

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 236 4 SEPTEMBER 1971 2½p

ACTION IS NEEDED TO HELP JOBLESS

by CHRIS HARMAN

SIX WEEKS AGO the Tories' 'mini-Budget' introduced measures which, it was claimed, would stop the rise in unemployment. Since then hardly a day has passed without further announcements of factory closures and redundancies.

In the last week BAC, GEC, Massey-Ferguson and Westland Aircraft have ordered sackings. Government policy is not slowing the rise in unemployment. The 900,000 on the dole queues are going to be joined by a good many more.

In a report for the Sunday Times, two professors at the London Business School predict that 'unemployment will rise further until about the end of the year'.

And it is not just those who lose their jobs that are being hit. The government is using unemployment deliberately to discourage workers seeking the sort of wage increases needed to keep up with rising prices.

Its 'norm' for wages is between 6 and 8 per cent. But prices are rising at more than 10 per cent a year. In other words, the wage settlements being accepted by many unions are cutting the living standards of their members.

For many workers things are even worse. They are being forced to cut back on a whole range of necessities as their wages fall. According to the Economist, money earnings actually fell in June because of the combined effect of the government's policy towards wages and the rising level of short-time working in industry.

UNITED ACTION

The attack on the conditions of employed and unemployed alike can only be beaten back by united, militant action from the trade union movement.

The trouble is that the official leaders of the movement are doing nothing to prepare for a fight. They have announced a demonstration against unemployment in the autumn. But they have no policy for really fighting it.

The resolutions for next week's TUC show this. To take one example, the crucial question of productivity deals.

The government's own figures speak very plainly on the connection between productivity deals and unemployment. Over the last year, productivity in industry has risen 7.1 per cent. Production on the other hand has gone up by only 2.6 per cent.

In other words, every worker is produ-

Unions must put ban on 'prod deals'

cing much more, because of productivity deals but the total amount produced by all workers has hardly risen. Such a combination is only possible if the total number of jobs falls—as it has by 4.2 per cent.

Every improvement in productivity means more workers on the dole. Yet none of the TUC resolutions calls for a ban on productivity bargaining. However many times Vic Feather may weep crocodile tears, he is not going to do anything to lessen the threat to jobs and conditions.

OCCUPY PLANTS

The initiative has to be taken now by rank and file bodies in every locality. Workers in factories facing closure should be prepared to occupy the plant to stop management moving out valuable machinery and fulfilling profitable orders.

The call must go out for:
No more productivity deals. They reduce the work force.

Cut the working week to 35 hours without loss of pay to absorb the jobless. Five days work or five days pay.

Work sharing instead of redundancies. A complete overtime ban in any firm that declares redundancies in any of its factories.

Nationalisation under workers' control of any firm that closes any of its factories.

FROM JARROW TO CLYDEBANK:
Special feature on centre pages

The Professional Terrorists



British Troops out of Ireland!

This new IS poster is available, 17" x 27", from IS books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN, price 10p including post.

Picket army offices against brutality

by Brian Trench

EVENTS of the past three weeks have destroyed any last remaining illusions that the British Army in Northern Ireland is a 'peace-keeping' force. The aim is now brutally clear: to protect imperialist interests and to suppress popular revolt.

There is an urgent need for the labour and socialist movement in Britain to declare its opposition to internment and to the role of the troops. Without the presence of the troops, internment could not have been introduced. There will be no end to repression in Northern Ireland until the troops are withdrawn.

Soldiers are victims

The troops represent the continuation of the age-old domination of Ireland by the British ruling class. It is the system of British imperialism that is responsible for the violence. It is that system which stands accused, not the individual soldiers. They too are its victims. They are trained to obey orders, and cannot question those orders.

In an attempt to bring the attention of the British public to the realities of the Irish situation, and to the real motives for the British Army's presence there, the International Socialists, along with Irish republican and other left-wing organisations are holding pickets on military infor-

mation centres and installations throughout the country this Saturday, 4 September. Maximum support is needed. The

message is simple:
**RELEASE ALL PRISONERS!
WITHDRAW THE TROOPS!**

Support grows for inquiry into arrests

by Jimmy Grealy

SUPPORT continues to grow from trade unionists and Labour MPs for the Labour Committee Against Internment. Many more have added their names to the original signatories and have declared support for the following five demands:

1. Immediate publication of the names of those being held without trial in Northern Ireland.
2. A statement of the reasons for the arrest in every case.
3. An independent inquiry by MPs and trade unionists into allegations of brutality against prisoners.
4. Inspection of places of confinement with right of access to all detainees by British MPs.
5. Release of detainees or right of trial for all not released.

The British government has announced its intention to hold an inquiry into alleged brutality. But the terms of reference cover only the 48 hours from the first arrests and will be held in secret.

Prisoners in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast, have said they will not recognise the official inquiry. It is vital that an independent and international team demands access to the camps and prisons.

The LCAI will be holding mass meetings in September. Main rallies will be in Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow and London. All those in agreement with the five demands are urged to write giving their support to: LCAI, c/o 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN.

Latest signatories are:-
turn to back page

**UCS: REPORT ON
BACK PAGE**

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E28DN
Tel: 01 739 9043 (editorial) 2639 (business)

Fight must go on against union laws

IT IS NOW more than three weeks since the Industrial Relations Bill passed into law, but the organised trade union movement can still counteract its effects. The new law aims to weaken rank and file organisation at shop floor level and to strengthen the hold of right-wing officials inside the trade union movement.

One of the law's main aims is to force unions to accept legal restraints in return for certain privileges through registration with a government-appointed official. Any body not registered—whether a shop stewards' committee or an unregistered union—would in theory be liable to serious penalties every time it called a strike.

But the fact is that such penalties can only be imposed on weak bodies. The government and employers do not want a stand-up fight with the whole working class. They prefer to wait, not use the penal clauses of the law immediately, but to pick and choose, so that only those without the strength to fight back suffer at first. They hope that the overall effect will be to make workers more cautious about taking action to defend their conditions.

But this also points to the fundamental weakness in the government's strategy. It depends upon the acceptance by the strongest sections of the movement—by the powerful unions—of the framework of legal constraints. Should strong unions decide to ignore these, then the government could well find itself involved in battles it could not win.

The law is a power against the weak, not against the strong. For example, last December a judge in the High Court ordered SOGAT Division A not to go on strike. The union ignored the judgment. The strike went ahead. No one was penalised. Similarly, the power workers' work-to-rule of last December was in breach of the law. But again nobody was arrested.

A refusal to co-operate with the new law by major unions could quickly lead to it being discredited. Its intimidating effect on workers would be undermined. Earlier in the year, such arguments seemed to have penetrated deep into the trade union movement. Leaders like Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon spoke out against registration and the Croydon special TUC congress voted overwhelmingly in favour of that policy.

However, most of the leaders who claimed to be against registration even at that time had little real intention of putting the policy into effect. That is why a resolution that would have made non-registration obligatory for them was voted down at Croydon. And, more recently, many who seemed to take a stronger position at Croydon have since shifted their ground.

The TGWU, for instance, has moved an important amendment to a resolution from the ASW against registration for next week's TUC annual congress. The original resolution instructs unions not to register. The amendment adds 'recognising that the policy of non-registration can only be effective if all affiliated unions act collectively'.

Everyone, including Jack Jones, knows that certain unions are going to register anyway. The effect of the amendment is to announce that in such circumstances the policy of non-registration can be abandoned.

What is happening is that certain so-called left trade union leaders are using the refusal of the right to fight as an excuse for abandoning the struggle. It is essential that militants resist such manoeuvres. They mean that national union leaders will step out of the line of fire, leaving rank and file bodies, shop stewards' committees and the like, to face up to the rigours of the law without any protection.

TUC delegates should support the kind of principled policy expressed in a resolution from SOGAT Division A. This calls for expulsion from the TUC of any union that registers. And at local level, the lesson must be learnt now that we cannot rely upon national union leaders, however 'left' some of their speeches, to defend us.

Basic trade union practices the Tories have now defined as illegal—the pursuit of 100 per cent trade unionism, the blacking of goods, the taking of collections for 'unfair' strikes, the respecting of picket lines—must be continued. And it must be made clear that if there is an attempt to use the law then the entire trade union movement will be mobilised to defend those under attack.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY

AS THE DEATH TOLL in Northern Ireland continues to mount, the British press grows more hysterical about what it calls 'terrorists' and 'gunmen'. The Left in Britain must lay the responsibility for the violence where it really belongs—with the Stormont government in Belfast and the British government in London.

British troops have been used in Ireland to arrest people without trial. They have shot down unarmed civilians without warning. They have broken into homes and thrown CS gas at women and children.

At the same time, the wealth of the province is owned jointly by British big business and a small minority of the population of Ulster itself. Investment that could create jobs and improve living conditions flows abroad in search for higher profits. Unemployment grows and the problem of slum housing is not tackled.

Growing numbers of the Catholic section of the population are beginning to understand such facts, although often in a confused way. They react desperately as they see British troops suppress opposition and attempt to terrorise those who protest.

This explains the growing wave of opposition to British rule in Northern Ireland. But it also explains why, on occasions, the opposition expresses itself in forms that cannot really help that movement and cause needless pain and suffering. Such was the case with the bombing of the electricity board building in Belfast last week.

