

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The meeting agreed that no technical drawings produced during the lock-out will be handled, no unloading of materials transported to the factory by non-union labour and no Rolls-Royce lorries will fetch such material.

Only 7 p.c.

There is to be either a meeting or leaflet to explain

BY A CORRESPONDENT

the DATA claim to the shop floor. DATA members are demanding a substantial wage increase but management has offered only 7 per cent.

On Wednesday, Parkside stewards rejected support.

FBI prepares to lynch Angela Davis

BY MICHAEL BANDA

NIXON'S government and the FBI have begun the biggest and most vicious witch-hunt against the American radical and labour movement yet seen.

The immediate target of their attack is Angela Davis, one-time philosophy professor in the University of California, who is being accused of supplying the guns used in the abortive escape of three Negro prisoners from Marin County court-house on August 7.

Some time ago, Miss Davis was fired from her job for allegedly being a member of the Communist Party and the Black Panthers. The real reason for her sacking was her involvement in the defence of the 'Soledad Three' (the three prisoners in the court-house escape) and her courageous struggle against the vile conditions and rampant injustice of the US penal system.

Warrant

On August 16, a federal warrant for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution was issued on Miss Davis—who is charged with one count of murder and five counts of kidnapping.

Every police force and law-enforcement agency in the US is now busy hunting Miss Davis as if she were a mad dog.

Miss Davis is being falsely held responsible for a murder which was perpetrated by the police when they opened fire on the getaway van containing the judge and six Negroes.

This grim paradox can only be explained by the same monstrous cynicism of the US ruling class which was exemplified by Nixon's public condemnation of Manson in the 'Tate' trial long before the trial was concluded.

'Shoot first'

It is the same hatred and cynicism which was demonstrated so vividly and bloodily at Kent State University and Jackson State College in May. 'Shoot first' ask questions after—and if it's black and radical, it's guilty' sums up the philosophy of the US ruling class.

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Shouts of 'nuts' and 'you're selling us up the road again' greeted the terms of the deal worked out at top-level meetings in London.

The officials were unable to make themselves heard over continuous shouts of 'when are you going to make it official?' and 'off! off! off!'

Finally one striker grabbed the microphone from officials and called for a vote to stay out for the full 4s 3d an hour demand. A forest of hands shot up and the meeting ended only half an hour after it had started.

VICTORY

This is a considerable victory for the strikers, who have had a history of struggle against the union representatives—particularly the General and Municipal Workers' Union. But they are faced with the urgent problem of bringing together a new leadership to take the strike to a successful conclusion.

The decision is also a blow to the much-vaunted prestige of the Motor Industry Joint Council which was heavily boosted by the press after it had drawn up the 'settlement' terms.

★

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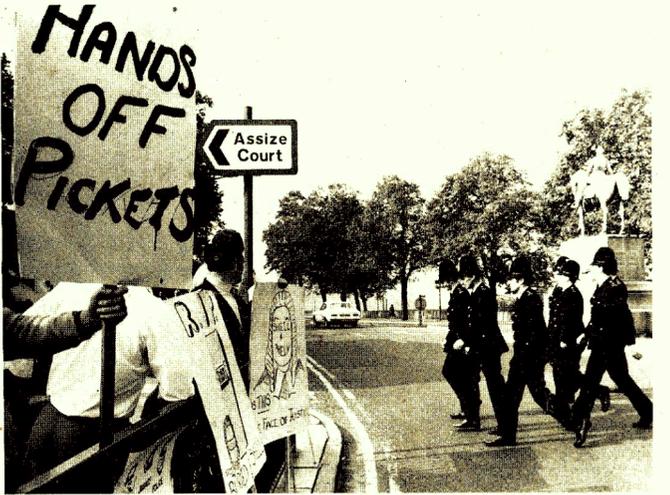
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They will join about 2,500 who were deported there earlier this year. Meanwhile in Moscow, the



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Court pickets slam Tory 'law and order'

BY JOHN SPENCER

STRIKERS from the Burmah Oil site at Ellesmere Port mounted a large picket outside Chester court-house yesterday when 44 fellow-workers appeared before the magistrates on charges of obstructing the police.

Strikers crowded the public gallery of the court while about 100 stood outside the courthouse gates with placards attacking Tory 'law and order'.

A number of other building sites and factories, including Gilling's, Dista, Petro and Wigan EPTU, sent solidarity delegations in support of the 44—who were arrested while walking along a road near the site.

IN A BODY

Police maintained in court yesterday that the pickets were exceeding their rights under the law by walking in a body and holding up traffic.

1,700 construction workers on the site have been on strike for seven weeks demanding a 15s basic hourly rate. The company has offered only 13s and rejected demands for redundancy clauses, increased holiday credits and union control over labour recruitment.

Site convenor Bob McKenzie said yesterday that the strike was completely solid.

LITTLE INTEREST

'Not a single man wants to go back until the demands are met,' he said. But he added that the trade union officials had taken very little interest in the Burmah Oil struggle.

The Tory government would dearly like to set precedents limiting picket rights as part of their programme for legal control of the unions.

Trotsky Memorial Lectures



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GARLICK HILL
Near Mansion House tube

Starts 8 p.m.

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SOCIALIST
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Meeting

GLASGOW

Partick Burgh Hall
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Stars 7.30 p.m.

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Sunday

September 6



Leon Trotsky's
last words:
'I am confident of
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Go forward!'

OCT 29 1970

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

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Agnew in Cambodia

VICE-PRESIDENT Agnew became the first US government leader to visit Cambodia since the CIA coup last March when he broke his journey to Thailand yesterday for talks with Lon Nol and other members of the pro-US regime in Phnom Penh.

Agnew landed early yesterday from Saigon at the capital's Pochedong airport and immediately flew by US army helicopter to Chamcar Mon. After four hours of talks, he flew off to Bangkok, the last capital on his tour of SE Asia

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Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik was the guest of honour at a banquet given by the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vladimir Novikov on Wednesday.

On Thursday, Malik returned the compliment, and held a dinner at the Indonesian embassy in Moscow, where his guests included the Soviet leaders Novikov, Arkhipov and Semichastnov.

Wining and dining with the murderers of half a million communists, while mass deportations, arrests and executions continue in Indonesia—such is the Kremlin's strategy of 'collective security' when applied to south east Asia.

Polish woman denounces anti-Semitism

A POLISH woman, Mrs Beate Klarsfeld, was arrested on Wednesday after she had chained herself to a tree in one of the main streets of Warsaw and distributed leaflets attacking the use of anti-Semitism. The leaflet said that 'the elimination of Jews which is now going in Poland has nothing to do with any struggle against so-called Zionist traitors; it is quite simply anti-Semitism. These new persecutions degrade Poland and socialism in the eyes of the whole world. . . .

Trotsky Memorial Lectures

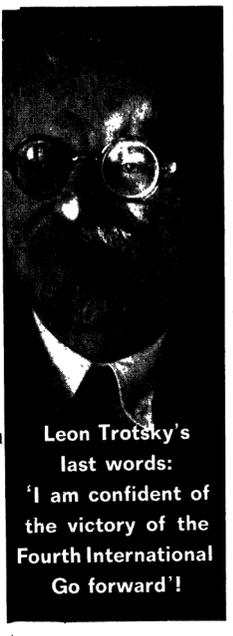
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A WEEKLY SERIES ON PHILOSOPHY

An introduction to Marxist philosophy



by Cliff Slaughter

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE: POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

PART FIFTEEN

(v) 1848: the bourgeoisie and the democratic state

MARX'S earliest political writings had been concerned with explaining that the state, the sphere of politics, was the product of social relations and not their creator, and that, far from being the guarantor and embodiment of social unity and peace, it was the expression of the irreconcilability of social antagonisms.

We have seen that 1848 enabled Marx to go much further: he reached the historic conclusion that the proletariat cannot simply transfer into its own hands the bureaucratic-military machine of the state, but must "smash" it and develop its own organs of state power.

But the same historical turning-point which enabled Marx to make this theoretical conclusion for the proletarian revolution also posed a special problem for the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the democratic state, and the interrelation between these two problems was to prove the motive force in the political developments of the ensuing century.

So threatening was the strength of the working class that the bourgeoisie everywhere turned, after 1848, to a compromise with reaction. Of course, the economic impact of capitalism's continuing expansion was still fundamentally revolutionary: in opening up new markets and breaking up old social systems; in dissolving old social forms within the capitalist countries; in developing the productive forces; in concentrating and increasing the force of the proletariat.

Relationship

But politically 1848 was a major turning of the ways. We take up here two aspects of this historical watershed which are of great value in illustrating the method of Marx in understanding social and political relations as fundamentally relations of class struggle: the connection between the ruling class in Marx's sense (the propertied class, in this case the bourgeoisie) and government; and the precise analysis of the role of the small peasantry in the accession to power of Louis Bonaparte.

At the very point, in 1848, where the French bourgeoisie found it necessary to remove the sectional interests which restricted its full development through control of the July monarchy — a removal which took a Republican-democratic form, capable of momentarily uniting all classes beneath it — it was forced to engage in a political struggle with the proletariat which rendered this Republican democracy still-born, with similar consequences throughout Europe.

The right-wing Party of Order, after the June 1848 insurrection, took the opportunity of branding as 'socialist' every democratic measure proposed in the assembly. Marx comments:

"This was not merely a figure of speech, fashion or party tactics. The bourgeoisie had true insight into the fact that all the weapons which it had forged against feudalism turned their points against itself, that all the means of education which it had produced rebelled against its own civilization, that all the gods which it had created had fallen away from it. It understood that all the so-called bourgeois liberties and organs of progress attacked and menaced its class rule at its social foundation and its political summit simultaneously, and had therefore become "socialistic" . . .

"What the bourgeoisie did not grasp, however, was the logical conclusion that its own parliamentary regime, that its political rule in general, was now bound to meet with the general verdict of being like-wise socialistic. As long as the rule of the bourgeois class had not been organized completely, as long as it had not acquired its pure political expression, the antagonism of the other classes likewise could not appear in its pure form, and where it did appear, could not take the dangerous turn that transforms every struggle against the power of the state into a struggle against capital."¹⁶

And because of this, the bourgeoisie had to be 'delivered from the danger of governing in its own name'. The deliverance was carried out by Louis Bonaparte, resting on the small peasantry.

It is interesting once again to note that Marx attempts always to explain the necessity of every major historical experience, and does not write history as a series of mistakes and inspirations. Not a theory worked out as predictions in advance, but the experience of the 1848 struggle and the abortive republic, was necessary to bring into the life of the bourgeoisie the realization of the great historical turning-point marked by the political baptism of its evil opposite and inescapable familiar, the proletariat.

New stage

Only these experiences, reverberating through the life of the whole class and its surrounding petty-bourgeois strata, could establish the meaning of the new stage in history.

It is this changed class content of the 1848 revolution which explains its different course from that of 1789, and which confounds the search for a regular series of stages by the few historians and sociologists who have attempted explanations of 'the revolutionary phenomenon'.

"In the first French Revolution the rule of the Constitutionalists is followed by the rule of the Girondins and the rule of the Jacobins. Each of these parties supported itself on the more progressive party. As soon as it has brought the revolution far enough to be

⁽¹⁶⁾18th Brumaire', Selected Works II pp. 361-362.)

unable to follow it further, still less to go ahead of it, it is thrust aside by the bolder ally that stands behind it and sent to the guillotine. The revolution thus moves along an ascending line.

"It is the reverse with the Revolution of 1848. The proletarian party appears as an appendage of the petty-bourgeois democratic party. It is betrayed and dropped by the latter on April 16, May 15, and in the June days. The democratic party, in its turn, leans on the shoulders of the bourgeois-Republican party. The bourgeois-republicans no sooner believe themselves well established than they shake off the troublesome comrade and support themselves on the shoulders of the Party of Order.

"The Party of Order hunches its shoulders, lets the bourgeois-Republicans tumble and throws itself on the shoulders of the armed force. It fancies it is still sitting on its shoulders when, one fine morning, it perceives that the shoulders have transformed themselves into bayonets. Each party strikes from behind at that pressing further and leans from in front on that pressing back. No wonder that in this ridiculous posture it loses its balance and, having made the inevitable grimaces, collapses with curious capers. The revo-

lution thus moves in a descending line."¹⁷

In an important sense, the history of France since 1848 is the history of the French bourgeoisie's inability to find any permanent form of political rule for the protection of its class domination.

Prophetic

German history presents the same phenomenon in even more brutal form; and the best

way to conclude and summarize this section is to quote at length Engels' famous verdict on the politics of German capitalism, some of the most prophetic words ever written:

"The misfortune of the German bourgeoisie is that in the favourite German manner it arrived too late. The period of its ascendancy occurs at a time when the bourgeoisie of the other W European countries is already politically in decline . . . It is a peculiarity of the

bourgeoisie, distinguishing it from all former ruling classes, that there is a turning point in its development after which every further increase in its means of power, that is in the first place every increase of its capital, only tends to make it more and more incapable of ruling politically.

"Behind the big bourgeoisie stand the proletarians." To the extent that the bourgeoisie develops its industry, its commerce and its means of com-

merce, distinguishing it from all former ruling classes, that there is a turning point in its development after which every further increase in its means of power, that is in the first place every increase of its capital, only tends to make it more and more incapable of ruling politically.

The consequence, as Engels noted four years later in amending the same 'prefatory note' to his 'The Peasant War in Germany', was this:

"Thus it has been the peculiar fate of Prussia to complete

entailed estates, more rarely the higher aristocracy and least of all from the bourgeoisie. The independence of this caste, which appears to occupy a position outside and, so to speak, above society, gives the state the semblance of independence in relation to society."¹⁸

(Also important in this context are the articles by Marx on the political parties and government in England, in which he demonstrates the way in which the English bourgeoisie accepts the aristocratic landed families as the legitimate occupants of government office [cited in Bottomore and Rubel, 'Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy', pp. 191-200].)

Engels even remarked in one of his letters that he was coming round to the conclusion that 'the bourgeoisie has not the stuff in it for ruling directly itself'; so far was he from a mechanical theory of ruling class and state power. In England the bourgeoisie would pay the oligarchy to do the work, but elsewhere 'a Bonapartist semi-dictatorship is the normal form'. (Letter to Marx, April 13, 1866.)

Abstract

Marx and Engels recognized that parliamentary democracy, with its highly generalized and abstract notion of the citizen's rights, is the political equivalent of the bourgeois everyday economic order (not of its basic production relations), and therefore the ideology of capitalism's most consistent political representatives in the period of its growth and positive contribution to progress.

But at the same time they devoted more attention to the class struggle produced by the production relations, whose intensity and whose dialectic rudely disrupted all possibility of the attainment of the bourgeois political ideal except in rare and transitory circumstances.

1848 was a watershed made by the practical class struggle against all existing political 'principles'. This historical change was reflected scientifically only in that theory which begins from the struggle of classes rooted in property in the means of production, Marxism. The class actions of 1848 thus did not only 'confirm' a theory; they enriched and advanced it, and made it possible for it to go on to grasp the actually changed situation produced by these actions.

Corpses

These 'theoretical' conclusions are again not separate from political ones. Once grasped, they make possible a revolutionary strategy which goes beyond all the varieties of radicalism, including those 'socialist' varieties which declare as their aim the unity of all true 'democrats' around the working class.

What 1848 showed was that, the greater the political independence and strength of the working class, the more imperative the turn of the bourgeoisie and those tied to it to anti-democracy, to counter-revolution.

The history of the socialist movement is littered with the political corpses of those who rejected this lesson, and tailored their programme to what suited the 'democrats', i.e. the petty bourgeoisie. The disasters attendant on this abandonment of the political independence of the working class were most brutally demonstrated in the rise of fascism in the 1930s.

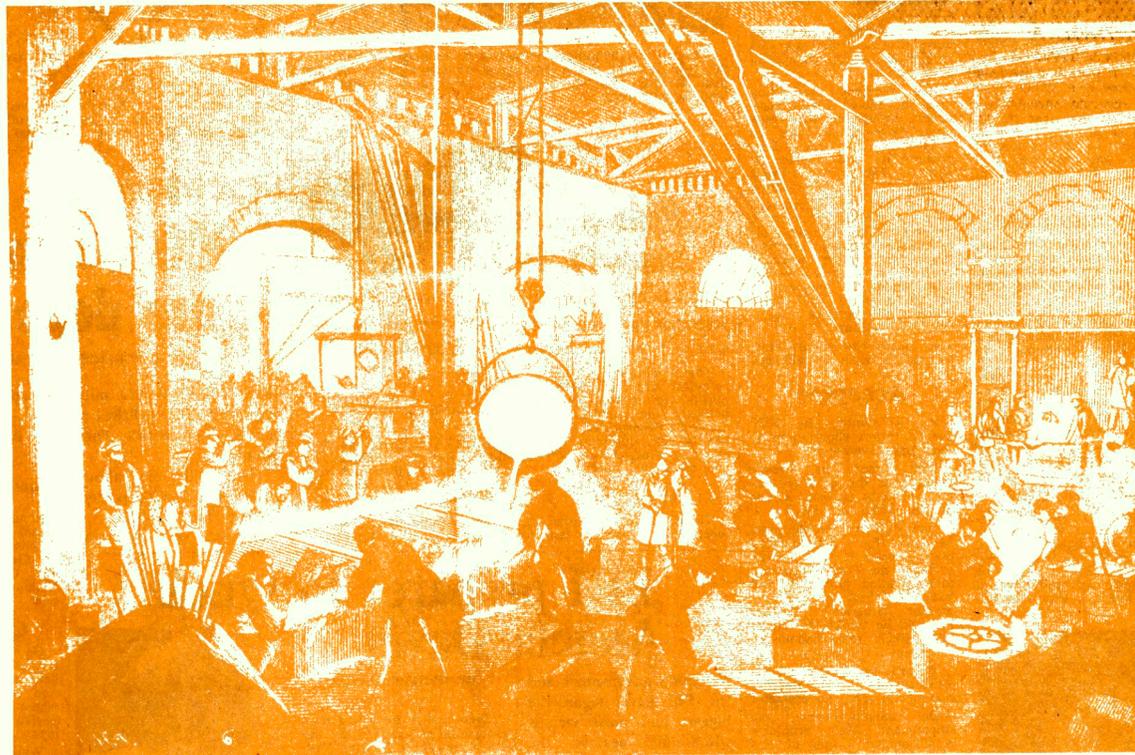
⁽¹⁷⁾Ibid, p. 544.)

⁽¹⁸⁾Marx and Engels 'Selected Works' Vol II pp. 537-538.)

⁽¹⁹⁾Ibid, p. 543.)



To the extent that the bourgeoisie develops its industry . . . to the same extent it also produces the proletariat. And at a certain point . . . it begins to notice that this, its proletarian double, is outgrowing it. From that moment on, it loses the power for exclusive political domination; it looks around for allies with whom it shares . . . or to whom it cedes its whole domination



Top left: Louis Bonaparte, who ruled France as Napoleon III. Above: The Borsig Iron Foundry near Berlin in 1847. Right: Title page of the Communist Manifesto, published in 1848.



munication, to the same extent it also produces the proletariat. And at a certain point—which need not appear everywhere at the same time or at the same stage of development — it begins to notice that this, its proletarian double, is outgrowing it. From that moment on, it loses the power for exclusive political domination; it looks round for allies with whom it shares its domination, or to whom it cedes its whole domination, as circumstances may demand.

"In Germany this turning point came for the bourgeoisie as early as 1848. And actually the German bourgeoisie was frightened not so much by the German as by the French proletariat. The June battle in Paris, in 1848, showed the bourgeoisie what it had to expect; the German proletariat was just restless enough to make it clear that the seed of the same harvest had been sown in German soil also; and

its bourgeois revolution, begun in 1803 to 1813 and advanced further in 1848, in the peasant form of Bonapartism at the end of this century."¹⁹

At this point, Engels cites his own earlier remarks in 'The Housing Question', which adequately refute any suggestion that for Marxist theory the governing personnel are identical with the ruling class:

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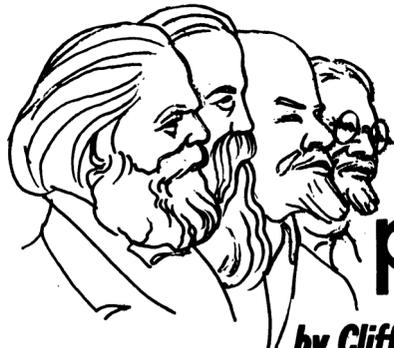
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⁽¹⁷⁾Ibid, pp. 339-340.)

A WEEKLY SERIES ON PHILOSOPHY

An introduction to Marxist philosophy



by Cliff Slaughter

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE: POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

PART FIFTEEN

(v) 1848: the bourgeoisie and the democratic state

MARX'S earliest political writings had been concerned with explaining that the state, the sphere of politics, was the product of social relations and not their creator, and that, far from being the guarantor and embodiment of social unity and peace, it was the expression of the irreconcilability of social antagonisms.

We have seen that 1848 enabled Marx to go much further: he reached the historic conclusion that the proletariat cannot simply transfer into its own hands the bureaucratic-military machine of the state, but must 'smash' it and develop its own organs of state power.

But the same historical turning-point which enabled Marx to make this theoretical conclusion for the proletarian revolution also posed a special problem for the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the democratic state, and the interrelation between these two problems was to prove the motive force in the political developments of the ensuing century.

So threatening was the strength of the working class that the bourgeoisie everywhere turned, after 1848, to a compromise with reaction. Of course, the economic impact of capitalism's continuing expansion was still fundamentally revolutionary: in opening up new markets and breaking up old social systems; in dissolving old social forms within the capitalist countries; in developing the productive forces; in concentrating and increasing the force of the proletariat.

Relationship

But politically 1848 was a major turning of the ways. We take up here two aspects of this historical watershed which are of great value in illustrating the method of Marx in understanding social and political relations as fundamentally relations of class struggle: the connection between the ruling class in Marx's sense (the propertied class, in this case the bourgeoisie) and government; and the precise analysis of the role of the small peasantry in the accession to power of Louis Bonaparte.

At the very point, in 1848, where the French bourgeoisie found it necessary to remove the sectional interests which restricted its full development through control of the July monarchy — a removal which took a Republican-democratic form, capable of momentarily uniting all classes beneath it — it was forced to engage in a political struggle with the proletariat which rendered this Republican democracy still-born, with similar consequences throughout Europe.

The right-wing Party of Order, after the June 1848 insurrection, took the opportunity of branding as 'socialist' every democratic measure proposed in the assembly. Marx comments:

'This was not merely a figure of speech, fashion or party tactics. The bourgeoisie had true insight into the fact that all the weapons which it had forged against feudalism turned their points against itself, that all the means of education which it had produced rebelled against its own civilization, that all the gods which it had created had fallen away from it. It understood that all the so-called bourgeois liberties and organs of progress attacked and menaced its class rule at its social foundation and its political summit simultaneously, and had therefore become "socialistic" . . .

'What the bourgeoisie did not grasp, however, was the logical conclusion that its own parliamentary regime, that its political rule in general, was now bound to meet with the general verdict of being like-wise socialistic. As long as the rule of the bourgeois class had not been organized completely, as long as it had not acquired its pure political expression, the antagonism of the other classes likewise could not appear in its pure form, and where it did appear, could not take the dangerous turn that transforms every struggle against the power of the state into a struggle against capital.'

And because of this, 'the bourgeoisie had to be delivered from the danger of governing in its own name'. The deliverance was carried out by Louis Bonaparte, resting on the small peasantry.

It is interesting once again to note that Marx attempts always to explain the necessity of every major historical experience, and does not write history as a series of mistakes and inspirations. Not a theory worked out as predictions in advance, but the experience of the 1848 struggle and the abortive republic, was necessary to bring into the life of the bourgeoisie the realization of the great historical turning-point marked by the political baptism of its evil opposite and inescapable familiar, the proletariat.

New stage

Only these experiences, reverberating through the life of the whole class and its surrounding petty-bourgeois strata, could establish the meaning of the new stage in history.

It is this changed class content of the 1848 revolution which explains its different course from that of 1789, and which confounds the search for a regular series of stages by the few historians and sociologists who have attempted explanations of 'the revolutionary phenomenon'.

'In the first French Revolution the rule of the Constitutionals is followed by the rule of the Girondins and the rule of the Jacobins by the rule of the Jacobins. Each of these parties supported itself on the more progressive party. As soon as it has brought the revolution far enough to be

(18) 18th Brumaire, 'Selected Works' II pp. 361-362.)

unable to follow it further, still less to go ahead of it, it is thrust aside by the bolder ally that stands behind it and sent to the guillotine. The revolution thus moves along an ascending line.

'It is the reverse with the Revolution of 1848. The proletarian party appears as an appendage of the petty-bourgeois democratic party. It is betrayed and dropped by the latter on April 16, May 15, and in the June days. The democratic party, in its turn, leans on the shoulders of the bourgeois-Republican party. The bourgeois-republicans no sooner believe themselves well established than they shake off the troublesome comrade and support themselves on the shoulders of the Party of Order.

'The Party of Order hunches its shoulders, lets the bourgeois-Republicans tumble and throws itself on the shoulders of the armed force. It fancies it is still sitting on its shoulders when, one fine morning, it perceives that the shoulders have transformed themselves into bayonets. Each party strikes from behind at that pressing further and leans from in front on that pressing back. No wonder that in this ridiculous posture it loses its balance and, having made the inevitable grimaces, collapses with curious capers. The revo-

lution thus moves in a descending line.'

Prophetic

German history presents the same phenomenon in even more brutal form; and the best



way to conclude and summarize this section is to quote at length Engels' famous verdict on the politics of German capitalism, some of the most prophetic words ever written:

'The misfortune of the German bourgeoisie is that in the favourite German manner it arrived too late. The period of its ascendancy occurs at a time when the bourgeoisie of the other W European countries is already politically in decline . . . It is a peculiarity of the

bourgeoisie, distinguishing it from all former ruling classes, that there is a turning point in its development after which every further increase in its means of power, that is in the first place every increase of its capital, only tends to make it more and more incapable of ruling politically.

'Behind the big bourgeoisie stand the proletarians.' To the extent that the bourgeoisie develops its industry, its commerce and its means of com-

munication, to the same extent it also produces the proletariat. And at a certain point . . . it begins to notice that this, its proletarian double, is outgrowing it. From that moment on, it loses the power for exclusive political domination; it looks around for allies with whom it shares . . . or to whom it cedes its whole domination

from that day on the edge was taken off all bourgeois political action. The bourgeoisie looked round for allies, bargained itself away to them regardless of price — and even today it is not a step further forward.'

The consequence, as Engels noted four years later in amending the same 'prefatory note' to his 'The Peasant War in Germany', was this:

'Thus it has been the peculiar fate of Prussia to complete

entailed estates, more rarely the higher aristocracy and least of all from the bourgeoisie. The independence of this caste, which appears to occupy a position outside and, so to speak, above society, gives the state the semblance of independence in relation to society.'

(Also important in this context are the articles by Marx on the political parties and government in England, in which he demonstrates the way in which the English bourgeoisie accepts the aristocratic landed families as the legitimate occupants of government office [cited in Bottomore and Rubel, 'Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy', pp. 191-200].)

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These 'theoretical' conclusions are again not separate from political ones. Once grasped, they make possible a revolutionary strategy which goes beyond all the varieties of radicalism, including those 'socialist' varieties which declare as their aim the unity of all true 'democrats' around the working class.

What 1848 showed was that, the greater the political independence and strength of the working class, the more imperative the turn of the bourgeoisie and those tied to it to anti-democracy, to counter-revolution.

The history of the socialist movement is littered with the political corpses of those who rejected this lesson, and tailored their programme to what suited the 'democrats', i.e. the petty bourgeoisie. The disasters attendant on this abandonment of the political independence of the working class were most brutally demonstrated in the rise of fascism in the 1930s.

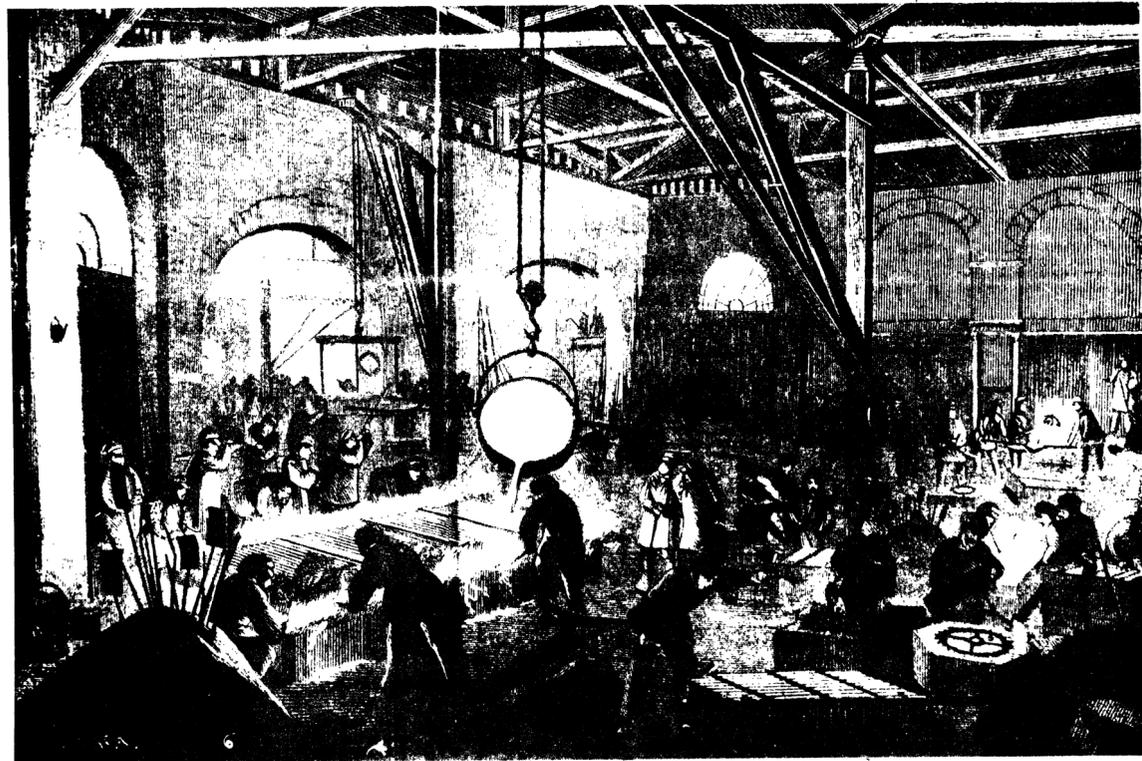
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(19) Ibid, p. 544.)

(20) Marx and Engels 'Selected Works' Vol II pp. 537-538.)

(21) Ibid, p. 543.)



lution thus moves in a descending line.'

In an important sense, the history of France since 1848 is the history of the French bourgeoisie's inability to find any permanent form of political rule for the protection of its class domination.

Traditions

Again and again, 'the Party of Order' must rear its head, restriction of democracy becomes necessary, revolutionary traditions once again are resurgent in the working class, a new Bonaparte is sought.

Undoubtedly however the predominant factor in any analysis of French politics today would now be, taking into account the national and inter-

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TV SATURDAY

BBC 1
11.20 a.m. Weather. 11.25 Cricket. The County Championship. Surrey v Worcestershire. 12.45 p.m. Grandstand. 12.55 Football preview. 1.10, 2.20, 2.50, 4.30 Cricket. 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Newcastle. 1.50 Sand yachting. 3.20 Rugby League. Wakefield v Leeds. 4.50 Results service. 5.15 The best of Basil Brush. 5.45 The Debbie Reynolds show. 6.10 NEWS and weather. 6.20 THE ICE SHOW. 6.50 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Captain Blood'. With Errol Flynn and Olivia De Havilland. The story of one of history's most famous pirates. 8.25 IT'S LULU. With guests Esther Ofarim, Roy Hudd and The Moody Blues. 9.10 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Alias Mr Brathwaite'. 10.00 NEWS and weather. 10.15 MATCH OF THE DAY. 11.15 'THE MAN WHO TALKS TO CHILDREN'. Harold Williamson talks to children. 11.40 WEATHER.

REGIONAL BBC
All regions as BBC 1 except:
Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, South West, South East. 11.42 News. 11.45 Sports results and news. 10.10-11.35 Paterson people on the road. 11.35-11.55 Sports final, news and weather.
Wales: 11.00-11.20 Cadi ha. 11.25-12.45

BBC2
3.00-4.20 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'The Sundowners'. With Robert Preston, Robert Sterling and John Barrymore Jr. Two young brothers are helped by a gunman to defeat rustlers threatening their ranch. 7.30 NEWS, sport and weather. 7.45 GREAT ZOOS OF THE WORLD. Tucson, Arizona. 8.15 ONE PAIR OF EYES. 'The Green Revolution'. John Cherrington, farmer. 8.55 GARDENERS' WORLD. 9.10 SUMMER REVIEW. 'Cuba—Art and Revolution'. 9.55 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'These Men Are Dangerous'. Story of the young Hitler. 10.25 ROWAN AND MARTIN'S LAUGH-IN. 11.10 NEWS and weather. 11.15 MIDNIGHT MOVIE. 'The Magnificent Matador'. With Anthony Quinn and Maureen O'Hara.

ITV
11.30 a.m. RAC road report. 11.35 Stay alive. 12 noon Wind in the willows. 12.15 p.m. Captain Scarlet. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.20 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Goodwood. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Ponterfract. 3.05 Swimming: Wales v Belgium at Llanelli. Ostend Horse show. 4.00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES. 6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE. 7.15 MAGGIE'S PLACE. With guest stars Tessie O'Shea, David Hughes, The Karins, Paul Melba and Arthur Askey. 8.00 FILM. 'The Full Treatment'. With Claude Dauphin, Diane Cilento, Ronald Lewis, Bernard Braden. Psychological thriller about a racing driver who suffers amnesia after a road crash. 10.00 NEWS. 10.10 GOLD ROBBERS. 11.10 UNTOUCHABLES. 12.05 IDEAS IN PRINT.

REGIONAL ITV
CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.15 The road west. 6.10 News. 6.15 London. 7.15 Feature film. 'Knights of the Round Table'. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 11.10 Court martial. 12 midnight Weather.
WESTWARD: 12.45 London. 5.15 The road west. 6.10 News. 6.15 The Beverly Hillbillies. 6.45 Channel Feature film. 'Knights of the Round Table'. With Robert Taylor and Ava Gardner. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 11.10 Court martial. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 12.17 Weather. 12.20 Mr Piper. 12.45 London. 5.15 Joe 90. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'An American in Paris'. With Gene Kelly and Leslie Caron. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 The name of the game. 11.35 News. 11.45 Weather. Action 70.
HARLECH: 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.45 News. 5.50 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

Hegel

200 years since his birth

European REVIEW



THIS WEEK saw the 200th anniversary of the birth of Hegel.

He was born on August 27, 1770—in the same year as Napoleon.

He lived through the French Revolution, and when he died, in 1831, a much-respected Professor at Berlin University, Europe had undergone more rapid and violent change than it had ever seen before; capitalism had established itself irrevocably on the continent.

Hegel was the last, the greatest, of the German idealist philosophers.

WORSHIP

On his anniversary, Professors have hastened to worship at the shrine. Two international conferences were organized, with appropriate philosophical junketings.

The International Hegel Association met six weeks ago in Stuttgart (W. Germany) under the chairmanship of the

existential Professor Martin Heidegger, who embarrassed philosophers in the 1930s by his enthusiasm for Hitler, while last week the Stalinists convened the International Hegel Society (headed by Salzburg Professor Wilhelm Beyer) in E. Berlin.

No love was lost between the two camps.

One of the organizers of the Stuttgart conference explained the reason why no E. German scholars had been invited: 'They do not reach the necessary level'.

And Prof. Beyer commented more pithily in E. Berlin that W. German work on Hegel was 'Blah! Blah! philosophy'.

It's not for us to disagree with either of these judgments.

IMPOSING

The real purpose of both these imposing gatherings is not to praise Hegel but to bury him. For the taproot of his achievement—and the ana-

thema of both Stalinism and Professorships of Philosophy—is the dialectic.

Marx's words of tribute might have been written yesterday:

'In its mystified form, dialectic became the fashion in Germany, because it seemed to transfigure and to glorify the existing state of things.

'In its rational form it is a scandal and an abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recog-

nition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

What 'mystified' the dialectical method of Hegel was his idealism.

For Hegel, the material world was only the externalized expression of the development of the 'Absolute Idea'. For Marx, on the contrary, the concepts used by consciousness were the

reflection of the infinitely rich, many-sided, and above all contradictory development of nature, including man and society.

Lenin's 'Philosophical Notebooks' ('Collected Works', Vol. 38), provide the best Marxist guide to Hegel's principal work, 'The Science of Logic'.

STRESSED

Marx and Engels always stressed that their settlement with philosophy was to 'stand Hegel on his head, or rather on his feet'.

This is precisely what Lenin sets out to do in the 'Philosophical Notebooks'.

He 'reads Hegel materialistically', and even though this work of 1914 remained only in note form, it is for Marxists the most important work on the dialectical method.

Without question, a thorough acquaintance with Hegel's 'Logic', through the work of Lenin, is central to the resolution of the great theoretical tasks facing the Fourth International.

STRICTLY ORTHODOX

THE Stalinist-Christian 'dialogue' proceeds apace.

Only three weeks ago, Yugoslavia established formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the first Stalinist regime to do so.

This reversal of previous policy is all the more cynical when one recalls that the Catholic hierarchy gave enthusiastic support to the fascist 'Ustashi' in Croatia, who murdered thousands of workers and peasants during Yugoslavia's struggle against the Nazi occupation.

However Tito has yet to take the final step of rendering

official state support to the church within Yugoslavia.

Separation of church from state is, of course, an integral part of the communist attitude towards religion and its various organizations.

Consider now the case of Rumania.

Emulating the worst traditions of European reaction,

President Ceausescu often performs his state functions flanked by bearded dignitaries clad in sumptuous clerical robes.

Most often seen on duty with the 'communist' President of Rumania (the Primate of the Rumanian Orthodox Church) and Dr Moses Rosen, Chief Rabbi of Bucharest.

The alliance between Stalinist state and Orthodox church is not just a ceremonial one.

Top-ranking prelates are 'elected', with Stalinist backing, to the Rumanian National Assembly, while leading members of the Communist Party's Central Committee regularly attend Easter services in Bucharest Cathedral.

And with the still backward Rumanian economy crying out for investment, the bureaucracy has set aside over £4 million for the renovation of hundreds of churches throughout the country.

The official Stalinist press is under orders to strictly avoid anti-religious propaganda, while full reign is given to the obscurantists of the Orthodox hierarchy, which produces no fewer than nine 'theoretical' journals.

While the Byzantine wing of Christianity is favoured in this way, Bibles and prayer-books for Protestants and Catholics are in short supply.

The deal works both ways. In return for state patronage, the Orthodox hierarchy is expected to promulgate the Stalinist line from its pulpits. So when the Kremlin's tanks crushed the 1956 workers' uprising in Hungary, Patriarch Justinian faithfully echoed the Stalinist slanders against the 'fascist counter-revolutionaries' of the Budapest Workers' Councils.

Render unto Caesar with a vengeance.

SYMPATHY

BUSY covering the just-concluded 13th Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow was Jaime Sobreques Callico, special correspondent of the fascist Barcelona daily 'La Vanguardia'.

One of the sessions he attended was devoted to a study of the life and work of Lenin.

Another subject presenting 'ideological' problems to both Callico and the Spanish historians present in Moscow was the Second World War, in which Franco's infamous 'Blue Division' joined with Hitler in the Nazi onslaught against the Soviet Union.

The division was only withdrawn from its murderous mission when it became obvious Hitler had lost the war and his allies were certain to be dragged down with him.

With diplomatic relations now established between no fewer than five E. European states and Franco, and talks in progress on a deal with the Kremlin, these exploits are to be passed over in shameful silence. Before he set out for Moscow (the Soviet capital was selected as the Congress venue in 'honour' of the Lenin centenary), Callico expressed the hope that Franco's team of historians would be the regime's largest ever.

It was important to put on a good show for the

bureaucracy, whose Polish section helped to break the Asturian miners' strike last winter.

Tongue firmly in his cheek, this fascist concluded:

'We hope to give much more detailed information on the vicissitudes of the Congress when we get back from Moscow. We are sure that our experiences will go beyond the framework of the Congress.'

'Although we don't want to get involved in politics, we hope to give our readers a good idea of life in the Soviet Union.

'If we set off with some prejudice, this is only admiration and sympathy; admiration for the technical and scientific progress of the USSR; sympathy for the people who built these with its own efforts.

'Admiration and sympathy are a good basis for uniting peoples.'

Every day brings new reports from Spain of workers arrested for taking strike action to improve their miserable living and working conditions, and for the right to organise in trade unions independent of the fascist state.

The Soviet bureaucracy, through journalists which it regularly sends to Spain, nevertheless returns the compliments of Callico and his fascist friends.

We can safely assume then that both admiration and sympathy are mutual.

TV SUNDAY

BBC 1
9.00-9.25 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.05 Heritage. 'It Gets into Everything'. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 In a class of their own. 'What Makes a Good Teacher?'. 3.00 Film for the family: 'Plymouth Adventure'. With Spencer Tracy and Gene Tierney. 4.40 The undersea world of Jacques Cousteau. 'Return of the Sea Elephant'. 5.25 Going for a song. 5.50 Tom and Jerry. 6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 LEADERS OF MEN. 'Mohammed'. 6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE. 7.25 BILLY SMART'S CIRCUS. 8.25 PLAY OF THE MONTH. 'CHARLEY'S AUNT'. With Danny La Rue. 9.45 NEWS and weather. 9.55 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS. Excerpts from 'The Yeomen of the Guard', 'The Pirates of Penzance' and 'The Mikado' by Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.00 MY WORLD AND WELCOME TO IT. 11.25 WEATHER.

REGIONAL BBC
All regions as BBC 1 except:
Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, South West, South East. 11.42 News. 11.45 Sports results and news. 10.10-11.35 Paterson people on the road. 11.35-11.55 Sports final, news and weather.
Wales: 3.00-3.30 The John Player League. Glamorgan v Derbyshire.

BBC2
1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. The John Player League. Lancashire v Yorkshire. 7.00 NEWS REVIEW and weather. 7.15 THE WORLD ABOUT US. 'A Park in Peru'. 8.25 THE CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Mel Thorne and Martha Raye. 8.55 MUSIC ON 2. Victoria de los Angeles and Gerald Moore in a programme of Spanish and French songs. 9.45 BROADEN YOUR MIND. 10.15 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'Last Love'. 11.00 NEWS, weather, cricket scoreboard. 11.10 FILM NIGHT SPECIAL. 'David Niven in Rome.'

ITV
11.00 a.m., 12.00, 12.10 p.m. Casting around. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.45 Big match. 3.45 Never a crossword. 4.15 Joe. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 CARTOON. 6.05 NEWS. 6.15 SHOWFORTH. 6.35 INCLUDE ME OUT. 7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY. 7.25 PLEASE SIR! 7.35 HAWAII FIVE-O. 8.50 MEET JUDITH DURHAM. With Dave Dee, Harmony Grass, Tommy Reilly. 9.50 POLICE 5. 10.00 NEWS. 10.15 BIG BROTHER. 'The Eleventh commandment'. 11.15 AQUARIUS. 11.45 THE PARTY'S MOVING ON. 12.00 IDEAS IN PRINT.

REGIONAL ITV
CHANNEL: 2.20- London. 4.30 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 Bookworm. 6.05 London. 7.55 Picture: 'Something of Value'. With Rock Hudson, Dana Wynter and Sidney Poitier. 10.00 London. 11.25 Meet Judith Durham. 11.30 Les Franchis chez vous. 11.45 Weather.
WESTWARD: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.15 Buildings in prospect. 1.45 London. 2.15 The big match. 3.10 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 4.10 London. 5.30 Skippy. 6.00 Cartoontime. 6.05 London. 7.55 Feature film: 'Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo'. With Van Johnson and Robert Walker. 10.00 London. 11.15 The Avengers. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.42 Weather. 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 The magic boomers. 6.00 Bookworm. 6.05 London. 7.55 Picture: 'Something of Value'. With Rock Hudson, Dana Wynter and Sidney Poitier. 10.00 London. 11.25 Meet Judith Durham. 11.30 Les Franchis chez vous. 11.45 Weather.
HARLECH: 11.00-12.15 London. 2.00 Decimalization. 2.15 Sports arena. 2.45 London. 3.45 Joe. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Sunday feature. 'The Courtship of Eddie's Father'. With Glenn Ford, Shirley Jones and Stella Stevens. 10.00 London. 11.15 Meet Judith Durham. 12.10 Late call.
GRAMPIAN: 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Seaway. 3.40 The telephone game. 4.10 London. 5.30 The Flintstones. 6.00 London. 7.55 Sunday cinema. 'Carrie'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Meet Judith Durham. 12.10 Person or person?

6.45 London. 7.15 Cinema: 'Sea of Glass'. With Spencer Tracy, Katherine Hepburn. A girl from the East marries a New Mexico cattle baron and finds that her husband has an obsession with saving the grassland from becoming a dust bowl. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 News. 10.10 Cinema: 'I died a thousand times'. With Jack Palance, Shelley Winters. While driving to a rendezvous with a gang which has planned a hotel robbery, Roy meets and falls in love with a crippled girl. 12.10 Weather.
ITV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except 6.45-7.15 Hyd a Lied.
ANGLIA: 11.30 Cricket. 12.45 London. 5.50 Weather. 5.53 Branded. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 'Our Man in Havana'. With Alec Guinness, Burl Ives and Maureen O'Hara. A vacuum cleaner salesman is recruited into the British Secret Service. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 The name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Reflection.
ATY MIDLANDS: 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 London. 5.50 Ours is a nice house. 6.20 Tarzan adventures. 'Tarzan's Savage Fury'. 7.50 The name of the game. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 'Big Brother. The Eleventh Commandment'. 11.10 Espionage followed by weather.
ULSTER: 12.45 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Feature film: 'The Adventures of Tartu'. With Robert Donat, Valerie Hobson, Walter Rilla and Glynnis Johns. A British expert in delayed-action bombs is ordered to blow up a large Nazi poison gas factory. 8.40 Ulster sports results. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 11.10 The Prisoner.
YORKSHIRE: 11.30 Cricket. Lancs. v Yorks. 12.45 London. 5.15 Gunsmoke. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 Ivanhoe. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Finders seekers.
GRANADA: 11.40 Casting around. 11.05 Underwater swimming. 11.30 Cricket. Lancs. v Yorks. 12.45 London. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 London. 7.15 The tough guys. 'I Was Monty's Double'. With John Mills and Gene Kelly. An unknown actor poses as General Montgomery. 9.05 Cartoon time. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.15 Man in a suitcase. 11.10 Meet Judith Durham.
TYNE TEES: 11.30 Cricket. 12.45 London. 5.15 Cricket. 5.45 News. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'Rebel without a cause'. With James Dean. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. Three youngsters, all in great need of love and understanding, have been picked up by the police and are being questioned by the juvenile welfare officer. 10.00 News. 10.10 Big brother. 11.10 Gazette. 12.05 If you love me keep my commandments.
BORDER: 11.50 All our yesterdays. 12.20 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.50 Sports results. 5.55 Joe. 6.20 Branded. 6.45 Kenny Everett exploitation. 7.10 London. 8.00 Film: 'Halls of Montezuma'. With Richard Widmark, Jack Palance. War story in the South Pacific. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 The party's moving.
SCOTTISH: 12 noon London. 12.15 Lesley and Oscar. 12.30 Animal crackers. 12.45 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News. 6.15 The sky's the limit. 6.45 Saturday action movie. 'Kings of the Sun'. With Yu Brynner, George Chakiris, Shirley Anne Field and Richard Basehart. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Match report. 10.25 Conference report. Scottish Liberal Party. 10.35 Late call. 10.40 Saturday night movie. 'The Hanging Tree'. With Gary Cooper and Maria Schell.
GRAMPIAN: 12 noon Wind in the willows. 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.15 News. 5.45 Early movie. 'Sabrina Fair'. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 'Maggie's place'. 10.00 London. 10.10 Late call. 10.15 Conference. 10.20 The late movie. 'The Criminal'.

MARXISM and the TRADE UNIONS
Two articles by LEON TROTSKY
Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay. Communism and syndicalism.
Price: 3s. 6d.

New Park publications
186A Clapham High St. SW4.

TV SATURDAY

BBC 1
11.20 a.m. Weather. 11.25 Cricket. The County Championship. Surrey v Worcestershire. 12.45 p.m. Grandstand. 12.55 Football preview. 1.10, 2.20, 2.50, 4.30 Cricket. 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Newcastle. 1.50 Sand yachting. 3.20 Rugby League. Wakefield v Leeds. 4.50 Results service. 5.15 The best of Basil Brush. 5.45 The Debbie Reynolds show.
6.10 NEWS and weather.
6.20 THE ICE SHOW.
6.50 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Captain Blood'. With Errol Flynn and Olivia De Havilland. The story of one of history's most famous pirates.
8.25 IT'S LULU. With guests Esther Ofarim, Roy Hudd and The Moody Blues.
9.10 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Alias Mr Braithwaite'.
10.00 NEWS and weather.
10.15 MATCH OF THE DAY.
11.15 'THE MAN WHO TALKS TO CHILDREN'. Harold Williamson talks to children.
11.40 WEATHER.

REGIONAL BBC
All regions as BBC 1 except:
Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, South West, South, West 11.42 Weather.
Scotland 5.00-5.15 and 5.15-10.45 Sportrel. 10.45-11.15 The curious character of Britain. 11.42 News headlines and weather.
Wales 11.00-11.20 Cadi ha. 11.25-12.45 County cricket. Glamorgan v Derbyshire. 5.45-6.10 Dyna wall. 10.50-11.15 Match of the day. 11.42 Weather.
Northern Ireland: 5.05-5.15 Sports results and news. 10.10-11.35 Paterson report on the road. 11.35 Sports final, news and weather.

BBC2
3.00-4.20 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'The Sundowners'. With Robert Preston, Robert Sterling and John Barrymore Jr. Two young brothers are helped by a gunman to defeat rustlers threatening their ranch.
7.30 NEWS, sport and weather.
7.45 GREAT ZOOS OF THE WORLD. Tucson, Arizona.
8.15 ONE PAIR OF EYES. 'The Green Revolution'. John Cherrington, farmer.
8.55 GARDENERS' WORLD.
9.10 SUMMER REVIEW. 'Cuba—Art and Revolution'.
9.55 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'These Men Are Dangerous'. Story of the young Hitler.
10.25 ROWAN AND MARTIN'S LAUGH-IN.
11.10 NEWS and weather.
11.15 MIDNIGHT MOVIE. 'The Magnificent Matador'. With Anthony Quinn and Maureen O'Hara.

ITV
11.30 a.m. RAC road report. 11.35 Stay alive. 12 noon Wind in the willows. 12.15 p.m. Captain Scarlet. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport: 12.55 On the ball. 1.20 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Goodwood. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Pontefract. 3.05 Swimming: Wales v Belgium at Llanelli. Ostend Horse show. 4.00 Wrestling. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.
6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES.
6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE.
7.15 MAGGIE'S PLACE. With guest stars Tessie O'Shea, David Hughes, The Karllins, Paul Melba and Arthur Askey.
8.00 FILM. 'The Full Treatment'. With Claude Dauphin, Diane Cilento, Ronald Lewis, Bernard Braden. Psychological thriller about a racing driver who suffers amnesia after a road crash.
10.00 NEWS.
10.10 GOLD ROBBERS.
11.10 UNTOUCHABLES.
12.05 IDEAS IN PRINT.

REGIONAL ITV
CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.15 The road west. 12.50 News. 6.15 London. 7.15 Feature film. 'Knights of the Round Table'. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 11.10 Court martial. 12 midnight Weather.
WESTWARD: 12.45 London. 5.15 The road west. 6.10 News. 6.15 The Beverly Hillbillies. 6.45 London. 7.15 Feature film. 'The Full Treatment'. With Robert Taylor and Ava Gardner. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 11.10 Court martial. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 12.17 Weather. 12.20 Mr Piper. 12.45 London. 5.15 Joe 90. 5.30 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'An American in Paris'. With Gene Kelly and Leslie Caron. 10.10 The name of the game. 11.35 News. 11.45 Weather. Action 70.
HARLECH: 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.45 News. 5.50 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

TV SUNDAY

BBC 1
9.00-9.25 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.05 Heritage. 'It Gets into Everything'. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 In a class of their own. 'What Makes a Good Teacher?'. 3.00 Film for the family: 'Plymouth Adventure'. With Spencer Tracy and Gene Tierney. 4.40 The underside world of Jacques Cousteau. Return of the Sea Elephant. 5.25 Going for a song. 5.50 Tom and Jerry.
6.05 NEWS and weather.
6.15 LEADERS OF MEN. 'Mohammed'.
6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE.
7.25 BILLY SMART'S CIRCUS.
8.25 PLAY OF THE MONTH. 'CHARLEY'S AUNT'. With Danny La Rue.
9.45 NEWS and weather.
9.55 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS. Excerpts from 'The Yoemen of the Guard', 'The Pirates of Penzance' and 'The Mikado' by Gilbert and Sullivan.
11.00 MY WORLD AND WELCOME TO IT.
11.25 WEATHER.

REGIONAL BBC
All regions as BBC 1 except:
Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, South West, South, West 11.27 Weather.
Wales: 3.00-3.30 The John Player League. Glamorgan v Derbyshire.
3.30-3.50 and 4.15-4.40 The Doctors. 11.27 Weather.
Scotland: 11.00-11.15 Scottish Liberal Party conference. 11.15 News headlines and weather.
Northern Ireland: 11.27 News headlines and weather.

BBC2
1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. The John Player League. Lancashire v Yorkshire.
7.00 NEWS REVIEW and weather.
7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US. 'A Park in Peru'.
8.15 THE CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Mel Thorne and Martha Raye.
8.55 MUSIC ON 2. Victoria de los Angeles and Gerald Moore in a programme of Spanish and French songs.
9.45 BROADBENT YOUR FRIEND.
10.15 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'Last Love'.
11.00 NEWS, weather, cricket scoreboard.
11.10 FILM NIGHT SPECIAL. 'David Niven in Rome'.

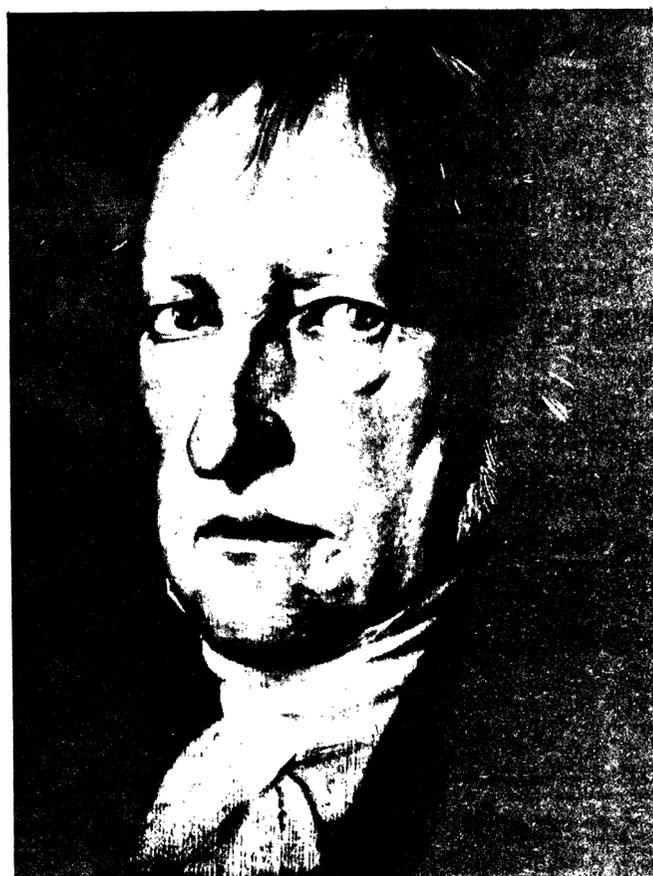
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8.00 CARTOON.
8.05 NEWS.
6.15 SHOWFORTH.
6.35 INCLUDE ME OUT.
7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.
7.25 PLEASE SIRI.
7.55 HAWAII FIVE-O.
8.50 MEET JUDITH DURHAM. With Dave Dee, Harmony Grass, Tommy Reilly.
9.50 POLICE 5.
10.00 NEWS.
10.15 BIG BROTHER. 'The Eleventh commandment'.
11.15 AQUARIUS.
11.45 THE PARTY'S MOVING ON.
12.00 IDEAS IN PRINT.

REGIONAL ITV
CHANNEL: 2.20 London. 2.25 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 Channel news and weather. 6.15 Channel lookaround. 6.25 Crossroads. 7.00 Star movie. 'Shoot Out at Medicine Bend'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Channel gazette. 11.30 Les Francis chez vous. 11.45 Weather.
WESTWARD: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.15 Buildings in prospect. 1.45 London. 2.15 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 4.10 London. 5.30 Skippy. 5.55 Feature film: 'Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo'. With Van Johnson and Robert Walker. 10.00 London. 10.15 The Avengers. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.
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HARLECH: 11.00-12 noon London. 2.00 Decimond. 2.15 Sports arena. 2.45 London. 3.45 Joe. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Screen on Sunday. 'The Yearling'. With Gregory Peck, Jane Wyman and Claude Rains. A farming family struggle to make a living in late nineteenth-century Florida. 10.00 London. 11.15 Meet Judith Durham. 12.15 Weather.
HTV Wales colour channel 41 and

Hegel

200 years since his birth

EAST & WEST European REVIEW



THIS WEEK saw the 200th anniversary of the birth of Hegel.

He was born on August 27, 1770—in the same year as Beethoven and the year after Napoleon.

He lived through the French Revolution, and when he died, in 1831, a much-respected Professor at Berlin University, Europe had undergone more rapid and violent change than it had ever seen before; capitalism had established itself irrevocably on the continent.

Hegel was the last, the greatest, of the German idealist philosophers.

WORSHIP

On his anniversary, Professors have hastened to worship at the shrine. Two international conferences were organized, with appropriate philosophical junketings.

The International Hegel Association met six weeks ago in Stuttgart (W. Germany) under the chairmanship of the

existential Professor Martin Heidegger, who embarrassed philosophers in the 1930s by his enthusiasm for Hitler, while last week the Stalinists convened the International Hegel Society (headed by Salzburg Professor Wilhelm Beyer) in Berlin.

No love was lost between the two camps.

One of the organizers of the Stuttgart conference explained the reason why no E German scholars had been invited: 'They do not reach the necessary level'.

And Prof. Beyer commented more pithily in E Berlin that W German work on Hegel was 'Blah! Blah! philosophy'.

It's not for us to disagree with either of these judgments.

IMPOSING

The real purpose of both these imposing gatherings is not to praise Hegel but to bury him: For the taproot of his achievement—and the ana-

thema of both Stalinism and Professorships of Philosophy—is the dialectic.

Marx's words of tribute might have been written yesterday:

'In its mystified form, dialectic became the fashion in Germany, because it seemed to transfigure and to glorify the existing state of things.

'In its rational form it is a scandal and an abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recog-

nition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

What 'mystified' the dialectical method of Hegel was his idealism.

For Hegel, the material world was only the externalized expression of the development of the 'Absolute Idea'. For Marx, on the contrary, the concepts used by consciousness were the

reflection of the infinitely rich, many-sided, and above all contradictory development of nature, including man and society.

Lenin's 'Philosophical Notebooks' ('Collected Works', Vol. 38), provide the best Marxist guide to Hegel's principal work, 'The Science of Logic'.

STRESSED

Marx and Engels always stressed that their settlement with philosophy was to 'stand Hegel on his head, or rather on his feet'.

This is precisely what Lenin sets out to do in the 'Philosophical Notebooks'.

He reads Hegel materialistically, and even though this work of 1914 remained only in note form, it is for Marxists the most important work on the dialectical method.

Without question, a thorough acquaintance with Hegel's 'Logic', through the work of Lenin, is central to the re-education of the great theoretical tasks facing the Fourth International.

STRICTLY ORTHODOX

THE Stalinist-Christian 'dialogue' proceeds apace.

Only three weeks ago, Yugoslavia established formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican, the first Stalinist regime to do so.

This reversal of previous policy is all the more cynical when one recalls that the Catholic hierarchy gave enthusiastic support to the fascist 'Ustashi' in Croatia, who murdered thousands of workers and peasants during Yugoslavia's struggle against the Nazi occupation.

However Tito has yet to take the final step of rendering

official state support to the church within Yugoslavia.

Separation of church from state is, of course, an integral part of the communist attitude towards religion and its various organizations.

Marx rightly called religion 'the opium of the people'. Only the enemies of the working class and socialism could possibly wish to subsidize and protect it.

Consider now the case of Rumania.

Emulating the worst traditions of European reaction,

President Ceausescu often performs his state functions flanked by bearded dignitaries clad in sumptuous clerical robes.

Most often seen on duty with the 'communist' President of Rumania (the Primate of the Rumanian Orthodox Church) and Dr Moses Rosen, Chief Rabbi of Bucharest.

The alliance between Stalinist state and Orthodox church is not just a ceremonial one.

Top-ranking prelates are 'elected', with Stalinist backing, to the Rumanian National Assembly, while leading members of the Communist Party's Central Committee regularly attend Easter services in Bucharest Cathedral.

And with the still backward Rumanian economy crying out for investment, the bureaucracy has set aside over £4 million for the renovation of hundreds of churches throughout the country.

The official Stalinist press is under orders to strictly avoid anti-religious propaganda, while full reign is given to the obscurantists of the Orthodox hierarchy, which produces no fewer than nine 'theoretical' journals.

While the Byzantine wing of Christianity is favoured in this way, Bibles and prayer-books for Protestants and Catholics are in short supply.

The deal works both ways.

In return for state patronage, the Orthodox hierarchy is expected to promulgate the Stalinist line from its pulpits. So when the Kremlin's tanks crushed the 1956 workers' uprising in Hungary, Patriarch Justinian faithfully echoed the Stalinist slanders against the 'fascist counter-revolutionaries' of the Budapest Workers' Councils.

Render unto Caesar with a vengeance.

SYMPATHY

BUSY covering the just-concluded 13th Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow was Jaime Sobreques Callico, special correspondent of the fascist Barcelona daily 'La Vanguardia'.

One of the sessions he attended was devoted to a study of the life and work of Lenin.

Another subject presenting 'ideological' problems to both Callico and the Spanish historians present in Moscow was the Second World War, in which Franco's infamous 'Blue Division' joined with Hitler in the Nazi onslaught against the Soviet Union.

The division was only withdrawn from its murderous mission when it became obvious Hitler had lost the war and his allies were certain to be dragged down with him.

With diplomatic relations now established between a few states and Franco, and talks in progress on a deal with the Kremlin, these exploits are to be passed over in shameful silence.

Before he set out for Moscow (the Soviet capital was selected as the Congress venue in 'honour' of the Lenin centenary), Callico expressed the hope that Franco's team of historians would be the regime's largest ever.

It was important to put on a good show for the

bureaucracy, whose Polish section helped to break the Asturian miners' strike last winter.

Tongue firmly in his cheek, this fascist concluded:

'We hope to give much more detailed information on the vicissitudes of the Congress when we get back from Moscow. We are sure that our experiences will go beyond the framework of the Congress.'

'Although we don't want to get involved in politics, we hope to give our readers a good idea of life in the Soviet Union.'

'If we set off with some prejudice, this is only admiration and sympathy; admiration for the technical and scientific progress of the USSR; sympathy for the people who built these with its own efforts.'

'Admiration and sympathy are a good basis for uniting peoples.'

Every day brings new reports from Spain of workers arrested for taking strike action to improve their miserable living and working conditions, and for the right to organise in trade unions independent of the fascist state.

The Soviet bureaucracy, through journalists which it regularly sends to Spain, nevertheless returns the compliments of Callico and his fascist friends.

We can safely assume then that both admiration and sympathy are mutual.

MARXISM and the TRADE UNIONS
Two articles by LEON TROTSKY
Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay. Communism and syndicalism.
Price: 3s. 6d.

New Park publications, 186A Clapham High St. SW4.

15,000 miners face sack

OVER 5,000 miners in Yorkshire's Barnsley National Coal Board area face closure of their pits within the next few years.

By Jack Gale

sack

Yorkshire miners—first speeded up, now facing the sack.

In the N Yorkshire area the figure is 9,500. Some collieries in the Doncaster area are also threatened.

Plessey plant stops over bonus

MACHINE operators at Plessey's Beeston factory near Nottingham are on strike demanding an increase in bonus payments.

On Tuesday night, the night shift of 'Y4' machine shop decided at a shop meeting to walk out until their demands are met.

Day-shift workers on Wednesday morning were unwilling to start work, but they held fire, on the instructions of their shop steward, pending the result of a meeting with management.

This ended without satisfactory result and a shop meeting was fixed for that afternoon.

As this would have meant working nearly a full day before taking action, the majority of the shift walked out on their own initiative.

The night men's claim comes mid-way through introduction of a productivity deal negotiated earlier in the year.

All that the management was prepared to offer was to speed up introduction of the deal's second phase. This means the introduction of Methods-Time Measurement.

The day-shift meeting voted unanimously to strike in support of the night shift.

Clyde strikers to meet

OVER 4,000 strikers at Clydebank's Singer sewing machine factory will be meeting on Monday to discuss the situation which has arisen since the management announced 800 redundancies last month.

Since the announcement an overtime ban has been in force, but 700 workers were paid off earlier this week and the rest are to go by the end of the month.

The management has demanded an end to the ban and has indicated that lay-offs would occur if it continued. This was taken as 'an ultimatum' by the shop stewards and the factory walked out on Thursday.

Shop stewards' convenor Gavin Laird said: 'We shall not return to work until this is withdrawn'.

LONDON RENTS UP

ANOTHER BLOW was aimed at London's 230,000 council house tenants yesterday when the Tory-controlled Greater London Council announced that rents will be increased by up to 10s from next March 1.

This follows a similar rise in March this year and is the third stage in the implementation of the Tories' 'fair rents' policy drawn up in 1967.

'Go back' call at Littlewood's

The Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs has recommended its 150 members now on strike at Littlewood's mail-order offices in Liverpool to end their two-week-old stoppage and return to work.

The strikers are demanding reinstatement of two sacked planning officers and recognition of ASTMS.

ASTMS has conceded in talks with DEP officials that 'there has been no victimization'.

LATE NEWS

AIRLINE MEN DEMAND £15 RISE

Key workers would increase the basic wages of 370 skilled workers by £15 a week and it could set a pattern for demands from the airline's 5,220 other staff.

The claim comes from the skilled craftsmen who service the airline's planes; now on basic rates of £20 and £26 a week.

MIRROR DISPUTE SETTLED

The journalists' dispute which stopped the printing of the

These figures have emerged from a series of area meetings between NCB directors and leading local officials of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Barnsley's area meeting was attended by NCB area director E. Hoyle and four other officials.

The NUM was represented by S. Bullough, Leigh, J. Kane, S. Taylor and B. Goddard.

Jack Kane and Sammy Taylor are members of the Communist Party.

The pits to close and the number of men affected are as follows:

Two to three years—Smithywood, 500 men; Barley Hall, 374 men; Shuttle Eye, 230 men.

Three to four years—Dearne Valley, 283 men.

Four to five years—Wentworth Silkstone, 496 men. Six years—Rockingham, 1,500 men. Seven years—Bullcliffe Wood, 403 men.

Eight years—Newmillerdam, 202 men. Nine years—Darfield Main, 834 men.

Typical

In addition to these pits, which are threatened by geological problems or exhaustion of reserves, several Barnsley area collieries face possible closure because of economic considerations.

Typical of these is DODWORTH colliery, which employs 1,385 men. Dodworth should have a life of 20 years, but Hoyle emphasized that this colliery had not made 'any significant contribution to area results for a considerable period of time'.

The colliery's contribution, he declared 'needs to be considerably improved'.

The N Yorkshire meeting was attended by seven NCB officials, and the union was represented by S. Bullough, J. T. Leigh, J. Kane, S. Taylor, I. Smart and S. Schofield.

Pits to close in this area are:

Two years—Newmarket, 687 men; St Johns, 678 men; (but possible closure 'at any time').

Two to three years—Thornhill, 413 men; Three to five years—Ledston Luck, 407 men.

Four years—Park Hill, 537 men (but the position is precarious); Manor, 225 men (but adverse working conditions may lead to early closure); Peckfield, 486 men (with further development depending on a boring programme); Walton, 925 men; Prince of Wales, 1,450 men (present reserves exhausted in four years).

Five years—Glasshoughton, 1,283 men; Saville, 481 men. Seven years—Wheldale, 613 men. Eight years—Ackton Hall colliery, 1,262 men.

Big stick

Further investment could undoubtedly save some of these pits, but here again the big stick is being wielded.

At GLASSHOUGHTON, for example, the Beamshaw full extraction area will be worked out in two years and the partial-extraction area will be finished by 1975.

FLOCKTON reserves will be ended by 1974.

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference

MINERS

Sunday, September 6 Danum Hotel High St DONCASTER

FOR FURTHER DETAILS WRITE TO: T. PARSONS, 61 DERWENT DRIVE, FERRY FRYSTON, NR CASTLEFORD, YORKSHIRE.

VAUXHALL MEN FACE DOLE FORTNIGHT

Yesterday's decision by GKN-Sankey strikers to stay out for another week means 1,600 men due to be laid off at Vauxhall's Dunstable factory on Tuesday now face at least a fortnight on the dole.

But recent reports make it clear that they face determined and well-armed opposition not only from the nomadic Arabs of the north, but also the agricultural Negroes in the south.

Last week came the news that over a thousand Chadians have been forced to flee from napalm-bombing of their villages and have taken refuge in the cases of southern Libya, which borders on the north of Chad.

The Libyan regime, however, has attempted to close the border to Frolina sup-

porters in return for the provision of French Mirage jet-fighters.

French capitalism is prepared to spend vast sums of money on maintaining Tombalbaye's dictatorship, both because it hopes that oil and minerals will be found in the country, and because it is crucial to the political 'stability' of other ex-French colonies—the Central African Republic, Niger, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville.

Despite the increase, petrol distributors are treating us to strike if the government and the oil companies did not give them a sufficient margin on sales.

The arrogance of the government is the direct result of the treachery of the union leaders who broke the general strike on the eve of July 7, when the Rumor cabinet resigned.

No campaign

ALL THIS means that within the next few years, the jobs of between 15,000 and 20,000 Yorkshire miners are being threatened.

No campaign is being waged by the National Union of Mineworkers to protect these jobs.

Similarly, the Communist Party is doing nothing.

Though leading CP members like Kane and Taylor, who hold important union positions, have actually sat in on these discussions, there has been no report in the 'Morning Star', there is no record of any protest by either man and the Communist Party puts forward no policy and

wages no campaign to save these workers' jobs. Only the All Trades Unions Alliance, the trade union arm of the Socialist Labour League, is prepared to fight and to put forward a policy.

We say mobilize the entire union to defend any pits that are to be closed on economic grounds.

Guaranteed

Where a pit is genuinely worked out, or where insuperable geological difficulties are



present—a matter to be decided by workers' committees—every man should be guaranteed suitable alternative employment with no loss of pay.

This could be an economic proposition if all interest payments were stopped and all outside contractors and mining machinery manufacturers were nationalized without compensation.

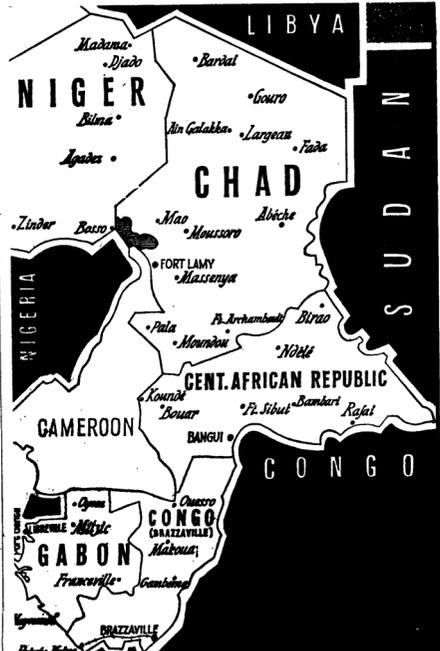
All production and planning must come under workers' control committees. Moreover, it is obvious that

thousands of Yorkshire miners are literally working themselves out of a job. Yet the Coal Board says it cannot afford shorter hours.

We say the men cannot afford to continue working their present hours. What stronger argument could there be for the seven-hour working day underground and seven-and-a-half hours (including mealbreaks) on the surface?

We urge all mineworkers to attend the miners' conference being held on September 6 in Doncaster.

CHAD French troops to stay



CHAD President Francois Tombalbaye gave no date for the withdrawal of French forces from Chad when he spoke to the press after an hour-long meeting with President Pompidou in Paris on Thursday.

He declared, however, that 'the principle of this withdrawal is maintained'.

Tombalbaye, who is in effect the puppet of Pompidou and French capitalism, is hoping Nigerian troops will help the French and government forces engaged in a bitter war on the Chad liberation organization, Frolina.

'ISOLATED'

According to previous declarations, the French forces should already have left, having dealt with an 'isolated rebellion' in the North of the poverty-stricken nation in central Africa.

But recent reports make it clear that they face determined and well-armed opposition not only from the nomadic Arabs of the north, but also the agricultural Negroes in the south.

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Italian coalition pushes up prices

ITALIAN petrol prices rose by 1s a gallon to become the highest in Europe yesterday.

Road taxes and driving licence fees have also been increased in line with the centre-left Colombo coalition's attempt to attack inflation in the economy and financial crisis in the social-service institutions through taxation.

These measures will immediately hit the pockets of the working class, both directly and through their impact on the costs of distribution and transport.

They were revealed when Donat Cattin, the supposedly 'progressive' Christian-Democratic Minister of Labour in Colombo's cabinet, met representatives of Italy's three main trade unions earlier in the week.

The trade union officials—who at the beginning of July were preparing to lead a general strike for reforms and against price rises—were summoned to hear news of the price increases but received no specific news on the question of their demands for reforms in housing, health, transport and education.

ARROGANCE

Revenue from petrol will be used to reduce the deficit (now running at over £600 million per year) in the health and social services, and allow the government to provide easier credit to industry in the hope of restarting economic growth.

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Crawling

'liberal' conscience, the CP helps to give him that cover he so badly needs at the present time, while the ruling class prepares its next moves in the attack on the working class.

Far from helping the victims of Vorster's police, it actually strengthens Vorster's allies. The labour movement is the only force which can come to the aid of the Pretoria prisoners and the many others in the South African jails.

This is inseparable from the struggle against the Tories as the allies of apartheid. Instead of friendly letters, a campaign to force this government of imperialism and racialism to resign is the way to speed the destruction of apartheid and to unite British and African workers.

Dismantle

While it calls on the Tory government to set up new

CS gas case remands

POLICE will be ready to go ahead with committal proceedings in the Commons CS gas case on September 14, Bow Street magistrates were told yesterday.

Bowes Egan and James Roach were further remanded in connection with the incident.

Work-to-rule on Madrid metro

WORKERS on the Madrid underground railway system are working to rule in support of a pay claim.

When 5,000 Metro workers struck last month, the Franco regime forced them back to work with the threat of conscription into the army.

The work-to-rule, which began on Thursday, may well escalate into another strike if the workers' claim for a wage increase is not met at Monday's talks between the fake state-controlled 'trade unions' and the Metro employers.

This time, workers are saying they will not be forced back by the threat of military discipline.

RAISE WAGES

When Metro fares were put up from 2d to 3d, railway officials said that part of the increased revenue would be used to raise wages of underground workers.

The workers are in fact demanding half of the increase.

Palestine leaders avoid break with Nasser

WHILE diplomats consider their next moves in the Middle East negotiations, the Palestine National Council emergency meeting in Amman has avoided any direct criticism of Nasser's acceptance of US plans for the region.



Habbash

These are now known to include indefinite military occupation by US and Soviet forces to enforce a settlement.

Washington officials yesterday denied that this proposal had been discussed with Moscow, but it is highly improbable that it would have been made public without prior agreement from the Soviet bureaucrats.

The Amman meeting, heavily guarded by Palestine guerrillas, heard denunciations of the American 'peace' plan as a stab in the back for the Palestine liberation struggle. But neither the chairman, Habis Hamouda, nor the main speaker, Yasser Arafat, referred to Nasser's participation in the negotiations.

Hamouda used the formula 'certain Arab governments' when talking about acceptance of the US plan.

APPLAUSE

The representative of the Egyptian government received great applause when he declared that Egypt would continue to back the guerrillas. Political efforts to regain Arab

territory would go on side with the popular struggle, he said.

But the 'political efforts' agreed to by Nasser and his Moscow allies must involve the permanent acceptance of Zionist occupation of Palestine and, consequently, the liquidation of the liberation movement.

It is noteworthy that the Iraq delegate did not refer to the Egyptian position on the UN talks, nor did he talk about the role played by the Soviet leaders.

The suspicion that Arafat had come to an agreement with Nasser in their Cairo talks earlier this week was not dispelled by the speeches at Amman.

'CONSTRUCTIVE'

The official Egyptian statement following these discussions said 'his policy and its attitudes are clear to the Arab nation's masses and do not require new emphasis... It also considers the presence of the Palestine organizations and their action to be essential to achieving the aim of liberation'.

In his foreign policy speech yesterday, Brezhnev hailed Nasser as 'an outstanding statesman' for the 'constructive position' he had taken on the Middle East negotiations.

He saw the possibility of reaching a settlement from a position of realism and responsibility. Since the Stalinists have been the main force driving the Arab leaders towards agreement with imperialism and its Zionist agents this is hardly surprising.

All the more dangerous is the refusal of even the most radical of the guerrilla groups to explain the role of the Soviet leaders in the present betrayal.

This is the position of George Habbash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He has denounced the position of the Egyptian government, but not of the Russians in the UN talks.

He is reported to have taken part in the meeting of the Iraq oil and mineral workers' union on Wednesday.

The union's leader threatened that if the US plans for the Middle East were carried out, all oil installations in the Arab world would be destroyed.

HASTENED

Action by the oil workers could certainly be a major blow against the plans of imperialism. It was the decision of the Syrian oil workers to cut the pipeline from Iraq that hastened US pressure to stop British and French forces invading Egypt in 1956.

But by itself, such action cannot substitute for political leadership—and especially for a principled opposition to Stalinism and its betrayals, as well as bourgeois nationalism in all its forms.

The wages offensive must be stepped up, as the only way of ensuring a basic living wage, and in order to prevent the employers using unemployment to attack wages.

Every rise in the cost of living must be matched by wage increases.

This means—stop productivity deals! Straight wage rises and no 'strings'!

The trade unions, trades councils and the TUC itself must immediately grant rights of membership to all unemployed in every industry.

And they must organize the right to work in a political campaign for full employment. All questions of jobs, benefit, redundancy pay, transfers of jobs, the fight for work-sharing and guaranteed earnings are the responsibility of the trade unions and not of separate unemployed organizations. Unity of the employed and the unemployed!

In this way a national campaign for the right to a job for every worker can be initiated by the TUC. This campaign means: force the Tories to resign!

This is the responsibility before the TUC delegates.

WEATHER

London area, SE, SW, NW, central southern and central northern England, E and W Midlands: Dry. Sunny periods. Winds variable, light. Very warm. Max. 25C (77F). Channel Islands: Variable Cloud. Scattered hazy showers. Winds north-easterly, moderate. Warm. Max. 21C (70F). Edinburgh, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Dry. Sunny intervals. Winds south-westerly, light or moderate. Very warm. Max. 21C (70F). Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Generally warm and dry in England and Wales, but rather cloudy in Scotland and N Ireland with a little rain. Perhaps cloud and some rain in extreme western districts of England and Wales later on Monday.

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