Support the railwaymen

The railwaymen's decision to work to rule again is a recognition that industrial action is the only way to win wage increases from the Tories.

If the dispute goes on, the entire trade union movement must support the railwaymen and refuse the demands of the Tory press about "strikebreaking" and "resisting the country to a standstill". The railways ARE a special case. Their wages have been withheld entirely by rising prices and rents and they are forced to work a basic 48-hour week to earn a living wage.

It is vital that this time the railway unions refuse to accept a further government-imposed "cooling-off" period and demand full backing from the TUC for action in defiance of the law.

THE RUSH by the leaders of the trade union movement to surrender to the Tories' Industrial Relations Act has turned into a stalemate. In two short weeks they have jettisoned the official TUC policy of non-co-operation with the law and the refusal to appear before the National Industrial Relations Court.

Now they have made it clear that Sir John Donaldson, the Tory who sits as the judge in the NIRC, has only to give the word and they will run to obey. TUC general secretary Vic Feather has now issued a circular to the unions telling them that all they have to do before they appear before the NIRC is merely to inform him by telephone.

Jack Jones, leader of the 1.6 million Transport Workers Union, daily instructs his doctors to obey TUC instructions and to give up their fight to defend their jobs by challenging container holders. And his union has paid the vicious £5,000,000 without a struggle.

But the fight against the law remains as important as ever. It must be continued, defined and brought to a head if working people are to maintain their organisation to fight for better wages and conditions.

When the Tories brought in the law, they had one aim in view: they wanted to use legal judgements to force unionists into a situation that would make it much harder for the men and the unions to organise.

The key to the Tory policy was to get preferential treatment for organisations that changed their rule books in order to win acceptance by the new Registrar of Trade Unions.

Feather: no dust up

As The Economist, the house magazine of big business, put it last week: "The original idea was that unions would be driven by judgements into registering and that when they registered they would be required to operate in a respectable way on pain of being deregistered again."

As the Tories see it, unions that were not registered would quickly be forced to do so as they lost out in competition for members to registered unions and as they suffered from heavy fines.

ON THE Brink of total defeat in Vietnam, Nixon and the American war lords have launched one last, desperate attack on the North. The mining of North Vietnamese ports is an act of international aggression that will bring further death and destruction to the Vietnamese people.

Rejecting his latest escalation of the war, Nixon hypocritically declared: "There is only one way to stop the killing. That is to keep the weapons of war out of the hands of the international outlaws of North Vietnam."

Nixon's outlaws at work in SE Asia are the troops of American imperialism and their puppet regime in Saigon. For Nixon to describe as "outlaws" people fighting to free their own country of foreign domination is to turn logic on its head.

The facts are irrefutable: the Vietnamese people have been fighting with incredible heroism for 30 years to kick out first the French and now the Americans. It was the Americans who sabotaged a united Vietnam after the French defeat and who organised one puppet regime after another in a frantic attempt to maintain their economic and political domination in the South.

American involvement in SE Asia has meant a reign of terror in both North and South Vietnam. More than 500,000 civilians have lost their lives. Billionaire profits have been shipped out of Vietnam as were used in the whole of World War II, while modern technology is used to produce horrors of weapons like fragmentation bombs, napalm and defoliant devices.

8000 concentration camps, politely called "strategic hamlets", have been built in the South to house the people fighting against American imperialism.

But despite the terror, despite the attempted destruction of the Vietnamese people, there remains a will of the people to fight for a living, the Vietnamese battled on and brought the most powerful nation on earth to its knees.

Total rout

The Saigon army, the shining example of Nixon's policy of "Vietnamisation", is in total rout, both officers and ranks showing no fight left in them after a fight aimed at propelling the rotten and corrupt government that rules by the decree of American capitalism.

And so Nixon is forced to call on the smoke screen of American "withdrawal" and "peace talks".

The mining of the ports is a crude attempt to prevent the legitimate flow of arms to the Northern government and the National Liberation Front.

Duty clear

The mining is also a clear attempt to turn black Russia into a South Vietnam. It is a threatening call to cut off the summit talks on arms limitations unless the Russians dance to his tune.

The duty of socialists and trade unionists is clear. We stand firmly on the distinct of US imperialism and for the right of the Vietnamese people to live their own lives free from foreign domination.

We must condemn the latest exercise in military barbarism by the Nixon government and stand prepared to support demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese in every part of Britain. Their fight is our fight.

BALANCE SHEET ON UCS: CENTRE PAGES
$20 million fine threat for...
Eurovision to that... 

discourage and rally the good names of the community. Not quite. As the radio man said, it was rather unfortunate there were so many faults... in front of the Queen.

Shamrocked

All of desperation at the Irish Tourists Board as the stiff-necked North جهة has had a bad image to the whole island and holiday bookings from Britain have slumped dismally.

The board is now feverishly canvassing through the London phone directory and is sending public notices and leaflets from director general Emmons Cramton to every Irish-speaking name they can find. One SW colleague received the goodies from Mr Cramton, who asks importantly, "When were you last in Ireland?" This is a question we are asking a lot of people with Irish forebears.

He assures us our would-be-holiday-maker that the things in the old country are nothing near as bad as painted by the press in London and that life is unaffected by the troubles in the North.

Mr Cramton asks our colleagues to pass on the knowledge to friends and acquaintances to counteract press publicity and then go on to outline the many cut-price package holidays that can be arranged-including one quaint novelty-"Rent a Publican." Memo to Mr Cramton: "Eamie Flynn is a Scot."

Sussed out

A NEW BOOK called Stories from the Dole Queue (published by Tomples Smith, £1-10) has some

Do the dirty work

However, the Tories will not be at all keen to use these powers. To do so would be to make clear to every tenant just who was responsible for big and repeated rent rises. And if the opposition was on a big enough scale the government would find it politically impossible to proceed to displace the majority of councils by Whitehall 'commissioners'.

The Tories need Labour councillors to do the dirty work. Tenants need Labour councillors to do the job they were elected to do—to defend working-class interests. Every union branch, every trades council, every tenants' association, should demand that Labour councils just get on and do the job. But don't leave it at that. As the collapse of resistance on the school milk issue proved, most Labour councils have very little backbone for a fight. With or without their support tenants need to be organised to refuse to pay the increase in October.

Solidarity with Vietnam struggle

WHO WANTS TO DIE for President Thiệu? Very few citizens of the 'Republic of Vietnam'. The events of the last few weeks have proved to the hit that the US puppet regime in South Vietnam enjoys no popular support. Even the army is demoralised.

