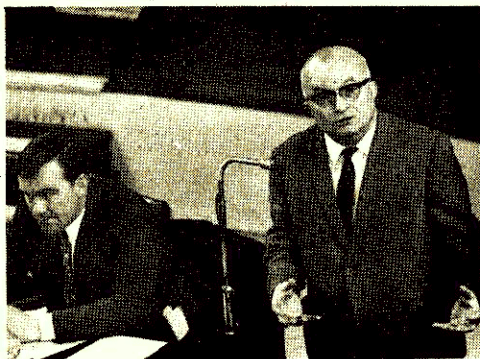


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BY DAVID MAUDE

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After December 8th!

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After an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the tribunal to hear part or all of today's secret evidence before Dutschke, his counsel, Mr Basil Wigoder, asked that any transcripts of telephone calls be heard in full.

He also said Dutschke had mentioned two names and that if evidence was given involving these two people he hoped that the court would remember 'that there are agents and agents-provocateur and there are people who are spies of one sort or another'. The evidence of such people, added Mr Wigoder, was sometimes unreliable.

'Sinister'

What was, in fact, ordinary could appear sinister to a member of the secret services, said Mr Wigoder.

His intervention came after the five-man tribunal had rejected a lengthy legal submission that they should exercise their 'overriding discretion' and allow Dutschke to be present when evidence relating to national security is given today.

But the tribunal, led by ex-president of the Law Society, Sir Derek Hillon, ruled that it was mandatory on them to sit in secret as the Home Secretary had instructed.

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Normal rights

'It is the normal right of people in every country to make discussions about political questions', he told the tribunal.

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He also agreed that he knew Ernest Mandel of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and that he had attended the 1969 London congress of the International Socialists as a visitor for a few hours.

Mr Wigoder asked him if the Home Secretary had ever suggested before the start of the proceedings that these discussions and visits constituted political activities and that he should not be doing them.

'No,' replied Dutschke. Mr Paul Oestreicher, secretary of the Church Council's East-West relations committee, said that Dutschke would 'neither wish to nor be capable of plotting or planning anything that would endanger this country'.

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'Lump' fears at site

ONE of the two Federation stewards at London's huge Thamesmead building site has been sacked as a result of a dispute over whether plant workers should undertake labouring.
He is Transport and General Workers' steward Jim McAtee, a driver for Cubitt's, who represents 150 workers at the site's plant section.

Workers on the site claim that leading Communist Party members have done nothing to fight the sacking, which is a major blow to union organization.
McAtee was suspended for three days last week after he refused to accept a management ruling that drivers—who have undertaken to work on a rota basis driving dumper trucks—should also do labouring work.
A plant meeting considered a proposal for one day's strike each week until his reinstatement, but leading stewards now appear to have dropped any proposals for action over the sacking.
The case is made more serious by fears of 400 sackings and that a large force of non-union sub-contract labour is being prepared to take jobs there.

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The decision on Cooks follows the transfer of air routes developed by state airlines to the private concern of Caledonian/BUA, the proposed sale of the Atomic Energy Commission's isotopes manufacturing sector and hints that lucrative sections of the British Steel Corporation are to be put up for sale.
Cooks was established by Thomas Cook, a Victorian evangelist, in 1841.

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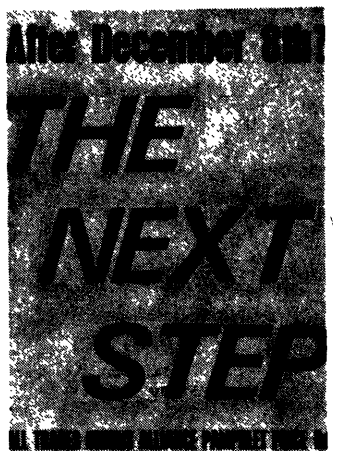
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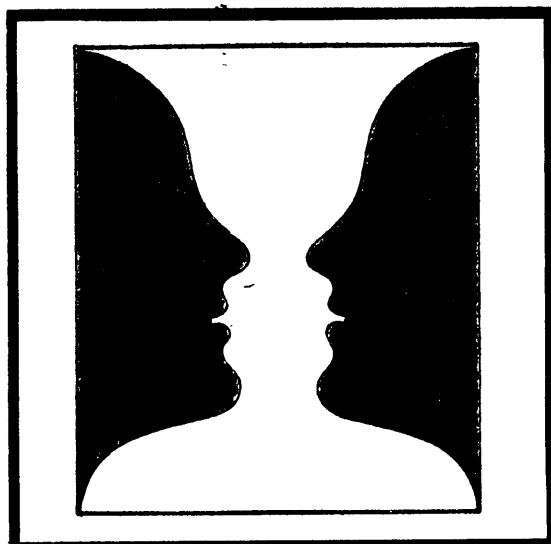
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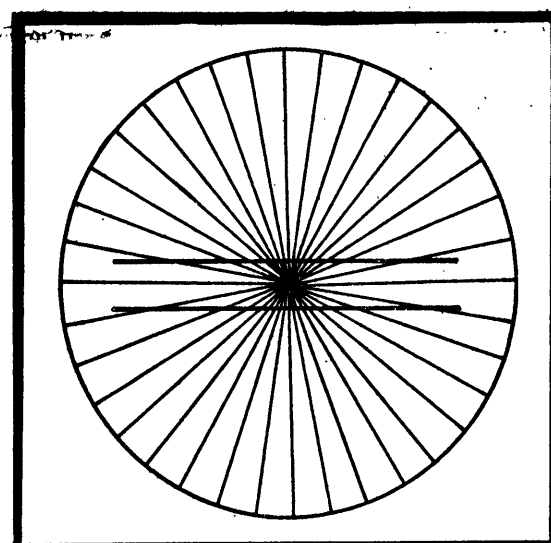