But socialists in Britain must be clear that the real responsibility for deaths from such incidents does not lie with the Provisional IRA. It lies with those who have caused the chain of violence, unemployment, oppression and misery in Ireland—the British ruling class. And it will not be ended until the hold of that class over Ireland is terminated. That is why we must support those trying to force the British troops out of Ireland.

THEIR WEEK IN ISLAMABAD

YAHYA WAS LAST HEARD on Pakistan radio appealing for blood. Appropriate enough, you might say—and also interesting. He can't need it for the casualties in his colonial war in Bangla Desh. The Bengalis are left to die and the army doesn't need that much. Up to the beginning of last month it had lost only 365 officers and 1200 other ranks dead, and three times that number wounded (compared with 99 officers killed in the 1965 war).

He also can't want to build a blood bank in the event of a full-scale shoot-out with India such as the one he was expecting around 5-7 August and for which he put the army on the highest alert. But the Russians saved him from that when they rushed to Delhi to sign their new mutual security treaty with India, and he hasn't got the equipment to store blood for very long.

YAHYA ASKED FOR BLOOD because he wants money. His economists in Islamabad are working on a scheme to put up land tax six-fold and to cut agricultural subsidies at the same time. The result will be a tax grab from the peasants 7½ times what they're paying now. They are not going to pay up unless they feel their backs against the wall, and since the Punjabi peasants are the solid core of the regime's support Yahya has to tread

warily. Hence the call for blood.

HE NEEDS MONEY. He took in 900 million or so rupees when he called in all big-denomination notes in June (say £45 million unofficially) [Their Week, 19 June]. He asked for an extra 150 million in higher taxes in July. And now this. But his army has grown by a quarter since April, his income from Bangla Desh has disappeared and his foreign resources are half what they were and falling.

MEANWHILE IN SAHIWAL PRISON, Sarghoda District, an elaborate farce is being staged. Mujib—alive and recently sighted by one of Their Week's army of scouts—has been assigned 'a prominent local lawyer' to conduct his defence in secret, one A K Brohi. Prominent he certainly is—as an 'Independent' candidate in the last elections who had the unstinted support of the Jamaat-i-Islam, the fiendishly obscurantist and anti-Bengali right-wing party; prominent as leading counsel for the prosecution in the 1951 Pindi Conspiracy trial (of Communists) when he fought furiously against counsel for the defence, Svhrwardy, the Bengali nationalist. Prominent, too, for his priggish arrogance.

If anyone had asked Their Week we could have suggested a few alternatives—

as prominent. Particularly suitable would be Dr Kamal Hossein, DPhil (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Vice-President of the Pakistan Bar Association and . . . Constitutional Adviser to Mujib until he himself was thrown in jail without trial (not even a secret one).

THE US IS SLIPPING badly on the democratic banana skins of Saigon. A Presidential election is due on 3 October. There were to have been at least three candidates: General Thieu the incumbent President, a hawk's hawk; Vice-President Ky, hawk-turned-dove-ish in line with US policy; and General 'Big' Minh who engineered Diem's overthrow and death. To stop Ky standing Thieu fixed the election rules and appeals procedure. It worked. Minh withdrew despairing of a real contest.

US Ambassador Bunker rushed about to patch up a race for the punters back home. Ky's man flew to Washington to put his terms. Thieu threatened a military takeover. The remains of the US army were taken off heroin and the streets, and put on general alert, first 'grey' then 'yellow' on two successive days. And in the US, reports Their Week Inc., people are counting the 50,000 American corpses and the 100 billion American dollars laid out to make Saigon safe for democracy.

'No United Front' says left in Derry

THE UPSURGE against internment in the Catholic communities in Northern Ireland has created tremendous pressure for a united front on the issue. This pressure is being resisted by revolutionary groups.

In Derry a Socialist Resistance Group, comprising members of the Official Republican Movement, the Young Socialists, People's Democracy and the local Labour Party, has been set up.

It was this group that called the massively effective one day strike, launched the rent strike—100 per cent in all Catholic estates—and which has campaigned for the maintenance of the barricades.

The Socialist Resistance Group is against any united front with Gerry Fitt's Social Democratic and Labour Party, or with the Nationalist Party. Our reasons for taking this position were set out in a leaflet distributed in Derry last week. Part of the text of the leaflet was:

'We make our position clear: we will continue to organise against repression. In that campaign we shall be happy if we get the support of any front or committee set up by the SDLP and its adjuncts.

'For our part, we will throw our weight behind any activity which they initiate and which seems to us useful and constructive. But we cannot dissolve our organisation into theirs and it shall be one of our functions to see that the overall campaign is not diverted into any "moderate" blind alley.

'Many times in Irish history mass movements against British imperialism have been built and pitched against the oppressing power. The Catholic Emancipation Movement of the 1920s, the Fenian movement, and the Land League, the National Movement at the end of the last century, the Sinn Fein Movement which arose in the wake of 1916, all commanded the support of tens and hundreds of thousands of people.

'All were in the end sold out by reformist leadership, and each and every one of these used the slogan of "unity" as a means of suppressing or isolating radical individuals and ideas—the only individuals and ideas which could have led these movements to victory. What we are trying to do is to see that no such fate befalls this movement.

'Underlying the differences briefly set out above there is, of course, a deep political cleavage, which it will be our task to try to explain in the coming weeks.

'As socialists and revolutionaries, we believe that only the working class can lead to the real "solution" to our problems. We believe that the situation in the South of Ireland, where anti-working class

REMEMBER THE LETTERS

elements took over from direct British rule, demonstrates this: we believe that ultimately we must build a mass working-class movement in all of Ireland.

'We start now. Our activities are directed towards this general end.

In the meantime we repeat: on the issue of internment, we will co-operate with everyone, on the basis described above.'

It is vital that British socialists understand the nature of many of those 'fighting' repression in Northern Ireland. Fitt and Hume, in open alliance with the government in the South, are seeking a 'political solution' involving a rearrangement of, not the end of, imperialist domination of Ireland.

In this project they are in receipt of support from the soggy British Labour 'left'. This explains some of the signatures on some of the petitions now circulating.

These are themes which must be analysed more closely in future issues of Socialist Worker. —EAMONN McCANN, Derry.

Immediate release

SOCIALIST WORKER last week supported a petition of which the last point is: 'Release of detainees or right of trial for all not released.' It follows from being a part of a campaign solely directed against internment.

What is wrong with the campaign is clear in the demand we quote: it gives credence to the absurdity that a trial—the due process of 'justice'—would be a way of dealing fairly with the internees. Nothing short of immediate release should be our demand.

THE ONLY MARXIST PARTY

IT IS EASY for Paul Collins (21 August) or anyone else to catalogue the mistakes of the British Communist Party, but it is political dishonesty to ignore, as he has done, the things the party did right and for which its members, past and present, have every right to be proud and to justify regarding the CP as, to date, the only significant marxist party in Britain.

Briefly, the Communist Party was the force behind the whole of the anti-fascist activity of the 1930s. It was the CP that tried to rouse the British people to the dangers of Hitler's seizure of power, to fight and defeat Mosley, helped to build the remarkable movement in defence of the Spanish Republic and supplied a majority of the young men who fought in the International Brigade.

Throughout its existence it has been the major force working in the trade union movement which has resulted in the sharp

leftward switch in very many unions in recent years. To say it is reformist because it believes we must work through parliament is simply to call Lenin a reformist because that is what he advised us to do.

It is to the credit of the party that it has frankly recognised its mistakes and said so publicly. Which other party has done so?

Paul Collins has missed the message. I hope and believe that one day we shall have a united, left party—the sooner the better. But until such a party comes about or a better one than the CP, I shall stick to the CP.

In the meantime, backbiting and internecine quarrels help no one but the class enemy. Let us on the Left get together, as they have done in Chile, Cuba and elsewhere, to bring the socialist revolution nearer.—H FRANKEL, London SW11.

Strike action to back UCS

ROGER ROSEWELL's reports on UCS are symptomatic of the rather hurried and unanalytical approach in which the Clyde situation is being covered. I believe that, along with a proper critical analysis of the UCS militants, the International Socialists should mobilise its strength throughout industry and produce special editions of rank and file papers devoted entirely to what positive action must be taken if UCS has any chance of victory.

We all pay lip service to the fact that no one, isolated unit, whether factory, union or nation, can succeed on its own. It seems rather incredible that with all the criticisms of UCS, some of which shouldn't warrant space in Socialist Worker, there has hardly been any positive action proposed.

If this opportunity is lost IS as well as the Communist Party must take the backlash from the rank and file. IS must initiate the call for strike action to back the UCS in their fight.—T J McCARTHY, Brighton.

Secondly, your headline was '22 Labour MPs support inquiry'. What about some criticism of the hypocrisy shown by these MPs? What about their actions when Labour was in power?

In any case, why 22 Labour MPs? Rather 22 trade unionists. At least we would not be implying that these 22 MPs are more important than 22 ordinary workers. At least we wouldn't be implying that the stand of these MPs is of the slightest relevance, that people should look towards them.

That people do look towards MPs is true and regrettable. IS should not be encouraging this.—B Wrodling, P Barker, A Hornung, Bolton, Lancs.