In spite of the fact, rarely mentioned in our "free" press, that the South Vietnamese Army has a substantial numerical superiority, in spite of total US control of the air, in spite of obliteration bombing, Thiệu's forces stagger from defeat to defeat.

All of which is a serious embarrassment for Thiệu's master, President Richard Nixon. Especially in an election year. And a new escalation of US intervention is being planned.

The details are not known at the time of writing but one thing is sure. It will intensify still further the misery and exploitation that the US government has been inflicting on the people of Vietnam, North and South, for the last ten years.

Thanks to the strength of the anti-war movement in the US itself and in the rest of the world. The occupation of Vietnam is defeated. The costs of supporting the puppet regime are_is given.

Can be hastened and the agony of the Vietnamese people shortened by a new wave of demonstrations of solidarity. We owe it both to the people of Vietnam and to the millions of war-resisters in the USA to put our backs into this work.
Cleansers start to mop up London’s offices

The campaign by London office cleaners for recognition and better pay in the current climate of recession has had some encouraging successes lately. The women who work in the office blocks have linked up with the union representatives of the people who work in the offices during the day.

The latest example is that of the Civil Service Union in the Ministry of Defence building, where night cleaners have won important improvements in working conditions, bringing them up to £17.50 per week. The union is now negotiating for holiday and sick pay.

May Hobbs, their militant and unrepentant leader, has a sound point for the Civil Service Union in that they keep their members informed by letter at each stage of negotiations, while other unions seemed to prefer to keep the women in the dark.

The Civil Service Union has been keen to help the cleaning women. May says: ‘As soon as only one or two girls have joined, the union will come in on a pay claim. So other girls soon join the union.’

Though cleaners’ usual excuse is that they will go broke if they have to pay the union fee, a long-term contractor realises he might be in danger of losing the contract. It’s amazing how quickly he realises he can afford to pay higher wages.

May estimates that over the two years about a thousand women have been recruited into unions, mainly as the result of efforts by women from the Women’s Liberation Workshop and Socialist Woman groups.

The cleaners’ campaign is not only confined to London or to office blocks. Schools and college council buildings and hospitals, post office depots and canteens, all employ numbers of cleaners.

The cleaners have not received a great deal of help from the Trade Workers’ Union, although it is through this large union, and the possibility of organizing women on all kinds of buildings, that their chance of real success lies.

The TGRO has now put in a claim for the cleaners on the enormous Shell-Mex complex and the women are waiting for the outcome.

If this day-time workers are already organised, some cleaners might find an approach to that union more fruitful.

But in the long run what the women really want is a National Cleaner’s Union, working on behalf of all cleaners, in the TGRO, with their own organiser. And that is something they haven’t got to wait too long for.

VALERIE CLARK

Intemment under a new name hits N. Ire and GB

THIRTY MEN were released from Long Kesh two weeks ago but at least 50 others were arrested. To date no internment orders have been signed by Whitelaw but my understanding is that he has signed detention orders.

There is no limit to the length of time that anyone can be held on detention, so it’s interment under another title. If the 30- to-50 ratio continues, the Westermo internship will need to build another camp as this one is bursting at the seams. It’s very important that this situation is understood by IS and the Anti-Internment leagues.

I can notice a change of attitude in the people here in the North this month. Because they feel they are being interned. Internment is still with us as the ‘70-old men in Long Kesh would testify to. The Special Powers Act is in daily use and now it would seem that the British Army has received orders to shoot on sight any well-known Republicans on their wanted list.

Joe McCann, a revolutionary in the true sense, was cold-bloodedly murdered last week. We had the Widgery Whitewash but the people are tired and want ‘peace’ and the opportunist politicians like Phip and Hume are trying hard to get the people back to the status quo position.

The Provisional Alliance are not helping the situation with their continued reckless bombing. They are being fed a line that they can get away with it when the ghetto areas suffer and also as if they don’t want the internment relieved.

It is the object of the establishment to isolate the Republican movement from the people and precipitate actions at the moment of internment.

DENNIS CASSIN, Long Kesh Internment Centre, Co Antrim.

This letter was sent in the first instance to a member of the International Socialists who corresponds with Dennis Cassin.

A May Day greeting card produced by Long Kesh prisoners

LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

Role of the masses

CHRIS HARRAN’s review of Bruno and Teresa Oelrich’s book The Civil War in Spain (23 April) is somewhat constricted and disappointing. After the short description of the significant events of the war Oelrich concludes that its weakness and ultimate failure lay in its inability to form a revolutionary working-class party, and infers from this the historical decay of revolutionary movements.

I have detected on a number of occasions, however, that to depict as key the history of the role (to lack of) the revolutionary working class is rather than the self-sacrifice of the working class. Hence the success of 1917 is portrayed as due to the existence of revolutionary party, and the failure of the others—Spain 1936, France 1943, etc.—to the lack of one. I say this trend as malignantly and profoundly misleading.

As I see it, the only guarantee for a successful revolution is the collective transfer of power to the base and the building of new social relations on the basis of the transfer of power from bourgeois politics to revolutionary politics. This process is often incremental rather than revolutionary upheaval should result with an interplay of state and councils facilitated at necessary levels. This power is direct and not mediated by any political party, union apparatus or other bureaucracy. Hence, what is important, the key if you will, is not so much the party as the masses— their collective ability and desire to act autonomously and not rely on leaders ships whether acting in their name or not.

ROB DENT, London WC1.

CHRIS HARRAN comments: The conflation is Bruno Don’s. For marxists, the subjectivity of the working class is something that can be opposed to the creation and leading role of a revolutionary party. Even in the greatest and most revolutionary of uprisings, workers, whole sections of the class (like the Spanish workers) showed ideological myths put over by the opportunists of the working class.

The most powerful of these myths is the idea that work is too important to be better by losing the existing state or hierarchy. But, while merely putting politicians from the various workers’ parties at the top of it.

Confusion can only be overcome by the existence of an organized party activists opposed to the case, that the workers have to break the old ties and replace it by a centralized power based upon their own direct control. The tragedy in Spain was that such a party did not exist for the workers’ committees to transform themselves into a direct expression of the revolutionary majority.

Of course there can be no success for any party which acts upon the principle that the transfer from bourgeois politics to revolutionary politics should be the building of workers’ power from below. The example that the anarcho-syndicalists in the working class against the domination of middle-class ideas.