LETTERS

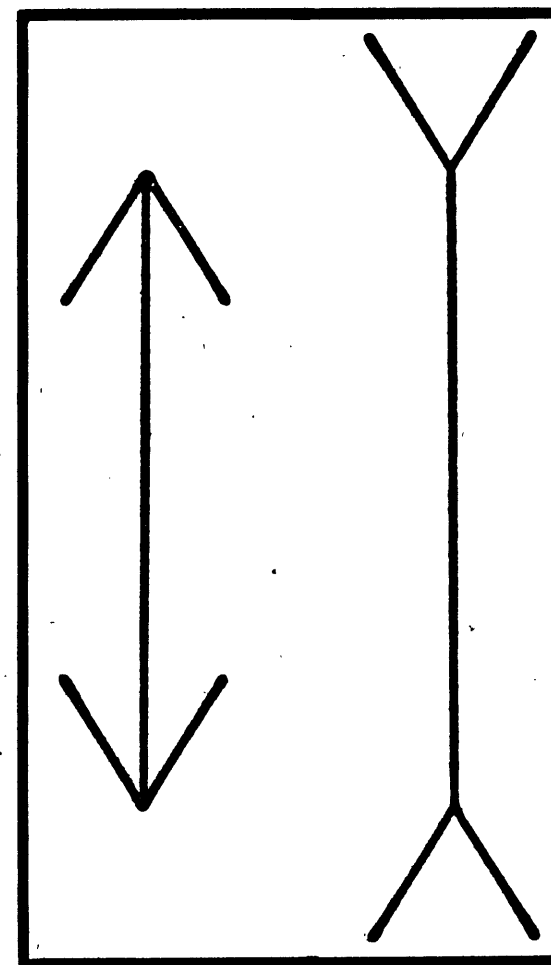
The article: **INTELLIGENCE AND CLASS** appeared in the Workers Press on November 10 and 11, 1970. A letter criticizing the article appeared on November 20.



ALTERNATING FIGURES



EFFECT OF BACKGROUND ON FIGURE



VISUAL ILLUSIONS

YOUR CORRESPONDENT signing himself London Teacher (a synonym elsewhere for a pompous fool) in wishing to 'debunk' the theory of intelligence (and his letter does so for himself quite well) which was put forth by someone in your columns, writes 'since animals have not and cannot develop speech, they are incapable of thought'.

The inference being that the same reasoning is true for humans: few words, few thoughts. That is rubbish. Speech expresses the thought or feeling; it does not generate it. That should be obvious even to a teacher.

He then states 'Knowledge and the impetus to acquire it is essentially social'. Please, how can 'knowledge' be 'essentially social'? Is the thing handed about on plates at school parties? The impetus to acquire it is more often a mixture of greed

and egotism than anything else. Witness, on the one hand, the inference of what was called the 'brain drain' and, on the other, the rapidity with which places in educational establishments intended for workers (such as the workers' education colleges and the Open University) are snapped up by teachers, housewives and hobbyists i.e. those who don't (or shouldn't) need them. (Maybe he means they're looking for social life)

Further, he says that the examination system by which classes are filtered into their traditional roles in society is based on a fraudulent theory of intelligence rather than a knowledge.

Here he is surely joking.

Examinations of the kind he is talking about never tested anyone's intelligence; but they do test knowledge, especially parrot-knowledge.

As regards the central issue of intelligence and class, there is no connection between one and the other.

Class is primarily based on birth, upbringing and financial inheritance.

Whatever it is that ignites intelligence, it is none of these. Intelligence creates, stores, uses and (listen, teacher!) distributes knowledge; and to imply that knowledge is more important

than intelligence is to imply that a computer or book or machine is more important than a human being.

Since I am a sailor who has been tenaciously beached for the last few weeks I might, I suppose, sign myself Resting World Voyager; but then, unlike London Teacher apparently, I have no reason to hide my name.

Niall Quinn.

INTELLIGENCE

IN HIS LETTER (Some Points on 'Intelligence and Class', November 20, 1970) London Teacher makes a number of observations which are formally correct.

He stresses the important point that man separated himself from the animals by collective labour and he emphasizes the importance of language. But apart from this, his letter reveals a method which is extremely harmful.

The development of Marxist theory demands the serious examination and evaluation of all aspects of scientific thought. It is totally inadequate for Marxists—or those who claim to be Marxists—to dismiss without consideration attempts to advance scientific knowledge simply because those who undertake these attempts are not Marxists.

Yet this is precisely what London Teacher does. He states that it is our job to expose intelligence as an 'idealist abstraction' and to debunk the 'fraudulent theory' of intelligence.

However, he makes no analysis of the extensive research which has given rise to the concept of intelligence and makes no attempt to substantiate his claim that intelligence is a 'fraudulent theory'.

It is therefore necessary to describe briefly the way in which the concept of intelligence has arisen. It is also necessary to examine London Teacher's views on language and thought. In the course of this examination the unscientific nature of his approach will become apparent.

The rise of the concept of intelligence was mainly due to the writings of Herbert Spencer and Francis Galton in the late 19th century. They believed in the importance of a general human ability super-ordinate to and distinct from special abilities.

Their views found support

early in this century in the work of Charles Spearman, then Professor of Psychology at London University College, who developed a mathematical technique known as Factor Analysis.

Spearman gave numerous tests involving different types of skills to a number of individuals and then spent much time analysing the data so obtained.

What he found was a general tendency for individuals who scored well on a test involving one type of skill also to score well on tests involving other types of skills. He expressed his finding mathematically by extracting from the data what he termed the 'g' factor; 'g' standing for 'general mental ability' or 'intelligence'.

'Ability'

Throughout the ensuing decades Spearman's concept of a 'general mental ability' underlying and influencing special abilities became extensively modified and refined.

(There is not space here to describe this later work adequately. The interested reader is referred to H. J. B. Butcher's 'Human Intelligence', Methuen 1970.)

For many years stormy battles raged over the validity of the concept of general mental ability or intelligence. In particular, a protracted struggle took place between the British and US schools of thought.

Roughly speaking, the US school led by Thurstone maintained that the ability of a child to learn one type of skill did not imply the ability of that child to learn other types of skills.

On the other hand the British school, led after Spearman by Burt, maintained the opposite position, namely that if a child was capable of learning one type of skill he could also learn other

types of skills.

Eventually, after years of bitter debate, the US school, faced with overwhelming evidence supporting the views of the British school, capitulated and accepted the validity of a modified form of Spearman's 'g' factor.

Under this view, seven decades after its birth, the concept of general mental ability or intelligence has withstood the onslaughts of many talented and capable critics and has emerged unscathed in a manner virtually unparalleled by any other psychological concept.

The essence of the concept of intelligence is that many of the brain processes which underlie and influence the acquisition of one type of human ability also underlie and influence the acquisition of other types of ability.

The implications here are obvious. If a child has the ability to become a good carpenter, cook or plumber he also has the ability to become a good writer, surgeon or scientist. There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule—someone who is tone deaf is unlikely to make a good musician, no matter what his other talents may be.

But as Trotsky points out in his 'Literature and Revolution' the average child given the correct environment, is capable of being raised to the level of an Aristotle, a Goethe or a Marx.

As mentioned previously, London Teacher calls on us to 'debunk the fraudulent theory of intelligence', but makes no attempt to show us precisely why the 'theory' is 'fraudulent'. Of course, it is not inconceivable that the decades of painstaking research which gave rise to and maintained the concept of intelligence contain serious methodological errors.

But if London Teacher believes this to be the case, then it is up

to him to show us precisely what these errors are.

In a similar fashion he denounces intelligence as an 'idealist abstraction', but fails to show why it should be regarded as such.

If a psychologist states that a young child's intelligence will be retarded if his diet is deficient in protein, he is expressing the fact that an inadequate diet will result in the lowered functional capacity of the brain cells and that hence the child will have difficulty in learning to cope with his surroundings.

Thus although the term intelligence may be an abstraction, it is certainly not an idealist abstraction since it influences the existence of material processes in the brain.

'Gravity'

To use an analogy from physics, the term 'gravity' is used to describe certain properties of matter. No one has yet succeeded in isolating or defining gravity, yet as an abstraction it infers certain definite material properties.

London Teacher's treatment of the relationship between thought and language is extremely revealing.

To suggest that animals are capable of thought is nonsense, he states. Further: 'No language, no thought. Since animals have not and cannot develop speech, they are incapable of thought'.

He quotes a statement of Marx in support of his view.

What he fails to tell us is that since the days of Marx an immense amount of research has clearly indicated that thought and language are by no means inseparable. Brief mention should be made of two psychologists who have done extensive work in this field, namely Jean Piaget and L. S. Vigotsky.

Jean Piaget, undoubtedly the greatest child psychologist of all time, has devoted a lifetime's work to a study of how thought and intelligence develop in children.

One of his main themes is that thought originates in the internationalization of actions. He insists emphatically that thought and language, although closely related in later life, originate as separate entities.

He also insists that the child cannot master language unless he has previously mastered certain forms of thought—particularly symbolic thought. A young child will learn to use objects and actions to symbolize other objects and actions—he will, for example, use a piece of paper to symbolize food.

Without the development of this symbolic thought, the child will be unable to develop the later use of words as symbols. (See Jean Piaget, 'La Langue et la pensée du point de vue génétique', Acta Psychologica, Vol. 10, 1954.)

L. S. Vigotsky, whose tragic death at the age of 38 robbed humanity of one of its most brilliant psychologists, was a Russian scientist whose main work was devoted to the problem of the development of thought and language.

His important and impressive work 'Thought and Language' was banned for many years by Stalin. Summarizing the relationship between thought and language, Vigotsky writes:

'The most important fact uncovered by the genetic study of thought and speech is that their relationship undergoes many changes. Progress in thought and progress in speech are not parallel. Their two growth curves cross and recross. They may straighten out and run side by side, even merge for a time, but

they always diverge again. This applies to both phylogeny (the development of species) and ontogeny (the development of the individual).

'In animals, speech and thought spring from different roots and develop along different lines. This fact is confirmed by... experiments (which have) proved that the appearance in animals of an embryonic intellect—i.e. of thinking in the proper sense—is in no way related to speech. "The inventions" of apes in making and using tools, or in finding detours for the solution of problems, although undoubtedly rudimentary thinking, belong to a prelinguistic phase of thought development.' (L. S. Vigotsky, 'Thought and Language', MIT Press, 1962, page 33.)

London Teacher's unscientific method is now clearly for all to see: 'No language, no thought'.

If Marx says so, then it must be true. If research indicates that Marx's ideas need modification, then this research must not be analysed and evaluated, but must be ignored or perhaps flippantly dismissed as 'fraudulent theories' and 'idealist abstractions'.

One cannot but imagine how happy London Teacher would be in the Maoist movement. Here life is delightfully simple.

The 'Thoughts of Chairman Mao' are dogma and any other ideas are taboo. But the development of a genuine Marxist leadership demands something quite different.

Think again, London Teacher!

The development of Marxist theory demands a careful study of all aspects of contemporary scientific thought, including those branches of psychology dealing with intelligence, thought and language. Why not participate in this important work?

Special Correspondent

AND

THE RECENT articles on 'Intelligence and Class' in Workers Press highlight the way in which the capitalist education system seeks to justify the definite bias which it contains against working-class children.

In the 1930s socialists argued a straightforward case that working-class children were unable to get a fair share of secondary (grammar) education since the overwhelming majority of such school places were reserved for children whose parents could pay the fees.

Studies such as that carried out by Gray and Moshinsky in 1938 ('Ability and Opportunity in English Education') showed very clearly that highly-intelligent children of working-class parents were severely under-represented in secondary schools and higher education.

Eleven plus

The 1944 Education Act, with its introduction of selective examinations for grammar school places (11+), was supposed to put this right. But it gradually became apparent that this was not so.

For a start, different areas had varying numbers of grammar school places. Poorer industrial

towns had fewer grammar schools than better-off, residential areas. As a result, over the country as a whole, working-class children had to be a few IQ points higher than a middle-class child in order to gain a grammar school place.

Thus the working-class child was at a disadvantage even if a measured IQ was taken to be the same thing as innate ability.

But more complex problems than this emerged. The government's 'Early Leaving Report (1954)' declared:

'From the children of parents at one social extreme to the children of unskilled manual workers at the other, there is a steady and marked decline in performance at the grammar school, at the length of school life and academic promise at the time of leaving.'

But the Report said nothing about the schools' role in retaining—or failing to retain—working-class children. Other studies, however, such as Jackson and Marsden ('Education and the Working Class', 1962) and Himelweit ('Social Status and Secondary Education since the 1944 Act', 1954) showed that grammar school teachers were biased against working-class children.

These teachers usually gave working-class children low personal ratings for everything from general behaviour to industriousness. A large majority of grammar school teachers considered working-class children less likely to profit from a grammar school education than middle-class children—regardless of ability.

The Crowther Report of 1959 was concerned about the wastage due to the early school-leaving of able children, which was especially heavy amongst the children of skilled manual workers. This Report also established that the children of professional and managerial parents were three times as likely to become graduates as working-class children of the same ability.

Ability range

But not only have the grammar schools driven working-class children out, they have actually crippled their performance while encouraging that of middle-class children.

The Robbins Report into Higher Education showed that a child of professional parents classified at 11 into the lowest third of the ability range was likely to become a better O-level candidate than the lower working-

class child classified at 11 into the top third of the ability range.

In other words, the grammar schools fulfilled their own prophecies—or prejudices—by making it 'safer' to select a middle-class 'marginal' pupil than a working-class pupil in the high ability range.

There can be no doubt that the educational performance of large numbers of working-class children is far below their potential ability.

One of the reasons for this is that working-class children find themselves at a loss in schools where the verbal linguistic skills and social outlook of the middle class prevail.

There is a definite and undeniable barrier between the working-class child and the middle-class teacher. This is so in both Britain and the United States (see Martin Deutsch 'The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process', 1963). Moreover, the effects of these class differences become more marked as the children grow older.

This is because learning and intellectual development in general is not simply a process of maturing, but is the result of the interaction of the human organism and its environment (see, for example, the work of

the Russian psychologists L. S. Vigotsky, A. R. Luria and others).

The child develops more and more complex forms of behaviour as a result of reacting to problems presented by the environment. Thus, intellectual development is essentially social development.

All the attempted 'remedies' to this problem of wasted potential have failed to produce any significant improvement.

In the United States, much hope was attached to the 'Higher Horizons Project' in New York City. The aim of this project was to identify, stimulate and guide into college channels able students from low socio-economic homes.

'Motivation'

It involved special remedial classes, attempts to improve the 'motivation' of the pupil and the creation of better facilities in the schools.

The 'Project Literacy', organized at Cornell University in 1964, and numerous similar schemes, aimed at providing stimulation (for example, through nursery schools) lacking in the home.

'Project head-start', also started in 1964, tried a system of admitting 'deprived' children to child development centres for eight-

week sessions before their initial schooling.

In Britain, the Newsom Report of 1963 recommended special research into children suffering from environmental and linguistic handicaps. To this end, funds were made available to the Sociological Research Unit.

The 1967 Plowden Report on Primary Education called for 'positive discrimination' towards schools in deprived areas in the form of higher payments for their teachers and priority in new buildings, extra books and equipment.

But all of this has produced little. All these schemes have one factor in common—they throw all the blame onto the child and his family.

In fact, as was shown earlier when discussing the British grammar schools, the education system is constructed deliberately to act against the interests of working-class children.

They are required to produce a mass of factory fodder, with a few bright ones to staff the universities, laboratories, courts, newspapers etc.

It is this class system, of which the schools are a part, which deliberately holds down the mass of working-class children.

Jack Gale

CLASS

THE CONTROVERSY about 'intelligence and class' has so far generated more heat than light, it seems to me.

In his original articles (November 10, 11) Special Correspondent (SC) gave some interesting material about experiments on the learning abilities of animals and humans.

He explained how brain damage or physiological defects like deafness create a limit on learning which may, however, in some cases be overcome by careful treatment.

Intelligence tests were exposed as class-biased. We also learned that emotional stability affects learning capacity.

From all this evidence SC drew the correct conclusion that education in a socialist society would combine medical and educational skills to the maximum to deal with the special problems of development of each individual child; something which is impossible in a capitalist educational system.

This conclusion was contrasted with the opinions of Sir Cyril Burt and the right-wing 'Black Paper' educationists, who consider that hereditary differences in 'intelligence', proved by intelligence testing, necessitate exclusion of large numbers of working-class children from higher education.

So far, so good. London Teacher then wrote a letter to say that Special Correspondent was actually giving it to the basic idea of these right-wingers, by accepting the concept of 'intelligence' at all.

This, said London Teacher, was an 'idealist abstraction' and a 'fraudulent theory'.

SC replied that it was no more an idealist abstraction than 'gravity'; both concepts express something real. LT's method, according to SC, is simply to repeat phrases from Marx and ignore scientific development, an 'extremely harmful' method of thinking.

Scientific

SC then returned to a more detailed defence of the concept of 'intelligence'. He claims it is a scientific concept, whereas London Teacher sees it only as 'designed to justify an educational system which condemns the vast mass of the working class to cultural backwardness'.

I do not think we need at this stage to say any more than has been said about the bias against working-class children from intelligence testing as a method of educational selection.

More fundamental is the question of method, and of the philosophical basis of the discussion begun by Special Correspondent.

Despite these many interesting observations and correct conclusions from scientific data, SC still seems to find the concept 'intelligence' rather elusive, a sort of will 'o' the wisp.

For example, he several times asserts that it is not hereditary intelligence which determines learning capacity, but: 'intelligence results from the interaction of environment and constitution' (or heredity).

However, in all the examples he gives, the hereditary factors are physiological defects which require certain environmental factors in order to be overcome.

He does not (and he cannot) produce a single example where it is possible to isolate by scientific investigation a definite material propensity to superior or inferior intelligence, so that we could conclude: Other things (i.e. 'environment') being equal, 'designated' will be more intelligent or less intelligent than that individual.

The intelligence or 'general mental ability', if it means anything, is always a product of a learning process. There is no evidence to prove that SC's 'hereditary' component in this interaction that produces intelligence is responsible for variations in the 'intelligence' which results.

Indeed, as SC himself sug-

gests, there is little to object to in the conclusion, of Bloom from his large volume of experimental observations:

'That most people are capable of learning anything if they possess both the will to learn and virtually unlimited time'. Of course, both these latter factors can result only from social conditions.

It is tempting for materialists to accept that, since thinking is the work of a material organ—the brain (which is subject to the laws of heredity)—then mental abilities will be affected by hereditary differences in the brain.

Hereditary?

This temptation does not alter the fact that no one has ever demonstrated the effect of any such difference.

We can say that if the brain is over a certain minimum size, then, barring brain damage at birth, during pregnancy, or in the course of life, or disease, this brain will be capable of learning what other humans can learn, given the right environmental conditions.

To put it another way: what do we add to our conclusions by postulating anything called hereditary intelligence?

The answer is: nothing. How-

ever, the fact that the concept stubbornly persists despite this suggests that it is ideologically important, i.e. it corresponds to certain blind spots in the world outlook of bourgeois scientists.

It enables their scientific psychological work to continue without coming into conflict with their class horizons. These class horizons require concepts suited to a class-divided system of education and a continuance of exploitation of the working class.

The philosophical roots of a concept like 'intelligence' are not, of course, directly these needs of the capitalist educational system and the adaptation of scientists to it.

Out of previous ideas of and traditions of bourgeois philosophy and science, characteristically bourgeois concepts develop in particular spheres of knowledge, like psychology.

When Spearman arrived at his concept of 'g' or 'general mental ability' (a definition of intelligence shared by Special Correspondent), he was working on the basis of the statistical techniques of the empiricist Karl Pearson.

From a large number of mental tests of different kinds, he abstracted certain regularities. He then gave this regularity the

name 'g', supposedly the ability to observe relationships.

However much anyone wants to say that Spearman's ideas were taken over and adapted to even less scientific views like those of Binet with his 'general intelligence', it does not alter the fact that Spearman himself was here isolating in his conclusions (not in reality) something taking us back to the idealist philosophy which was most consistently expressed in the ideas of Immanuel Kant.