SOCIALIST WORKER says:—The Labour Committee Against Internment was set up at the request of socialists in Northern Ireland, who appealed to the British labour movement to arouse the maximum possible protest at conditions there. They argue that, within the context of the situation in the Six Counties, the demand for the right of trial was absolutely correct as no case could possibly be made out against many of those seized.

Socialist Worker and the International Socialists fully support the LCAI and we are willing to participate in the campaign regardless of the differences we may have with some signatories on many issues. The crucial issue at stake is the need to mount a major exposure of conditions in what is claimed to be part of the 'United Kingdom'.

Of course, Socialist Worker—as its front page slogans of Release all prisoners, Withdraw the Troops make clear—stands for more than the demands of the LCAI. Our support for the Committee in no way prevents us from campaigning independently for our own policies.

The milk has turned sour in Devlin's 'land of plenty' for the dockers

ON WEDNESDAY, London dockers gave the Enclosed Dock Employers 28 days' notice to withdraw from Phase Two of the Devlin Agreement. Yet when it was signed last September, Phase Two was supposed to be the land of milk and honey for dock workers. It has taken less than a year to discover that the milk is off and the honey poisoned.

Phase Two varies in its exact terms from port to port but it always means sweeping concessions on the part of the dockers. In London, dockers gave themselves lock, stock and barrel. Piecework was signed away and replaced by regular day-work.

However filthy or obnoxious a cargo might be and no matter how dangerously stowed, there was a fixed ceiling on wages. All the old defensive practices built up over years of sacrifice and organisation were replaced by 'complete flexibility and mobility as required by the employer'. Fixed manning scales were signed away in favour of a clause providing for: 'Commencement and continuation of work irrespective of the number of men employed, unless the employer deems this impractical'. Shift work was introduced splitting the work-force into two halves who rarely meet. It's hard to know what more the employer could have expected.

In the bitter disputes about Phase Two, the employers and the fans of Devlin sold the agreement with three main arguments. First they said Phase Two would give parity of wages to all dock workers. As it turned out, disparity still remains under Phase Two.

Their second point was that Phase Two would mean a high upstanding wage of £36.50-£39. Thirdly they claimed that there would be no redundancies—any 'surplus' labour would be offered voluntary severance.

Lastly, to some extent, dockers were frightened into Phase Two. The port was in a crisis and in danger of closing down, and only Phase Two could save it.

Not a penny

In the course of the current review of the agreement, every one of these arguments has had the bottom knocked out of it.

The unions put forward a 17-Point claim. It asked for a 20 per cent cost of living increase, proportionate increases in pensions, sick pay and holiday pay, a fourth week's holiday and improvements in overall, amenities and hours.

The employers reacted as only dock employers can. There was no question of any rise at all—not a single penny piece. In fact even for the unions to ask for a rise was 'irresponsible'.

The employers know full well that the cost of living has gone up at least 10 per cent. They know that our £36.50 is now worth less than £34.00. They are trying to peg London's dockers' wages so that relent-

less inflation will do what they have not been able to do for 50 years—give the docker a cut in wages.

The employers also demanded that 800 men on the B Register should be forced out of the industry. In other words the employers' no redundancy pledge was worthless.

B men are dockers who aren't fit enough to do the more strenuous jobs. No man has ever asked to be made a B man—they are men maimed and injured making fortunes for the dock employers.

But the London employers don't just want 800 sacked now, they want to make it a regular event, to 'continually reassess the effective labour strength in relation to the work load.'

They want to reassert their right to sit in judgment on the dock labour force, which has been denied to them since the National Dock Labour Scheme was started in 1947. The NDLS has always been a sharp thorn in the employers' side and they would dearly love to be rid of it.

If the London employers could get away with either of their proposals, registration will mean almost nothing at all and the NDLS would be firmly on the way out.

What all this has really proved is that Devlin Phase Two is just like any other productivity bargain—it is an attempt by the employers to hammer the work force as hard as they can.

It is not just the London dock employers who have been shown up in all this. It is Phase Two as an agreement. London is just the first to feel its effects because London was the first to sign Phase Two. It is a lesson that must be hammered out in every



New methods used to boost profits, not make the job easier

by **BOB LIGHT and PETE TURNER**

TGWU, Royal Docks

port in the country.

Under Phase Two, the employers divided port from port. London, Southampton, Grimsby and now Liverpool all work under different variations of the Devlin Phase Two, while Manchester has yet to sign it.

Liverpool retains piecework, Bristol works a bonus system. London and Southampton have two shifts, Liverpool three. Rates of pay vary widely in every different port: the London docker gets £36.50, the Liverpool docker £26 plus piece work.

And all these agreements expire at different times. It's no accident that in the same week London gave notice to quit, Liverpool signed a Phase Two deal, albeit a far better package than London's. This was one important aim of Devlin—to break up the old national agreements and to fragment the dock labour force.

Upward trend

Having divided the dockers, the employers can rule in each of the divisions. Everywhere the official excuse is just the same—the crisis in the industry, the threat to the port's existence, the need to compete for declining trade.

But contrary to how the employers would have it the docks are not inevitably a declining industry. As the figures published by the Board of Trade show every month, the volume of trade to and from this country is always on an upward trend, both in value and in volume. Since Britain is an island and since there is little air-freight to speak of, the overwhelming bulk of this trade must pass through the ports.

Why when trade increases all the time,

should the dock worker be faced with such a decline?

In the past the docks were always a labour-intensive industry. There was virtually no mechanisation other than the cranes. This gave the docker enormous bargaining power which he could—and did—use to get the employer against the wall.

But in the last 10 years technology has caught up with the industry. Bulk cargoes, roll-on roll-off, containers, pallets—all these developments have reduced the need for man-handling.

They could have been used to benefit the docker, by cutting hours, and reducing the work effort. But instead, the employer, driven by the laws of the profit system, have taken every technical innovation and twisted it to enable him to undermine the strength of the registered docker.

More and more, the port employers and shipping companies are using ports and inland depots outside the control of the NDLS, in order to by-pass the wages and conditions built up by the registered dockers.

Employers like Hays Wharf in London sell up their riverside holdings (at astronomical sums), make their dockers redundant, and then open an inland container base not 10 miles away, employing a fraction of the men and at a fraction of the wages.

Non-registered labour, containerisation and Devlin are threats that face every docker in every port. Competition among dockers in different ports is never a solution. If dockers accept the parochial divisions erected by Devlin then we will be fighting on the employers' terms—and we will be picked off port by port.

These are national problems and dockers desperately need a unified national shop stewards' movement to fight and overcome them.

But even then the fight will be just beginning—because it will not be finally won until Devlin, the employers who designed it and their system are pushed off our backs once and for all.

Vital reading for all socialists and trade unionists

The fight against racialism

by **MIKE CAFFOOR**

5p a copy + 3p post
12 copies or more post free

Name
Address

Please send copies
I enclose cheque/PO for £
Send to Pluto Press (R) 6 Cottons
Gardens London E2 8DN

Blue pencil for 'red' films

FEW READERS of Socialist Worker will need convincing that censorship reflects nothing but the prejudices of the ruling class. The attempts to stifle OZ and the Little Red Schoolbook have made it clear that it is the ideas not the appearance that worry our bosses.

For the record, and for those of us who have friends prone to believing in the law's impartiality, here are a few examples from the world of cinema.

In 1930, seven films were banned outright by the censors. The reasons given included 'derogatory references to the Prince of Wales', the showing of white men in a state of decay in native surroundings, or mixed-race love affairs, and portraying

Ministers of Religion in 'equivocal situations'.

In the years between 1933 and 1934, no less than 586 films were cut or prohibited. The reasons given included incitement to class hatred or industrial unrest, 'bringing discredit on British uniforms'; 'holding up British society to ridicule', showing workhouse officials in an offensive light and misrepresenting prison life.

Criticism of the police was absolutely not on, and their workshops dealt harshly with a film apparently 'portraying a police official leading a double life'. Pudovkin's masterpiece 'Mother' was banned on the grounds 'that its scene was Russia, that its actions concerned a strike, and that forces

of order were depicted firing on a mob'.

It should be obvious from these few examples where socialists must take their stand on the question of censorship. We can deal with the porn and filth profiteers in our own way.

Just one last thought. In 1957 the Tory Minister of the Colonies defended the banning of the film 'The Lavender Hill Mob' in Northern Rhodesia on the grounds that it might encourage disrespect for law and order among African audiences.

The Minister was John Profumo. Did anyone mention double standards?

Christopher Hitchens

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS' AUTUMN WEEKEND RALLY

Derbyshire Miners' Holiday Centre, Skegness
15, 16, 17 October

Sessions include:

Perspectives for Western Capitalism: John Palmer
Towards a Revolutionary Socialist Party: Duncan Hallas
The International Movement: Tony Cliff
Entertainment by Alex Glasgow and others
Adults £4.50. Reduced rates for children

Write to: Jenny Davison, 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

FROM JARROW TO CLYDEBANK

THE SUFFERING of Jarrow in the 1930s is scored on the memories of working people. Today the Scottish town of Clydebank hovers on the brink of a similar fate.

The destruction of Jarrow and the threatened future of Clydebank are closely connected. The same families and system that condemned Jarrow to massive unemployment are poised for a repeat performance. The same breed of politicians that collaborated with them in the past are serving their descendants today.

