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'We are particularly pleased as stewards will now be going back to the shop floor and getting support,' he said.

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'I went to the pickets yesterday to give them moral support and they gave it to me from what they had heard about conditions inside the factory. They were three men outside, but inside it was very different.'

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'Temporarily some of the heart has been taken out of the rank-and-file,' he commented.

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Big 'NO' to Plessey speed-up plans

BY A CORRESPONDENT

TWO THOUSAND-FIVE hundred workers from four Plessey factories in Swindon yesterday gave a powerful 'NO' to the management's speed-up plans and went on to follow this up with a claim for an across-the-board increase, with no strings, of £8 a week for all workers.

The mass meeting held on the Ferndale recreation ground decided to terminate the current productivity deal and to throw out the Associated Industrial Consultants—a management consultants—survey.

Dissatisfaction has been growing over the deal and AIC.

Workers at the Plessey plants at Kembrey St, Cheney Manor, North Star Avenue and the firm's Semi-Conductors subsidiary said that the deal had brought no gains at all.

Six votes

There were only six votes against the claim from the meeting which involved the combined unions: the AEU, ETU, Sheet Metal Workers and the wages grade of the T&GWU.

The Swindon decision is an important lead for the rest of the combine's plants throughout the country which all face the same concerted productivity drive.

YARD PROBES LETTER

SCOTLAND YARD Special Branch is probing the origins of a letter purporting to come from a group using the same initials (POGO) as a S African terrorist organization and claiming to be 'in association with the Black Panthers'.

The letter, which contains violent threats against the police and the daily press, could, it is thought, be a provocation from an extreme right-wing group intent on inciting racial conflict and violence.

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The AOLP and the Palestine Arab Organization (PAO), said Dr Isam Sartawi 'interpreted the ac-

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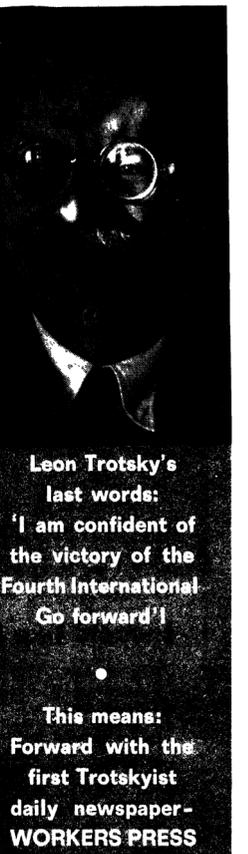
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TWO REVIEWS

DOCKERS CONDEMN LEADERS RETREAT



Alan English, secretary of the Liverpool docks stewards committee and Harold Yould, Manchester docker, are both militant portworkers with the confidence that now marks the young leadership emerging in the two ports. They admit that Pearson was a retreat, but realize it was caused by a refusal to fight on the part of Transport & General Workers' Union officials and weakness in the smaller ports. Equally they know that the biggest struggles still lie ahead, in the words of Alan English, 'the big one has yet to come and we're getting ready for it'. These men are preparing the ranks in Liverpool and Manchester for the decisive resistance to Devlin Phase Two, speed-up and redundancy.

MARXISM AND THE LAW

A neglected subject

MARXISTS have paid little attention in recent years to the theory of law and jurisprudence, despite its importance and the observations of Marx and Engels on the subject.

In the early years of the Soviet state it was bound to be of burning interest.

What had to be done with the legal codes and procedures, the courts and prisons inherited from the past?

What would have to be the basis of law and legal theory in what was regarded as 'the period of transition'?

The author of this book, which has just appeared in French some 30 years after the last German edition, tries to deal with such questions in the context of a general Marxist theory of law.

It must be regarded as an important contribution to this sadly-neglected field — despite some obvious shortcomings — and a translation into English would certainly be useful.

Pasukanis, who was of Lithuanian extraction (Lithuania formed part of the Tsarist empire), joined the Bolshevik Party as a law student in 1912. After the Revolution he was regarded as the leading Soviet jurist and was entrusted with the elaboration of a new criminal code.

But there is enough in Pasukanis's work to make his book dangerous to the bureaucracy — hence his own fate. And, although he was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956 his book still remains too dangerous to be circulated.



Vyshinsky

He was a man of considerable talent and of Marxist culture as this book, first written in 1924, shows. It can be regarded as pre-Stalinist work and an effort to apply Marxism in an honest way to the problems of Soviet development.

With the rise of Stalinism his views came under attack; the bureaucracy was particularly sensitive to what he wrote about the status of law and morality in the period of the 'withering away of the state'.

His place was taken by the infamous Vyshinsky, later prosecutor in the Moscow Trials.

A new anti-Marxist legal theory was formulated by this ex-Menshevik to conform with the needs of 'socialism in one country'. The discussion Pasukanis had started was closed. He was obliged to repudiate his book and perished in the purges about 1937.

Attack

Pasukanis directs his main attack against the bourgeois theories of law current in the first quarter of this century.

In that sense the book has dated because, as J. M. Vincent points out in his preface, new theories have since appeared on the scene which have been obliged to take account of the fact that the supposed equality before the law is in conflict with the actual social inequality of individuals, groups and classes.

The intervention of the state has, moreover, made the entire legal system much more complex and more oppressive.

However, this book deserves to be studied because it provides a clear sketch for a Marxist approach — although not written as such, it became for a while a standard text in the Soviet Union.

Pasukanis attempts to apply the Marxist method to jurisprudence, modelling himself on 'Capital'. As he puts it in the Introduction:

'The critique of bourgeois jurisprudence from the standpoint of

scientific socialism must take as its example the critique of bourgeois political economy such as Marx gave us.

'With that end, the critique must go into enemy territory, that is to say it must not simply reject the generalizations and abstractions elaborated by bourgeois jurists in accordance with the needs of their times and their class, but analyse these abstract categories and demonstrate their real significance, in other words, discover the historical conditioning of the juridical form.'

In a critical article by the German 'left communist' Karl Korsch, written in 1930, which appears in the volume in the guise of an Introduction, Pasukanis's work is criticized for being too pedantic and dogmatic.

More seriously, Korsch charges him, as it were, with not seeing the actual developments in Russia in the 1920s in a materialist way because of his assumption that the transition to socialism had begun.

No doubt the work bears the marks of the contradictions in Pasukanis's own position.

Rigorous, indeed tending to be doctrinaire in his analysis of bourgeois jurisprudence, if he understood the deformations in the law — as well as in other spheres — which were taking place in the Soviet Union, he was either blind to them or concealed them from his readers since, as a high Soviet official, he either had to do so or to throw in his lot with the Left Opposition.

Accumulation

Just as Marx sees capitalist society as taking the form of an enormous accumulation of commodities, so society as a whole is made up, according to Pasukanis, of an uninterrupted chain of legal relations.

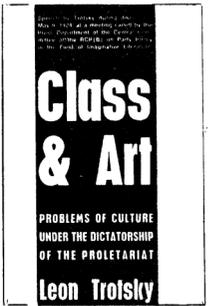
The Marxist conception begins with economic relations: it is only from these relations that a general theory of law can spring. This is the basis for the refutation of 'normative' theories of law: i.e. those which see the legal codes as determining the relations of exchange between individuals and require a corresponding theory about the state.

'It is quite clear,' writes Pasukanis 'that the logic of juridical concepts corresponds to the logic of social relations in a society based upon commodity production. It is precisely in these relations, and not in the support of the public authorities, that the roots of the system of private law must be sought.

'On the contrary, the logic of the roots of domination and dependence only enter in part into juridical concepts.

'That is why the juridical theory of the state can never become a theory and always remains an ideological deformation of the facts.'