Unfavourable

Kant wanted to recognize the existence of an objective world of 'things in themselves', existing independently of our consciousness of them, but to claim that they were unfavourable.

For him the 'mind' was of different stuff, operating with 'reason', with innate categories of thinking. All knowledge would be structured by these categories, and not a reflection of the true nature of the objective world.

The Marxist theory of knowledge is about how our thinking, the activity of a material organ, the brain, progresses from ignorance to knowledge, from impressions, through analysis of the essence of reality, to the 'notion', i.e., the comprehension of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

KEEPING CONFUSED COMPANY

REVIEW BY BOB SEATON

BOOKS



'PROTEST AND DISCONTENT'
Edited by Bernard Crick and William A. Robson.
Pelican Original 6s

IF THERE is any truth in the maxim that a man can be judged by the company he keeps, Lawrence Daly's contribution to a recent paperback, 'Protest and Discontent' (Pelican Original, 6s), edited by Bernard Crick and William A. Robson, is of considerable interest.

Crick and Robson are the editors of the eminently respectable journal 'Political Quarterly', which originally published this collection of articles.

Their credo, says Crick, is a belief 'both in reason and being reasonable; but it is never reasonable . . . to compromise reason to forces of irrationality, whether of Left and Right'.

The book as a whole, and Crick's contribution in particular, is a testament to the total state of confusion of those who today seek a 'middle way' in the rapidly sharpening class war.

'Reason', according to Crick, is an ideology above and independent of any class. But no such ideology exists.

As Lenin wrote in What Is To Be Done?:

'In a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology.'

If Crick and his colleagues could grasp the significance of this, they might be able to resolve some of the confusions about 'contemporary protest' that they air so self-indulgently in these pages.

In particular, Peter Sedgwick, leading member of the International Socialism group, might have spared us his

cynical piece on 'Varieties of Socialist Thought', in which, with an eclecticism reminiscent of the Heinz canned food company, he gives a completely uncritical rundown on the ideas of any tendency which chooses to call itself socialist.

According to him there are any number of 'socialisms', and you pays your money. . . . Everyone, it appears, has something to contribute—from ministers in the last Labour government to the anarchists.

This provides Sedgwick with a convenient 'framework' in which he can paint the Workers Press as simply a minor curiosity.

'Any real innovation on the British Left today,' he claims,

'should, be seen in terms of presentation and medium rather than of ideas, with the present phase characterized by an expansion of combative journalism (with the International Socialist weekly "Socialist Worker" overtaking the Old Left's "Tribune" and the Socialist Labour League's daily "Workers Press" moving in to compete with the "Morning Star").'

So much for the first revolutionary daily paper in the world since the early days of the Russian Revolution, which is today leading the fight against the Tories.

It's all just friendly rivalry, comrades, and the Workers Press, it is later revealed, is

no more than evidence of the 'energy' of the SLL!

No wonder bourgeois professors have found a role for the 'contributions' of the IS. In their confusion, the professors must find Sedgwick soothing, if hardly illuminating.

That Lawrence Daly should find a place among this collection of middle-of-the-road professors and right-wing Labourites may surprise the miners who elected him Secretary of the NUM to lead militant action against the pit-closures declared to be 'necessary' by the rationalists.

It is unfortunate for Daly that this article should be lying around the bookstalls when he is still caught between the pressure of the National Coal Board and the militancy of his own members.

In the roundabout style of saying things favoured in the academic world, Daly makes it clear that he has no conception of leading the miners to a major victory.

He must have written this article during the last few months of the Labour government, and he is much taken up with the difficulties of trade union leaders when the Labour Party is in office.

The trade union movement, writes Daly, is founded on 'the aspirations of workers who want security and freedom and who do not care, and have not cared, a fig about the "immutable laws" of laissez-faire, of diminishing returns, of marginal product or the balance of payments.'

All is well, suggests Daly with a complacency that he must be regretting today, when the Tories are in power.

'With a government of indisputable anti-socialists, the trade union movement can unashamedly adopt an idealistic stance. . . . The barricades to be stormed are clear. What to do when they have been won does not seem of prime importance.'

But with the Labour Party in power, says Daly, 'what a difference! The "practical" obstacles to change are suddenly discovered, the views of those who want radical change are felt to be rash and, though to be sympathized with, impracticable.'

What should the trade unions do? It is a question, according to Daly, of whether to 'squeeze the government dry of "concessions" or to "sacrifice the short- to the long-term advantage". Hence the "bitter debate" in the trade union movement since 1964.

The debate would be less bitter—Daly here provides an ironic prediction—if the Tories



LAWRENCE DALY

were in power. But Daly concedes that this would not solve everything.

There are fundamental social changes occurring which mean that the 'debate' in the trade union movement must go on—particularly 'centralization of economic decision-making' and 'increasing specialization'.

The alternative strategies before the trade unions, insists Daly, are the method of Walter Citrine (TUC general secretary 1926-1946)—that the trade unions' first responsibility is to the (capitalist) state; and that of developing the trade unions as a rival to the Labour Party as a vehicle of 'social organization theory' [sic].

The aim of this latter method it appears is to make 'more and more impact on the Labour Party's programme', so that 'the trade union movement, especially when a Labour government is in power, will seem to be almost an organ of government'.

To the unsophisticated who are not in regular contact with Mr Daly's academic friends, this may well seem to be two ways of saying the same thing: either way the trade unions are to be turned into organs of the capitalist state.

The dilemma which Daly says faces the movement, 'how to be at one and the same time an organization of protest and of social change and yet a participant in pragmatic central government decisions,' in reality only confronts those

in the movement who accept the 'immutable laws' of capitalism: i.e. the present bureaucratic leadership.

All Daly's long words amount to this: he has no conception of the power of the working class to overthrow capitalism, and cannot therefore conceive of his own members defeating those who seek to attempt to carry out capitalism's present programme for survival.

Hence he lends his services to those who would like trade unions to be simply organs of 'protest' which will go the way of all these protesters in the present period of developing class war.

But the trade unions, far from being simply organizations of 'protest' against the injustices of capitalism, have been built by the working class in the course of its struggle against capitalism, which can only be resolved by the taking of power.

Workers cannot afford to allow independent trade unionism to be destroyed, however hesitant and equivocal their leaders may be.

'Protest and Discontent' is a very pale reflection of the conflict in the real world today.

It offers little guidance for anyone seriously seeking to understand why the working class, the students, and large sections of the middle class have to abandon the perspectives of 'protest' and fight to overthrow the Tories.



FACE-RIPPER MACHINE

tv

BBC 1

12.55 p.m. Rt Hon Enoch Powell and Malcolm Muggeridge. Lunch-time dialogue. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Barrier reef. 5.44 Magic roundabout. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. Weather.

6.20 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR.

6.45 ASK THE FAMILY.

7.05 Z CARS. 'Christmas is Coming'. Part one.

7.30 NOT IN FRONT OF THE CHILDREN. 'Change of Scene'.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 STEPTOE AND SON. 'Cuckoo in The Nest'.

9.50 DOOMWATCH. 'Invasion'.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as above except:

Midlands, E Anglia: 6.00-6.20 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.17 News, weather.

North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland: 6.00-6.20 Look North, weather. 11.17 News, weather.

Wales: 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales today, weather. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 7.30-8.00 Fo a fe. 11.17 News, weather.

Scotland: 1.00-1.30 Jesus today. 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.20-6.45 Se ur beatha. 11.17 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six, weather. 7.30-8.00 Day tonight. 11.17 News, weather.

SW, South, West: 6.00-6.20 Points West. South today, Spotlight SW, weather. 11.17 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.

7.30 p.m. NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 THE HIGH CHAPARRAL. 'A Good Sound Profit'.

8.50 CALL MY BLUFF.

9.20 HORIZON. 'The Man Who Talks To Frogs, Dr. Stanley Rand'.

10.10 MAC DAVIS. In concert.

10.40 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

10.45 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

2.30 p.m. Journey of a lifetime. 2.45 Granny gets the point. 3.15 Wine for Christmas. 4.15 Pinky and Perky. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Lost in space. 5.50 News.

6.02 TODAY.

6.45 DAVID NIXON'S MAGIC BOX.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 MAN AT THE TOP. 'It's All Perfectly True'.

9.30 MR DIGBY, DARLING.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 LATE THRILLER. 'City of Fear'. With Vince Edwards, John Archer and Patricia Blair. A convict escapes from prison with a canister of radioactive Cobalt 60.

11.50 Church and fashion. 'Norman to Plantagenet'.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 2.30-3.30 Lottery. 4.00 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.10 Pinky and Perky. 4.25 Granny gets the point. 4.52 Forest rangers. 5.20 Timeslip. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 What's on where. 6.15 International detective. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Tales of unease. 11.25 News, weather.

of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Complaints box. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 News. 11.10 Carol Channing's mad English tea party. 12.10 Weather. Carols.

HARLECH: 3.15 London. 4.18 Women only. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 Timeslip. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.23 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 'It's Never Too Late'. With Phyllis Calvert, Patrick Barr and Susan Stephen. Comedy about the mother of a large family who becomes a celebrity. 12.15 Weather.

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BEXLEYHEATH: Roberts Hall, Christchurch, Broadway, 8 p.m. Tuesday, December 22.

Lectures by M. Banda (Editor of Workers Press)

BIRMINGHAM: Digbeth Hall, 8 p.m. Monday, December 21.

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Student cash inquiry used for attack on left?

THE GOVERNMENT is inquiring into allegations that student funds are being used by 'admitted revolutionary organizations'.

The inquiry is part of a larger investigation which was set up after the report of the select committee on student unrest in October 1969.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

He also claimed that 'certain students' unions are allocating funds to pay the fines which have been awarded by courts of law.'

Wall called for powers to enable investigation of the Department of Education and Science into the disbursement of public funds by student unions and SRCs.

But in a reply the under-secretary for Education and Science, Mr William Van Straubenzee, said: 'The Department is carrying out an inquiry into the financing of student unions in further education and colleges of education.'

Decision

'The Committee of Vice Chancellors is doing the same for universities. Mrs Thatcher, Secretary of State, will decide what action is necessary in the light of these inquiries.'

Commenting on the claim that public money is being used to pay fines Van Straubenzee said:

'I am aware of the sort of example you give and I think there is no doubt that they will be shown up by the inquiries to which I have referred. It will then be for the Minister to decide what, if any, action is appropriate.'

President of the National Union of Students Mr Jack Straw welcomed the inquiry and agreed to co-operate with the government.

He said: 'The NUS has always taken a very hard line on the question of irregular payments. Students do not contribute to organizations of all kinds, but the money comes out of their own pocket or from money-raising events.'

The Committee of Vice Chancellors is understood to be interested in the results of the inquiry from the point of view of examining whether unions provide services in the most efficient ways.

The Department of Education is said to have a broad interest in the results of union expenditure, but informed sources say that this interest is closely related to the findings of the select committee on campus unrest.

Concern

The wave of student militancy during 1968 and 1969 is clearly at the bottom of the present inquiry. Van Straubenzee and Tory MP and Monday Club sympathizer

Ronald Bell were both on the committee. Jack Straw is known to hold the view that concern over cash being channelled into organizations devoted to destroying the apartheid regime in S Africa lies behind the inquiry demand. It is understood that he does not feel Wall's reference to revolutionary organizations applies to political societies such as socialist societies, but mainly to freedom fighters' groups. This is a dangerously naive view.

The government, without doubt, hopes to discover and cut off supplies of money to all organizations which can be construed as revolutionary.

The inquiry will provide the Tories with valuable information about militant and revolutionary groups throughout the student world.

Straw has said categorically that public funds are not given to such groups. He has given an assurance that where funds are needed by these groups the students raise the money themselves.

Willing

Willingness to 'help' the political position of the NUS leaders who, despite their occasional militant talk will, in reality, do nothing seriously to oppose the Tories.

There should be no collaboration with the government to help them identify and evaluate socialist and militant groups in the universities. Students should demand that Straw and the NUS reverse their decision to help in the inquiry.

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Delegates listen to the opening statement on the ATUA's Charter of Basic Rights.

Second annual conference

FROM PAGE ONE

towards the destruction of the trade union movement,' he said.

'It is designed to encourage the union leaders to do the job for the capitalist state; become a kind of "labour front".'

It was designed to introduce the kind of situation which prevailed between the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders and the state in all the countries which eventually went over to fascism in the period before the Second World War, he said.

It would place enormous strains on the shop stewards' movement; drive out of the struggle all those who were unprepared for the dangers contained in the Bill and sought to divide the working-class movement by instilling fear on the shop floor!

'When the Tories attack the unions,' he said, 'it's not just the workers of today they are

attacking—but their entire historical past. This includes all the rights won by the working class since the Industrial Revolution.

'The British trade union movement is stamped right through and through with the character of the British working class.

'Anyone who thinks this government can last without a major confrontation with the working class before its term of office is up is blind to the lessons of history.'

The Labour leaders were saying that workers should not provoke the Tory tiger too much.

This was the language of the 1930s in Germany, warned comrade Healy. 'We must see to it that they are not allowed to get away with this fraud here.'

'Can we allow the rights won by the working class over two centuries of struggle to be taken away from us by this government of bankers and big businessmen, or are we going to fight to defend these rights, build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and the working class, and go forward to take the power and establish socialism?' he asked.

'We have called the Charter a programme of rights, because we believe that every man and woman in the working class and in the middle class close to the working class are in grave danger of these rights being taken away and must now fight to retain them.'

'You are marching in the footsteps of your ancestors. You can't get out of this situation now,' Comrade Healy warned the meeting.

'By mobilizing the rank and file of the trade union movement to make the union leaders organize a campaign to force the Tory government to resign we would introduce an entirely new political situation in Britain,' he said.

'The way would then be open for the election of a Labour government under conditions where we could win widespread support for the Charter of Rights under discussion at this conference.'

In the course of the struggle for these Rights we would expose the treacherous leadership of Wilson and open the door for the movement of the masses forward under the banner of revolutionary leadership!

Comrade Healy concluded by appealing to every delegate and visitor present to help make the February 17 anti-Tory rally at Alexandra Palace a decisive turning point in the fight against the Tories and their agents in the labour movement.

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ITALY

Stalinists squirm on Polish uprising

CAUGHT BETWEEN their dependence on the international Stalinist bureaucracy and the eruption of the political revolution in Poland the leaders of the Italian Communist Party are in desperate search of formulae to cover their political bankruptcy.

Faced with a vicious anti-communist campaign from the capitalist and Social-Democratic press they have no other thought than to take cover.

'The Party's political bureau has raised the fatuous request that the causes of the situation in Poland should be discovered through "discussions with the workers and their organizations in such a way as to obtain, through wide democratic participation, the contribution and involvement which is necessary".'

That the official 'organizations of the working class' are spearheading the attack on Polish workers is the historical role of the revisionist leadership in the trade unions and the working class, and go forward to take the power and establish socialism?

Twins

While these gentlemen were busy 'affirming socialist democracy' their political twins in the Gomulka regime were attacking the workers of Danzig and Stettin with tanks!

On the other side of this obscene hypocrisy is their attitude of cringing apology before the hired 'democrats' of Italian capitalism.

'While the official party daily 'Unita' expressed its 'emotion and sorrow for the victims,' 'Paese Sera', an official Party paper, went so far as to denounce the 'mask of democracy' in Poland, which had results 'of unsuspected seriousness'.

Few of the local residents bothered to move out of the cloud's path, except some cowboys who claim that an earlier leak from the test range blistered their faces painfully.

The AEC statement that 'none of the employees received a dosage above the permissible level' is whistling in the air.

Many scientists hold the view that there is no threshold radiation dose below which no harm accrues to man.

Leukaemia

An appreciable increase in the incidence of leukaemia has been detected in those engaged on atomic research, particularly where atomic explosions are involved.

However, it was admitted in parliament last February that

Reforms retreat

LEADERS of Italy's two largest trade union organizations—the Stalinist-dominated CGIL and the Catholic CISL—are back-peddalling on their call for a one-day general strike before Christmas to back demands for social reforms.

Giving as their 'reason the political crisis in the leadership of the other main union—the Social Democratic UIL—they are to hold a joint meeting of all three unions during this week.

Workers in the giant Miraflores Fiat plant in Turin were forced to strike on Friday against those who scabbled on the regional strike.

Verdicts in the trial are still awaited, nearly two weeks after the trial ended. The five-man military tribunal has been deliberating in closed session ever since the court-martial closed.

Defence lawyers for the 16 say they have received no notification when the court decision will be announced.

The Franco regime is spinning out the delay in sentencing the Basques for fear the verdict will provoke more strikes, demonstrations and mass actions against the regime.

General Franco's fascist cabinet held a marathon session on Friday night, but their decisions have not been released.

Francisco fears to make concessions to the Spanish working class, yet dare not face the consequences of death sentences in the trials.

The prosecution has demanded death for six of the accused.

Divisions

The trial has produced a major crisis for the fascist regime in Spain, and there are obvious signs of divisions at the top in the government and the army.

Though Franco managed to rally support last week from the middle-class remnants of the Falange (Fascist Party) and from the church, he faces the unmitigated hostility of an aroused working class.

The cabinet reaffirmed its 'unshakable loyalty' to Franco, and rendered 'homage to the armed forces of the nation, guarantee of the unity

International criticism of the Burgos trial has caused a split between high-ranking generals and Franco, and has probably caused the delay in announcing the sentences for the 16 Basque nationalists. Some generals are demanding implementation of promised constitutional reforms.

and independence of the motherland and the defence of the institutional order'.

Spain has officially protested to the French government against 'hostile and unobjective' coverage of the Burgos trial on radio and television.

A number of factories in the Basque country are still on strike, though the strike movement has abated as the majority of workers await the verdicts.

OUTSIDE Spain, however, there have been big demonstrations against the trial.

In W Berlin, about 8,000 people marched through the city headed by a group of 500 Spanish workers shouting 'Freedom, murder and 'Freedom for the Spanish revolutionaries'.

Solidarity

Some of the placards carried by demonstrators expressed solidarity with the Polish working class in its struggle against the bureaucracy.

Many Spanish workers took part in a 3,000-strong march through Amsterdam at the weekend, with banners calling for 'Freedom for Spanish democrats' and 'Down with Franco terrorism'.

Demonstrators set fire to an effigy of General Franco.

Heavy US losses over Vietnam

THE US military command in Saigon yesterday reported the loss of five American aircraft on Saturday in which four crewmen died.

Three light observation helicopters were brought down by National Liberation Front ground fire, another crashed after bursting into flames from 'unknown causes' and an F4 Phantom fighter-bomber crashed after being hit by ground fire over the Plain of Jars in Laos.

The two-man crew of an OH6 helicopter died when NLF gunners shot down their aircraft nine miles SE of Phuoc Vinh and the crew of a similar helicopter were also killed eight miles east of Dalat.

The crew of the third helicopter, shot down in the northern province of Thua Thien were wounded, command spokesmen said.

Tentative deals on NY cab and fuel strikes

TENTATIVE agreement was reached in New York yesterday in two major strikes by New York City taxi drivers and fuel workers, but their services will not resume until next week.

State mediation chairman Vincent McDonnell announced a tentative settlement in the two-week taxi strike after a marathon 19-hour bargaining session.

If the agreement is ratified by the drivers' union and the fleet owners, taxis could return to the streets on Monday.

The drivers had asked for a settlement to give them parity with other city transport workers, whose average pay is about \$175 (£73) a week.

The settlement would give a 45-hour week average about \$150 including tips and the driver's meter percentage.

The four-day-old strike will end tomorrow if the oil heating union and oil industry suppliers sign their tentative contract.

Dutschke

FROM PAGE ONE

demicians who interviewed Dutschke for entry to post-graduate work at the University, said that Dutschke had made it clear that he preferred a 'credible and responsible' person as Dutschke in the college.

In his submission to the tribunal to lift the secrecy ban Mr Wigoder said that the proceedings of the tribunal, if in secret, would be in contrast with the way even the most dreadful traitor was treated.

The Old Bailey trial of George Blake had been held in camera, but Blake and his counsel had been present and were able to cross-examine witnesses.

It was revealed that the ex-Home Secretary James Callaghan would give evidence. This would be taken in secret at today's session.

The public hearing of the tribunal is likely to be resumed tomorrow morning.

Growing health danger from atomic leaks

AS THE radioactive cloud from the latest US 'underground' nuclear explosion spread north-eastwards yesterday, residents close to the Nevada desert test range were sceptical about official reassurances.

About 600 people, all workers at the US Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) test site, were evacuated after the cloud shot some 8,000 feet into the atmosphere following a low-yield 'underground' test on Friday.

'We don't believe the government boys when they tell us there ain't no danger,' one man said.

'If there were no danger why did they evacuate those fellows from the site. They were no closer than we are.'

An AEC spokesman said that the cloud was 'harmless', but that the 'fairly high amount of radiation' that still covered the blast site was preventing investigation of the cause of the leak—the second in one week.

'Routine'

About half of the evacuated workers had small amounts of radioactivity on their clothing and underwent 'routine decontamination'.

Few of the local residents bothered to move out of the cloud's path, except some cowboys who claim that an earlier leak from the test range blistered their faces painfully.

The AEC statement that 'none of the employees received a dosage above the permissible level' is whistling in the air.

Many scientists hold the view that there is no threshold radiation dose below which no harm accrues to man.

Okinawa battle

HATRED of American imperialism, which has been simmering in Okinawa, reached a flash point when a crowd of 2,000 Japanese stormed an American air-base.

They penetrated 300 yards before they came up against US troops who hit back with tear gas, police water and batons.

The police said the trouble flared early on Sunday after a car driven by an American serviceman knocked down and injured an Okinawan outside the base.

The crowd set fire to about 80 American vehicles. At least 25 people—including three US servicemen and six police—were hurt.

INTELLIGENCE AND CLASS

FROM PAGE 2

reality as a unity of opposites in motion.

This process of understanding is a constant one, through the unity of theory and practice.

His theory makes the laws of thinking an obstacle to the grasping and shaping of objective reality, because Kant considers we can never get beyond the aspects selected from reality by eternally fixed mental categories, leaving the 'things in themselves' unattainable.

And the 'empirio-critics' of the period around 1900, who saw the data of the senses as the objective reality, and refused to consider the existence or non-existence of the material world beyond this, end up with the

same position — a retreat into idealism.

The pragmatists, who see 'experience' as the only trustworthy reality, are in the same position. Karl Pearson, the English mathematician, one of the mentors of Spearman, was no different in his basic assumptions.

All these scientists suffer from a very fundamental error: they assume that because the methods of mathematical or statistical analysis can be applied to easily 'quantifiable' data like the results of mental testing, the result will tell them something about the nature of knowledge and thinking.

But for this, what is necessary is a study of human consciousness as such, in all its historical development through

the social practice, and of dialectics, the actual process of understanding.

Hegel laid the basis of these theories, though still within the idealist framework, in his 'Phenomenology of Mind' and his 'Science of Logic'.

Marx, in his 'Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic' (1844), 'Theses on Feuerbach' (1846), 'Poverty of Philosophy' (1847), and 'Capital' (1865) stood Hegel on his feet. His work was carried further along the lines Marx had hoped sometime to find time for, in Lenin's 'Philosophical Notebooks' (1915).

Now Spearman, presented by Special Correspondent as the founder of the 'scientific' concept of intelligence testing, claimed that 'we should derive the capacity to live from the

nature of mind, and therefore ascertain that nature independently' (Spearman, 'The Nature of Intelligence and the Principles of Cognition').

His method of establishing this idealist foundation was statistically to analyze the data from many different mental tests, as Special Correspondent points out in his reply.

The 'g' factor extracted by Spearman was, he said, 'purely quantitative factor' which was present in all the results, and which he therefore took as the expression of a general ability to understand relationships. 'G' was thus an innate mental category, as anticipated by Kant.

My purpose here is to show that Spearman's method, however 'sophisticated' in terms of

the 'scientific method' developing in his time, is entirely within the framework of an empiricism which by its nature conceals the essence of the subject matter we are concerned with, namely the process of thinking itself.

And this method is intimately connected with the theory of knowledge of the bourgeoisie (it is nonsense to say as London Teacher does that 'the bourgeoisie has no theory of knowledge') viz. the idealism of Kant, which sees man's thinking as an independent reality which necessarily must be studied independently of its material basis and interaction with the objective world.

If, as Special Correspondent says in his reply, Spearman's conclusions remain basically unchallenged, it is because bourgeois

psychology can never challenge these basic questions of the theory of knowledge.

For Marxists, however, it is necessary to carry out serious work to see the results of knowledge developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and to criticize all bourgeois 'scientific' thought from this standpoint.

In the social sciences, including psychology, it would be a fatal error to see the results of knowledge work in this field as just an accumulation of scientific data to be worked over by Marxism.

In these spheres—economics, history, sociology, psychology, social psychology—the ideological fog is at its thickest, and to proceed into them without the radar of the dialectical method is the surest way to get a sore head.

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LATE NEWS

SHIPYARD WORKERS SAW CHILDREN SHOT

A group of English shipyard workers, specially employed for a five-week job in the Polish Baltic port of Gdynia, had to return home because of fighting there, a Swedish journalist reported on Sunday.

The Warsaw correspondent of 'Expressen' said he met the English workers at Warsaw airport last night before they left for home.

'It was a terrible experience,' he quoted them as saying. 'We saw them shoot dead children and youths. We saw the militiamen shooting at old people.'

WEATHER

ENGLAND and Wales will have freezing fog in places at first, but this will thin slowly and it will be a dry day with some hazy sunshine. Further fog patches are likely in the evening.

N Ireland and S Scotland will be dry with fog patches at first. There will be sunny periods during the day and further fog patches are likely at night.

N Scotland will have some wintry showers, these being of snow over high ground. Temperatures generally will be below normal.

Outlook for following 48 hours: Dry and rather cold, with frost and local fog patches at night. Becoming milder in the N later.

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