Jarrow was a north-east shipbuilding town. The main yard, Palmers, was closed between 1932 and 1933. The result was catastrophic. The Medical Officer of Health estimated that '6000 are on the dole and 23,000 on relief out of a total population of 35,000'. Unemployment grew to 80 per cent, the shops closed and the town rotted.

The planned butchery of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders has dragged the memory of these horrors into 1971. Unemployment in Clydebank for June was 2376 and, according to official government figures, there were only two unfilling vacancies in the whole town.

Since then the situation has grown worse. If the government's plans to close the two UCS yards in Clydebank are successful the town will be stricken. Jarrow, with all its poverty and misery, will have reappeared.

Both towns have been victims of rich shipbuilders. The greed of the owners has wrecked the industry and destroyed communities.

In 1892 the British shipbuild-

... the same ruthless Tory profiteers kill workers' jobs

Special survey by **ROGER ROSEWELL**

ing industry produced 81.6 per cent of the world's tonnage. By 1938 the figure had slumped to 31.6 per cent and by 1968 it had collapsed to a mere 5.3 per cent.

Throughout these years the industry was squeezed dry by the lust for profits. Investment seemed hardly ever to occur. The owners of Palmers in Jarrow proved no exception to this rule. In 1929, for example, the company made a profit of £25,000. A quarter of this sum went in directors' fees.

The chairman of the company and one of those who benefited from the

handout was Lord Aberconway. His family owned the John Brown shipyard in Clydebank until it was merged into UCS in 1968.

This yard is now due for closure. The third Lord Aberconway is the present chairman of John Brown Engineering and was delighted when UCS gave him a 30 per cent shareholding in the new group in return for his unprofitable, ancient and doomed yard.

FAULTY

The yard had lost money for years and, according to a 1964 survey, 50 per cent of its machinery was more

than 40 years old.

Aberconway was also able to dump the ill-fated QE2 onto UCS. In May of this year, Cunard issued a writ for £2 million against UCS because of delays in the delivery of QE2. The delays were due to the faulty design of the turbines installed in the liner by John Browns.

Relieved of the shipyard that his family had sucked the wealth from and left neglected and disabled, Lord Aberconway said: 'The elimination henceforth of the results of the shipbuilding and land boiler businesses from the Consolidated Profit and Loss Account improves greatly the short term prospects for profits.'

His prediction proved correct. Pre-tax profits for 1969 were nearly double those of the previous year—£4,544,877 as opposed to £2,362,121. The role of this family in the Jarrow disaster and in the present threat to Clydebank was and still is motivated solely by profit.

tracts at unprofitable prices. Action was demanded.

The big bankers and major shipbuilders decided to take it. On 28 February 1930 it was announced that they had formed a new company. It was called National Shipbuilders Security Ltd.

The leading figure behind the company was a wealthy shipbuilder named Sir James Lithgow. He considered that there were too many firms competing for too few orders and concluded that a large number of them had to be eliminated. He used National Shipbuilders Security to do it.

Lithgow was the owner of a large shipbuilding company on the lower Clyde and the chairman of six other important firms, including the Fairfield Shipbuilding Company. He was twice president of the Federation of British Industries, once president of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and represented the employers' interests at meetings of the International Labour Office.

Admired

Lithgow was a lover of profit. His fellow directors on National Shipbuilders Security shared this admiration. All the major shipbuilding firms were represented on the board.

John Browns had a director as did Swan Hunter and Harland & Wolff. One director was Alexander Stephen.

His family owned a Clydeside yard which eventually became part of UCS in 1968. Just like Browns, it was in a terrible state but Stephens nevertheless received a 10 per cent shareholding in the new group.

During the first year of its existence, NSS bought three Scottish yards. Once bought they were closed. The NSS also prevented the sites from being shipyards again for at least 40 years.

In 1931 they closed eight more yards. Unemployment rose as a result. At the end of 1930 there were 92,000 shipbuilding workers out of a job. By 1931 the number had leapt to 117,000.

SWOOPED

Sixty per cent of the insured workers in the industry were unemployed. Every year National Shipbuilders Security wiped out more of its competitors. In 1934 they swooped on the Palmers yard and bought it for £650,000. More than half of this money—£356,840—was owed and paid to the National Provincial Bank of which Lord Aberconway was a director.

This ruthless extermination of rivals was led by Sir James Lithgow. Jarrow was his victim.

Today the Lithgows keep marching on. Their yard has joined with another to form Scott Lithgow. In the best tradition, their wages are the lowest on the Clyde.

In 1969 they met with Mr Nicholas Ridley, the present Tory Under-Secretary of State for Trade and Industry in Mr John Davies's Ministry. The meeting discussed the future of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, and on his proposals agreed to destroy it.

Afterwards Ridley wrote a special report. This is what it said: 'Give no more public money to UCS.'

'This would mean the bankruptcy of UCS. We could accept this in which case Lower Clyde (Scott Lithgow) would take over one or two of the yards.'



WHAT WE STAND FOR



THE International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent, working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations through-

out the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards' committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restrictions. For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.



Nicholas Ridley, Tory minister who prepared a special report on UCS, recommending that the yards be 'butchered' and sold off at knock-down prices...

The lives and interests of those who depended upon their yards were never considered important.

1929 was the swansong for Palmers. Thereafter a shadow fell over the yard until, in a dull London courtroom on the last day of June 1933, the fate of Jarrow was decided.

An order was made appointing a receiver to the company. The shipyard that was opened in 1852 had been pushed into bankruptcy.

PLOTTED

But Palmers did not die inevitably. It was murdered deliberately by the same financial interests that have plotted the butchery of UCS.

In 1930 there was much anxiety among British shipbuilders. There were few indications of further orders.

Many shipbuilders were complaining that they were only able to keep their yards occupied by accepting con-

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| SCOTLAND
Aberdeen/Dundee/Edinburgh/Fife/
Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling | Potteries | EAST
Basildon/Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/
Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester |
| NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/
Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar) | MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/
Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/
Northampton/Redditch/Telford | GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/
Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/
Fulham/Greenford/Havering/Harrow/
Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/
Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/
Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting
Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke
Newington/Slough/South Ealing/
Tottenham/Walthamstow/
Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria |
| NORTH
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/
Grimsby/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds
York/Selby/Sheffield | WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/
Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/
Swansea | |
| NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham
Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan | SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Canterbury/
Crawley/Folkestone/Guildford/
Portsmouth/Southampton | |

I would like more information about the International Socialists

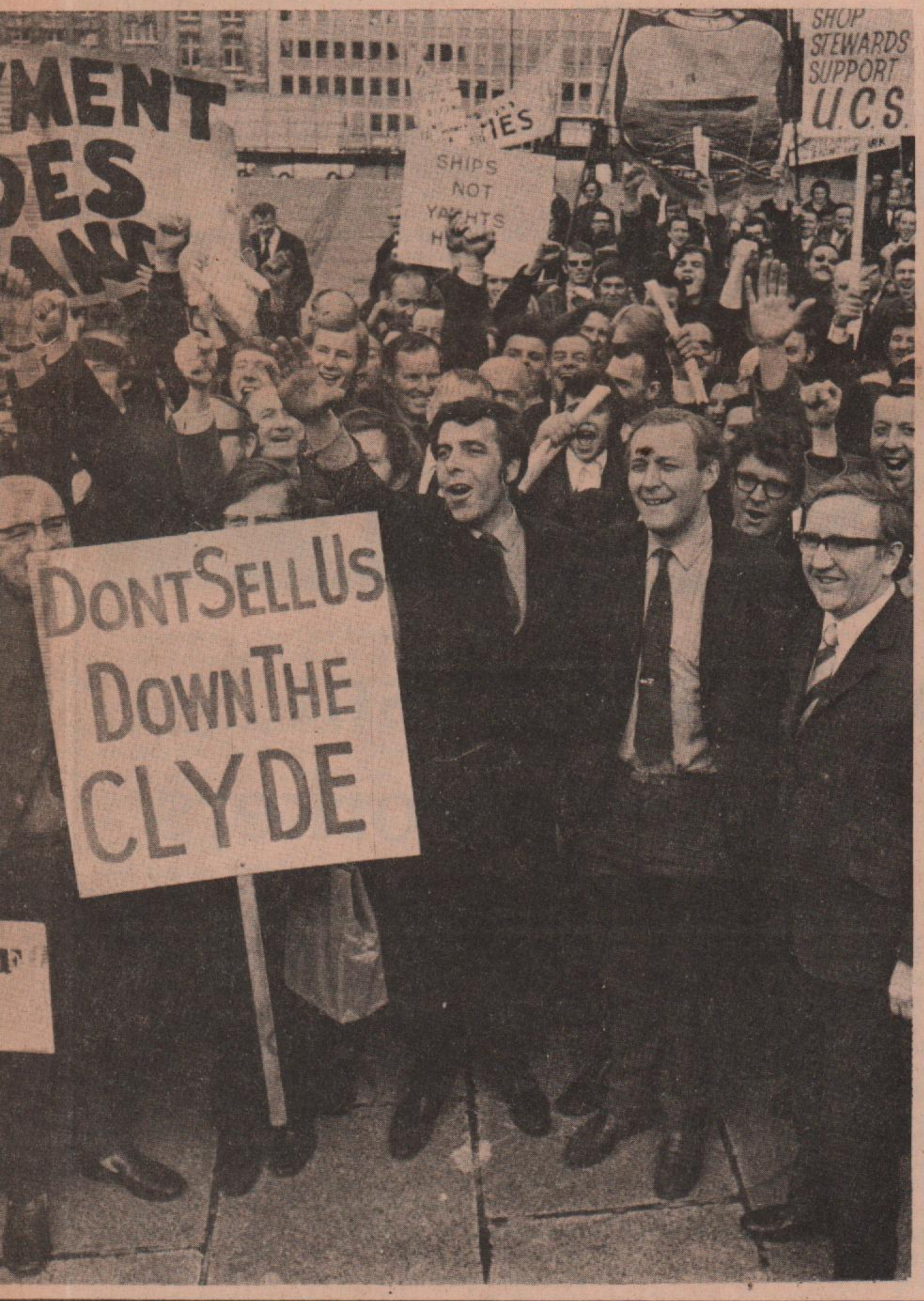
Name
Address

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Tory ministers serve rich regardless of the