Even a statement of this kind could be dangerous to Stalinism, because Vyshinsky took up what was, in a sense, a version of what Pasukanis refers to as the juridical theory in order to conceal the role of the bureaucracy



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Alan English told Workers Press:



THIS STRIKE was definitely political though a lot of top notches in the union said it wasn't. But I think the political side really needs drawing out. The Tories are in power and, of course, they want to make militant workers like the dockers scapegoats for the worsening economic situation, like Wilson did with the seamen's strike when he was in power.

The philosophy of the Tories to my mind goes like this, if they can take on and defeat groups like the dockers, car-workers and printers, they know

this will cool down a lot of other workers as well.

Here in Liverpool, for example, the busmen are a good lot of lads and they tend to take a lead from the docks. In the 1967 strike they banged in a claim soon after our dispute and during this one they had one pending, the retreat on the docks has set them back a bit. This is what the Tories want to do

there is no doubt about it. In my opinion we came out on the wrong issues. The big fights facing the dockworker are over things like containerization, the growing use of non-registered in other ways lay behind this strike and this was not spelt out by the leaders.

I was a delegate and I went down to London. Before the strike it was mainly O'Leary we dealt with, Jack Jones only came

on the scene later. I think he was confused and he did say we were out on the wrong thing.

In the end, at the last delegates' meeting, he guided us to accept Pearson, and the smaller ports did this; to the less militant and experienced docker it sounded like a good thing mainly because the back issues were not spelt out.

It's different in the smaller

ports. Remember the lads down labour and redundancies. Devlin here have been in and out for the last three years; they leave most industries behind for militancy.

The main reason why the employers put up such a tough front was because they have everything to lose. If the higher basic had been won it would have put paid to Phase Two.

With the £20 basic, piece rates and tonnage and bonuses they could never put up their present offer of £35 for Phase Two on this dock again. They have a cheek offering us this in the first place when you can get near this with the old methods — without speed-up, redundancies etc.

And the next step in this fight is, of course, against Phase Two.

We will not accept this at all, we still want the £20 basic the bonuses and the piecework. This is our answer. And if we don't get it through official channels we will go our way like we have always done in the past.

Now there is a lot of money being earned on some of the container berths in Liverpool.

But its 20 men working on a dock where there used to be 300 and that's no exaggeration. For this they get £10 a day pittance for the cargo they are shifting.

On the Gladstone container dock you get no tonnage rates and work for a flat 19s 6d-an-hour rate.

But they shift at the rate of about 600 tons-an-hour. Let's say you should get 1s a ton, which is cheap, this means a man should be earning 600s an hour, that's £30 an hour—we think this is a reasonable claim for Devlin.

Devlin Phase Two will be a weapon in the hands of the employers in many ways. You see you all get the same rate, no matter what cargo.

So you could have an easy cargo like plywood and a bad one like carbon black, who goes on which? You can guess, it gives the employer a whip to beat the militants with, it's the fighter who will get all the bad jobs to break them down.

They issued the 42-page Devlin Phase Two document in reply to our demands—now there's one thing this is good for. When I feel a bit depressed I read it—the bumper book of fun we call it on the docks. It's really quite a good laugh.

But seriously we all know the big one has yet to come, I think this will be in the next 12 months. And if the unions are not going to go in fighting we'll do it on our own—it will probably be an unofficial strike.

IMPORTANT READING

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

STALINISM IN BRITAIN

A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS
BY ROBERT BLACK

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS PRICE 22s 6d
186A Clapham High St



Harold Yould told us:

THIS STRIKE was a temporary set-back for the docker. Jack Jones did not want to fight in the first place.

Another problem was that many dockers were confused as to what the issues of the dispute really were. Behind the £20 basic was Devlin Phase Two, if every man had realized this I don't think they would have gone back.

The trouble is that a lot of militants on the dock are all right at talking, but when it comes to doing something they get cold feet.

The way forward now is for

the national docks shop stewards' committee to come out clearly against Phase Two. They must do this. It's their duty to give a lead.

They are the only people now, we need no more evidence of the nature of the top leaders.

In 1968 they signed a deal with the employers allowing non-registered dock labour to work in the container bases, and now they have retreated on this strike.

What more evidence do the militants and the Communist Party need?

In Liverpool they beat this move to use non-registered labour by walking off the dock. We in Manchester did the 'right' thing and took it through the courts and lost. I think there is a lesson in that somewhere.

The deal for Phase Two they are offering us in Manchester is just ridiculous—£25 as the flat rate, this was offered three weeks ago in exchange for the usual things like containerization, and the ending of overtime, piecework and bonuses.

The danger is, a lot of men here are hearing about these productivity deals in other ports and the employers are trying to get them used to thinking that they are a good thing — they really haven't grasped the dangers involved for all dockers.

The average wage in this dock is low compared with other ports. I think what the employers

are going to try is this. They have now offered this £25—this has been thrown back at them. So they will come along with a higher offer, say £35. Now this will sound like a lot and they might get it past the Manchester docker.

Container berths have already been introduced on the dock. The employers have started here with three ships and they are now in the process of bringing in another. The redundancies have already started—200 have been paid off this is besides 'natural' wastage.

The scale of possible redundancies can be gauged from this. It takes five men to turn a ship round in two days with containers, where it would take 100 men two weeks using conventional methods.

The politics behind the strike were obvious. Everyone knew that the dockers are the most militant group of workers. If the Tories can defeat us they can defeat any other workers.

But they have not been defeated decisively; the big struggle is coming.

Men went into this strike half-heartedly. I think, you know, they had a feeling it would end in nothing. They were waiting for the retreat by the officials.

Now, with a different leadership, it would be a different story.

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TWO REVIEWS BY TOM KEMP

Alan English, secretary of the Liverpool docks stewards committee and Harold Yould, Manchester docker, are both militant portworkers with the confidence that now marks the young leadership emerging in the two ports. They admit that Pearson was a retreat, but realize it was caused by a refusal to fight on the part of Transport & General Workers' Union officials and weakness in the smaller ports. Equally they know that the biggest struggles still lie ahead, in the words of Alan English, 'the big one has yet to come and we're getting ready for it'. These men are preparing the ranks in Liverpool and Manchester for the decisive resistance to Devlin Phase Two, speed-up and redundancy.

MARXISM AND THE LAW

A neglected subject

MARXISTS have paid little attention in recent years to the theory of law and jurisprudence, despite its importance and the observations of Marx and Engels on the subject.

In the early years of the Soviet state it was bound to be of burning interest.

What had to be done with the legal codes and procedures, the courts and prisons inherited from the past?

What would have to be the basis of law and legal theory in what was regarded as 'the period of transition'?

The author of this book, which has just appeared in French some 30 years after the last German edition, tries to deal with such questions in the context of a general Marxist theory of law.

It must be regarded as an important contribution to this sadly-neglected field — despite some obvious shortcomings — and a translation into English would certainly be useful.

Pasukanis, who was of Lithuanian extraction (Lithuania formed part of the Tsarist empire), joined the Bolshevik Party as a law student in 1912. After the Revolution he was regarded as the leading Soviet jurist and was entrusted with the elaboration of a new criminal code.

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With the rise of Stalinism his views came under attack; the bureaucracy was particularly sensitive to what he wrote about the status of law and morality in the period of the 'withering away of the state'.

His place was taken by the infamous Vyshinsky, later prosecutor in the Moscow Trials.

A new anti-Marxist legal theory was formulated by this Menshevik to conform with the needs of 'socialism in one country'. The discussion Pasukanis had started was closed. He was obliged to repudiate his book and perished in the purges about 1937.

Attack

Pasukanis directs his main attack against the bourgeois theories of law current in the first quarter of this century.

In that sense the book has dated because, as J. M. Vincent points out in his preface, new theories have since appeared on the scene which have been obliged to take account of the fact that the supposed equality before the law is in conflict with the actual social inequality of individuals, groups and classes.

The intervention of the state has, moreover, made the entire legal system much more complex and more oppressive.

However, this book deserves to be studied because it provides a clear sketch for a Marxist approach—although not written as such, it became for a while a standard text in the Soviet Union.

Pasukanis attempts to apply the Marxist method to jurisprudence, modelling himself on 'Capital'. As he puts it in the Introduction:

'The critique of bourgeois jurisprudence from the standpoint of

scientific socialism must take as its example the critique of bourgeois political economy such as Marx gave us.

'With that end, the critique must go into enemy territory, that is to say it must not simply reject the generalizations and abstractions elaborated by bourgeois jurists in accordance with the needs of their times and their class, but analyse these abstract categories and demonstrate their real significance, in other words, discover the historical conditioning of the juridical form.'

In a critical article by the German 'left communist' Karl Korsch, written in 1930, which appears in the volume in the guise of an Introduction, Pasukanis's work is criticized for being too pedantic and dogmatic.

More seriously, Korsch charges him, as it were, with not seeing the actual developments in Russia in the 1920s in a materialist way because of his assumption that the transition to socialism had begun.

No doubt the work bears the marks of the contradictions in Pasukanis's own position.

Rigorous, indeed tending to be doctrinaire in his analysis of bourgeois jurisprudence, if he understood the deformations in the law — as well as in other spheres — which were taking place in the Soviet Union, he was either blind to them or concealed them from his readers since, as a high Soviet official, he either had to do so or to throw in his lot with the Left Opposition.

But there is enough in Pasukanis's work to make his book dangerous to the bureaucracy—hence his own fate. And, although he was posthumously rehabilitated in 1956 his book still remains too dangerous to be circulated.

Accumulation

Just as Marx sees capitalist society as taking the form of an enormous accumulation of commodities, so society as a whole is made up, according to Pasukanis, of an interrupted chain of legal relations.

The Marxist conception begins with economic relations: it is only from these relations that a general theory of law can spring. This is the basis for the refutation of 'normative' theories of law: i.e. those which see the legal codes as determining the relations of exchange between individuals and require a corresponding theory about the state.

'It is quite clear,' writes Pasukanis 'that the logic of juridical concepts corresponds to the logic of social relations in a society based upon commodity production. It is precisely in these relations, and not in the support of the public authorities, that the roots of the system of private law must be sought.'

'On the contrary, the logic of the roots of domination and dependence only enter in part into juridical concepts.'

'That is why the juridical theory of the state can never become a theory and always remains an ideological deformation of the facts.'

Even a statement of this kind could be dangerous to Stalinism, because Vyshinsky took up what was, in a sense, a version of what Pasukanis refers to as the juridical theory in order to conceal the role of the bureaucracy

BOOKS

'LA THEORIE GENERALE DU DROIT ET LE MARXISME'

(The General Theory of Law and Marxism)
By Eugeny B. Pasukanis. Translated by J. M. Brohm.
Presented by J. M. Vincent. Introduction by Karl Korsch.
Etudes et Documentation Internationales, 2, rue Descartes, Paris-V. 1970.

and the strengthening of the organs of state power at its command.

In developing his general theory Pasukanis bases himself upon Marx's 'Capital' and the 'Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy'.

In the chapter entitled 'The Commodity and the Subject' he spells out the legal parallel to commodity relations in the clearest terms, although, as Korsch points out, in an abstract way. What he is showing, in short, is that 'commodity fetishism' has as its parallel 'juridical fetishism'.

This chapter is too closely written to be adequately summarized.

Treating the subject historically, as capitalism arose from feudalism, he shows that only when bourgeois relations had become fully developed did law assume an abstract character.

Only when things took on commodity form, became exchange values, did they become a pure object for the law and the persons disposing of them pure subjects.

Reciprocal

So the contract, the central concept of bourgeois law, arises from a reciprocal act of exchange. In the same way arose juridical concepts of private property.

Capitalist private property is 'basically the freedom to transform capital from one form to another and from one sphere to another in order to obtain the highest profit without working. This liberty to dispose of capitalist property is impossible without the existence of people deprived of property, this is of proletarians.'

With the rise of business companies, capitalist property be-

comes still more impersonal. The company itself has legal personality, the owners (shareholders) have merely a right to dividends without working, and huge masses of capital are controlled by small groups of capitalists.

Pasukanis traces out the rise of the state and its relationship to the law, discusses the relationship between law and morality and concludes with a discussion of crime, guilt and punishment.

Again, the treatment is generally clear, if abstract.

What he is arguing, basically, is that in the transition period there will be a survival of bourgeois norms which can only be got rid of as the state withers away.

Old forms

It was these sections which became dangerous in the Stalin period and remain so in the Soviet Union.

For Pasukanis also says that while the proletariat must utilize the old forms inherited from the bourgeois past, that does not mean that they could continue to develop and take on a socialist content.

On the contrary, as that content was realized they would perish. The proletariat thus had to have a clear idea, free from all ideological veils, of the historical origin of these forms.

And Pasukanis continues:

'The proletariat must have a coldly critical attitude, not only towards bourgeois morality and the bourgeois state, but also vis-à-vis its own state and its own morality. It must be conscious, in other words, of the historical necessity for their existence but also for their disappearance.'

Unwittingly he had signed his own death-warrant.

THE ATTEMPT has often been made to build up the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as a great revolutionary thinker in opposition to Marx.

A perusal of the extracts collected in this volume will soon reveal why this has been a failure.

If for no other reason, the thought of Proudhon lacks the intellectual power and consistency which Marx derived from the materialist conception of history.

It is true of course that Marx at first expressed admiration for Proudhon's qualities as the theoretician as displayed in his book 'What is Property?'.

In 1846 he wrote to the older man proposing contact between socialists in Germany, France and Britain and an exchange of views. Proudhon's reply was in effect, as Mehring put it, to deliver Marx a moral lecture on the dangers of dogmatism and the need for 'wise and farsighted tolerance'.

Proudhon went on to say: 'I prefer to burn property in a slow fire rather than give it new force in a St Bartholomew's Night of property owners.'

In other words, Proudhon indicated that he was not interested in revolution, thus laying himself open to the scourge of Marx's criticism directed against his next book 'The System of Economic Contradictions'.

Abandoned

Using the scalpel of historical materialism and the dialectic Marx painstakingly dissected this work in 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and at the same time helped to clarify his own ideas. As the editor of this volume points out, Proudhon abandoned Hegel's dialectic in which opposites are resolved into a new synthesis in favour of his own version in which opposites balance each other out.

In the Proudhon philosophy, then, conflicts are not fought out to their conclusion but are somehow resolved without struggle. Capitalism was unjust because workers did not receive the full product of their labour and this unjust system of distribution was upheld by the state.

For Proudhon, therefore, the line of advance lay through the abolition of the state. Only then could industry be re-organized: 'The workshop will replace the government.'

In other words, what he was proposing was a system of self-governing workshops which would continue to be linked together through some kind of market mechanism.

Like Marx he did not grasp the revolutionary character of the working class which has the historic role of carrying society forward from capitalism to socialism on the basis of large-scale industry and technological development.

PROUDHON:



Proudhon

PHILOSOPHER PETTY BOURGEOIS

'SELECTED WORKS OF PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON'
Edited with an Introduction by Stewart Edwards, translated by Macmillan Studer

Like all Utopians he looked backwards to the idealism which was passing away, not to the future possibilities opened up by the development of the productive forces under social control.

It was characteristic of Proudhon, too, that despite the severity of Marx's criticism in 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and the other works of Marx, from 'The Communist Manifesto' onwards, which he must have read, he was never capable of making any kind of serious response.

He closed his mind and went along entangling himself in further errors, contradictions and banalities.

As these selections show, Proudhon's theories were extremely hazy and inconsistent. He expressed them haphazardly without any clear guide as to how they could be carried out.