MUST protest at the underlying reformist notions contained in your front page of 27 April. Phrases such as ‘Kick out the Tories’, ‘Defeat this Tory government’, ‘Make the last May Day under Labour’ and ‘The Tory Party—the political party of the rich’ do not demonstrate the clear opposition of the people to capitalism, a barbaric and inhumane social and our support for the Labour Party. In its propaganda, a revolutionary party acts as an instrument of the Labour Party. Unfortunately, the trade unions in Socialist Workers’ falls into the same trap.

The Labour Party is a capitalist party committed to upholding and defending the capitalist, big business system. Why isn’t this made clear in the editorial? Why the absolute absence of criticism of the Labour Party?

Supporters of the Labour Party’s parliamentary majority will derive great comfort from such articles and will find little to disagree with. The paper should merely express anti-capitalist parties (Tory and labour), the executive committee of the bourgeois. An article evaluating the IRP’s position against unqualifiedly condemn capitalism is urgently required.

We must strive to build a mass revolutionary working-class party, not consolidating the hegemony of Labour Party ideology, but an actively revolutionary party such as exists in Spain.

- BARRY CARROLL

DERRY: WHO GAVE THE ORDER

WHILE Eamon MacCurtain’s article (The Guardian, 23 April) was an important step of the major points, some of his arguments were ill-conceived.

On the question of who fired first he states (p. 17) ‘MacDermott was on the front line with his lumber of RIC men hanging around and he very likely admitted lying on TV to save face for the army. He very likely made the first shot and a moment [faced with a crowd throwing stones], the only way he could get to the wall above their heads. These shots he admits were not fired at a gun man, and he had heard no shot that [he] was aware.’

Thus the first two shots could have been fired by Lieutenant V.

CPL R. M. ADAMS

The second point upon which MacCurtain’s views has been backed up in a somewhat revised form by incorporating a more even temper of analysis and any play for the march on Bloody Sunday. It was put forward to bolster up the impression that there were political motives to get the army to clamp down.

This raises two major questions: who fired first and what was the motive? The Times’s editor clearly states the same: ‘The Irishman of the Irish State for Defence Lord Carrington’, either as a leader of the army or the Northern Ireland Committee of the Cabinet. CHERIS JONES, Bootle.
WHAT LABOUR REALLY DID

ONE feature of all the major industrial disputes over the past year has been constant: the behaviour of the Labour leaders.

In every case they have tried to do two things simultaneously—to give the impression that they oppose the Tory attack on legal rights, wages and conditions. At the same time no one has ever given any specific statement that they would themselves have done anything differently.

In the confrontations between the unions and the Industrial Relations Act, Labour spokesmen have seemed to come down on the side of the unions. Yet when a resolution came before the party national executive, it was carefully amended to avoid giving the impression that the Labour leaders supported defiance of the law.

Wilson, Callaghan, Prentice and the rest have been careful to say that they do not oppose the law, it would be quite wrong for unions to break it. For 'the law is the law.'

Instead they advise on a wait until they are in government again, when, it seems, the law will be repealed and all will be well for the unions.

In fact the last Labour government was as harsh on the unions, and in particular on the union bank and file, as the Tories are now.

In March 1964 the Labour government, under Harold Wilson, was returned to power with the massive parliamentary majority of 97—the second biggest in the history of the party. Those who believed that socialism could be introduced by parliamentary means, or at a minimum that such measures could improve the lot of the working class, had a supreme opportunity to see their hopes realised.

They went in changing terms of the government's plans. Before the election, Butler, the mouthpiece of the parliamentary and trade union left, had written: 'The Labour manifesto is . . . in essence a socialist one. The answers are inescapable egalitarianism.'

'Socialism is right back on the agenda,' it claimed after the election. But the euphoria did not last long.

The strike

WITHIN four weeks the biggest industrial dispute for many years was to break out. A section of genuinely low-paid workers, earning as little as £1.50 a week for 56 hours work, were to push in for a modest wage rise of 60p a week in the working week to 40 hours.

The National Union of Seamen had traditionally been so corrupt and bureaucratic that even Harold Wilson had described it as 'little more than a company union'. But now it had been forced by the disconnected actions of a determined minority of hard working years of careful and sustained organisation by a section of militants, to make a stand

on behalf of its members.

It ordered them to strike as their ships docked in British ports, 16 days earlier. They responded to the call with enthusiasm.

The Labour government moved into action with rare unanimity. With their Socialist programmes they had no difficulty at all in deciding who to support in a conflict between the £15 a week seamen and the quid pro quo shipowners.

Harold Wilson made a special appearance on television to denounce the seamen for acting 'against the state, against the community.'

Novel officers were ordered to stand by to move ships as necessary. A motion was passed through parliament granting the government emergency powers, including powers to break the strike. Not one of the so-called left Labour MPs, the Michael Foot, the Eric Heffer, the Stan Oram, saw fit to divide the Commons over the issue.

In an attempt to make its bitter hostility to the seamen seem reasonable, the government appointed a court of inquiry into the dispute under Lord Pearson. This made it easier for them to act against the seamen.

When the seamen's union appealed to foreign ports to show solidarity by blocking British ships in foreign ports, it found not only the government, but the other union leaders on the other side.

'A major struggle begins between the government-aided by the TUC—and the seamen's union to prevent a blockade of oil sales,' recalls Harold Wilson in his memoirs.

The TUC leaders were to be even more openly opposed to the seamen once Pearson had reported, even though the report offered—and again according to Wilson—only marginal improvements in pay.

Wilson goes on to tell what followed:

The seamen's executive rejected the court's report. Mr Vic Feather intervened and called the seamen's leaders to the TUC. More and more unions were concerned about the effects of the strike on their members' earnings . . . there was a move to block any approach by the seamen's union to foreign unions.

Meanwhile, governmental shipping activities were stepped up further. RAF plans were used to move export orders.

The 'plot'

THEN Wilson played what he considered his trump card. He resorted to 'red scare' McCarthyism by announcing in the House of Commons that the only reason the seamen would not settle was because 'a few individuals have brought pressure to bear on a select few of the executive council . . . who in truth have been able to dominate the majority of this otherwise sturdy union.' Behind these pressures was 'a small group of politically-motivated men'.

In a later statement he elaborated on three hysterical charges by referring in detail to the movements of some members of the Communist Party. It seemed that those had had the efficacy to get elected to local strike committees and to discuss the tactics of the struggle with two members of the union executive.

Even the press and the Tory leadership were unimpressed by such flimsy evidence.