Marching to Lo
'We could put
'butcher' to cut up
(cheaply) to Lower
the assets of UCS...
Since the elect
Tories have imple
UCS has been drive
and John Davies has
of the four yards'
6000 workers sacked
The Lithgows h
This time it is the
that they ha' course

ANK TODAY



London: Jarrow in the 30s, Clydeside in the 70s

in a government UCS and to sell Clyde and others on last June, the entered this plan. into bankruptcy declared that two will be closed and have struck again. own of Clydebank d with the threat

of mass unemployment. Today men like Ridley—who is a former director of a subsidiary of Swan Hunter—and Davies are continuing to serve the interests of the rich, irrespective of the social consequences.

MENACE

The tale of these two towns is an indictment of capitalism. The same priorities that wrecked Jarrow are currently menacing Clydebank. Profit is still supreme.

When the latest unemployment figures of over 940,000 were published it was quite clear what he meant and why we must do something about it. There must not be another Jarrow.

Last week I spoke to a shipyard worker about this problem. His reply was blunt and to the point:

'We've got to get rid of the Tories,' he said. A pause followed, then he added, 'and soon.'

When the latest unemployment figures of over 940,000 were published it was quite clear what he meant and why we must do something about it. There must not be another Jarrow.

the interests of the social consequences

When it took 22 policemen in seven cars to search for a missing purse: a disturbing report from BAS HARDY and ROGER CRAY

EMMANUEL QUAYE, a fitter with British Rail, came to London from Ghana more than 20 years ago. He lives with his English wife Ellen and their two daughters in a quiet side road between Blackheath and Lewisham in South East London.

On Monday, 2 August, Mr Quaye, his wife and elder daughter Kathleen were found guilty at Lambeth Court of various charges of assault against the police. This was the result of a long drawn-out case that started in April when two women CID officers called at the Quaye home, informed them that their younger daughter had been arrested for assault and stealing a purse and that they wanted to search her room.

The Quayes said they refused entry to the women PCs because they did not produce a search warrant. Here is the story the Quaye family told us. It formed the basis of their evidence, subsequently dismissed by the court.

After the visit the family went down to the police station to see their younger daughter Susan. They were kept waiting some considerable time before a Sergeant Ferguson saw Mr Quaye.

The sergeant expressed anger at Mr Quaye's refusal to allow a search of the flat without a warrant.

When Mr Quaye pointed out that it was a legal requirement to have to provide a warrant, Ferguson allegedly told him: 'That law is for Europeans, not blacks like you'.

The Quaye family allege that Ferguson smelt heavily of alcohol Mrs Quaye described him to us as being 'wild, really wild'.

'Turn you over'

Mr Quaye asked the sergeant whether he was practising racial discrimination and Ferguson, evidently angered by this allegation, refused to let them see their daughter. Telling the Quayes to go home, he added: 'Warrant or no warrant, we are going to turn you over like you've never been turned over before'.

As the Quayes approached their home that evening they saw no less than seven police cars parked near their flat.

The Quayes decided to get their neighbours to witness what they realised was going to be trouble. Mrs Quaye rang the bell of the flat below while Mr Quaye and Kathleen went across to a large house opposite.

Just as their knock was being answered Sergeant Ferguson appeared and told Quaye he was under arrest. The police surrounded them and forced father and daughter across the road.

Mr Quaye said he was beaten and kicked to the ground outside his own front gate by at least five or six policemen, some in uniform, some in plainclothes. Mr Quaye still refused to let them search without a warrant.

Bundled into car

The neighbour who had opened the door to Mr Quaye and then followed them across the road was told to go away or he would be arrested too. Police not involved in dealing with Quaye swarmed around his wife and daughter.

Mr Quaye was bundled into a car and driven to the police station. On the way there he maintains that he was throttled by one officer, much to the amusement of the others, who made such comments as: 'You've really got it coming to you now, black bastard.'

At the station Quaye was forced to strip on the pretext of being searched for drugs and dragged off to a cell. He was left naked for nearly two hours. Ferguson, it was alleged, informed him that he had been arrested for calling the sergeant a racist.

Kathleen Quaye, who claimed that when she was called a 'black

Police at work: 'the law is not for black bastards'



The Quayes: angry at miscarriage of justice

cunt' on the way to the police station, replied, 'I may be black, but I'm proud of it', managed to dodge several blows from Sergeant Ferguson who allegedly threatened: 'Wait until I get you to the station'.

At the station Kathleen says she was slapped across the face and punched on the back of the neck by Ferguson, who told her to, 'Sit down, you bastard'. It was only after this that a policewoman was detailed to look after her.

The Quayes alleged throughout the case they had been victims of assault and harassment by the police, while the police denied any such accusations.

In court the magistrate in his summing up cleared Sergeant Ferguson of all the allegations made against him and said it was a very unfortunate case.

He then fined Mr Quaye £25 plus costs on one charge of assault and conditionally discharged him for a year on the other two. He fined Kathleen £10 and a conditional discharge for two years and conditionally discharged Mrs Quaye for six months.

The Quayes told us that they feel very angry at what they

know to be a miscarriage of justice. Several facts had not been dealt with by the magistrate, primarily the fact that it took 22 policemen in seven cars to come to search for a purse.

They were particularly annoyed because Susan had later been acquitted of stealing the purse. They said they were determined not to let things lie, but would probably appeal against their conviction.

Protest to police

Mr Bob White, the local curate, said that he hoped the Quayes would appeal. He added that he knew the family well and was sure of their innocence.

Paul Oestreicher of the National Council for Civil Liberties had already written to the community relations officer of Scotland Yard to protest at the police's handling of both Susan's and the rest of the family's cases, before the verdict was known.

If you want to help the Quaye family win their appeal, then send donations and messages of support to: the Appeal Fund, 25 Blackheath Rise, SE13.

An important introduction to the ideas of revolutionary socialism

The meaning of marxism

by Duncan Hallas

20p a copy + 3p post
12 copies or more post free

Name

Address

Please send copies

I enclose cheque/PO for £

Send to IS Books 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN.

'A COUNTRY conquered and enslaved by invaders, a country of which the soil had been portioned out amongst foreign adventurers, and of which the laws were written in a foreign tongue, a country given over to that worst tyranny, the tyranny of caste over caste.'

The country so described by the historian Macaulay was England after the Norman conquest. The description fits exactly the English colony of Ireland in the 18th century.

No one can understand what is happening in Ireland today without starting from the basic facts. In an overwhelmingly agricultural country, four-fifths of the land was owned by English or Anglo-Irish landlords. A large and increasing part of the rent extracted from the Irish peasantry was sent straight out of the country.

Peasantry is a misleading word in this connection. It suggests small landholders but the Irish peasants held very little land. Only 14 per cent of the land was held by Roman Catholics, the great majority of the population, and a good deal of that 14 per cent was held by the moderately well-off.

The typical Irish 'peasant' was a landless 'tenant at will', absolutely at the landlord's mercy and without security of any kind. He lived with his family in a wretched hovel on a diet never far from starvation level.

To this economic misery was added social servitude. The landlords were indeed a superior caste, practically above the law as far as their treatment of their tenants was concerned.

'A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer or cottier dares to refuse to execute,' wrote the English traveller Arthur Young towards the end of the 18th century. 'Disrespect or anything tending towards sauciness he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security. A poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift a hand in his own defense.'

Alien state church

With the alien landlord came an alien church. The Church of Ireland, an Anglican establishment, was the state church. It was supported by tithes, compulsory money payments corresponding to one-tenth of the produce and levied on the tenants, who had also to pay a rate for the upkeep of the church buildings.

The whole hierarchy of Anglican Archbishop, Bishop, Deans, Rectors and Curates was imposed on a country where more than 90 per cent of the population consisted of Roman Catholic or Protestant Dissenters.

The full power of the state was employed to extract the tithes from the reluctant people. 'In April 1832, the parish of Doon, Co Limerick, witnessed a spectacle. A cow, seized from the [Catholic] priest [in default of tithe payment], was brought to the auction ground by an escort composed of a strong body of police, one troop of lancers, five companies of Gordon Highlanders and two pieces of artillery. Amid deafening uproar, the cow was sold to the priest's brother—a constable acting under orders—for £12'.

This incident took place at the height of the 'tithe war'. A mass resistance movement to this particular abuse was, in the end, successful.