There was criticism of the existing system and a whole lot of moralizing on a variety of subjects, and no coherent programme and no general theory of social development.

After the 1848 Revolution, which brought him election to the parliament of the Second French Republic, and more especially after Louis Bonaparte's coup d'état, Proudhon began to incorporate into his writings an increasingly conservative note. Those who wish to maintain that Proudhon was a great revolutionary find themselves hampered in explaining this development.

The weaknesses in Proudhon's thought was traceable to quite definite social roots.

Stewart Edwards, who edits this selection, does this briefly along lines which are familiar to Marxists.

'In effect,' he says, 'Proudhon's writings on property were able to combine an attack on large-scale ownership, which gave his writings a revolutionary reputation, with a conservative defence of the petty bourgeoisie.'

And he continues: 'At the heart of all Proudhon's writings on social questions there is this concern for the small property holder.' Later he writes:

'To see Proudhon as a philosopher himself came from it to associate him with the long tradition of the discontent of the middleman and small peasant farmer.'

'Liberty'

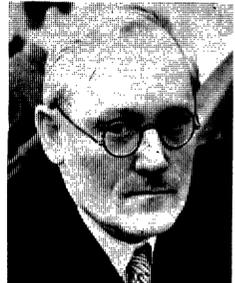
It was from this class that Proudhon himself came, for whom he wrote and from whom his principal followers were recruited.

Edwards rightly notes, following Marxist critics, that Proudhon shared in the ambiguity of the petty bourgeoisie's social position, 'defending in the name of anarchism an individualistic notion of liberty while criticizing the new industrial capitalism in the name of social justice'.

It was the backwardness of French capitalism in the 19th century, the slowness of the rise of large-scale industry and the conservation of a large property-owning small peasantry that ensured for Proudhon a wide audience in the French labour movement and an influence which has still not completely died out.

The revival of the working-class movement which took place from the 1860s coincided with Proudhon's greatest influence. It was the self-taught workers and artisans in workshops and small industries who were impressed by his criticisms of large-scale industry and the state and by his stress on the moral virtues of what was, in fact, a pre-capitalist way of life.

One sees over and over again that Proudhon is as much against the organized working class in big industry as he is against the



Vyshinsky

He was a man of considerable talent and of Marxist culture as this book, first written in 1924, shows. It can be regarded as pre-Stalinist work and an effort to apply Marxism in an honest way to the problems of Soviet development.

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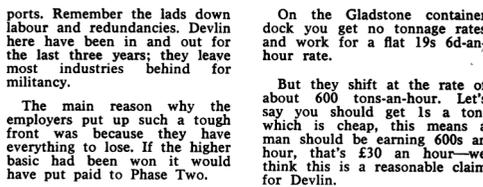
'The critique of bourgeois jurisprudence from the standpoint of

Class & Art

PROBLEMS OF CULTURE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Leon Trotsky

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186A Clapham High St Price 5s



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TV

BBC 1

11.55 a.m. Cricket. England v Rest of the World. 1.35 p.m. Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 1.55-2.25 Bric-a-brac. 3.00-4.15 Cricket. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Mole and the Motor Car. 4.55 Score with the Scaffold. 5.30 Space Kidettes. 5.40 Junior points of view. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR
6.25 CHAMPIONS' QUIZ BALL.
6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'The Modoc Kid'.
7.55 DON'T ASK US. 8.15 ME MAMMY.
8.00 NEWS and weather.
9.10 MISS UNITED KINGDOM. Beauty contest at Blackpool.
10.00 'IS THAT YOUR BODY, BOY?'. With Ron Moody as school P.T. instructor.
10.35 24 HOURS.
11.10 RALPH RICHARDSON'S CINEMA. 11.40 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E. Anglia: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight: Midlands today. Look east, weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Prospects for anglers. Road works report.

North of England: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight: Look North, weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Wales. 1.30-1.45. 5.15. 5.30. Wales today. 6.45. Heolddi. 7.05. Ryan a ronnie. 7.30-7.55 Speaking for myself.

Scotland: 6.00-6.10 Reporting Scotland. 6.10-6.25 Se ur beatha. 11.42 News, weather.

N. Ireland: 6.00-6.25 Scene around six. South and West: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight: Points West, South today. Spotlight: South-West, weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Road works report.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.
4.30-6.35 p.m. CRICKET.
7.30 NEWS and weather.
8.00 A GRINGO'S HOLIDAY. 'Santiago, Iquique, and the Atacama Desert'.
8.25 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'A Start to Loving'.
9.10 WORLD CINEMA. 'Memories of Under-Development'. Film from Cuba, with Sergio Corrieri and Daisy Granados.
10.45 NEWS and weather. 10.50 LINE-UP.

ITV

2.00 p.m. Show jumping from Hickstead. 4.10 Raj. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Two D's and a dog. 5.50 News.

6.03 EARLY BIRD. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE.
7.00 KENNY EVERETT EXPLOSION.
7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Siocum'.
8.30 HARK AT BARKER.
9.00 CONFESSION. 'Under the Carpet'.
10.00 NEWS. 10.30 MANNIX. 'Skid marks on a dry run'.
11.30 FACE THE PRESS. Corretta Scott King.
12 midnight SOUNDS OF PRAISE.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 2.00-4.25 London. 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.10 Muttler. 'The Miracle Worker'. With Anne Bancroft and Patty Duke. 12.25 Weather.

Weekend. 7.35 Please Sir! 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Baited Trap'. With Richard Widmark, Lee J. Cobb and Tina Louise. An unscrupulous lawyer is persuaded to corrupt his own father. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather. Action 7.

HARLECH: 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Sky's the limit. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.10 Funny you should ask. 11.00 Interview. 11.30 Conceptions of murder. Midnight weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 12.25 Faith for life, weather.

SOUTHERN: 2.00 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.15 Ivor the engine. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Robin Hood. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.30 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25. 6.01-6.35 Scene West. 11.00-11.30 Mad Movies.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00-11.30 Y dydd.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.45 Y dydd. 11.00-11.30 Mad Movies.

ANGLIA: 2.00 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 About London. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Viewclass a thief. 8.00 Glamour 70. 8.25 London. 8.30 'Diet a Thousand Times'. With Jack Palanca and Shelley Winters. A tough gangster falls in love with a lame girl. 12.30 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.00 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV News. 6.30 Crossroads. 7.00 That girl. 7.30 Champions. 8.25 London. 10.30 Baron. 11.30 Midland member. 11.45 Who knows! weather.

ULSTER: 2.00-4.02 London. 4.15 Enchanted room. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Viewclass. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema. 'Mr Summer and Smoke'. With Laurence Harvey, Geraldine Page, Pamela Tiffin and Rita Moreno. Mississippi small town spintar still dream of her childhood sweetheart. 9.00 London. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

YORKSHIRE: 2.00 London. 4.00 Houseshare. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 Mating rangers. 4.55 London. 6.00 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.05 Survival. 6.35 Beverly hills. 7.00 'Summer and Smoke'. With Laurence Harvey, Geraldine Page, Pamela Tiffin and Rita Moreno. Mississippi small town spintar still dream of her childhood sweetheart. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. Midnight weather.

GRANADA: 2.00 Show jumping. 4.10 News. Short story. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 Today it is writing. 6.10 Doing their thing. 6.40 Julia. 7.05 Name of the game. 8.25 London. 10.30 Thriller. 'The Search for Bride Murphy'. With Teresa Wright, Louis Hayward and Nancy Gates. Account of some supernatural experiment supposed to have been carried out in America.

TYNE TEES: 2.00 London. 4.35 Newsroom. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 1 sp. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: 'Splendor in the Grass'. With Natalie Wood and Warren Beatty. Two young lovers must face life. 12.45 News.

BORDER: 2.00 London. 4.13 News. 4.15 Room 222. 4.40 London. 4.55 Forst rangers. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Ours and theirs. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: 'The Night My Number Came Up'. With Michael Redgrave, Sheila Sim, Alexander Knox and Denholm Elliott. 12.10 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 2.00 London. 4.15 Dan. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Summer scene. 6.30 Maken country style. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.25 Hark at Barker. 9.00 London. 10.30 Songs remembered. 11.00 Fact and fantasy. 11.30 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 2.00 London. 4.30 Rumble jumble. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Nanny and the professor. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.25 Preview. 7.35 Garrison's gorillas. 8.25 London. 10.30 Never say die. 11.00 Outer limits.

IEWS BY TOM KEMP

BOOKS

'LA THEORIE GENERALE DU DROIT ET LE MARXISME'
(The General Theory of Law and Marxism)
By Eugeny B. Pasukanis. Translated by J. M. Brohm.
Presented by J. M. Vincent. Introduction by Karl Korsch.
Etudes et Documentation Internationales, 2, rue Descartes, Paris-V. 1970.

and the strengthening of the organs of state power at its command.
In developing his general theory Pasukanis bases himself upon Marx's 'Capital' and the 'Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy'.
In the chapter entitled 'The Commodity and the Subject' he spells out the legal parallel to commodity relations in the clearest terms, although, as Korsch points out, in an abstract way. What he is showing, in short, is that 'commodity fetishism' has as its parallel 'juridical fetishism'.
This chapter is too closely written to be adequately summarized.
Treating the subject historically, as capitalism arose from feudalism, he shows that only when bourgeois relations had become fully developed did law assume an abstract character.
Only when things took on commodity form, became exchange values, did they become a pure object for the law and the persons disposing of them pure subjects.

Reciprocal

So the contract, the central concept of bourgeois law, arises from a reciprocal act of exchange. In the same way arose juridical concepts of private property.

Capitalist private property is 'basically the freedom to transform capital from one form to another and from one sphere to another in order to obtain the highest profit without working. This liberty to dispose of capitalist property is impossible without the existence of people deprived of property, this is of proletarians'.
With the rise of business companies, capitalist property be-

comes still more impersonal. The company itself has legal personality, the owners (shareholders) have merely a right to dividends without working, and huge masses of capital are controlled by small groups of capitalists.

Pasukanis traces out the rise of the state and its relationship to the law, discusses the relationship between law and morality and concludes with a discussion of crime, guilt and punishment.

Again, the treatment is generally clear, if abstract.

What he is arguing, basically, is that in the transition period there will be a survival of bourgeois norms which can only be got rid of as the state withers away.

Old forms

It was these sections which became dangerous in the Stalin period and remain so in the Soviet Union.

For Pasukanis also says that while the proletariat must utilize the old forms inherited from the bourgeois past, that does not mean that they could continue to develop and take on a socialist content.

On the contrary, as that content was realized they would perish. The proletariat thus had to have a clear idea, free from all ideological veils, of the historical origin of these forms.

And Pasukanis continues:

'The proletariat must have a coldly critical attitude, not only towards bourgeois morality and the bourgeois state, but also vis-à-vis its own state and its own morality. It must be conscious, in other words, of the historical necessity for their existence but also for their disappearance.'

Unwittingly he had signed his own death-warrant.

THE ATTEMPT has often been made to build up the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon as a great revolutionary thinker in opposition to Marx.

A perusal of the extracts collected in this volume will soon reveal why this has been a failure.

If for no other reason, the theory of Proudhon lacks the intellectual power and consistency which Marx derived from the materialist conception of history.

It is true of course that Marx at first expressed admiration for Proudhon's qualities as the theoretician as displayed in his book 'What Is Property?'

In 1846 he wrote to the older man proposing contact between socialists in Germany, France and Britain and an exchange of views. Proudhon's reply was in effect, as Mehring put it, to deliver Marx a moral lecture on the dangers of dogmatism and the need for 'wise and farsighted tolerance'.

Proudhon went on to say: 'I prefer to burn property in a slow fire rather than give it new force in a St Bartholomew's Night of property owners.'

In other words, Proudhon indicated that he was not interested in revolution, thus laying himself open to the scourge of Marx's criticism directed against his next book 'The System of Economic Contradictions'.

Abandoned

Using the scalpel of historical materialism and the dialectic Marx painstakingly dissected this work in 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and at the same time helped to clarify his own ideas. As the editor of this volume points out, Proudhon abandoned Hegel's dialectic in which opposites are resolved into a new synthesis in favour of his own version in which opposites balance each other out.

In the Proudhon philosophy, then, conflicts are not fought out to their conclusion but are somehow resolved without struggle. Capitalism was unjust because workers did not receive the full product of their labour and this unjust system of distribution was upheld by the state.

For Proudhon, therefore, the line of advance lay through the abolition of the state. Only then could industry be re-organized; the workshop will replace the government.

In other words, what he was proposing was a system of self-governing workshops which would continue to be linked together through some kind of market mechanism.

Unlike Marx he did not grasp the objectively revolutionary character of the working class which has the historic role of carrying society forward from capitalism to socialism on the basis of large-scale industry and technological development.

PROUDHON:



Proudhon

PHILOSOPHER OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

'SELECTED WRITINGS OF PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON'
Edited with an Introduction by Stewart Edwards, translated by Elizabeth Fraser.
Macmillan Student Editions. £1

Like all Utopians he looked backwards, to the idealized world which was passing away, not to the future possibilities opened up by the development of the productive forces under social control.

It was characteristic of Proudhon, too, that despite the severity of Marx's criticism in 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and the other works of Marx, from 'The Communist Manifesto' onwards, which he must have read, he was never capable of minding any kind of reasoned reply.

He closed his mind and went along entangling himself in further errors, contradictions and banalities.

These selections show, Proudhon's theories were extremely hazy and inconsistent. He expressed them haphazardly without any clear guide as to how they could be carried out.
There was criticism of the existing system and a whole lot of mauling of a variety of subjects, but no coherent programme and no general theory of social development.

After the 1848 Revolution, which brought him election to the parliament of the Second French Republic, and more especially after Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's coup d'etat, Proudhon began to incorporate into his writings an increasingly conservative note. Those who wish to maintain the revolutionary spirit of Proudhon's theories were extremely embarrassed in explaining this development.

The weaknesses in Proudhon's thought was traceable to quite definite social roots.

Stewart Edwards, who edits this selection does this briefly along lines which are familiar to Marxists.
'In effect,' he says, 'Proudhon's writings on property were able to combine an attack on large-scale ownership, which gave his theory a revolutionary flavour, with a conservative defence of the small property owner.'

And he continues: 'At the heart of all Proudhon's writings on social questions there is this concern for the small property holder.' Later he writes, 'The basis of the petty bourgeoisie is to associate him with the long tradition of the discontent of the middleman and small peasant farmer.'

'Liberty'

It was from this class that Proudhon himself came, for whom he wrote and from whom his principal followers were recruited.

Edwards rightly notes, following Marxist critics, that Proudhon shared in the ambiguity of the petty bourgeoisie's social position, 'defending in the name of anarchism an individualistic notion of liberty while criticizing the new industrial capitalism in the name of social justice'.
It was the backwardness of French capitalist development in the 19th century, the slowness of the rise of large-scale industry and the conservation of a large property-owning small peasantry that ensured for Proudhon a wide audience in the French labour movement and an influence which has still not completely died out.

The revival of the working-class movement which took place from the 1860s coincided with Proudhon's greatest influence. It was the self-taught workers and artisans in workshops and small industries who were impressed by his criticisms of large-scale industry and the state and by his stress on the moral virtues of what was, in fact, a pre-capitalist way of life.

One sees over and over again that Proudhon is as much against the organized working class in big industry as he is against the

bourgeoisie. Thus he writes that in the course of the class struggle, 'If the people are the stronger the confederation [i.e. the state] will degenerate into a centralized democracy, and if the bourgeoisie gain the upper hand, it will degenerate into a constitutional monarchy'.

By the use of the words 'degenerate into' it is clear that by 'centralized democracy' Proudhon does not mean a transitional stage of proletarian dictatorship. What he has in mind is what is now called 'totalitarianism'.

He is expressing a pessimistic view about the workers' capacity to rule.

In Proudhon's writings praise for the working class is mixed up with criticism of its shortcomings, its 'sheep-like behaviour' and 'intellectual chaos'.
He sees it seeking for 'a leader whose word they can trust, whose intentions they are familiar with and who votes himself to their cause' — in other words a dictator. No wonder some fascist writers have hailed Proudhon as a precursor.

In fact many of the passages in this selection give the game away as far as Proudhon's revolutionary pretensions are concerned.

Conservative

Strongly marked in his narrow French nationalism.

Also obvious is a retreat from his earlier position on property (the famous 'property is theft'), as when he writes in 1862, 'my turn has now come to call myself a conservative and to defend the institution of property'.

The same conservative, even reactionary strain, has won admirers for Proudhon in Catholic and right-wing circles in France and even further afield.
When he writes about war he descends to nonsense: 'To me it is clear that war is linked at a very deep level and in a way we are only just beginning to perceive, with man's sense of religion, justice, beauty and morality. One might even say that it is the abstract formulation of the sacred.'
'War is the basis of our history, our life and our whole being.'

Plenty of other quotes could be given of the same order, and Proudhon felt authorized to write pompously about all manner of subjects.

He affirms that he consciously turns away from reason to feeling it is not surprising that he writes, as it were, as the spirit moves him: he puts down whatever comes into his head. He thus elevates the prejudices of the petty bourgeois of his time into knowledge.

So he comes out with stuff about poverty being virtuous, declares that he finds himself 'in communion with that whole human race and that all past generations are in communion with him and maintains that if men and women were on a footing of equality 'this would mean the end of the institution of marriage, the death of love and the ruin of the human race'.

This is the interest of this volume, besides being the only convenient source available for a translation of representative Proudhon writings, is that it serves to put him in his place.

Mr Edwards tries to save a little from the interest of this volume, besides being the only convenient source available for a translation of representative Proudhon writings, is that it serves to put him in his place.

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US Round-up

Philadelphia plan

THE AMERICAN construction worker is in, in more ways than one, an extremely precarious position.

He is forced constantly to protect his high standard of living against the contractors' attempts to eliminate skilled craftsmen and substitute unskilled labour.

This struggle ties him to the craft union and to its narrow outlook. The construction worker fights back against any group he sees as a potential threat to his position.

This is the meaning of backwardness on the building site. There should be no illusion either, the backwardness is there.

There are 1,300,000 members of building workers unions in the United States. Only 106,000 are Negroes; four-fifths of this number are employed as labourers, the lowest-paid jobs on the building sites.

The Nixon Administration, in an effort to assuage and reassure the 'moderate' Negro leaders, initiated a scheme to force contractors involved in federal construction projects to employ greater numbers of black workers.

Of course, the plan was intended to do—and did—nothing of the sort.

The Nixon Administration used it effectively as a means of maintaining racialism rather than eliminating it.

QUOTAS

The plan, under which the Labour Department was to determine the number of new jobs to be made available to Negroes, was first tried out in Philadelphia, hence its name.

It was decided that 1,000 more Negroes should be hired in an attempt to raise their number among new workers from 5 per cent to 25 per cent by 1975.

This year 60 Negro workers have been recruited. Opposition to the plan in Philadelphia has taken it to the courts with the claim that it violates the section in the 1964 Civil Rights Act banning racial quotas!

In an attempt to by-pass the legal hassles involved with the mandatory federal requirements, various voluntary 'home-town' plans have been tried out. They have failed miserably so far.

Pittsburgh only 1,250 jobs by 1974 were promised.

In Chicago, another problem was encountered which reveals the whole source of difficulty.

Only 75 new Negro construction workers have been hired this year, partially because jobs

are so scarce that the unions don't want to train new workers for jobs that no longer exist.

In St Louis seven of the city's 18 building trades unions have committed themselves to hiring Negroes, and there are the unions again with the lowest paid jobs.

Legislation and bureaucratic manoeuvring to integrate the construction union failed. It was

never intended to do anything else.

By tying themselves to their craft union leadership with their racialist and patriotic policies and to Nixon and his gang, the construction workers are cutting their own throats.

As unemployment on the sites mounts, as Nixon's attacks on the working class grow in number and intensity, they will be forced to open their eyes.

'Special relationship'

THE 'SPECIAL relationship' that Harold Wilson was fond of boasting that Britain had with the US had some cold water thrown on it in a book published last week.

The book by 'The Times' American editor Louis Heren says that former President Lyndon Baines Johnson despised Harold Wilson and felt betrayed by him over the Vietnam war.

Heren's book 'No Nail, No Farewell' recalls that Johnson disliked Wilson's 'playing politics' which he quoted as 'the US any military support there'.

Such was the pressure from the deep-going opposition to the war that Johnson's Administration was after every friend-need that could be found.

Yet Wilson — for his own purely opportunistic reasons, it must be stressed — wouldn't come across.

Mr Dean Rusk, Secretary of State in President Johnson's Administration is quoted as having told the author:

'All we needed was one regiment [for Vietnam]. The Black Watch would have done. Just one regiment, but you wouldn't. Well don't expect us to save you again. They can invade Sussex and we wouldn't do a damn thing about it.'

Reuter's report of the book takes up the story:

'Mr Heren says that when he called on Mr Johnson at the White House one night in 1968 he found President Johnson in a bitter mood, especially when

he discussed Mr Wilson. "Johnson despised the Socialist Prime Minister and made little effort to stifle his feelings," he writes.

"Wilson's gratuitous advice on the need for restraint in Vietnam and his earlier insistence that only a narrow gap between the positions of Washington and Hanoi had to be bridged to bring about peace [an excuse for whole-hearted support for the war] reduced Johnson to the homely expletives of the Texas hill country."



Johnson

'President Johnson often made the point that the United States had always exercised restraint in the Vietnam war and he believed that Hanoi had always followed an intransigent course.'

Heren also tells of Johnson's anger over Wilson's decision to withdraw British troops from Singapore and the Persian Gulf.

This was really too much for Johnson who considered it outside the rule book of all the recent imperialist powers.

After all Britain has an investment in the area equal to that of the US and might reasonably be asked to share the policy bill.

Heren records Johnson's view that British leaders just haven't been the same since their imperial sun finally set after 1945.

During his call to the White House President Johnson 'made it plain that he had a low opinion of all Churchill's successors'.

'Admittedly he had enjoyed the company of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who appreciated fine cattle, but there had been the little business of buses for Cuba.'

'If the buses had to be sold, Sir Alec should have approached him. A market could have been found. . . . But the unbelted Earl was a paragon of allied loyalty' compared to Harold Wilson.'

White collars join the dole queue

THE UNEMPLOYMENT rate for July jumped back to the 5 per cent level of May after dropping slightly to 4.7 per cent in June.

The 5 per cent rate puts the actual number of unemployed at 4.5 million—the highest figure since February 1965.

July saw the fourth consecutive monthly contraction in the number of workers employed (excluding the agricultural sector)—the total falling by 145,000.

Contained in these statistics is not only the menace of the mass unemployment of the 1930s just around the corner, but also the spread of unemployment to more and more sections of workers previously not so hard hit.

White workers accounted for all the July increase in unemployment—their rate moving to a six-year high of 4.7 per cent—while the corresponding figure for Negro workers remained unchanged at 8.3 per cent.

The sharpest increase was amongst white-collar workers (from 2.6 to 3.1 per cent) and for blue-collar workers there was a similar jump.

This trend is likely to continue if the recent forecast by Deputy Defence Secretary David Packard—and he should know—is borne out.

Packard announced that about 1.7 million 'defence jobs', including those of 600,000 in the armed forces, will be eliminated by the Defence Department in the year up to next June.

In an interview Packard said that besides the cut in armed forces personnel, about 100,000 Pentagon civilian employees will be sacked.

Defence contractors who have long grown fat on military projects will, Packard estimates, probably make redundant about a million workers in the coming year.

These cold estimates are based on the current plans of the Defence Department.

And, as we know, the plans hatched in the minds at the Pentagon tend to be overtaken by much bigger disasters.

FARM PAY FOR NOT PRODUCING

'HOW CAN we continue this bonanza while millions remain in the grip of hunger and malnutrition?'

This question is now being echoed in the House of Representatives by opponents of the \$4,000 million paid out each year in agricultural subsidies—the staggering sum given to large landowners for not growing crops.

The size of these subsidies is enormous.

Last year six farms received over \$1 million each while one California farm 'earned' more than \$4 million.

Defence contractors who have long grown fat on military projects will, Packard estimates, probably make redundant about a million workers in the coming year.

Although there are only very few farms which would receive the subsidy for each of the three

'non-crops', many would collect for two of the crops not produced.

The new proposals will put an end to the unlimited payments made until now.

Despite this the Federal government will only trim \$60 million from its subsidies bill because of the sheer numbers of farmers qualifying for the payments by leaving land fallow.

OBJECTIVE

One journalist commented:

'The important objective which will have been gained is the elimination of virtually all payments of between \$100,000 and \$1 million.'

'These were the payments which most provoked charges of scandal and injustice.'

The new measures may have removed some individual excesses.

But the hard fact of the payment of thousands of millions of dollars to farmers not to produce sorely needed food is in itself an inescapable condemnation of the system that gives rise to it.

BBC 1

11.55 a.m. Cricket. England v Rest of the World. 1.33 p.m. Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 1.55-2.25 Bric-a-brac. 3.00-4.15 Cricket. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Mole and the Motor Car. 4.55 Score from the Scaffold. 5.30 Space Kidettes. 5.40 Junior points of view. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR
6.25 CHAMPIONS' QUIZ BALL
6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. 'The Modoc Kid'.
7.55 DON'T ASK US. 8.15 ME MAMMY.
8.50 NEWS and weather.
9.10 MISS UNITED KINGDOM. Beauty contest at Blackpool.
10.00 'IS THAT YOUR BODY, BOY?'. With Ron Moody as school P.T. Instructor.
10.35 24 HOURS.
11.10 RALPH RICHARDSON'S CINEMA. 11.40 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E. Anglia: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight; Midlands today. Look east. weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Prospects for anglers. Road works report.
North of England: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight; Look North, weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Wales: 1.30-1.45 In my mam. 6.00 Wales today. 6.45 Heddiw. 7.05 Ryan a ronnie. 7.30-7.55 Speaking for myself.
Scotland: 6.00-6.10 Reporting Scotland. 6.10-6.25 Se ur beatha. 11.42 News, weather.
N Ireland: 6.00-6.25 Scene around six. weather. 11.42 News, weather.
South and West: 6.00-6.25 Your region tonight; Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. Nationwide. 11.42 News, weather. Road works report.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.
4.30-6.35 p.m. CRICKET.
7.30 NEWS and weather.
8.00 A GRINGO'S HOLIDAY. 'Santiago, Iquique, and the Atacama Desert'.
8.25 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'A Start to Loving'.
9.10 WORLD CINEMA. 'Memories of Under-Development'. Film from Cuba, with Sergio Corrieri and Daisy Granados.
10.45 NEWS and weather. 10.50 LINE-UP.

ITV

2.00 p.m. Show jumping from Hickstead. 4.10 Raj. 4.40 Zingalorg. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Two D's and a dog. 5.50 News.
6.03 EARLY BIRD. 6.30 PEYTON PLACE.
7.30 KENNY EVERETT EXPLOSION.
7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Stocum'.
8.30 HARK AT BARKER.
9.00 CONFESSION. 'Under the Carpet'.
10.00 NEWS. 10.30 MANNIX. 'Skid marks on a dry run'.
11.30 FACE THE PRESS. Coretta Scott King.
12 midnight SOUNDS OF PRAISE.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 2.00-4.25 London. 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 London. 4.55 Land of the Living. 5.30 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 Mattinee: 'The Miracle Worker'. With Anne Bancroft and Patty Duke. 12.25 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except:
4.25 News. 4.27 Gus Honeybun show. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 6.30 Faith for life weather.

SOUTHERN: 2.00 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.15 Robin Hood. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Ivin Hood. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South-East. 6.30 Junkin. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30

Weekend. 7.35 Please Sir! 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Battle of Britain'. With Richard Widmark, Lee J. Cobb and Tina Louise. An unscrupulous lawyer is persuaded to corrupt his own father. 12.25 News. 11.52 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Wind in the willows. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Sky's the limit. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Diary. 7.30 Man in a suitcase. 8.30 London. 10.30 Funny you should ask. 11.00 Interview. 11.30 Conceptions of murder. Midnight weather.

HIV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.23-4.25. 6.01-6.35 Scene Junkin. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30

ATV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 11.00-11.30 Y dydd.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report Wales. 11.00-11.30 Mad Movies.

ANGLIA: 2.00 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.30 London. 6.00 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 It takes a thief. 8.00 Glamour 70. 8.25 London. 10.30 Baron. 11.30 'The Times'. With Jack Palace and Shelley Winters. A tough gangster falls in love with a lame girl. 12.30 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.00 London. 4.02 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 That girl. 7.30 Champions. 8.25 London. 10.30 Baron. 11.30 Midland member. 11.45 Who knows! weather.

ULSTER: 2.00-4.02 London. 4.15 Enchanted room. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 News. 5.35 Lost in space. 6.00 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema. 'Mr Mustard'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

YORKSHIRE: 2.00 London. 4.00 Happy party. 4.15 Zingalorg. 4.30 Mattinee. 4.55 Phoenix. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. weather. 6.05 Survival. 6.35 Beverly hills. 6.00 'Summer and Smoke'. With Laurence Harvey, Geraldine Page, Pamela Tinnin and Rita Moreno. Mississippi small town spinster still dreams of her childhood sweetheart. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorkport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. Midnight weather.

GRANADA: 2.00 Show jumping. 4.10 News. Short story. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cinema. 'Mr Mustard'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Two-shot golf. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

TYNE TEES: 2.00 London. 4.35 Newsroom. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 7.30 Hark at Barker. 8.00 I. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: 'Splendor in the Grass'. With Natalie Wood and Warren Beatty. Two young lovers must face life. 12.45 News.

BORDER: 2.00 London. 4.13 News. 4.15 Room 222. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Roundabout. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Currys is nice house. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00 London. 10.30 Movie: 'The Night Owl'. With 'The Cat in the Hat' Redgrave, Sheila Sim, Alexander Knox and Denholm Elliott. 12.10 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 2.00 London. 4.15 Dan. 4.30 News. 4.35 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Summer scene. 6.30 Maken country. 7.00 Name of the game. 8.25

Brandt and Kosygin put pen to paper, but Economic crisis behind Pact

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

BEFORE FLYING home after signing the Bonn-Moscow 'non-aggression Pact', W German Chancellor Willy Brandt yesterday had a final round of talks with his Soviet number, Premier Alexei Kosygin.

Before attending a banquet held in his honour on Wednesday night, Brandt also had four hours of talks with the Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev.

A W German spokesman said afterwards that much of the discussion was centred on the W Berlin question.

In a banquet speech Kosygin said he hoped practical steps to develop Soviet-W German relations would not be long in coming.

The treaty, which Brandt claimed 'frees us from the shadows and burden of the past', has still to be ratified by the W German Bundestag and the Soviet Union's official ruling bodies of the two parties to the Pact.

Kosygin's speech was clearly referring to the proposed all-European security conference, first suggested by the Kremlin over a year ago and since backed by both Brandt and President Pompidou of France.

'Realism'

The Soviet news agency 'Tass' in its report on the signing of the Pact said 'realism was the distinguishing feature of the treaty.'

'It was concerned with cardinal issues of European policy, the most important of which was its recognition of the immutability of the present frontiers in Europe... It was a milestone in Europe's post-war history and would facilitate an improvement in the political climate...'

But more than diplomacy is at stake.

In serious and growing difficulties with the last stage of the current five-year plan (due to be completed by the end of 1970), the bureaucracy is turning more and more to trade and technical links with the capitalist world to overcome the problems of Soviet industry and agriculture.

A recent analysis of the latest Soviet production figures carried out by the Albanian journal 'Zeri i Popullit' reveals the real depth of the crisis:

'Six out of the 15 Federal Republics of the Soviet Union did not fulfil the plan targets in industrial production last year.'

'A grave situation has arisen especially in the oil industry. Thus, during the last four years, the industry of Azerbaijan never realized the plan targets.'

Oil

'According to the data published in the Soviet revisionist press, the annual oil production is now lower by 26 per cent than at the beginning of the five-year planned period.'

'But greater are the failures in agriculture. According to the minimized data of the Central Statistical Bureau, the per capita production of potatoes in the Soviet Union decreased by 7 per cent as compared with the year 1964...'

1969 grain production in the USSR, as against 1968, has fallen by 5.3 per cent, sugar-beet by 24.7 per cent, sunflower by 6 per cent, cotton by 4 per cent, potatoes 10 per cent, etc...'

The report reveals that as regards milk production, 'there was last year produced 77 per cent of the milk which was to be produced as far back as 1965.'

These truly enormous deficiencies and imbalances in the Soviet economy now drive the bureaucracy closer to the western capitalist monopolies in a bid to revitalize and modernize lagging sectors of industry and agriculture.

According to one account of the Scheel-Gromyko talks in Moscow, which prepared the signing of the pact, a Soviet official admitted that in the field of technical development the Soviet Union 'is dropping further and further behind the Americans', and that the treaty with Bonn would open the way for massive W German assistance to Soviet industry.

Redress

Aid on this scale, the Soviet official hoped, would help to redress the catastrophic and growing imbalance between the Soviet economy and that of the United States.

Soviet industry can only

GLC denies Westway re-housing promise

WALMER ROAD tenants Mrs Shankster—whose family has occupied their house for over 150 years—and Miss Webb, tell Workers Press of the fight to keep their home dry. Like many other tenants in Walmer Rd and adjacent Pamber Rd, they have to place large bowls and buckets under cracks in the ceilings and roofs.

In some cases conditions are so bad that whole rooms have to be vacated. Damp is a continual problem, and the ceiling in one room collapsed completely. 'Neither the Tory council, nor the former Labour member,' explained Mrs Shankster, 'have done a thing for us. What's been done, we've done ourselves.'



THE ROLE of George Clark, much-publicised figure in the present tenants' struggle in the Notting Hill area seems ambiguous to say the least.

Clark, full-time chairman of the Notting Hill Housing Service yesterday met the GLC director of housing, John Macey, supposedly to clarify the meaning of the GLC's recent statement that there would be an 'immediate' rehousing of families in the Acklam Rd area and part of Walmer Rd.

Both of these roads flank the new Westway elevated highway in W London.

A spokesman at the headquarters of the Golbourne Social Rights Committee, of which Clark is the chairman, informed Workers Press that the meeting had been 'reasonably satisfactory' and that he believed that the rehousing of the tenants would begin within the next fortnight.

However the GLC press officer tells a different story.

After commenting that Clark appeared both 'amiable' and 'satisfied' after his meeting with the Tory housing chief, he made it clear that no particular time had been mentioned at which rehousing would begin.

'We didn't commit ourselves,' he said, 'and in addition the press officer assured us that there had been



Clark

no discussion on the Walmer Rd houses.

'George is concerned with those immediately along the motorway,' he told us.

Two people in Walmer Rd and Pamber St, which runs into it, have already collapsed from smoke and fumes. Every house in those roads suffers from dampness and rotting wood-work.

11th-hour bid to stop gas dumping

A LAST-MINUTE court ruling could prevent the US Army plans to dump 60 tons of nerve gas in the Atlantic.

A conservationist lobby led by Florida's governor Mr Claude Kirk is to argue before the judge that the gas cargo poses a threat to land and sea life.

They are seeking a restraining order to stop a Second World War liberty ship being scuttled with the gas off Cape Kennedy.

The Federal court hearing opened yesterday afternoon while the loading of the gas continued at the military port of Sunny Point, N Carolina.

The Defence Department has said that it will wait until a decision is reached before going ahead with its plan.

Even if the court order is refused the gas is not expected to be dumped before Sunday at the earliest as loading by civilian dockers will take at least three more days.

Israeli delay on talks date

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

DESPITE an Israeli scare about the deployment of Soviet missiles in the Suez canal zone four hours after the beginning of the Middle-East 'cease-fire', diplomatic moves continue in New York to finalize the talks between the two sides.

The Swedish Ambassador to Moscow, Gunnar Jarring, who has been charged by the United Nations with arranging the talks, was still waiting yesterday for Israel's reply on the place, date and level of the negotiations with Egypt and Jordan.

Nasser and Hussein have already conveyed their preferences to Jarring.

The Israeli delay was thought by some observers to be a protest against the alleged cease-fire violation by the Egyptians, though United Nations officials do not attach much importance to the incident.

They expected such reports from both sides throughout the three-month truce, they said.

Silence

After only six days of the 'cease-fire' (in which Zionist attacks on Palestinian commando positions have been passed over in silence by the Nasserite press and radio) there are already indications that opposition to the deal is building up in Egypt.

Prices?

TUC general secretary Victor Feather announced on Wednesday that the Congress disagreed completely with the government's proposals for dealing with the economic situation by trying to bring pressure to bear solely on wages.

Presumably, in Feather's reformist cloud-cuckoo land, it would be perfect for all right if the Tories made some gestures towards controlling prices!

This kind of bluster from the TUC, as the government well knows, goes hand-in-hand with acceptance of the need to discipline the wages movement in the 'national interest'.

The Tories know that the union leaders—as was graphically demonstrated during the dock strike—will climb down when the crunch comes rather than lead a political struggle against Toryism.

Or, as the 'Economist' remarked about Mr Jones' role: 'Mr Jones has shown that he is a bigger and more realistic man than some of his critics would have allowed before the strike began.' ('Economist', August 25, 1970.)

The Tory plan for beating back the working class relies on the union's class-collaboration policies and the present largely non-political character of the wages movement, which remains confined to economic questions.

In the background is the rapid rise in unemployment, the traditional Tory 'big stick' for enforcing their policies on the working class.

The big dangers in front of the working class are made a thousand times worse by the present union leaders, whose actions in the face of the Tory onslaught are fully in the tradition of the betrayal of the 1926 General Strike.

The building of a new leadership in the unions, fighting to force the Tories to resign and against all collaboration with the government's plans, is now a question of the utmost urgency.

STILL AVAILABLE

Working-class unity needed to defeat the Tory government

THE 1970 DOCK STRIKE

11th-hour bid to stop gas dumping

MORE PAY FOR POLICE - MICHAEL X

Redress

WEATHER

COAL SHAKE-UP

Oil

Faking a fake

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