

As Pearson report is being prepared

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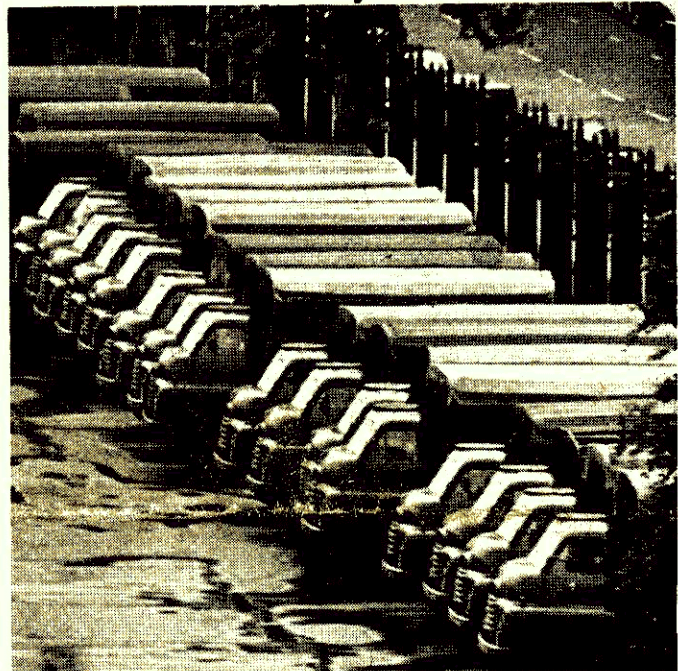
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showed his guilt while Secretary-General of the Communist Party.'

'Innocent'
In other words, Slansky was innocent, and known by all his accusers to be so at the time of the trial.

His death was secured only by forcing other Party leaders such as London and Loeb to endorse confessions already extracted from Slansky under torture.

The Husak regime (whose leader himself once 'confessed' to spying on behalf of imperialism) apparently hopes to deflect the hatred of the Czech people for Stalinist crimes towards their most persecuted victims.

London is now in France, where his film on the

● PAGE FOUR COL. 5



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Predicted another: 'There'll be hell and chaos on if they move troops in now: hell from us and chaos from them. I saw them moving stuff in London in 1949—I was a seaman then—and it was pathetic!'

July £1000 Appeal Fund is now £513 13s 2d

WE are just, but only just, over half way, with eight days to go.

We know and appreciate the difficulties our readers face at this time of the year. Right from the beginning of the month we made no bones about the holiday problem.

Our readers are stubbornly fighting back. Yesterday brought in £45 16s 0d leaving us with £486 6s 10d to find. Make it a hard-hitting weekend for the fund.

Post your donations at once to:
Workers Press Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

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New dockwork

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● PAGE FOUR COL. 7

Workers Press

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Responsibility The framing and murder of Slansky, we are now bluntly informed, is the responsibility of his co-defendants: 'One cannot pass over in

silence the objective role that these confessions (of the accused) played in the investigations against those accused with them.'

These 'confessions' were extracted only after prolonged mental and physical torture, as the Party Central Committee well knows. Nevertheless, it condemns not the torturers, but the tortured:

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(iv) Capitalists, landed proprietors and workers

MARX FIRST attacks the absence of any coherence in the usual 'Trinity Formula' (capital-profit, land-rent, labour-wages):

... the alleged sources of the annually available wealth belong to widely dissimilar spheres and are not at all analogous with one another. They have about the same relation to each other as lawyer's fees, red beets and music.¹⁸

Capital is 'a definite socialist production relation', belonging to a definite historical formation of society; land is 'inorganic nature as such'; and labour as such is an abstraction from all the actual productive types of labour.

The latter two are evidently prerequisites of production in any and every mode of production, whereas the first is a definite, historically limited social relation of a certain mode of production.

As an explanation of the division of total value (a homogeneous substance) in the society, the 'Trinity Formula' is therefore absurd.

In so far as land contributes to production it does so as use value. There is no way whatsoever of measuring this against the value represented in capital's share of the total product.

... how should land create value, i.e. a socially defined quantity of labour, and moreover that particular portion of the value of its own products which forms the rent?¹⁹

PREREQUISITE

Capital itself is, of course, one historically developed and determined form of an essential prerequisite of all production, viz. the accumulated means of production available to society; but in this case these means of production enter the productive process only when transformed into capital.

The reality, says Marx, is that value, the creation of social labour, is the source of the incomes of all the three great classes. The proletariat's sale of labour-power entitles it to that portion of the total value which is necessary for its own reproduction, i.e. to replace the value of the labour-power; its share is not based on its contribution to the product (since it is responsible for the total value added to the product), but only on the value of labour-power.

The capitalists, through ownership of means of production, extract from the whole social labour the entire remaining surplus product as surplus value.

But this extraction reaches its 'limit' at the point where the landlord is in a position to demand a share of the total surplus value.

This share arises not from the 'contribution' of his land to the product (which as value does not exist), but from the specific relation of land ownership to the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois class: his ownership of land enables him to put pressure on the capitalist,

⁽¹⁸⁾'Capital', Vol. III, p. 794.

⁽¹⁹⁾'Ibid', p. 796.

to extort a share of the surplus; his concentrated land-holdings are themselves fixed historically at the outset of the capitalist system as the means by which wage-labour was freed from the land for capitalist exploitation; and in the functioning of capitalist production he appears as the personification of one of the most essential conditions of production.¹⁸

What is essential here is the historical unity of these class relations in a given mode of production, and their shares in the homogeneous substance of value as the proof of the real interdependence and exploitative, conflicting relations between them.

The 'matter of fact' theory which would see them as simple 'contributions' to the ongoing 'industrial society' is completely lacking in any such consistency or unity.

FORMULAE

'Conflict', 'tension', etc. are added as afterthoughts or as formulae to cover awkward examples of 'temporary disturbances of equilibrium' instead of being demonstrated as central to the whole system, giving it a specific historical character as a particular mode of production and also providing the key to its transformation into another.

This transformation is thus, in Marxism, removed from the sphere of prescriptions for 'improving industrial relations', or 'reducing the effects of alienation', etc. as it so often appears in the work of sociological 'critics' of 'industrial society' (see especially the work of Georges Friedmann).

For Marx, then, the total value produced by social labour, through the property relations of the capitalist system, is converted into three different sources of revenue. These sources are real, objective in character, but they do not and cannot explain what creates the real source of all three incomes, namely 'value-creating labour'.

Once this source is recognized, then the shares of capital and landed property can be seen as the result of exploitation made possible by property ownership in a definite, historically limited social system.

SUFFICIENT

If, on the contrary, the three 'sources of income' are considered sufficient for the definition of what constitutes the basis of the given classes, then these classes appear to result from naturally necessary roles in 'industrial production'. Instead of a revolutionary critique, we have a veritable apologia, an ideology going under the name of economics or sociology.

It is therefore just as natural that vulgar economy, which is no more than a didactic, more or less dogmatic, translation of everyday conceptions of the actual agents of production, and which arranges them in a certain rational order, should see precisely in this trinity (capital-interest (profit), land-ground rent, labour-wages) which is devoid of all inner connection, the natural and indubitable lofty basis for its shallow pompousness.¹⁹

⁽¹⁸⁾'Ibid', pp. 800-801.

⁽¹⁹⁾'Ibid', p. 810.

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE:
THE ECONOMIC BASIS

(3)

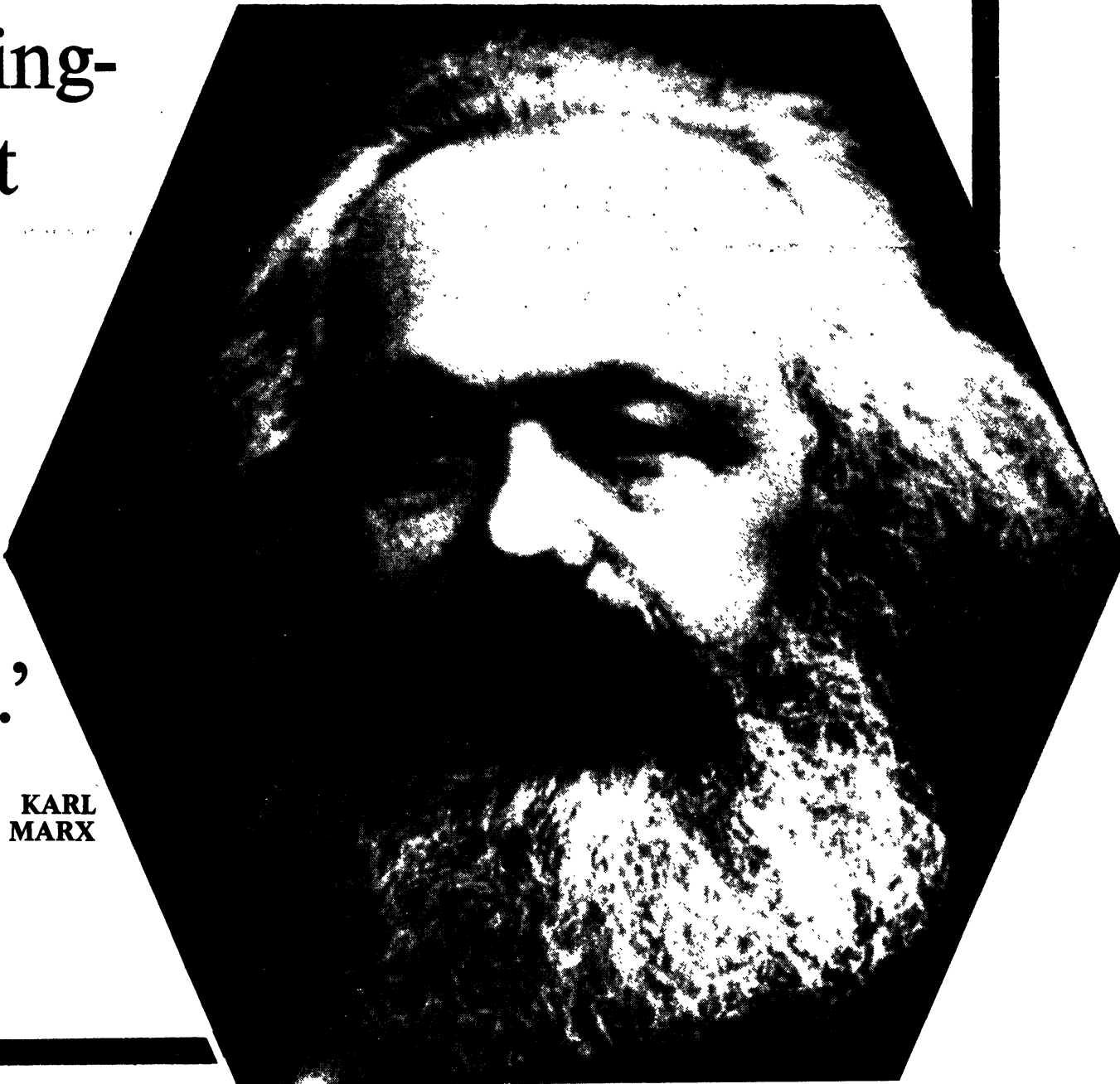
An introduction

to Marxist
philosophy

by Cliff Slaughter



'...Capital is the all-dominating power of bourgeois society, it must form the starting-point as well as the end...'

KARL
MARXPART
TEN

FORMATIONS

The specific role played by law in relation to production, the different significance of custom and tradition in specific historical formations, and, most brilliant of all, portrayal of the way in which a custom necessarily enshrined in law to provide the feudal system with stability actually opens the way for new social relations and higher productivity to mature over a long period underneath it, thus turning it into its opposite, are here shown in outline as part of the general preparation of the transition from feudalism to capitalism:

'Since the direct producer (in feudal society) is not the owner, but only a possessor, and since all his surplus labour *de jure* actually belongs to the landlord, some historians have expressed astonishment that it should be at all possible for those subject to enforced labour, or serfs, to acquire any independent property, or relatively speaking, wealth, under such circumstances. However, it is evident that tradition must play a dominant role in the primitive and undeveloped circumstances on which these social production relations and the corresponding mode of production are based.

*

It is furthermore clear that here as always it is in the interest of the ruling section of society to sanction the existing order as law and to legally establish its limits given through usage and tradition. Apart from all else, this, by the way, comes about of itself as soon as the constant reproduction of the basis of the existing order and its fundamental relations assumes a regulated and orderly form in the course of time. And such regulation and order are themselves indispensable elements of any mode of production, if it is to assume social stability and independence from mere chance and arbitrariness. These are precisely the form of its social stability and therefore its relative freedom from mere arbitrariness and mere chance.

'Under backward conditions of the production process as well as the corresponding social relations, it achieves this form by mere repetition of their very reproduction. If this has continued on for some time, it entrenches itself as custom and tradition and is finally sanctioned as an explicit law.

'However, since the form of this surplus-labour, enforced labour, is based upon the imperfect development of all social productive powers and the crudeness of the methods of labour itself, it will naturally absorb a relatively much smaller portion of the direct producer's total labour than under-developed modes of production, particularly the capitalist mode of production.

*

'Take it, for instance, that the enforced labour for the landlord originally amounted to two days per week. These two days of enforced labour per week are thereby fixed, are a constant magnitude, legally regulated by prescriptive or written law. But the productivity of the remaining days of the week, which are at the disposal of the direct producer himself, is a variable magnitude, which must develop in the course of his experience, just as the new wants he acquires, and just as the expansion of the market for his product and the increasing assurance with which he disposes of this portion of his labour-power will spur him on to a greater exertion of his labour-power, whereby it should not be forgotten that the employment of his labour-power is by no means confined to agriculture, but includes rural home industry. The possibility is here presented for definite economic development taking place, of course, upon favourable circumstances, inborn racial characteristics, etc.²²

The economic categories in the order in which they were the determining factors in the course of history. The order of sequence is rather determined by the relation which they bear to one another in modern bourgeois society, and which is the exact opposite of what seems to be their natural order or their historical development.

'What we are interested in is not the place which economic relations occupy in the historical succession of different forms of society... we are interested in their organic connection with modern bourgeois society.²¹

This outline of Marx's theory of the economic basis of classes brings out the essential unity of his historical materialist outlook in one other way, which must be mentioned if only in answer to some of Marx's critics.

In an earlier section of this

⁽²¹⁾Marx, 'Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy', Charles H. Kerr & Co. Chicago 1904, pp. 303-304.

⁽²²⁾'Capital', Vol. III, pp. 773-774.

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Leon Trotsky

PRICE: TWENTY-FIVE SHILLINGS

development of this theme, in which he shows, with very intricate analysis, how the illusions about revenues are reinforced by the essential nature of the capitalist system itself (see 'Capital', Vol. III, Chapter XLVIII 'The Trinity Formula').

Our main purpose has been only to show that Marx's theory of class, in the one social system—capitalism—for which it was worked out, cannot be deduced from the immediately perceptible relations in social life, but on the contrary must penetrate beneath them to the specific production relations:

... the specific economic form, in which unpaid social labour is pumped out of the direct procedures.²⁰

In feudal society, landed property entitled its holders to the unpaid surplus labour of the direct producers, but the 'specific economic form' in which this was done was, of course, entirely different from

⁽²⁰⁾'Ibid', p. 772.)

that whereby landed property shares in the total surplus value pumped out of the working class by capital in capitalist society.

In feudal society, a portion of this surplus value was appropriated directly and nakedly in the form of a definite number of days per week or per year spent on the land of the landowner instead of on the land allotted to the serf. Besides this 'labour rent' the landlord would have the right to a definite amount of rent in kind, a proportion of the harvest from the serf's

TRANSPARENT

own land (often 'commuted' into cash payments).

The exploitation-relation is open, transparent, as contrasted with the apparently free sale of labour power at its value under capitalism.

The theoretical clarification of the distinction between the commodity labour power,

bought at its value, and the value created when it is consumed (labour) was a vital stage in the development of the consciousness of the working class, transcending the previous conceptions of bourgeois political economy and sociology.

Marx's treatment of ground-rent is a good illustration of his analytical-historical method.

Landed property, its role in modern capitalist economy, its place in the class struggle, etc., must be viewed not as an extension or development of 'landed property' at an earlier (i.e. feudal) stage of social development, but in specific relation to the mode of production within which it now exists, and in relation to the latter's history.

For example, the way in which the old type of landed property and the title it gave to the produce of labour was transformed, and the small proprietors resulting from its break-up expropriated, is of more importance in this con-

text than the history of that period in which landed property was the dominant form of property in the means of production.

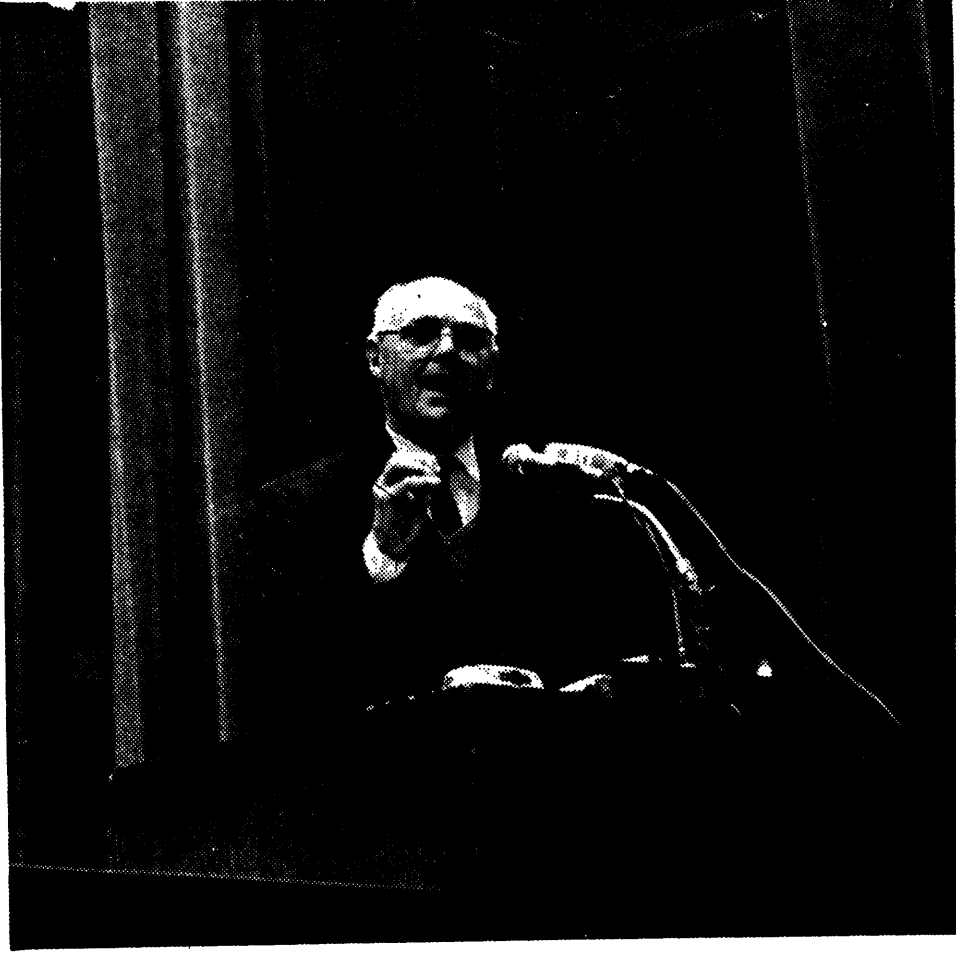
The analysis of ground-rent (and the same would go for money, merchant capital, and other categories) in Vol. III of 'Capital' therefore is an expansion of the methodological indications to be found in concentrated form in the posthumously published 'Introduc-

POWER

tion' to Marx's 'Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy':

'Capital is the all-dominating power of bourgeois society. It must form the starting-point as well as the end and be developed [i.e. in the presentation of the analysis of capitalism, CS.] before land-ownership is ...

It would therefore be impractical and wrong to arrange



Tillon

TILLON SPEAKS OUT

FOR FRENCH Stalinism the 'Tillon affair' threatens a sackful of trouble. Tillon's personal prestige, and the importance of the events in which he played the leading role, mean that he has to be treated with kid gloves.

The Communist press, describing him as a 'recidivist', have tried to suggest that he is senile or unbalanced.

A letter in Monday's 'L'Humanité' (the CP daily) from the secretary of Tillon's Federation alleges completely unscrupulous political conduct over the last two years.

Jacques Duclos has described him as a 'megalomaniac', and to this is added the Party view that, 'like others before him', he is being manipulated by a 'hidden orchestra leader of the big bourgeoisie'.

Who this omnipotent figure might be, like the identity of the men behind the so-called 'fascists of the left', is, of

course, unspecified.

Unlike Garaudy, who was publicly booted at the February Party Congress when he raised the question of Polish coal being sent to break the strike of Spanish miners, Tillon cannot be thrown out bell, book and candle.

He was the main leader of the Communist Resistance during the Second World War.

Memories and loyalties of that period run very deep in the Party and the working class, and this reflects not only the courage and comradeship of the Resistance fighters, but the fact that workers and militants were able then to get at the throat of the class enemy, before being thwarted by Stalinist collaboration with de Gaulle in the post-war governments.

Neither Thorez, nor Marchais (who, with the serious illness of Waldeck-Rochet, is effective Party leader) played

an active part in the Resistance.

And Tillon has sharpened the attack by pointing out that Marchais concealed, when he applied for admission to the Party in 1947, the fact that he had been in Germany during the war.

'L'Humanité' carried an article by a Central Committee member, Andre Vieguet, last week which gave an account of Marchais' past and claimed it was known in the Party, but did not specifically deny Tillon's claim of falsification.

Vieguet said Marchais was transported to Germany for forced labour and tried to escape twice in 1943, succeeding the second time and returning to France in May.

He joined the Party, however, only in 1947—a 'difficult year' as Vieguet puts it, 'when Communist Ministers were put out of the Government'.

Centenary of a dogma

LAST WEEK His Holiness the Pope celebrated 100 years of the infallibility of himself and his predecessors. It was on July 18, 1870, that the first Vatican Council voted for Pius IXth to declare himself and his successors as Roman Pontiff 'infallible in matters of faith and morals'. The following day Prussia declared war on France and clergy of all denominations on both sides got busy with the provision of moral support for the slaughter.

The culmination of the Franco-Prussian war was the Paris Commune of 1871, in which for the first time workers smashed the capitalist state and held power for themselves.

When, after its defeat, the Communards were massacred with the aid of the Prussian army and to the cheers of the French bourgeoisie, they went to their deaths with scarcely a protest from the Papacy.

The doctrine was becoming consistent in its application.

Another result of the war was the withdrawal of the French troops protecting the Pope's sovereignty over Rome and the surrounding area.

Within the month the nationalist armies entered the city (via 'Porta Pia'—the Holy Gate) and completed the unification of Italy.

Pius IX retired in protest to his palace in the Vatican,

where he remained for the last nine years of his reign.

His successors on St Peter's throne did likewise, never leaving the Vatican after their election, until they were released by the Lateran Pacts negotiated between the Papacy and Mussolini in 1929.

Fascism gave generous compensation for the wrongs of 1870, and the Church responded with discreet support for fascism. The Lateran Pacts would have fallen with fascism had it not been for Communist Party leader Togliatti, who in 1947 supported their inclusion in the Republican Constitution 'in order not to divide us from Catholic workers'.

Garibaldi would have turned in his grave.

EAST & WEST European REVIEW

Tillon says: 'The Party has invented for its own reasons the story of Marchais' escape—it is false. Marchais returned to France in 1945. He waited until 1947 to join the Party. This is the man I challenge as joint general secretary of the Party.'

Equally embarrassing for Marchais and his clique is Tillon's insistence that the Party take a position of genuine opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the purges there, which has brought up afresh crimes which they would rather see forgotten.

In an interview in last week's 'Nouvel Observateur' he recalled the early 1950s, when he and André Marty were axed.

At that time, in every Communist Party, those who had fought abroad or in the Resistance were purged. When they set up, in Prague, the

trial of London and Slansky, it was at the same time a trial of the fighters in the Spanish international brigades and of those who had fought in the French Resistance.

'And here in our own Party there was no delay in following suit.'

Though Tillon has not broken fully from Stalinism and its political outlook, he expresses the enormous pressure from within the Party to get to grips with the class enemy, to end the lies, hypocrisy and double-talk, and the obedience to the Kremlin.

This pressure threatens an explosion, and that is why Marchais and those close to him cannot treat Tillon simply as another renegade.

It may also be that he knows more of Marchais' history than he has so far revealed. This would explain the frantic attempts to brand him as mentally unsound.



Marchais

ANTI-REVISIONISM

STUDENTS of the various sects claiming to be 'Maoist' are recommended to read the June 1970 number of the 'Irish Communist', the 'Theoretical Journal of the Irish Communist Organization'.

It seems that this group may well be treading in the footsteps of the London-based 'Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain'.

MLOB, as it is affectionately known by its dozen or so members, launched the first number of its journal 'Red Front' back in 1967 under the banner of 'Mao's Thought'.

The sharpest divergences predictably arose over the role of the British troops sent to Ulster last August:

'According to Hsinhua News, British imperialist troops were then sent to Ulster to suppress the movement for reform. Yet on the contrary, they were sent to suppress the developing pogrom, and to ensure that the necessary reforms were carried through.'

In what is a carbon copy of the line pursued by the opportunist 'International Socialist' group and the Fabian British Communist Party, this ultra-Stalinist journal continues:

'Rather than British troops being received by the Catholic masses as those who had come to further suppress their struggle, they were received as protectors in the situation, as indeed they were. [Emphasis added.] Everybody seems to know that except the Hsinhua News Agency.'

For those so rash as to actually oppose the dispatch of imperialist troops to Ulster, our 'anti-revisionist' has these words of warning:

'The Chinese capitalist class, in striving to impose their military-fascist dictatorship, have... found it desirable to impose an official "Weltanschauung" ["world outlook"].'

This 'mistake' by Peking has, of course, to be explained.

The reason offered by the 'Irish Communist' has a familiar ring for those familiar with war-time Stalinist policy in Britain.

'If the anti-revisionist movement cannot stomach the fact that British imperialism is still capable of pursuing an anti-fascist policy, and finds itself not making concrete analyses of concrete conditions but inventing fantasies [like the repressive role of British troops!], then it augurs ill for the future of communist politics.'

(Another article in the same journal, the third in a series 'On Trotskyism', describes it as a detachment of bourgeois politics.) Support for the British troops in Ulster however earns the honourable title of 'anti-revisionist' or 'anti-fascist.'

In the book of this particular 'Maoist' grouplet, 'anti-revisionists' equals pro-British imperialism.

We await the comments of Hsinhua with some interest.

Now the Irish Communist Organization has fallen out with its erstwhile mentors in Peking. After reproducing reports published by the Chinese news agency Hsinhua on the recent crisis in Ulster, the journal makes the following comment:

'The report... bears no conceivable relation to the realities of the Ulster crisis. . . . The struggle in the six counties is not a revolutionary struggle. [The Hsinhua report insisted—correctly—that it was.]

'The result is that militant bourgeois radicalism is confused with revolutionary working-class struggles directed at capitalism and imperialism.'

Do not be misled by the title of this article. It is not a review of the 'Irish Communist' but a critique of its anti-revisionist stance. The article is a carbon copy of the line pursued by the opportunist 'International Socialist' group and the Fabian British Communist Party, this ultra-Stalinist journal continues:

I would like information about

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

Name _____

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BBC 1 SATURDAY

1.10 p.m. Weather. 1.15 Grandstand. British Commonwealth Games. Athletics and cycling. 5.00 Closing ceremony. 2.30, 3.00, 3.40 Racing from Ascot. Results service, cricket scores and racing results.

6.00 NEWS AND WEATHER.

6.10 THE ROYAL TOURNAMENT. The Musical Drive, The White Helmets, Continuity Drill and Massed Band and Bugles.

6.40 DAD'S ARMY. 'No Springs For Frazer'.

7.10 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Master of the World'. With Vincent Price. Fantasy based on two Jules Verne stories.

8.45 IT'S LULU. With guests Les Dawson, the Marmalade, Mama Cass and Dudley Moore.

9.30 NEWS and weather.

9.45 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Puzzle lock'.

10.35 BRITISH COMMONWEALTH GAMES. Highlights.

11.25 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia, North of England, South and West: 11.27 Weather.

Scotland, N Ireland: 11.27 News, weather.

Wales: 11.00-11.20 Cadi ha, 6.10-6.35 Dyna wall, 6.35-6.40 Cartoon carnival. 11.27 Weather.

BBC 2

4.05-5.35 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'The Birthday Present'. With Tony Britton and Sylvia Syms. A man smuggles a watch through Customs and gets into deep trouble.

7.30 NEWS, SPORT AND WEATHER. 7.40 WESTMINSTER.

8.00 CHRONICLE. 'The Alexandrians'. Film about the Alexandrian poets and their influence on modern poetry.

8.45 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'Good Times'. With Gwen Watford.

9.15 GARDENERS' WORLD. 9.30 DISCO 2.

9.50 SUMMER REVIEW. Including Rudolf Nureyev. Poetry readings and Vladimir Nabokov.

10.35 VAL DOONICAN SHOW. With guests Cilla Black, Bonnie Dobson and Tommy Makem.

11.20 NEWS SUMMARY.

11.25 MIDNIGHT MOVIE. 'Track of the Cat'. With Robert Mitchum and Teresa Wright. Eight people stranded in a remote ranch become the targets of a marauding panther.

ITV

12 noon RAC road report. 12.05 p.m. Stay alive. 12.30 Wind in the willows. 12.45 Captain Scarlet. 1.10 News. 1.20 World of sport. 1.22 Australian pools. 1.25 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 3.00 Racing from Ayr. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Ripon. 3.05 International sports special. 4.00 Wrestling from Huddersfield. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES. 'The Matador'.

6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE. 'If you're Irish come into the Parkers'.

7.15 DES O'CONNOR SHOW.

8.15 'THE ANGEL WORE RED'. With Dirk Bogarde, Ava Gardner, Joseph Cotten and Vittorio De Sica. Romantic drama set in the Spanish Civil War.

10.00 NEWS. 10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'Dog Eat Dog'.

11.10 ENGBERT HUMPERDINCK SHOW.

12.10 a.m. LAND OF THE RISING SUN.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 1.10 London. 5.15 Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 London. 6.15 Beverly hillbillies. 6.45 Ours is a nice house. 7.15 Film: 'Green Fire'. With Stewart Granger and Grace Kelly. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 11.10 Court martial. Midnight weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 6.10 News. 6.45 London. 10.10 Saturday night theatre. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.42 Weather. 12.45 Mr Piper. 1.10 London. 5.15 Secret ser-

vice. 5.45 London. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'Lydia Bailey'. With Dale Robertson, Anne Francis and Charles Korvin. A young American lawyer finds himself embroiled in danger when he pays a routine visit to Haiti in 1893. 8.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.40 News. 11.50 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 12.45 Skippy. 1.10 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.45 London. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 Ours is a nice house. 7.15 Cinema: 'Secret of the Incas'. With Charlton Heston. Two men seek

BBC 1 SUNDAY

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 10.30-11.30 Morning worship. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 1.59 News headlines. 2.00 British Commonwealth Games. 2.30 First world festival of aerobatics. 3.40 Film. 'Blue Peter'. 5.10 The undersea world of Jacques Cousteau. 5.55 Shari Lewis show.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 'THE HEART OF MATTER'. Film on the life and thought of Teilhard de Chardin.

7.00 SONGS OF PRAISE. 7.25 PAUL TEMPLE. 'Re-take'.

8.15 PLAY OF THE MONTH. 'An Ideal Husband' by Oscar Wilde. With Margaret Leighton and Keith Michell.

8.40 NEWS and weather.

9.55 IF IT MOVES—IT'S RUDE! Kenneth More with recollections of the Windmill Theatre.

10.45 MY WORLD... AND WELCOME TO IT.

11.10 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia, North of England, South and West: 11.12 Weather.

Wales: 12.50-1.25 Ar goll neu a'r wasgar. 3.40-4.05 and 4.30-4.50 Docer. 11.12 News, weather.

N Ireland: 11.12 News, weather.

BBC 2

1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. John Player League. Essex v Yorkshire.

7.00 NEWS REVIEW and weather.

7.25 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Imogene Coca and Robert Goulet.

8.10 THE WORLD ABOUT US. Trans-African Hovercraft. 'Land of Tchad'.

9.00 MUSIC ON 2. 'Where The Unspeakable Is Sung'. The true Flamenco.

9.55 WHERE WAS SPRING? With Eleanor Bron and John Fortune.

10.20 THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. 'Melmoite Contra Mundum'.

11.05 NEWS SUMMARY. Cricket scoreboard and weather.

11.15 FILM NIGHT.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Morning service. 12.10 p.m. Sunday session. Casting around. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Sports arena. 2.45 Big event. 'British Grand Prix. 3.15 Do your own London. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 Joe. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers.

6.00 POLICE 5. 8.05 NEWS.

8.15 MIRACLE OF LOURDES.

8.48 APPEAL. 'The Migraine Trust'. Presented by David Frost.

6.55 STARS ON SUNDAY. 7.25 PLEASE SIRI.

7.55 'ACT ONE'. With George Hamilton, Jason Robards Junior, Eli Wallach and Jack Klugman. The story of Moss Hart's life.

10.00 NEWS. 10.15 THE INSIDER.

11.15 THE BEST OF AQUARIUS.

11.45 THE PARTY'S MOVING ON.

12.00 midnight LAND OF THE RISING SUN.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.15 London. 2.13 Sport. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Golf tip. 3.20 Road West. 4.10 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Cartoon time. 6.05 London. 6.15 The miracle of Lourdes. 6.48 Appeal. 7.25 London. 7.55 Film: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 10.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.15 show. 11.15 Avengers. Midnight epilogue.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.45 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.45 Weather. 1.48 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Film: 'The Angry Hills'. With Robert Mitchum and Stanley Baker. Grece during the Nazi occupation. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Bear and Hare. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Rhapsody'. With Elizabeth Taylor. Infatuation for a spoilt, rich girl threatens to ruin the career of a young pianist. 8.48 Appeal. 9.00 London. 10.00 London. 11.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.10 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 11.00-12.00 London. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Court martial. 4.15 University challenge. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 Westward. 7.55 Screen: 'Inherit the Wind'. With Spencer Tracy and Fredric March. 10.00 London. 11.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.15 show. 11.15 Avengers. Midnight epilogue.

HTV Wales colour channel 41 and HTV Cymru/Wales black and white service as above except: 1.30-2.00 Testun trafod.

ANGLIA: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.40 Weather. 1.45 Farming diary. 2.15 Power boat racing. 3.15 Kenny Everett explosion. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 Westward. 7.25 'Carry On Nurse'. With Kenneth Williams, Kenneth Connor, Shirley Eaton, Joan Sims and Charles Hawtrey. 9.05 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 11.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.10 Reflection.

SCOTTISH: 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.35 Farm progress. 2.25 No easy answer. 2.50 Saint. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 10.15 Theatre. 11.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farm progress. 2.20 Sport. 3.20 Seaway. 4.10 London. 5.30 Flintstones. 6.00 Cartoon. 6.05 London. 7.55 Cinema: 'The Key'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Engbert Humperdinck. 12.10 A code for the road.

C.A.V. Acton Workers uneasy over tele-control

THE MANAGEMENT at CAV's Acton (London) factory have been quick to press their advantage following the decision of Wednesday's mass meeting to accept the introduction of the notorious tele-control monitoring system.

Many stewards were surprised when a teach-in on the system—which maintains a constant central check on all workers' work rates and operating times by means of a computer—was arranged for the following day.

Many of those present expressed fears of redundancy and few were prepared to accept the management's promises on this issue. Some four years ago, almost 1,300 workers left CAV when diesel work was dispersed to Sudbury, Rochester and Fazakerley (Liverpool).

Most of those who left did so without any redundancy payments.

Times

The management was questioned about the use of the information collated by the computer and whether it would be used to set standard times for the various services required, i.e. fitters, setters, inspection, etc.

Experts denied that the information would be used to discipline workers. One management spokesman stated: "We will monitor machines, not men."

This was dismissed as nonsense by one steward who pointed out that the performance of a machine was a known factor, but that the men operating and servicing it would be the 'items' to be co-ordinated.

The discussion revealed that many stewards are patently uneasy about the tele-control, which had only been mentioned briefly at the mass meeting.

On the shop floor, some workers are puzzled that the shop stewards recommended acceptance of the system before they had learnt the facts about it.

Some who did vote for acceptance of the proposals claimed that they had done so with little alternative.

Had the recommendation been defeated, they say, the shop stewards' committee leadership would have had to resign and a strike without leadership would have developed.

WEATHER

London area, SE and central southern England, E Midlands: Mainly dry. Bright or sunny periods. Isolated showers.

W Midlands, NW and central northern England, Glasgow area, N Ireland: Bright or sunny periods. Scattered showers. Winds NW, moderate or fresh. Normal. Max. 19C (66F).

Channel Islands, SW England: Bright or sunny intervals, becoming cloudy. Rain later. Winds westerly, fresh, backing SE, moderate. Near normal. Max. 19C (66F).

Edinburgh: Rather cloudy with rain or showers. Becoming brighter with scattered showers. Winds northerly, fresh. Rather cool. Max. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Cloudy with rain at times in the South, but sunny intervals with showers in the North. Rather cool in the North, but near normal elsewhere.

LATE NEWS

MPS ON HOLIDAY
MPS started their summer recess last night until October 27. But they did so with a warning.

Mr William Whitelaw, leader of the House has told them that they may have to come back to work in mid-August to make further emergency regulations should the dock strike continue.

LUSAKA PROTESTERS RIP FLAG
Lusaka, Friday—Britain's High Commission in Lusaka lost its second Union Jack in four days today, when about 700 members of Zambia's National Youth Service marched on the building in protest against Britain's decision to sell arms to S Africa.

Meat packers continue overtime ban

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

WORKERS at Britain's largest meat-processing plant—Robert Lawson and Sons of Dyce near Aberdeen—are to continue their ban on overtime, following Tuesday's one-day token strike over incentive payments.

A meeting in Aberdeen voted unanimously for the ban after a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with officials of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers.

The 1,000 workers at the factory have already rejected an immediate £2 a week increase.

Union area organizer and branch secretary, William Kemp, said that negotiations would proceed in the normal manner.

BETTER RATES

'Personally I prefer to stay out for a higher basic and getting better piece rates and bonuses instead of accepting Devlin.'

'The strike should have been called two years ago before Devlin.'

'Now, when we are going into Phase Two, we are going in on an outdated basic wage which is, of

THE DOCKER AND HIS FAMILY

MR JOHN GRAYLING is one of the 'Blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' union members who are out on the Royal dock London in support of their fellow workers in the 'white' Transport and General Workers' Union.

For him the Pearson Report, due out early next week, will contain no surprises:

'This inquiry can do nothing for us. I have no faith in anything like that at all. I'm completely against Phase Two of Devlin anyway,' he says.

At the moment he is on the panel—sick—with a wrenched arm and a dust complaint. When the doctor proclaims him well he faces a long dispute with no strike pay, like the rest of the men in the 'Blue'.

But this prospect does not daunt his fighting spirit.

'I think it will be a long strike and three-quarters of it will be unofficial since I think the union leaders will retreat before the employers.'

'I have no real faith in them. I don't think they wanted the strike in the first place and this half-hearted attitude has obviously encouraged the employers. I think they have acted disgracefully.'

'They have been negotiating Phase Two now for 18 months when it should never have been negotiated at all.'

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THE DOCKER AND HIS FAMILY

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

'The Pearson inquiry can do nothing for us... I prefer to stay out for a higher basic'

'When he was last injured a policeman came to the door he didn't tell me how serious it was — I was shaking with worry I could hardly put the sixpence in the box to phone the hospital—and these employers won't give them this money.'

'They have all sorts of dangerous and dirty jobs. They were working with asbestos. The National Health said it was dangerous, but the port authorities said it was OK and gave them money to wear masks. This is the kind of thing that goes on.'

'We are entitled to this increase in the basic. When there was no work about recently John brought home about £9 after tax and insurance. How can you pay £6 rent and keep three kids on this.'

'We are managing all right at the moment. John has still got his sick pay, but after this its national assistance.'

'The television will be the first thing to go, then we will have to do without the laws of that period, what the future can have in store for us.'

'Maybe I'm ahead of events? That's happened before, in June 1940, when from Bordeaux I denounced the fascism that Hitler and Petain were installing in France, while in Paris the Party leadership were asking the Germans for permission to start publishing "L'Humanité" [the Communist Party daily] again.' (Interview in 'Nouvel Observateur', July 20, 1970.)

This confession, from the horses mouth, of the political depths to which Stalin's opportunism took the Third International, leads on to further revelations.

Tillon, who became leader of the Communist resistance to the Nazis in France, and who himself gave the order for insurrection in Paris, in August 1944, went on to denounce the Stalinist decision to hand France back to de Gaulle and the employers.

'The armed struggle should have led, in a liberated France, to a government of the Resistance, and not a government formed by the pre-war parties.'

He also gave his account of his own purging, along with André Marty (expelled from the Party), in 1952.

'We read at the time: "If Marty and Tillon lived in Prague, they would have been hanged." Unfortunately it was true.'

In the event he was vilified as a man on the way to becoming a police agent, his family abused and harassed, and himself given absolutely no right of reply.

He refused his demand (still repeated by the Party) that the 1952 investigation should be reopened.

While Tillon is far from having made a Marxist break with Stalinism, he expresses to the full the feelings of a militant imprisoned and paralysed for decades by the twists and turns of Stalinist treachery.

There can be no doubt that his words are echoing in every Communist Party cell in France.

Only stubborn resistance by the Czech working class prevents a return to these methods today.

British Stalinist leaders like Gollan and Matthews, who both endorsed the Slansky frame-up in 1952, pass over these revelations and ominous developments in total silence.

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A SERIES OF WORKERS PRESS INTERVIEWS



The Grayling family outside their Wapping, London, council flat. Mrs Grayling with her daughter, John junior and senior with baby Martin. 'It's like this on the docks—if a job don't stink or isn't dangerous then it don't pay—it's ironic, it makes you want the "bad" jobs,' says Mr Grayling, a docker for six years on the Royal, London.

Tillon denounces Stalinist-Nazi collaboration

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE 'Tillon affair' (reported in today's European Review on page 3) has left the leaders of the French Communist Party badly burned, and facing a host of questions about their own history which they will not silence in a hurry.

The veteran Communist, who remained silent for 50 years of membership in the Party he originally joined to defend the October Revolution, replies to every slander from the Party's hatchet-men with a pithy indictment of their past crimes. His latest views are in a 'Nouvel Observateur' interview.

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Right cripples centre-left

BY DAVID BARNES

GIULIO ANDREOTTI, the right-wing Christian Democrat entrusted by President Saragat with forming a new centre-left government has passed the buck back to Saragat.

His defeat follows the refusal of the Social Democrats to continue discussions except on the basis that the Socialists will cease all collaboration with the Communist Party at regional and local level.

Saragat must now decide whether to call fresh elections—desired by no one except the fascists—or find another coalition-maker, and give him a more open mandate.

Their reactionary gamble placed President Saragat's party for a long time the political home of the worst professional anti-communists, in the lead of the drive to produce a thoroughly anti-working-class and anti-union cabinet.

According to all the precedents Andreotti should immediately have relinquished his mandate.

But he continued discussions, seeing Carli, governor of the Bank of Italy and others concerned in the economic crisis.

He was also backed by a statement from the Christian Democratic National Executive, though a group of right-wingers in the Party have demanded that he give up.

The other prospective coalitionists, Socialists and Republicans, blandly dismissed the Social Democrats' statement and expressed their willingness to continue with the talks.

In all probability what was arranged was a vast political charade.

It is now clear that centre-left discussions can continue only on the basis that the right-wing Socialists can swing the party to meet the Social Democrats' demands for the political isolation of the Communist Party.

Certainly all sections of the Party are ravenous for office, but equally they fear the electoral consequences of breaking the regional coalitions and sinking themselves completely in a government whose main task will be to discipline the working class.

Israel of her air domination in the area.

But this is only a Zionist attempt to get a better deal from the settlement, and stronger guarantees of military aid from their imperialist masters.

As we have repeatedly warned in Workers Press, the key question now is the leadership of the guerrilla movements of the Suez Canal, thus robbing

Critical week

● FROM PAGE ONE
drawn-out strike. But I don't think they will. It will eventually finish up unofficial.

Basic wage

'Vic Feather has said every worker should have a basic of £16 10s so I expect Pearson will offer something in that region.'

'This, in my opinion, should be rejected. I think the employer will dangle the carrot of £35 in return for Devlin Phase Two.'

'There should be no negotiations on Phase Two till this basic wage issue is settled.'

These are extremely timely warnings.

The docks strike is not just another pay dispute. It brings to a head, in the first weeks of Tory rule, all the enormous problems of speed-up, unemployment, wages and 'modernization' facing dockers.

It has been provoked by a Tory administration which plans to defeat the dockers as the first step to bringing in anti-union laws early next year.

Above all, as the Hull dock employers quite clearly recognized in their letter to Employment Minister Robert Carr earlier this month, it poses the crucial issue of who is to be master on the docks.

This is the first major political confrontation between the working class and the new Tory government.

As Peregrine Worsthorne—an alert Tory commentator—put it in the 'Sunday Telegraph' a week ago:

High stakes

'The political stakes, in short, are very high, since both the government and the unions will be using the docks strike as a test of the respective strengths and weaknesses, a touchstone of how to behave towards each other in the long haul, an indication of how the fundamental battle is going to be fought when it is eventually joined.'

The Tories, as Worsthorne went on to point out, are frightened of a head-on collision with the working class. They prefer to rely—for the moment at least—on the good offices of the union chiefs.

The strike can become unofficial.

The dockers have been through this situation before. It requires strong liaison between the ports all over the country and the utmost political preparation to meet the Tory attack.

Troops

Because if Heath fails to break the strike through the inquiry, he has arrangements in hand to use the military to shift cargoes.

It is vital that other sections of the workers give their backing to the dockers' struggle.

The real political implications of the fight must be put right out in front. This means:

- No retreat from the £20 basic demand.
- No confidence in the present leadership.
- Nationalization of the docks under workers' control without compensation.
- Force the Tory government to resign.

Bulgarian Stalinists mourn Pipinelis

BULGARIAN Foreign Minister Ivan Bashev earlier this week headed a deputation to the Greek Embassy in Sofia to 'present condolences' on the death of the Junta's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Panayiotis Pipinelis.

The Bulgarian government has increased its collaboration with the anti-communist junta greatly in recent months, even to the extent of handing over a Marxist political refugee from Greece to the colonels' jailers.

POPE FOR YUGOSLAVIA

VATICAN officials said yesterday that Pope Paul had already decided to visit Yugoslavia in September 1971.

No Pope has ever visited a country dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy and Vatican sources have stated that there has been no formal invitation as yet.

This is likely to come when President Tito visits Rome later this year to pay his respects to the arch-bishop of reaction.

role as being merely to put pressure on 'world opinion', they could only prepare for a betrayal of the mass support they have built up in the Arab world.

Now, having relied entirely on the Arab governments and the Soviet leaders, they are faced with the problem of developing an independent mass struggle against a deal approved by all their former patrons.

Czechs recognize striker-killing Franco regime

COMPLETELY impervious to the murder on Tuesday of three strikers in Granada, the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia has opened up diplomatic relations with the fascist Franco regime in Spain.

The conclusion of the negotiations, which began earlier this week in Paris, was announced yesterday by Radio Madrid.

The consular and commercial agreement signed in Paris provides for more comprehensive exchanges between the two regimes in the near future.

Those Communist Party members who until now have hesitated to condemn the Husak regime for fear of being labelled anti-communist, should think again.

Consistent

It is the Kremlin-backed Husak government which betrays communism and the working class by openly siding—like Gomulka and the other E European Stalinist leaders who back Franco—with the fascist oppressors and murderers of the Spanish working class.

In awarding official recognition to Franco, Husak is at least consistent.

Only a week ago, the last surviving workers' councils, elected under Dubcek, were

Preparation

Husak's deal with Franco is a preparation for the biggest prize of all so far as both Franco and the Kremlin are concerned—the exchange of ambassadors between Spain and the Soviet Union.

Already links have been established on the economic, 'cultural' and 'sporting' plane.

And seven months ago, Franco's foreign minister Bravo paid a visit to Moscow where he saw top Soviet leaders.

Stalin once boasted to the Nazi Foreign Minister that his pact with Hitler was 'sealed in blood' shed in their joint war against Poland.

The Franco-Husak agreement has been signed with the blood of not only the three murdered Granada strikers, but all those countless workers butchered by Spanish fascism.

Helping friends

A LEGAL dodge under the 1966 Industrial Development Act enabled foreign companies to obtain £30 million from the British government, according to a report of the House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts published yesterday.

The loophole—closed by the Industrial Development Act (Shipping) 1970—enabled shipbuilding companies in Japan, W Germany and Denmark to obtain the 'subsidy' on 36 ships.

Says the committee: 'The common features in these cases were that each ship was being built abroad to the order of a company incorporated outside the United Kingdom, was sold during construction to a British company, and after completion was to be used for the purpose originally intended.'

'This had the result that a foreign purchaser ineligible for investment grant was replaced by a British purchaser who was eligible.'

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