In these conditions the Roman Catholic Church came to enjoy a degree of enthusiastic popular support unknown in officially Catholic countries. It was, for a long time, the only legal, nationwide, Irish institution in existence.

Welded together

The Penal Laws, passed by the English puppet parliament in Dublin just after the final conquest of Ireland at the end of the 17th century, further welded together the church and the mass of the Irish people.

Catholics were debarred from the vote, and from entry in parliament, the municipal corporations, the learned professions (except medicine) and from commissions in the army, navy and civil service. No Catholic might open or teach in a school; or take any part in the manufacture or sale of arms. No Catholic might possess or carry arms without a magistrate's licence (magistrates were all Protestants—Catholics were debarred from this office too), nor might one own a horse worth more than £5.

'Except in the linen trade no Catholic might have more than two apprentices. Protestants might not take Catholic apprentices. Catholics were barred from the manufacture and sale of newspapers and books... Catholics could not take leases for more than 33 years... A Protestant landowner lost his civil rights if he married a Catholic; a Protestant heiress marrying a Catholic, lost her inheritance.'

It is true that Catholics in Britain were also subject to some of these disabilities and it is true that the Penal Laws affected mainly the middle class and the handful of remaining Catholic landowners. Nonetheless the laws served the purpose of making the larger part of the Irish people a legally inferior caste, like the African in South Africa today.

There were Protestants in Ireland who were not members of the ruling caste. They were the descendants of Scottish and English immigrants, mostly located in the North-east of the country. They were small farmers, traders and small manufacturers.


In religion, the greater part of them were Dissenters, not members of the

Catholic church

became focus of resistance to England



1846: a village funeral of a victim of the famine encouraged and gloated over by English politicians and traders.



IRELAND'S HISTORY OF REPRESSION

by JAMES WALKER Part One

Church of Ireland and, like the Catholics, they were subject to various civil disabilities, though not to the same degree. By the beginning of the last century they probably amounted to about one-fifth of the population of Ireland but they had not yet been made into Orange loyalists.

The development of Irish trade and industry was deliberately checked by the

London parliament. Export of cattle from Ireland to England, a profitable trade in the 17th century, was forbidden. The export of woolen goods to countries other than England was made illegal and a prohibitive import tax was imposed on finished woolen goods sent to England. Effectively only raw wool was admitted.

In common with other English coun-

tries, Ireland was subject to the Navigation Laws which required that all colonial exports to England must be carried in English ships. Only the linen industry, which had no English competition, was allowed to develop freely. These laws applied to everyone, regardless of religion, and served to increase the wealth of the English ruling class.

The landed oligarchy, who could invest their revenues in England, had no direct interest in promoting Irish trade or manufactures. As they controlled the Irish parliament there was little or no resistance from that quarter to English legislation against Ireland's trade and manufacturers.

This Irish parliament was, at first, simply an instrument of foreign rule. No Bill could be presented to it without the agreement of the English Privy Council and the English parliament could make laws applying to Ireland without regard to the Dublin parliament. It was a typical colonial legislature and was, of course,

dominated by the English and Anglo-Irish landowners.

The Irish government consisted of the Viceroy and the Chief Secretary—both appointed from London—and the ministers appointed by the Viceroy. It could not be turned out of office by a vote of the Irish parliament. But that parliament became, towards the end of the 18th century, a focus of opposition to English rule.

Crippling restrictions

Under the influence of the American and French revolutions, the mainly Protestant middle class and even sections of the landowners began to struggle against the crippling economic restrictions imposed—and then for real self-government and abolition of the Penal Laws.

This largely middle-class movement was the first great challenge to foreign rule. Its near success and final failure changed the course of Irish history.

IDEAS IN SOCIETY by DUNCAN HALLAS

Poison of racialism used to divide workers

RACIAL DIFFERENCES are a fact. Racialism, the idea that there are superior and inferior races, is a reactionary fairy tale. It is an attractive idea for the simple-minded of course. No matter how wretched your condition, you can console yourself with the thought that you are one of a superior breed. The poverty-stricken, ignorant whites living in the hill country of the deep south of the USA believe themselves superior to any negro, no matter how talented. This is what makes the voting fodder for reactionaries like Governor Wallace of Alabama and helps to keep them as unorganised cheap labour for southern capitalists.

Racialist ideas began to take hold in Europe with the growth of European empires in other parts of the world. At first imperialism was justified on religious grounds. It was a question of bringing the benefits of Christianity to the benighted heathen. The obstinate unbeliever, of course, had to be punished.

One group of early puritan settlers in New England satisfied their consciences on the matter of driving the native Indians off the land by the following resolution, duly adopted at a church meeting: 'Resolved that the Lord made the earth and the fruits thereof for his people. Resolved that we are his people. Resolved that we may therefore take the land from the heathen'.

This line of argument has obvious drawbacks. A man cannot change the colour of his skin but he can change his religion. Soon there were Christian Indians and so the emphasis shifted. The 'natives' and non-Europeans generally became 'inferior races'. It was actually a kindness to subject them to European rule and even to make them slaves.

When, at the time of the French revolution, a proposal was made to abolish slavery in the French West Indies, a group of slave owners sought to make this clear to the French people. 'Let any fairminded and well informed person' they wrote 'compare the deplorable state of the negroes in Africa with the mild and pleasant lot of those in our colonies.'

So mild and pleasant was the condition of these slaves that in the main colony, St Domingo, the death rate amongst slaves exceeded the birth rate. Every year one-ninth of the slaves in St Domingo died.

Before long, reactionaries began to apply the

'superior race' idea to Europe itself. A Frenchman, Count Gobineau, wrote a book called 'The Inequality of Human Races'. Gobineau invented the Aryans, a master race responsible, he claimed, for all the progress in recorded history. The Aryans were not the French or the Germans or the English. They were the nobility of all the European countries.

As long as these tall, blond, blue-eyed aristocrats were in control and kept their blood pure, all would be well. Where, as in France, they had been driven from power, nothing but disaster could be expected. The inferior (European) breeds—Alpines and Mediterraneans—were incapable of progress. So democracy would be a catastrophe. Long live the aristocrats!

Scientific dress

Gobineau's disciple Lapouge, aware that now and then a swarthy aristocrat could be found and that blonde peasants were not unknown, tried to put the Aryan myth into more 'scientific' dress. His views are summarised by a modern anthropologist William Howells. 'The Aryans (read Nordics) are the natural leaders and creators, rising to the top like cream, unless their society or nation is so unfortunate as to have diluted them too far. The Alpines are sound but stodgy; the perfect subjects for any ruler. The less said about the Mediterraneans the better, they belong to the bottom of the scale, with Mongolians and other invertebrates.'

Crazy nonsense of this sort can still be found in the obscure journals of the crackpot right. It seems incredible that it could ever be a serious political force. But it has been and not in the remote past either. Adolf Hitler took up the Aryan myth. He, like some others before him,

decided that the Aryans were the Germans. Other nations like the Dutch, the Swedes and the British had some Aryan blood but they were mongrelised by intercourse with the inferior races.

And so, in the middle of the twentieth century, in the most highly industrialised and highly educated country in Europe, a barbaric persecution of 'non-Aryans', mostly Jews, was undertaken. Millions were sent to the gas chambers in the name of racial purity. This, the greatest massacre in European history, took place in our times due to the poison of racialism.

Another myth is the link between race and culture. The first civilisations were created in Western Asia, North Africa and Western India by brown skinned peoples. A little later independent civilisations grew up in North China and Central and South West America, developed by yellow and 'red' skinned peoples.

Neither are there any 'pure' races. We think of race in terms of skin colour—a way of thinking that is itself due to colonialism. In fact there are a number of equally important racial characteristics—the shape of the skull, type of hair, body build and so on. All the peoples now living show mixtures of these characteristics. For example, the dark skinned Australian aborigines are more similar in most ways to the light skinned Europeans than they are to dark skinned Africans. And all these groups are clearly of very mixed origins.

Racial differences are certainly very old. They are probably largely due to the slow adaption of different groups of primitive hunting peoples to different climates. Under modern conditions they have no biological significance. Their importance is social and political. They are the visible facts on which racialist myths are built. And racialism is always, under all circumstances, a false and reactionary ideology that serves the interests of those who aim to divide and rule.

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



Jolly tinkle of the cash register

ONCE UPON A TIME popular music was simply a matter of music—often appallingly bad, occasionally good but generally not taken particularly seriously. No longer is this the case. Today we have a 'sociology of pop music', 'groupies', music papers, learned discourses on television on the history of pop and, most recently, full-length films of pop festivals.

Woodstock was the prototype for such a film—lots and lots of music, clever photography, a few arbitrarily selected interviews and lots of crowd scenes. Nothing could be simpler and it seemed as if here was a sure-fire way of making great amounts of cash without any artistic problems.

Feast of music

And so we come to the latest offering Gimme Shelter (Rialto) featuring, starring, about, by and music provided by the Rolling Stones. And to a large extent this film mirrors its parent Woodstock. There is a feast of music, numerous close-ups of Jagger cavorting madly around the stage, interspersed with various interviews with the rest of the group.

Unfortunately, the film tried to do a little bit more because a man was stabbed to death at this concert in Los Angeles. He was stabbed by the Hell's Angels who were in charge of security for the occasion. Gimme Shelter does not shirk from this violence. It shows it, as it also shows Jagger's horrified reaction to the whole thing.