Under all these pressures, the seamen's executive began to bend. Those members who were pure radicals were isolated. Those who had put on a militant stance to safeguard their own bureaucratic positions from criticism by the rank and file now felt able to return to their more usual 'moderate' politics of collaborating with the employers and the government.

Yet in all this there is direct evidence that some of those purging the union to surrender, from Wilson to Jack Jones, actually accepted the 'red plot' story.

Wilson certainly did not. He writes in his memoirs that the tactics of the group (in other words the militants) at the meeting of the union executive that decided on a return to work was 'to make their proposals for a ballot or a small conference.'

Much of the manoeuvring of Wilson and others was to avoid this at all costs. The one thing they feared was a real expression of what the seamen felt.

The future

TODAY the official parliamentary and trade union left prefer not to talk of incidents like the seamen's strike. When they do, they give the impression that if only there had been other influences at work on Wilson—or if only there had been a few more leftists in the cabinet, things would have been different.

But such arguments ignore the real reason why Wilson decided not to break the strike and why the whole trade union establishment, 'left' and right, helped him.

The clearest analysis of the Wilson government's problems and policies was given by Chris Harman in his memoirs. The central basis of Labour Party politics of all bosses and of left and workers never to be taken in again, that society can be improved by parliament and action, without direct action from the rank and file of the working class.

The employing class accepts no such constraints on its activity. When the Labour government returned to power in both 1964 and 1966 big business immediately moved to ensure that no measures, however meagre, would be taken to diminish its power.

In 1964 there was a massive movement of money overseas, which Wilson was only able to stop by abandoning all his election pledges. Faced with the same threats in 1966, he preferred to prove his absolute dedication to the holdouts of the industrialists and bankers before any crisis set in.

The next Labour government is certain to believe in exactly the same strategy towards the unions as Wilson did in 1966. Despite the fine words which they spout in public, Labour politicians who want no change capitulate gradually are first forced to make the system work—and then means keeping those who own it in health.

The only alternative, that of using the whole strength of the working class, in direct action to smash the system, is an alternative rejected as much by the left of the Labour Party as by the right, as much by Foot as by Jenkins, by Jones and Attlee as by Hogg and Chapple. That is why, when the chips are down, we can expect to see repeats of what happened in 1966.

A bonus for the profitheirs

GREAT was the rejoicing in the City recently when the government announced 'tapping' grants to shipbuilders.

They were announced around the time of the Budget—probably in an attempt to disguise what was happening. The government said that it would give the shipyards a bonus 'grant' equal to 10 per cent of the value of ship sales in 1972. In other words, for ships that already had been ordered, the builders would receive a gift.

In 1973 the figure was to be four per cent and in 1974 three per cent.

These gifts are in no way dependent on the number of jobs provided. The theory is that the yards will reduce the prices they are quoting by the amount of the grant and in this way attract orders and so provide jobs. It is in the hope of this year's ships the prize already taken account of world costs and are profitative or losses have been provided for. The government money is just a free bonus.

Look at the example of Swan Hunter. This is the company that last year lost so many strikes and excessive wage claims that its managing director was quoted as saying of the workers: 'We will not be taken for a ride by anyone.'

In the event the people taken for a ride are the workers and taxpayers. Swan Hunter recently announced profits of $2,880,000 for 1971, against a loss of more than £3 million in 1970.

This financial year is also expected to be good and in a period of about two weeks Swan Hunter shares have more than doubled on the stock exchanges.

Now it will be clear that Swan Hunter's problems, after giving a measly £1.38 rise in 1971 to 3000 fitters, were far before the government awarded the £2.88 million profit was made without grants.

Swan Hunter's shipbuilding sales in 1972 will be around £60 million. So the government will be giving them £2.88 million. This is clear profit, a fact recognised by two other major firms, Appletree and Austin and Pobengil, who have said that they will not accept any grants straight as profits.

Meanwhile back in the North East, the redundancies continue at least 500 in the sales department, and at least 600 in the work force out of work.

So again the government has written off thousands to industrialists and shareholders. They call this a national policy for tackling unemployment!
Irish Labour—graveyard party for militants who want workers’ republic...

IT’S HARD TO IMAGINE a worse monument to James Connolly than the Irish Labour Party. It is still occasionally referred to as ‘Connolly’s Party’, in recollection of that great revolutionary’s role in establishing an independent Irish labour movement. It was in 1912 that the Irish Trades Union Congress, for whose independence from the British TUC Connolly had fought, set up a political wing, the Irish Labour Party.

Eamonn De Valera, the South’s senior statesman, used to invoke the memory of James Connolly in his earlier, more radical days. He then went on to use state force against the republicans and socialists. Any claim that the Irish Labour Party makes to Connolly’s heritage is only marginally less insulting than De Valera’s claims.

The party, and its party for the past 50 years, has now led the Labour party to a situation where its members are actually working against the progress of participating in a coalition government with the SDLP and Sinn Fein.

The Northern crisis, which has seriously affected political considerations in Ireland, has had its traumatic effects on the Labour Party, too.

On the one hand, Conor Cruise O’Brien—England’s favourite Irishman. His book The Irish in Britain’s foreign affairs ‘expert’—argues that the Protestants are a divided nation, and that the violence of the IRA is the most divisive thing Ireland today.

After Bloody Sunday, he played his usual role, delivering a funeral oration on the one hand, there are some in the party who are working hard on behalf of traditional republicanism, advocating national unity as a target, and that the violence of the IRA is the most divisive thing Ireland today.

Embraced

At the last party congress in February the two sides were reconciled in an incredible act of all things to all men. O’Brien has made an eerie traditional republican Sean Tracey (after another Labour Party conference) and his own role in those gestures which only underline the hypocrisy of the party’s politics.

All of the recent history of the trade unions and especially in the context of middle-class politics, although the Labour Party never claimed to be a necessary element of those gestures which only underline the hypocrisy of the party’s politics.

Today it does not even pretend to be such—ever less a socialist party. Any of the members of the working-class politics which you’ll get a small number of trade union militants, forced on it in the past have been ratted on with remarkable regularity.

The party was committed to calls for new Labour and to a future of republicans. It did not do so.

When the initiative was taken by some younger Labour Party members in 1971, they were expelled for their association with the Socialist Labour League—which formed at that conference.

On the one hand, the Labour Party, consisting very largely of workers, was forcibly dissolved because it refused to uphold demands on expulsions.

The party was committed to opposing the idea of coalition with any of the two conservative parties—Fine Gael or Fine Gael.

Yet, just 15 months ago, and to do so, the party was committed to calling the Green Party and 150 people walked out of the conference.

The party was committed to calling for a new Labour Party in the Common Market. The referendum which took place this week, yet only one leading Labour Party member inserted himself against entry in the party.

The party appointed a campaign committee, three of whose members are known supporters of Irish entry into the Common Market.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, the Irish Labour Party had its ‘Workers’ Republic’ as its declared objective. In the 1940s it dropped that aim, under pressure from the Church.

Incapped

In 1965 it re-affirmed that it was working for the establishment of socialism. At that time, it was carrying considerable numbers of people and workers into the party.

Large trade unions, such as the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union (‘Connolly’s union’) affiliated to the party. These developments reflected a general rationalisation of Irish politics which was caused by the growth of industry and of the town.

Coming to the Labour Party under those conditions, workers were in general coming to a clearer awareness of their own independent class interests. But the party was incapable of expressing those interests or of acting consistently on them.

And it still had much of its support from country areas. There had been a time when the Labour Party had more country seats than the SDLP.

It had little effect on the ideas of the more conservative rural MPs who were not interested in the party and paid little attention to the changing mood in the party as a whole. If they did pay attention, it was generally to indicate their opposition to the party.

Current controversy in the Irish Labour Party—which has given rise to newspaper headlines such as ‘Labour Faces Its Biggest Crisis’—revolved around Seamus Coughlan, MP for Limerick. When he was mayor of that town, he made the Maosites and the Jews the main targets for his attacks.

The labour movement

Although he condemned for anti-Semitic remarks, he recently repeated similar ideas in an interview as an MP for his expulsion was moved at the party’s administrative council, but was defeated.

Coalition has meanwhile abandoned his bigoted and anti-socialist stance momentarily and now the Labour Party, throwing and in his eyes of the Labour Party, throwing himself into the path of the workers to get through the four years of the ‘bloc’.

The plans of the Labour Party, and more militant, people who came into the party have now come to the party.

Many of the old militants and leaders have simply passed through, as the party had little to offer them.

Alternative

Some of those who left the Labour Party have gone to Sinn Fein. Officially, they have gone from Provisional, some to the smaller revolutionary groups, others out of the Labour Party.

Socialists were right to take the growth of the party’s working-class membership seriously in the past. But they also needed a socialist alternative in order to prevent the inevitable disillusionment from leading to total demobilisation.

It still requires the building of a genuine socialist, working-class movement to attract the few, healthy class conscious militant socialists who have been back by the Labour Party. A strike could play into the hands of the employers when

IRLAND’S HISTORY OF REPRESSION

by James Walker

James Walker’s highly-rated series in Socialist Worker has now been expanded to include Ireland. It is indicated for workers because trade unions are involved in the struggle to free Ireland from British occupation.

15 BOOHS, 6 Cornels Garden, London E2 8DN

A balance sheet on the ‘work-in’

IT BEGAN at 10.43am on Friday, 30 July last year, when a boilermakers shop steward said: ‘By the authority of the boilermakers of this company, we demand the reinstatement of the trade union movement of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the workers hereby take over this yard.’

And now, a year later, last week the whole future of the four UCS yards was grim. Their closure was likely, 6000 redundancies were threatened and the local town was said to be facing the prospect of almost total social disaster.

The company had been formed in 1968, and after a series of financial difficulties, the company was wound up in September last year. The company’s directors had announced that the company would not continue beyond the end of the year.

The work-in had meanwhile abandoned his bigoted and anti-socialist stance momentarily and now the Labour Party, throwing and in his eyes of the Labour Party, throwing himself into the path of the workers to get through the four years of the ‘bloc’.

The plans of the Labour Party, and more militant, people who came into the party have now come to the party.

Many of the old militants and leaders have simply passed through, as the party had little to offer them.

Alternative

Some of those who left the Labour Party have gone to Sinn Fein. Officially, they have gone from Provisional, some to the smaller revolutionary groups, others out of the Labour Party.

Socialists were right to take the growth of the party’s working-class membership seriously in the past. But they also needed a socialist alternative in order to prevent the inevitable disillusionment from leading to total demobilisation.

It still requires the building of a genuine socialist, working-class movement to attract the few, healthy class conscious militant socialists who have been back by the Labour Party. A strike could play into the hands of the employers when

Roger Rosewell

successes and failures of the first great struggle over redundancies

INSPIRED

Now, 10 months later, their struggle is coming to an end. During those months they inspired whole sections of the working class to resist redundancies and were responsible for creating the growing movement of occupations and strikes.

The initial response to the work-in was incredible, money poured in and so did messages of support. In August 8000 people marched through Glasgow and 2000 stopped work in solidarity with the UCS workers. Now with the sale of the Clydeside yards to the American-owned Marathon Manufacturing Company and the new government-backed Gowan Shipbuilding group taking over Scotstoun, Linthouse and Govan, all four yards will remain open.

But all the workers have kept their jobs.

REFUSED

The work-in meant that the production of ships was maintained while the workers dismissed refused to leave and carried on working. The shop stewards’ committee—dominated by members of the Communist Party like Jimmy Reid and Jimmy Aitife—chose this tactic.

The problem facing the leaders of the UCS workers was to devise a new technique of struggle which would achieve their objectives, to prevent redundancies and closures, in what was found to be a tough struggle. A strike could play into the hands of the employers when
Closure anywhere, could possibly be a good excuse to workers or workers. But in a strike situation, the closure is not an excuse for the workers. The workers are fighting against the closure because it is unfair. The workers are fighting to keep their jobs because they need them. The workers are fighting against the closure because it is unjust. The workers are fighting because they believe in their rights. The workers are fighting because they believe in solidarity. The workers are fighting because they believe in justice. The workers are fighting because they believe in the right to work. The workers are fighting because they believe in the right to dignity. The workers are fighting because they believe in the right to respect.

The postmen were beaten after a magnificent strike and the farmworkers still remain inevitably underpaid. In a struggle between workers and the Tory government, it is not public opinion that is decisive. The recent miners' victory was won because of their own militancy and the solidarity of other workers. That was the vital lesson of the dispute.

The UCS struggle was a struggle to be heard. The trade union leaders managed to compromise. Instead of fighting for the nationalization of the yards, they passed abstract resolutions about the need to nationalize the whole of the shipbuilding industry.

And then - without even a whisper - they rushed off to meet their friends. And why not? They had been promised a 3% increase. But that was not enough. The workers had been promised a 5% increase. But that was not enough. The workers had been promised a 10% increase. But that was not enough. The workers had been promised a 20% increase. But that was not enough. The workers had been promised a 50% increase. But that was not enough. The workers had been promised a 100% increase. But that was not enough.
TORY JOY FOR LAND SHARKS AS ALL CONTROLS ARE RIPPED UP

THE TORIES' latest housing attack comes with their proposals to get rid of planning controls. They say that this is to release land for building and so bring house prices down.

But the fantastic 15 per cent rise in house prices of the last few months is a direct result of the Tories' and building speculators' activities. The Housing Finance Bill is a deliberate attempt to revive the once stagnant private house building industry by pricing people out of council housing.

With industrial investment still sagging, huge amounts of investment is going into private housing, in mortgages for those who can afford them. This has made house prices rise, to the builders' delight.

Blame

Many builders, anticipating further rises in house prices once mortgage interest rates begin to rise, are holding back tracts of land, but blame planners' 'incompetence' for the 'shortage of land'.

So the Tories have come up with a new policy: demolish the planning control system. Property developers won't have to submit detailed plans to local councils any more—they will simply put their proposals on a list for the local councils to scrutinise.

The Minister has promised the developers that if local councils do object to their schemes, they will have to reverse the council's decisions. This brings us right back to the situation of the mid-seventies, when Labour's ribbon development and uncontrolled industrial building.

Dump

It will probably mean unrestricted hotel and office development and a free licence to mine interests to excavate and scrap merchants to dump in any place they choose. Even under the existing planning control system, planners were more concerned with the interests of property developers, but with the new proposals any efforts to protect the environment or local activities will be wiped out.

The new plans also mean the demotion of regional planning controls under the Tories. These were at least an attempt to provide some control over industrial development from the South East to 'development areas'.

Industrialists are now more or less completely free to set up where they like, regardless of the effect this has on the housing situation. The Tories have also killed the Land Commission, a vehicle for the interests of developers.

The Commission was a feeble attempt by the Labour government to provide land cheaply for public building, but at the very least it could have prevented some of the more blatant profiteering on land development that has now been let loose.

It is quite clear that the existing planning system has done little to provide housing at a reasonable cost in a decent environment for working people. This cannot be done without breaking up the land and control over development in the interests of the majority.

But this latest attack on the planning system will only make worse our housing and living situation. And the builders, property speculators and land sharks will be crying all the way to the bank.

IRENE BRUEGEL

Inferior blacks this pernicious thorn

by TROY LANGLEY

WHEN we argue against racist ideas we often come up against the statement 'but scientists have proved that negroes are inferior'.

This type of nonsense is peddled regularly by the National Front and other racist groups who usually cite as their 'scientific' authorities Professor Arthur Jensen, an American psychologist, or more recently—in Britain—Professor Eysenck. It is important for socialists to know just what these 'authorities' have said and how to refute their ideas.

Jensen wrote a paper in 1968, published in the Harvard Educational Review, in which he claims to show from research (mainly on twins and brothers and sisters brought up apart) that the variability between children's performance on IQ tests is 80 per cent due to hereditary factors and only 20 per cent to environmental.

The implication is, in plain language, that if you score low on an IQ test it is overwhelmingly because you were born stupid. Black children as a group get lower scores on IQ tests than white children as a group—therefore, so the argument goes, black children are born less intelligent than white children and there is nothing that can be done about it.

This, hedged around with the qualifications 'for scientific objectivity' and academic respectability, is the core of Jensen's argument, and certainly the only part of it of any value to groups taking aim at black children.

Outside scientists have not been ready to accept Jensen's claims at face value. A series of court papers have effectively demolished his argument at many levels—showing that his statistics are questionable, that his research results do not in fact support his own conclusions, that his logic is faulty and so on.

Most of these arguments are of pedantical interest only, but one has wider implications. The research is based on IQ test results, and it is the meaning and validity of these tests which must be challenged.

Just what is it that they measure? Test constructors make middle class white academic: their tests reflect their values, priorities and experience—'if I share these then very likely you will score high on the tests'.

Advantage

Most black children certainly don't share them. Often test questions refer to a world of which they have no experience, that of white middle class society. How could they know the answers to questions about taxes, laws, marriage licences and 'bad company', concepts and customs that are quite alien to them?

If you share the white middle class culture then you will have another tremendous advantage in terms of the test—you'll be interested in it and try to 'do well' at it.

Why should a black child be interested in a white lady's questions about books and poets and bother to answer them? They have no relevance to his life.

IQ tests are tested in ways that favour the obedient, conforming middle class child. What is tested is not intelligence as commonly understood but ability to respond correctly to a certain set of questions representing a few specific narrowly defined skills. A person's IQ score tells us virtually nothing about him or her.

So we can see that black children set out with a disadvantage in terms of the content of the test and the motivation to do well at it.

They are likely to have many other disadvantages as well—to have been brought up in conditions that are totally unfavourable to the development of the child's potentialities—in overcrowded slums, with not enough to eat, with parents constantly worried about eviction and unemployment, who do not have enough time to devote to talking and playing with their children. Without the toys and books that are vitally necessary to development, without nursery education and with the worst primary education in baneovered ancient schools, often with teachers who do not care and neither expect nor encourage the child to explore and develop.

Jensen, Eysenck and their like would have us believe that if the tests were not oriented towards middle class culture and all these fantastic disadvantages were removed, black children would still, somehow, not do so well as white children. There is no proof whatsoever of this, and plenty of counterproof.

What the racist will not be so quick to tell you is that these scientists have not only 'proved' the inferiority of black people on the basis of intelligence tests. They claim that since working class children score lower on tests they also have proved the inferiority of the working class.

This argument can of course, and often is, extended to any group in society, such as women, the Irish and criminals. In fact, deprive any section of society of resources and the means to develop, oppress it and exploit it, apply to it a biased and unscientific test and, hey presto, it is shown to be intrinsically inferior and thus the original deprivation, exploitation and oppression, if it is ever realised, a justified.

Privileged

Now we can see the preposterous and pernicious nature of this type of 'scientific research'. Its function in our society is clear: to maintain a privileged elite at the expense of the majority of people, justifying this by the idea that they deserve to be at the top, after all they 'are the best people'.

As for the rest of us, if we were born not quite having it taken, that's hard luck—we must spend our lives choosing the street or swaying over machines as this is the only contribution we are capable of making to society.

At the same time it plays the divide and rule game: we can always take out our frustrations on a section who are worse off, the black people, and comfort ourselves with the idea that at least we're better than them.

Accept this attitude, it is hoped, and working people will blame themselves or 'the luck of the draw' for their situation, or attacking the blacks, while the real cause and culprit, the capitalist system, continues uncathed.
THE LATE Isaac Deutscher, author of two fine volumes of Trotsky's biography (and a disappointing third volume), found it impossible for much of his life to relate to practical political involvement.

As he says in an interview published here: "I was a heterodox communist; I was a Trotskyite; I was increasing a way out of the impasse into which reaction and Stalinism had driven us, and I could not find one."

"Then I gave up direct party-political activity, in order to devote myself to theoretical and archival work."

This phase of withdrawal lasted from 1935 to around 1960, and produced several fine books—as well as some tedious Trotskyology in Sunday newspaper type journalism.

Annually as a student at Oxford, Deutscher gathered strength. Britain and the American Left regarded Deutscher as a marxist teacher for young radicals without previous contact with marxism. Many of the essays gathered in this posthumous book convey this passionately-played role, in which Deutscher, often in simple and telling language, conveys old lessons to new audiences.

He writes on the necessity of revolutionary violence—but that must never be made into a virtue, on the urgency of socialist internationalism—but that the bankruptcy of the Fourth International, and most of all, of the indisputability of a working-class vanguard. Your working class remains the most active agency of socialism... You may smash your head against goodness knows how many iron walls if you ignore your working class... Your only salvation is in carrying back the idea of socialism to the working class and coming back with the working class to storm—to storm, yes—to storm—the bastions of capitalism.

The introduction, by Tamara Deutscher, is apt and vivid. Mrs Deutscher, a researcher and co-worker about her literary career, has only since his death emerged from her profound and sensitive revolutionary writer.

Her writing is lucid and, one feels, both more radical and less constriction than that of her husband.

Many of any other book by Deutscher, Marxism In Our Time deserves paperbound and the thousands of recent recruits to marxism who need its sober experience.

PETER SEDGWICK

Coming soon:

PLANET OF THE MUGS

AFTER nine months work, the CAST film Planet Of The Mugs is nearly finished. What originally started out as a simple idea has quickly developed into an operation involving more than 30 people. Production assistants, Writers, film technicians, actors and directors.

All working for nothing. And paying their own expenses. Simply because they wanted to do it.

The considerable sum of money needed was given by friends. Wanted to see it made.

Whatever the critics may say the film reaches the screen, these things alone make Planet of The Mugs a remarkable film.

The story of the film is simple. Earth has a strange visitor. Britain appoints an Exploratory Mission to the British government an unusual proposition. Which is immediately accepted.

But as he looks around he realises there is a lot he does not understand. And nobody will give him the right answers.

Finally, disillusioned and very angry, he realises he has made a mistake. But it just isn't easy to put right.

The film is an attempt at a popular exploration through the major social problems facing the working class in their attempt to build socialism.

It is a 16mm black and white one-reel 30-minute film about the effects of single colour and will be shown at union meetings, social and youth clubs and student meetings.

Our pictures shows some of the actors who take part in the film during a rehearsal. On the right is Red Saunders, who plays the visitor. The other leading part, that of the prime minister, is taken by David Hatten.

DON MILLIGAN

Gay liberation against oppression

Of course, assaults on gay people do not usually end in death. Death or serious injury merely bring them to public attention.

For obvious reasons gay people live in such fear at the way they do of 'queer bashing'. There is simply no way of telling how widespread such attacks are.

The general oppression of homosexuals is felt most strongly by transsexuals and transvestites. People who identify completely with members of the opposite sex or who wish to dress as members of the opposite sex are the most persecuted of all gay people.

Persecuted

The GLF declares its complete solidarity with transsexuals and transvestites, though they are not necessarily homosexuals.

The clear understanding of the way all gay people are persecuted only act out in the manifesto has led the writers to identification of homosexuals as oppressed and often persecuted. It is in the seamen, in the language & question by the Gay Liberation Front that makes clear the link between gay liberation and the struggle for socialism.

The manifesto says: 'Gay liberation does not just mean reforms. It makes a revolutionary change in our whole society... Reforms may make things better face while changes in the law can make heterosexual people a little less hostile, a little more tolerant—but reforms cannot change the deep-down attitude of most people that homosexuality is at best inferior to their own way of life, at worst a sickening perversion. It will take more than reforms to change this attitude, because it is rooted in our society's most basic institution—the men-dominated family.'

Because this manifesto clearly explains the connection between the movement of women against male domination and the movement of homosexuals against oppression and persecution its significance for the socialist movement is undeniable.

The manifesto draws its home point by quoting a conservative American psychiatrist, Dr Fred Brown: "Our values in Western civilization are founded upon the sanctity of the family, the right to property, and the un..." (The text is left out of the version as it is a bit too long).

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LAST WEEK the government announced that the press has presented as a give-away-bumper prize to the suffering people of Belfast. More than £5.8 million is to be poured into the shipyard of Harland and Wolff.

The aim, they say, is to create 4000 new jobs in the next three years. But workers in Northern Ireland would do well to examine what lies beneath the glossy wrapping paper before rejoicing too much.

The present workforce of the yard is just under 10,000. So the government money being poured in amounts about £5,000 for every man, woman and child in Northern Ireland. But of course we are not going to them, but to the company that employs them. Harland and Wolff is not in Belfast. After the government announcement, there was much more in the city of London. Harland and Wolff shares, a year ago worth only 12p, have now shot up to 50p.

Although the governments of Britain and Northern Ireland had paid more than £2 million, it had made immense losses and the total market value of its shares was a mere £1,200,000.

When the workers received further last July, when the government bought 19 per cent of the shares at a grossly inflated price, even the Guardian felt bound to comment.

The Northern Ireland rescue operation on Harland and Wolff was a political move to get labouring Belfast shareholders. The government is committing £6 million to get public backing for its Belfast shipyard, because it would have bought the entire company on the stock exchange for less than £1.5 million.

Pay losses

The biggest shareholder in the company in Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, who has put £1.9 million into the private shares. Over 12 months these have grown in value from £4,750,000 to £7,300,000. The Ministers of Northern Ireland have handed him a cool £2 million or so.

For the next year and a half, the Northern Ireland government said, it will inveigle workers to sign an order to sell indices of their shares.

In a statement, the shipyard which grossly understated the working costs of theimers of £4 million, which are four-fifths of total costs — so that these 50 per cent of the workload.

One of the biggest of the yard’s order books is a 43,000-ton ship for the Greek company, which will cost £4 million. In all, the yard will be paid £7.4 million for the ship.

Mr. Onassis and some other politicians’ most cherished myths is that there is money poured in by the public and the government. The workers of Northern Ireland to boost the living standards of the workforce, but this is a gross lie.

It is no use talking about it. More than a quarter of a million workers in the shipyard have been left in the dark. There is no sign of the government’s assurance that expansion of the yard will lead to an increase in job opportunities.

A series of expensive advertisements in the local press last month, the Ministry of Commerce for Northern Ireland boasted that last year “17000 new manufacturing jobs were negotiated in Northern Ireland.” The unemployment figures measured eight days later revealed that the assessment had been shot up to 10,000 in a year, and 1800 in one month alone.

It is a well-known fact that the Admiralty slogan that the building long-dated ship quays has been the famous shipyard.”

Here, it must be said, the government is not to blame. The yard is making a loss because of the government’s policy of urging the workers to sign an order to sell indices of their shares.

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DON'T BEEN FOILED BY OUR TRICKERY

LABOUR MPs hailed a major retreat by the government on the rents issue following a Commons statement by Housing Minister Julian Amery yesterday.

He said he was giving some councils discretion in the implementation of the 'Fair Rents Act', which could mean that tenants would pay up 3% more this autumn except of the expected £1.

Pressure was put on the government by Tory councils before last week's local elections to stop the central government from continuing to stave off defeat.

Mr. Amery, in a reply to a question from Liverpool-Wavertree, Labour's Sir George Hamersmith, in a reply to a question from Liverpool-Wavertree, had pointed out that if £1 were added to its rents, his council would raise rents by £2.50 in the next few months.

The council would not go above way above the Tories' demands.

The Labour council would resolve the situation in substantial rhetoric.

Labour: promises, promises?

The Labour landslide in the council elections last week opened a new stage in the fight against the Tories over rents and promises.

The Labour MPs who were pledged to fight the increases. Some, like the London Boroughs of Camden and Aldershot, they will fight the government by using the ballot.

And more and more tenants are making the initiative. Thousands are now on partial rent rises, refusing to pay the rises.

In CRAWLEY more than half of the tenants were not paying their rent.

It is time to act on the local council's need to implement the new rents council rental.

Pledged

In HEMEL HEMPstead more than 3,000 tenants have signed a petition to the government for the local council to return the rent.

The Labour group on the council, which won the elections in the local elections last week, has pledged to reverse the rents increases.

LAMINITAUS, South Wales, has promised to return the rents to the same levels.

The Labour group on the council have pledged to reverse the rents increases.

More than 300 tenants and tenants' groups have pledged to return the rent rises.

No court boycott, Jenkins tells

ASTMS conference

by Roger Rosewell

BY FEWER than 1000 votes the conference of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs just failed to make its conference two-thirds majority to de-register the union last night.

The conference rejected the resolution moved for a general strike by Ray Jenkins, the ASTMS general secretary.

Vicious

But the left fought back. In his presidential address, Mike Cooley said the conference had met the party as a result of the leadership's failure to address the rents issue.

The conference rejected the resolution which was moved by the left and was met with a chorus of support.

 PRESSURE

It is essential that tenants' associations maintain the pressure on Labour councils and demand that they increase rents by up to £1 and that the pressure is backed by commitments to rents strikes and local industrial action.

The pressure will keep the government off its back foot and the tensions will get off the hook if they can join in. The mandatory organisation among tenants and trade unions will stop them.

Camden council is convinced that the government's 'fair rents' policy will lead to massive rent increases for both council and private tenants.

So the council won't impose 'fair rents' and it won't put up council rents this year by £1 a week either - as the government is expected to require. And, what's more, it won't be making any of the necessary preparations for these steps to be taken.

London Borough of Camden, Town Hall, Euston Road NW1

London Borough of Camden

Cameron council is convinced that the government's 'fair rents' policy will lead to massive rent increases for both council and private tenants.

So the council won't impose 'fair rents' and it won't put up council rents this year by £1 a week either - as the government is expected to require. And, what's more, it won't be making any of the necessary preparations for these steps to be taken.

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Send to: IS, 6 Gardens, London E2 5BD

Another union off the register

A THOUSAND delegates voted over the weekend, on a motion by the Post Office Communications Union, at the central conference of the National Union of Postmen in London yesterday, to withdraw from the Confederation of British Industry and the Confederation of British Industry in the Confederation of British Industry.

The conference, held on 28th May, was called to discuss the possibility of a strike by postal workers, and it was decided to withdraw from the Confederation.

The conference also decided to withdraw from the Confederation, and to refuse to accept the invitation to join the Confederation.

Move to tone down TASS policies

SCARBOROUGH: The dominating feature of the conference of TASS, the administrative and executive committee of the engineering union, last week was the attempt by the central committee to moderate the policies of the union in the face of a national dispute.

Delegates voted last year against discussing the check-off system of denim, but this year they accepted a change which allows members of the executive, Dick Jones, speaking as an individual member of the executive, to withdraw from the executive and attach Jones for his remarks.

Harry Smith, editor of the union journal, The Engineer, said that it was incorrect to support the internationalist policy at the present time, since if socialism were established in Britain, and

British whites could be set up, the union would have to take a firm stand on the rents issue.

The executive of TASS tried to repeat its run of last year on Roger Rosewell attending the conference, but was forced to look back on the back door under pressure from the journalists by the union.
The Italian general election earlier this year has not settled any of the problems facing Manchester workers. The major governmental party, the Christian Democrats, won again but failed to get an overall majority. As a result, it is being forced to rule in coalition with other parties.

The Labour party groupings of the '50s, '60s, and '70s that ruled in the past 10 years have all been weakened. They have not produced significant reforms to keep the workers happy, and they have failed utterly to come to terms with the problems facing the nation. The only hope now is for the workers to unite with other parties.

In the national elections, the '50s, '60s, and '70s that ruled in the past 10 years have all been weakened. They have not produced significant reforms, they are not a significant force, while the Communist Party has gained ground. The Christian Democrats have been abandoned by the workers on the right, and socialist groups have been abandoned by the workers on the left, making the Labour party's chance of staying in power more likely.

The dockers at the port of Liverpool are facing a crisis. The dockers have been on strike for over a year, and the employers have threatened to use replacement workers. The dockers have been left with no choice but to strike, as the employers are not willing to negotiate.

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