And exactly here is where the film breaks down. On the one hand it hints that the whole affair stinks and is unpleasantly (for a supposedly free concert) dominated by commercialism. But at the same time, Gimme Shelter rushes in on this very commercialism by devoting most of the film to the Stones' music and by joining the idolatrous thousands cheering and yelling.

Chucked in

The finished product seems to me to be utterly dishonest. We have what is basically an orgiastic eulogy of Mick Jagger with a minute amount of social comment chucked in for good measure. It is a quite classic case of having your cake and eating it.

Despite the fact that the film has all the riveting quality of an interesting news film, it fails as a feature film. It is in fact an extended news item. As in the news, the camera artificially dramatises all incidents and as in the news the camera is allegedly neutral.

There is no attempt to explain the phenomenon of the violence of the Hell's Angels, neither are any important questions asked of Jagger and the Stones. That is why Gimme Shelter is so unsatisfactory—it is a sycophantic hymn of applause to the genius of Mick Jagger with a twitch of conscience in the tail.

Martin Tomkinson



ANOTHER TERRORIST IN NORTHERN IRELAND...

COTTONS COLUMN

ONE DEAD POLICEMAN and the air is full of weeping and moaning and demands for the restoration of capital punishment. The press, in particular, stresses the arduous and dangerous nature of a copper's life when calling for the return of the tumbrels to deal with their killers.

Yet in reality a policeman enjoys one of the safer occupations in Britain. He is well paid, gets rent-free accommodation and a generous pension when he hangs up his hobnails. Very few of them die.

Take the year 1969, the latest available for up to date figures. Not one copper died in that year, while 265 building workers—one for every working day—met his death on the job.

The wife of a dead policeman gets compensation from a special fund, a widow's pension and, as a result of the mass hysteria whipped up by the press, several thousand pounds from public donations.

No such luck for the wife and family of a dead brickie. The only whip-round comes not from the state but from his mates on the site. The employer can be sued for negligence but it is a long and costly business and the culprit usually wriggles out of his responsibility.

Strange that the press stays so silent about the annual, nay daily, slaughter on the building sites. After all, your friendly neighbourhood copper may be defending the god of private property, but building workers are actually creating it.

Can we expect from the Express, Mail and Mirror the demand: Bring back the rope for building industry bosses? Cynics that we are, we doubt it.

SOUTH AFRICAN filmgoers have been denied the pleasure of seeing Britt Eklund in the Michael Caine film Get Carter. Miss Eklund so



CARR: crafty amendment

offended the censor by appearing in the all-together in one scene that he cut her completely from the film. The film also contains some of the bloodiest and most gratuitous screen violence ever seen. That has not been cut from the South African version.

Peer porn

BJORN KNAKED reports from Copenhagen: Danish citizens were sickened last week by the sight of an unspeakably ugly English peer (repeat peer) ogling the windows of Copenhagen bookshops and demanding that passers-by tell him where he could find a 'dirty show'.

A city spokesman said: 'If depraved, sex-hungry English aristocrats are forced to come to Denmark and offend our citizens with their grotesque activities, it is about time the British government relaxed their laws on obscenity and made pornography a bore as we have done.'

Answering the charge that his committee on inquiry into pornography was all just a gigantic publicity stunt for a power-crazed ex-government minister, the peer in question cackled: 'There are no flies on me,' and went back to reading The Whipping Club.

Nice work if...

JOBS FOR THE BOYS: The Industrial Relations legislation rushed

through by the Tory government is providing some lucrative jobs for Employment Minister Robert Carr's pals.

The original terms of the Industrial Relations Bill said that the Chief Registrar of Trade Unions would have to be a barrister, advocate or solicitor for not less than 10 years. When the Bill went to the Lords, Carr himself slipped in an amendment that deleted this section. The registrar has just been appointed and he is not a barrister, advocate or solicitor but Mr Farquharson Keith, assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Employment Ministry.

Another Under-Secretary at the same ministry, Mr Conrad Heron, has already been appointed deputy chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

... you can get it

PAY INCREASES for the big boys go on unabated while lesser working mortals are browbeaten into accepting nothing more than 9 per cent. Sir Kenneth Keith of the Hill Samuel Group takes the ruling-class biscuit with an increase of 860 per cent, his salary going up from £5000 last year to £48,000 this.

The Steel Corporation may be on the verge of bankruptcy but there is enough left in the coffers to give chairman Lord Melchett a 120 per cent booster from £11,250 to £24,822. Another lucky fellow is E Markus, chairman of Office and Electronic Machines, who has been given a 100 per cent increase, from £5000 to £10,000 a year.

At the bottom of the scale comes poor H D B Lorraine of Charrington, Gardner, Locket and Co. He got just 15 per cent. He ought to get a new suit—the directors must think he's the office cleaner.



MANY viewers will sense that beauty competitions are a racket in one way or another. In the case of Miss United Kingdom, Mecca ballrooms get a big audience and a share of the advertising revenue that Miss UK earns. Eden Vale, the yogurt company, get some extra publicity and the BBC has a programme a lot higher in the ratings than usual.

Beauty competitions are not all they appear on the surface. In fact selling beauty is not at all beautiful.

The TV Times tells us that Miss TV Times, in readiness for the Miss Great Britain Contest (ITV's equivalent competition) had been 'weight training twice a week in a gym'.

Yet there are some more important reasons for being disturbed about beauty competitions. The basis of judging the entrants is more or less entirely according to the purely superficial characteristics of physical appearance.

Taking this by itself is to suggest that this is just about all there is to a woman. It helps reinforce the view that women will be regarded, and often regard themselves, as having less ability and initiative than men. It confirms the view that the right methods of social advancement for women are using their looks like the beauty competitor or 'making a good marriage'. The beauty competition is one small part of women's overall subordinate role in society.

That the beauty contest is a very respectable affair is shown by the judges and compères. For the BBC presides Michael (What's weather like in Cologne?) Aspel of Family Favourites. Mr Aspel does make some attempt to gauge the contestant's 'personality' which is supposed to consist of some conventional high-sounding ambitions, an interesting hobby and some equally conventional well-prepared witty or charming remarks.

'A winning nature,' the Radio Times tells us is what is wanted. 'The sort of girl you can take anywhere,' said Eric Morley of Mecca Ballrooms. This is patronising enough, but as one of the judges wrote later, the winner had been decided before Mr Aspel interviewed the contestants.

On the ITV programme last Wednesday the commentator politely and unconvincingly drooled such remarks as the one about the girl who kept dogs—'If that's a dog's life then I'm all for it'. But he discovered the truth when he said about one girl who sold things in her job, 'let's see how well she can sell herself to the judges.' They included Lady Pilkington, who does not have a 'beautiful' attitude towards Pilkington glassworkers, an ex-chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board and a director of Courtauld. By the compère's reasoning, with all that money they probably could have bought her.

Ken Loach's direction and a Jim Allen script were featured in a repeat of **The Big Flame** on BBC1 last Wednesday. They had already brought us the outstanding Rank and File

For all their talent, Loach and Allen projected a very unrealistic and dangerous view of the working class—that the Liverpool dockers would occupy the docks when it was put to them at a mass meeting, without argument or debate or an explosive incident which might have sparked off an occupation.

This had dramatic consequences. For large parts of the play, the leading characters were forced to behave in a stiff and unbelievable way, this in spite of the fictional Liverpool occupation having foreshadowed the actual Clyde work-in.

Phil Hall

Socialist Worker

Pressmen fight censorship

SW Reporter

JOURNALISTS on Construction News, the building industry paper, came out on strike last Friday over censorship of the paper and interference by the proprietors—the Thomson Organisation.

The management claims the paper has a 'left-wing bias' and has ordered the editor to put it back on 'the right track'. This involves watching the weekly cartoon for 'political bias', keeping Industrial relations stories off the front page,

and being careful not to offend big advertisers in the paper—which sells to construction management as well as to workers.

On the board

One of the directors of the Thomson Organisation is a member of the board of McAlpine, the giant building firm.

The journalists have worked out a 'Code of Practice' for the future running of the paper. It demands editorial freedom from pressure and democratic con-

trol of the paper's content. So far, the management has refused to sign the code.

The journalists say they were faced with a choice between striking or in the words of Father of the Chapel Laurie Flynn, 'becoming paid hacks who collaborate in the suppression of the truth'. They chose to strike.

Management replied by bringing in two 'reliable' journalists to work on the paper along with a minority who have not joined the strike. They are now hard at work producing a blackleg edition. All the strikers have been sacked.

Miners strike over 'schoolboy' wages

by Martin Shaw

DURHAM:- Miners at Adventure Colliery, West Rainton, went on strike last week to demand an extra £7 for coal-hewers.

The hewers, who work at the coal face, earn on average £21 per week. This compares with £27 in the modern pits—and even that figure represents a decline in the last decade.

Many men are taking home £19 a week—some a mere £16. 'These are schoolboy's wages,' Joseph Collins told me. 'A road-sweeper would earn more.'

And this is for five shifts underground, 6½ hours at a time at the coal face, in a pit hardly modernised in 100 years.

The hewers here use picks rather like roadmenders' pneumatic drills to get at the coal. They work in a foot of water and there are still horses underground. 'It's like it was when the monks were here,' one miner told me. 'Or the ancient Britons.'

Jacked in jobs

Conditions are so lousy that in the last few months seven men have jacked in jobs at Adventure within a fortnight of starting—despite 10 per cent unemployment in Durham.

Robert Pearson proved just how bad things are. He showed me a payslip from 1966, when he worked as a coal-hewer at Chester South Moor pit. Then, doing exactly the same job he does now at Adventure, he took home £28. 12s. Now he has £19.20 for the same five shifts' work.

The men have at least as much against the union, the NUM, as against the Coal Board. 'We're their bosses, but they're talking for the NCB,' I was told. The NCB accused the Rainton men of 'restricting' not achieving full production. The union supported the Board without consulting the men. 'They're worse than an insurance company. They admit liability straight away,' one miner said.

Ultimatum expires

When they came out on strike, the officials boycotted them. Jack Appleby, Lodge chairman, told me: 'They wouldn't even talk to us.' Now, they have gone back, temporarily, to let the union talk again. Many of the men are unhappy with this. They fully expect to be out again at the weekend, when their ultimatum to the union has expired.

Then, I was told, they would look for support from other pits. There is talk of sending pickets out. Some men I spoke to also want to mobilise a vote of no confidence in local officials like Kit Robinson and Tommy Callan.

Now is certainly the time for the miners to fight back. Fighting back means changing the union, making it democratic and militant. For this, the miners need to create a rank and file organisation in the lodges throughout Durham to oppose the present leadership and to link up with militants elsewhere in the country.

TUC PLAN FOR CLYDE WILL NOT SAVE JOBS

From ROGER ROSEWELL

GLASGOW:- The 'work-in' at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders is now in its fourth week. Despite this, the Tories are going ahead with their plan to sack 6000 workers and close two of the four yards. So far almost 400 workers have been made redundant and the liquidator has announced that a further 1000 sackings will be declared in a month's time.

During the last few days several meetings have been held between government ministers and representatives of

the TUC to discuss the TUC's plan for a Clydeside Development Authority. These proposals are very dangerous. They accept the closure of the yards but disagree with the government over how quickly this should be done.

The TUC believes that redundancies should be spread over the next five years while the Development Authority tries to attract new work to Clydeside. This policy must be opposed.

It accepts the butchery of UCS, refuses to demand the nationalisation of the yards under workers' control and fails to ensure any guarantee of employment. This plan, if accepted, can only pave the way for a defeat of the UCS struggle.

OCCUPATION

The work-in is also extremely dangerous. It will result in people working themselves out of a job, and clearly is not preventing any sackings. As a result, a number of workers who have been made redundant have failed to report to the yard and many workers believe that the work-in will only assist the liquidator. The policy must be changed.

The yards must be occupied and a sit-in strike started. All the ships in UCS should be seized and held until the government guarantees the jobs of all 8500 UCS workers.

Daily mass meetings should be held to democratically decide the next steps in the fight. It is also essential that the struggle be spread and developed into a real battle, both against unemployment and the present Tory government.

UNITED

On Friday, the Plessey factory in Alexandria is due to be closed. 500 workers will be sacked. Unemployment in the town is already 12 per cent. Plessey workers are determined to fight this closure and the factory may be occupied.

It is vital that the Plessey struggle is united with UCS. Throughout Scotland more and more factory closures and redundancies are being declared and only a movement that unites all workers faced with the threat of unemployment will be capable of defeating the government and establishing the right to work.

This is why the struggle must be spread and why every factory faced with sackings must be occupied and held until every job is guaranteed.

Action must also be demanded from the TUC. Instead of accepting the destruction of UCS they should, as a first step, call a one-day general strike in solidarity with the UCS workers and against the appalling level of unemployment created deliberately by the government

LABOUR COMMITTEE

from page 1

B A Bleach, secretary, London Press Branch, EETU (in personal capacity)

Norman Buchan, MP

Bill Chapman, secretary Newham Trades Council

Neil Carmichael, MP

Tony Duncan, district organiser Tees-side UPW.

Alan Garner, treasurer, West Midlands Regional Council Labour Party

Roy Hughes, MP.

Digby Jacks, secretary National Union of Students.

Wilfred Jowett, TGWU convenor, ICI Wilton

Cllr Norman Lantsbury, chairman Cleveland Trades Council

Maurice Miller, MP

William Molloy, MP

H McCartney, MP

John McManus, chairman Lutterworth District Committee AUEW

Bill Neary, chairman Haringey Trades Council

Tom Oswald, MP

John Prescott, MP

L S Randall, district president, Luton District AUEW.

Alan Rose, deputy convenor, Ford PTA Dagenham NUVB.

Christopher Sewell, parliamentary panel, Co-Op Party

Dennis Skinner, MP

Lou Thorne, SOGAT Div A executive

Alex Wilson, MP

William Wilson, MP.

Birmingham march

THE CAMPAIGN against internment is under way in Birmingham. Last Saturday a noisy march through the city centre was followed by a 1000-strong meeting organised by the Anti-Internment League, a united front of local Irish organisations.

The main lesson from the meeting was the need to involve the trade union movement. According to Paddy Devlin, MP for the Falls area of Belfast, 34 of the prisoners now being held without trial are members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

There are signs that the trade union movement is waking up to the repression being carried out by 'our' troops in Northern Ireland. Already many local trade unionists have signed the petition of the Labour Committee Against Internment.



GEC workers facing redundancy on the march in Glenrothes last week

FIFE WORKERS ACT TO BACK BATTLE AT GEC

SW Reporter

GLENROTHES:- GEC workers throughout Fife demonstrated their anger last Friday at the combine's proposals to close the local semi-conductors factory.

Sir Jack Scamp, GEC's 'troubleshooter' came to Glenrothes to see local and national officials from the Supervisors, Electricians and Transport Workers unions. Scamp was met by a demonstration of workers from local GEC factories, miners, housewives and members of the local International Socialists, Communist Party and Scottish Nationalists.

The demonstration was called by shop stewards of the threatened factory and had the backing of Glenrothes Trades Council.

Half-hour stoppages at other GEC plants in Fife were called in support of the workers whose jobs could be axed. And at Elliots, a GEC subsidiary in Cowdenbeath, the workers, mostly women, stopped work for the day after being threatened with a lock-out by the management.

Roasted by stewards

At the Glenrothes meeting, Scamp and other GEC top management were roasted by the shop stewards for their incompetent and deceitful management. The report submitted by the stewards, outlining their plan of action if the closure went ahead and their proposals for keeping the factory open, took Scamp by surprise.

It also put paid to a secret deal that the stewards suspect their own union leaders of hatching with the GEC bosses.

Scamp and his fellow butchers had hoped for an easy time. But the demonstration, the local stoppages and the shop stewards' determination and inside knowledge of top-level GEC bungling has stopped them in their tracks.

But the jobs have not yet been saved. The stewards, and the workers involved, still face the possibility that GEC will ignore their arguments. In these circumstances the fight will be on in earnest to save the jobs.

An occupation would be a last resort protest, but it would also be enormously

important as a weapon in the general fight against redundancies and rising unemployment. The first steps in a link-up between GEC workers and Plessey workers were being made on Monday. The GEC stewards are also trying to unite with UCS workers.

Messages of support to Eddie Street, 14 Laverock Terrace, Glenrothes, Fife.

NOTICES

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE: Public Debate: How to Fight the Tories: Stan Orme, MP and Norman Atkinson, MP (Tribune) versus Paul Foot and John Palmer (International Socialists). 7.15pm, Thursday 7 October, The Dome, New Road, Brighton.

Croydon IS public meeting: John Palmer on the Common Market. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Thursday 9 September, 8pm

NATIONAL IS Women's meeting on the women's liberation movement. Saturday 25 September. 10am, 6 Cottons Gardens E2. Accommodation ring Gill Nichol, 01-348 3881.

GEORGE JACKSON memorial meeting, Camden Town Hall, Thursday 2 September, 7.30pm. Speakers inc. Cheddi Jagan and Jean Genet.

N London IS Women's group meeting this Sunday 5 September 3pm at 18 Dickinson Road, N8 (tube Finsbury Park). Laurie Landy on Women in the 'socialist' countries—China, Russia, Cuba.

A MANCHESTER IS HQ/Bookshop: Could you give a loan, furniture or books? Could you live in a maisonette with three comrades paying £3 each per week? Could you give time to operate a bookshop? Could you give time to do painting, bricklaying, joinery, electrical work, plumbing? If you could, phone R Hill, 061-834 2363, ext 313.

LONDON IS branch secretaries meeting. Sunday 5 September, 2.30pm, 6 Cottons Gardens. All secretaries must attend.

HACKNEY IS public meeting on China. Monday 6 September 8pm. Spkr Richard Kirkwood. Rose & Crown pub, Cnr Albion Rd/StokeNewington Church St N16. Bus 73

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd (TU all depts). Registered with the Post Office.

Labour Committee Against Internment:

PUBLIC MEETING

Speakers will include Labour MPs, leading trade unionists and Irish socialists.

FRIDAY 17 SEPTEMBER, 8pm.

Camden Town Hall, assembly rooms

(near Kings Cross, St Pancras and Euston stations)

Subscribe now!

£2 for a year/£1 for 6 months

Name

Address

I enclose £.... for 1yr/6 mnths

Send to: Socialist Worker,
6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN