

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Markham: on-the-spot report back page

LOFTHOUSE

SEAFIELD

CYNHEIDRE

MARKHAM

HOW MANY MORE?

FOURTEEN DEAD—that was the death toll the morning after Monday's disaster at Markham Number two Colliery near Chesterfield in Derbyshire. Other men lie wounded in hospital and may well be crippled for life.

So far this year 60 miners have gone to their deaths in the pursuit of coal and high output per man shift. Countless others are crippled by the deadly dust disease.

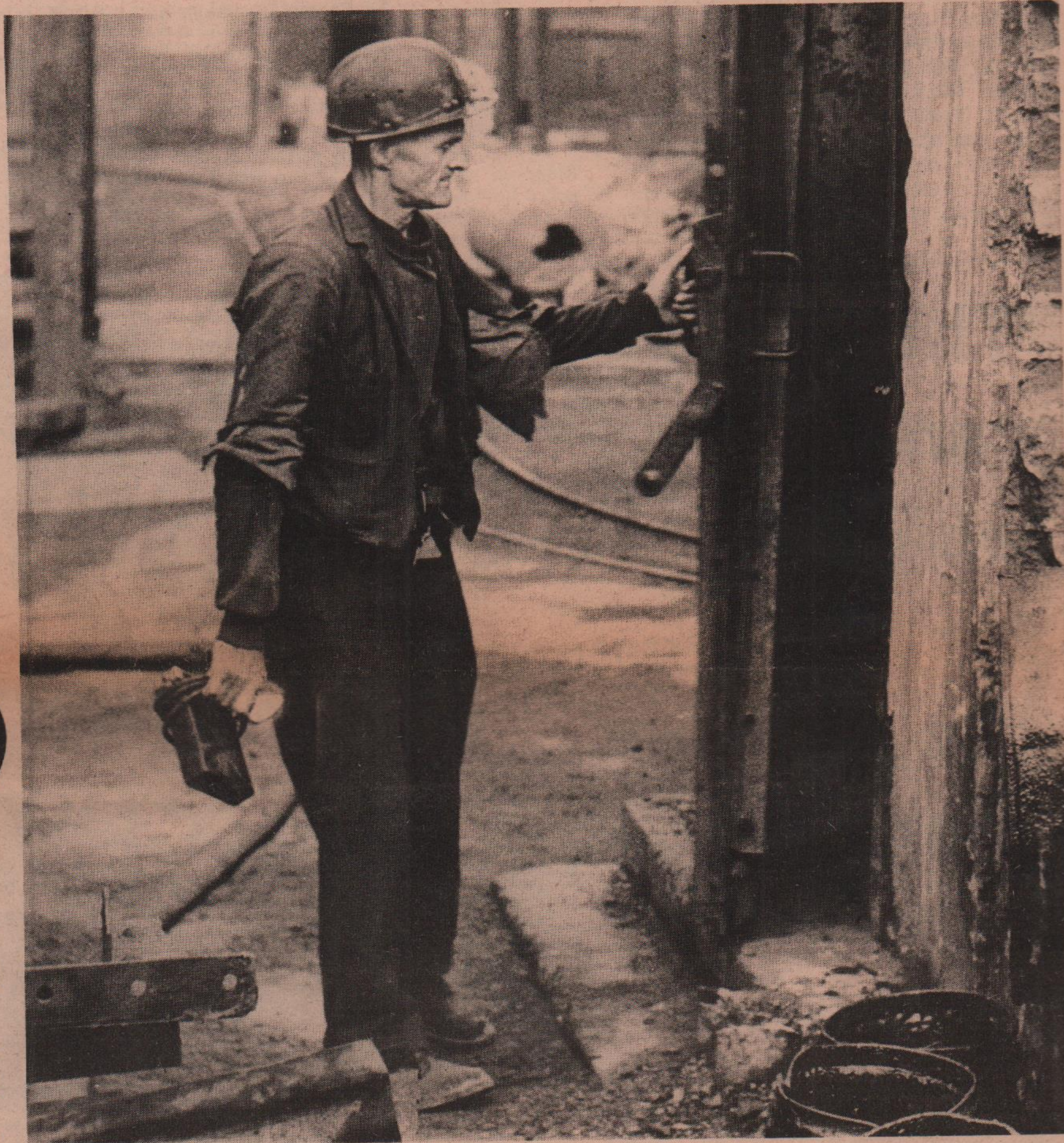
Listen to the words of Coal Board boss Derek Ezra on Monday night. 'Safety precautions will be doubled and redoubled', he told a press conference at Markham.

'But,' he added, 'everything that could have been done has been done at the pit on which the board had spent a very great amount of money and which is expected to build up to a production of more than two million tons a year, mainly for power stations in the Midlands.'

PROFIT

There can be no question that the death toll at Markham would have been more terrible still but for the fact that the miners, as usual, found the will and the spontaneous organisation to defy all the odds and bring their comrades to the surface.

But how many more must die? How many more Lofthouses and Markhams must there be before the miners—like all workers—use their skill and their tenacity to run their industry so that such incidents born of the pursuit of profit and high productivity per man shift are removed once and for all?



CLOSE the coalhouse door . . . there's blood inside. Tuesday, the day after the 'disaster' that claimed 14 more miners, and a worker hesitates at the top of the shaft that takes him down to the coal face while the cage is out of action. Picture: PETER HARRAP (Report).

Towns snub Greek regime



Papadopoulos: difficulties ahead

THE GREEK referendum on Sunday was worthy of the best traditions of election rigging. In a straight 'yes' or 'no' confrontation, the colonels asked voters to confirm the regime as a republic, Papadopoulos as president for the next eight years and legitimise his exclusive power over foreign affairs and security and the right to suspend the constitution.

After making sure the right questions were asked, the junta made sure it got the right answers. It produced a 78 per cent majority in favour of itself. 'Produced' is the right word because its

regime through gradual reconciliation with right-wing politicians and King Constantine. majority varied according to its ability to intimidate.

In Athens, where the eruption of the student movement and growing working-class militancy have loosened the junta's grip of terror, the colonels' majority went down to 51 per cent. In the countryside, where the peasantry is being crushed under the regime's economic and repressive measures, it shot up to 95 per cent.

In any case, fraudulent ballot counting by hand-picked army officers and polling stations where only 'yes' ballots were available made sure there were no surprises.

Only seven months ago, General Anghelis, chief of staff and vice-president, was negotiating with the king with apparent success and many politicians were shaping up to join the government. The re-emergence of a militant mass movement put an end to the honeymoon.

Earlier this year there were almost daily confrontations between students and the police in Athens, Salonika and Patras. At the same time working-class militancy began to defy the colonels openly. Printers, journalists and airport workers have been on strike, and many other sectors are mobilising.

Despite the junta's electoral fraud, the message from Greek workers is coming out loud and clear . . . the struggle goes on.

Sinking pound: page 3
Shrinking money: page 7

CLAY CROSS FIGHTS ON: P2/TWO YEARS OF INTERNMENT: P6/DOCKS MASSACRE: P8

Police lies exposed

-Oval 4 go free

**The police:
muggers
at work**

Flashback to Socialist Worker
11 November 1972

A SMALL PART of the scandal of police mugging in London has finally been exposed.

At the appeal of the Oval Four—four black youths who were jailed last November after being mugged by the transport police 'anti-mugging squad'—and in a programme on BBC television's Nationwide on Monday, at least some of the facts

Special investigation by PAUL FOOT

about Detective-Sergeant Ridgewell, formerly of the British South African police, now of the British transport police, have come out.

In 1972 and in the early part of this year Ridgewell was in charge of the transport police anti-mugging squad.

During that period he and his fellow

muggers arrested 16 young black men in London underground stations, took them to local police stations and, after beating some of them up, extracted 'confessions' to crimes which had never taken place.

Nine of the 16 men were later convicted in the courts. Four were sent to prison, three to borstal and two detention centres. The

borstal and detention centre sentences have all been served.

On Monday, three of the Oval Four, whose case was fully reported in Socialist Worker last November, were released from prison by the Court of Appeal after serving eight months of their two-year sentences.

The court refused to hear the evidence of the other muggings by Ridgewell and his hooligans. They refused to hear further evidence from onlookers of the police muggings which removed all doubt from the boys' innocence. The court made it clear that they were more interested in technicalities than in establishing guilt or innocence.

Courtney Harriott, who was sentenced with the first batch of Ridgewell's victims last September, has still more than two years to serve in prison. There is no process in British law whereby his case can be reviewed. Texo Johnson, convicted at the same time, is still in borstal.

The catalogue of Ridgewell's muggings runs as follows:

On 18 February last year the Ridgewell gang pounced on six young men at Oval tube station, South London. They were taken to Kennington police station where they were systematically beaten up.

Paul Green, one of the six, told Nationwide: 'Courtney's Harriott's face was all bleeding. He had got cuts over his eyes. They were crying like, you know. I got a real jumping on. I was beginning to cry because it was my first time, like...'

Cleveland Davison said: 'He said to me: "Take off your shoes." So I took them off. I was standing in the corner when suddenly they just stamped on my toes.'

Ronald De Souza said: 'When I heard Davison screaming, I said I'd sign.'

Forced

All six signed confession statements to a cock and bull story about how they had threatened passengers with a knife. The threatened passengers were not produced, but five of the six were found guilty (the sixth was acquitted when it was shown in court that he could hardly read or write).

One week after arresting the Oval Six, Ridgewell's thugs arrested four more black youths at Waterloo station. Once again the lads were taken to a police station.

Once again, cheered on by Woman Police Constable Sarah Wood, they were beaten up, and forced to sign confessions to robbing an old lady. The old lady was not produced. The police contradicted themselves in court, and all four were acquitted at Southwark Juvenile Court on 12 April 1972.

Three weeks later, the same police gang arrested another four young men at Oval tube station—the Oval Four.

Once again, they were forced to sign confession statements, not only to attempting to rob a passenger (who was never produced) but also to a lot of other unsolved crimes in the area. At the trial of the Oval Four last November, which lasted nearly three weeks, the men were acquitted of all the 'crimes' outside the Oval station, but convicted of attempting to rob and assault.

In July last year, Ridgewell struck again. This time he and his mob arrested two Rhodesian students, Lawrence Swelah and Alphonse Chikuri, at Tottenham Court Road tube station.

Once again, the two men were charged with robbery without the robbed person being produced. As in all other cases, the only evidence was from police officers. Their evidence was so bad that the case was thrown out at the Old Bailey before the defence evidence was called.

Sergeant Ridgewell and his gang are still on active service.

'They can whistle for the money'

CLAY CROSS councillors from Derbyshire declared their determination to fight on against the Tories' 'Fair Rents' Act on Monday after the High Court had dismissed their appeal against a surcharge of £6985.

The surcharge was slapped on when the 11 councillors refused to put up the rents of the 1386 council tenants in the town. Now they face a bill for the surcharge plus legal costs of £2000.

Councillor David Skinner said that 'Socialism had been on trial' in the High Court. He added: 'We will close down the rent offices tomorrow and the tenants will be on a total rent strike.'

Giving his judgment, Lord Justice James said that the District Auditor was entitled to make a surcharge under the Local Government Act of 1933. 'This was the only way the ratepayers could be protected and however sincere the councillors' motives, it was quite clear they were deliberately breaking the law by not putting up the rents as the Housing Finance Act required.'

Rejected

Counsel for the 11 pointed out that the Clay Cross authority, by not implementing the Act, had actually saved the ratepayers £2500 because of the costs of the government rebate scheme. He pleaded that the councillors should not have to pay the legal costs, but this was rejected. The 11 are all working people.



London tenants on a solidarity picket at the High Court on Monday Picture: PETER HARRAP (Report)

Defiant Clay Cross goes on fighting

by Hugh Kerr

They include miners, foundry workers, a housewife and one unemployed. They face complete bankruptcy and further surcharges of as much as £30,000 for the rest of the year could be added if they continue their defiance.

But the defiance will continue. After the hearing, the 11 said they could go on acting as the Labour council of Clay Cross, even though they are barred from office as a result of the surcharge.

Graham Skinner said: 'They will have to evict us physically from the council chamber.'

And Labour group leader Arthur Wellon declared: 'The decision was no surprise and if they want their

money they will have to whistle for it. You can't get blood out of a stone.'

What happens next in Clay Cross is not clear. The Tories can put in a Housing Commissioner or make Derbyshire County Council the agents for Clay Cross.

Enraged

But whatever steps the government takes, there is no doubt the tenants will fight the rent rises by direct action.

The High Court judgment could also give a boost to the tenants'

movement nationally. With the first of the Rent Scrutiny Board decisions resulting in 'Fair Rents' two to three times higher than the present rents, many tenants will be enraged.

With four million tenants paying further rent increases in October at a time when prices are booming and their wages are frozen, Clay Cross could be the spark which sets the tenants' struggle alight.

This makes the decision of tenants associations in the North West to call a national rents action conference in Manchester on 23 September most important. This conference could see the tenants' struggle established on a national scale and the prospect of big rent strikes in October.

Building men for trial for anti-lump protest

FIVE BIRMINGHAM building workers, members of UCATT, and three Associated Television film crew men, members of the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians, were committed for trial on charges of unlawful assembly and conspiracy to trespass in Birmingham last week.

The prosecution admitted that the building workers' anti-lump protest occupation of the SOS employment agency offices in the Rotunda in Birmingham was entirely peaceful. But, said Mr Alan Arneil for the prosecution, the men intended to assemble unlawfully with a view to trespassing, preventing the normal running of the bureau and breaching the privacy of the bureau's records in a way that would endanger public peace.

This second prosecution of building workers also followed the intervention of the Director of Public Prosecutions who again decided that conspiracy charges would be brought against the five builders and the cameramen.

Arguing that the three TV men should be committed, Mr Arneil

SW Reporter

alleged that the ATV crew 'created promoted and participated in the incident with a view to reporting it.'

This statement was designed to counter defence contentions that journalists had a duty to report the news and were therefore in a different category from the building workers.

Interestingly enough three other journalists who also entered the SOS offices at the same time as the TV men and who wrote reports have not been accused of 'creating, promoting and participating in the incident with a view to reporting it.'

Admitted

Under cross examination Inspector Walters of the City Police admitted that he had recognised a Mr Roger Busby of the Birmingham Evening Mail.

A statement had been taken but there were to be no proceedings, he said. Inspector Walters also admitted

that Busby was now working for the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary as a press officer.

A DEFENCE application to have the trial of the 24 North Wales building workers transferred from Shrewsbury to another court was rejected last Friday.

At a hearing in private with Mr Justice Mais, who will also be trying the case, the defence argued that it might be prejudicial to stage the trial in Shrewsbury. This is where the alleged incidents of damage to property and intimidation are claimed to have taken place.

The judge set this aside. He also turned down a plea based on the cost and inconvenience to the defendants of a trial in Shrewsbury.

The defence explained that the men would have to travel the 50-odd miles to Shrewsbury every day and would not be able to claim for travelling expenses.

It is likely to last for about six months. Accordingly, with their lives totally disrupted and considerable expense involved, the 24 defendants will have been severely punished even if found not guilty.

NO BAIL FOR 3 IN PRISON SINCE MAY

BLACKBURN:—Three Irishmen, held in jail since 22 May, were committed for trial last week on charges under the Criminal Justice Act. Local Irish and socialist groups, including Blackburn International Socialists, demonstrated outside the court in solidarity with the three men.

They are Sean Colley (30), John Patrick McCabe (21) and Michael Kneafsey (23). They are charged 'with conspiring together with others unknown to damage or destroy buildings, without lawful excuse intending to damage or destroy such property.'

Michael Kneafsey is also charged with helping to organise 'the Lancashire unit of the IRA' whose members, the charge claims, are trained to use physical force in promoting a political object.

After the men had been committed for trial, defending counsel Mr Charles Stannard asked for bail, pointing out that the three had been in prison for nine weeks. They would not be tried until October at the earliest, when the Crown Court circuit resumed after 'the summer recess.

By this time, Mr Stannard pointed out, the men would have been in jail for 20 weeks without trial.

He stressed the considerable hardship the men were suffering. One had already lost the tenancy of his house and another had had his house seized by a mortgage company. All three men were in desperate financial straits.

Bail, if granted, he said, could be made conditional on the men appearing daily or even twice daily at their local police station.

But the magistrates refused bail on the grounds that they feared the men would not answer to the charges.

The families of the three men are in severe financial difficulties. A fund has been set up to aid them. Messages and donations should be rushed to: PAF, 22 Richmond Crescent, Blackburn, Lancs.



The picket outside Blackburn court last week

Police harass republican

JERRY HARTE, aged 21, a member of Clann na hEireann, the Irish republican movement in Britain, was arrested by a Liverpool Special Branch officer last week on a charge of theft. It was his third arrest in four months.

Jerry, married with a baby, worked as a plumber in Liverpool until he lost his job because of the arrests. He was first arrested after a dawn raid on 13 April, carried out on an explosives warrant.

He was held in custody until 18 April, when Liverpool police dropped all charges against him. The charges involved the alleged possession of £3500 in postal orders.

He was then handed over to the Royal Ulster Constabulary and taken to Belfast on a charge of armed robbery. He spent a week in custody and was then given bail of £3000.

He stayed in Ireland, where he was joined by his wife. On Friday 20 July all charges were dropped against him in Belfast.

He returned to England and on Sunday 22 July addressed a public meeting against extradition for political offences, organised by Clann na hEireann in Kilburn. On 24 July,

as he met his wife on her return from Ireland, he was again arrested by Special Branch.

He appeared in court and was asked to raise bail of £1500, including two independent sureties by 2pm. He was unable to do this, as the police objected to one of the people prepared to stand bail. He was once more held in custody in Liverpool.

When he was held in Belfast, the authorities suggested to Jerry that if he went over the border, extradition proceedings would not be started against him. But he refused to accept this voluntary deportation, even though he comes from Dublin. He preferred to return to his home in Liverpool.

The Prisoners Aid Committee said last week: 'It now appears clear that Liverpool Special Branch are determined to pursue this sadistic and protracted harassment which has already cost Jerry his job and his wife and child a great deal of upset.

'We call for an end to this intimidation, thinly disguised as a judicial procedure and for the release of Jerry Harte from police custody and victimisation.'—People's News Service.

Socialist Worker WHAT WE THINK

'MOST, if not all, of the recent depreciation of the pound was unavoidable sooner or later. The resulting adverse effects on the country's standard of living are also unavoidable and cannot be wished away.'

So writes the economic 'expert' of a Sunday newspaper and, of course, the sting of the argument is in the tail. The 'country' must tighten its belt and make do with less, says the 'expert'.

In fact the 'country' does not have a belt to tighten, does not have a standard of living, does not earn wages, or for that matter make profits. People have standards of living, not some abstraction called the 'country', and their standards of living are very unequal indeed.

Some belt-tightening there has been already—by workers and their families. Consumer spending is down by about 2 per cent in real terms (that is allowing for the effects of inflation) as compared to the first three months of the year. With prices going up on average at an annual rate of 10 per cent, Heath's so-called incomes policy is really beginning to bite on wages. Most people are becoming worse off while the profiteers get steadily richer and social inequality gets steadily greater.

Last week's further slide of the sinking pound has to be seen against this background. Its immediate cause is simply explained. The West German government had pushed up interest rates in an attempt to damp down inflation. The men of money, big firms and speculators, moved in to take advantage of the free bonus that the higher rates offered them.

High demand put Deutschmarks at a premium with respect to the pound and the dollar. And, because the currencies of most of the Common Market countries are tied together, they were dragged up after the mark and so the pound and the dollar fell against them too.

None of this had much to do with events inside Britain. Certainly nothing at all to do with that old scapegoat, the wages of British workers. But it has effects on them. Every depreciation of the pound—and it has depreciated by around 20 per cent since the end of 1971—pushes up import prices. These are passed on automatically by the so-called Prices Commission in increased prices inside Britain.

As long as the freeze holds that means reduced real wages. And the government's pushing up of interest rates here, which may well check or even reverse the 'sink', also pushes up prices. Heads they win. Tails you lose.

It would be comic if it were not such a serious matter. For years, for decades, we have been told by politicians, Tory and Labour alike, as well as by 'respectable' trade union leaders, that the answer to our economic and social problems was more production and more productivity. They have got both and the economic and social problems get worse.

They will continue to do so. International capitalism is heading for deepening crisis. In the short run the only way to protect living standards is to smash the freeze by industrial action. In the longer run the only way to end the crazy situation in which more output means more inflation, more inequality and more attacks on the working class is to take power out of the hands of corporations, speculators and governments dedicated to preserving their interests.

THE JUNIOR TORIES

A CERTAIN political party supports Incomes Policy (read wage freeze), the Industrial Relations Act, the Common Market, 'free enterprise', NATO and 'nuclear deterrence'. It isn't too keen on 'the unacceptable face of capitalism' though, and so talks of company law reform, 'workers participation' and similar nostrums. The Tories? The description fits them exactly but the party we have in mind is the Liberal Party.

Its recent electoral gains are due in large part to disgruntled Tory voters demonstrating their dissatisfaction with the roaring inflation presided over by Ted 'cut prices at a stroke' Heath. But it is also getting working-class votes on the basis that it is in some way a 'left wing' party and, unlike the Labour Party, 'means what it says'.

This is the biggest confidence trick in the business. On every important political question in recent years the Liberals have supported the Tory government. The idea that they represent a force for change is a joke. The only real force for change is the development of a socialist alternative to the Labour Party.

Editorial
01-739 9043
Reporters:
01-739 0185/6361
Circulation:
01-739 2639

ITALY: NOW THE FREEZE GOES SOUTH



BRIEFING

THE population of the Common Market is growing older, as both birth and death rates continue to decline. Most of the Market countries provide for a minimum old age pension. But the average guaranteed income for the elderly is only £415 a year—hardly enough to avoid starvation. The minimum pension in Britain is well below the average, at £256 a year for a single person and £256 for a married couple. Only Belgian pensions are lower than British, while Denmark and the Netherlands both have a minimum pension of more than £1300 a year for a single person.

RIGHT-WING oil millionaires in Italy have been trying to buy up a number of local newspapers in the last few months. The Italian press is already concentrated in the hands of a few rich employers, such as Agnelli of Fiat.

In June the oil boss and fascist sympathiser Monti bought up Genoa's *Secola XX* (Twentieth Century) and a half share of the Rome daily *Il Messaggero*. But the staff of *Il Messaggero* have been fighting this takeover. Half the shares in the paper belong to the editor, Sandro Perrone. As soon as Monti's agents bought up the remaining half, Perrone was sacked and a conservative writer, Luigi Barzini, appointed in his place. The new owners also rejected the demands of the staff for an agreement guaranteeing their political independence and a policy of no redundancies.

Monti's agent, Rusconi, a well known anti-trade union publisher, is notorious for having dismissed large numbers of journalists and printworkers from his other newspapers.

Backed by the whole staff of the paper, Perrone refused to leave and the paper continued to appear under his editorship. A mass picket of the newspaper's headquarters prevented Barzini from entering his new office, after Rome magistrates had granted him an order for possession of the post. Another legal order, from the police magistrate in Rome, declared Perrone's dismissal illegal.

The legal tangle will take a long time to sort out. Meanwhile, the journalists and printworkers have gone on unlimited strike, meeting daily at the newspaper's offices.

FRANCE has had some hot weather recently. A selection of passages from factory bulletins in the revolutionary weekly paper *Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers' Struggle) reflects the widespread struggles over intolerable factory conditions in such weather.

At one factory a manager had accused the trade union delegates of going round telling people they should feel hot and putting thermometers in their pockets and raise the reading. The management agreed to hose down the roofs and paint the skylights blue, but the bulletins raise the demand for proper air conditioning.

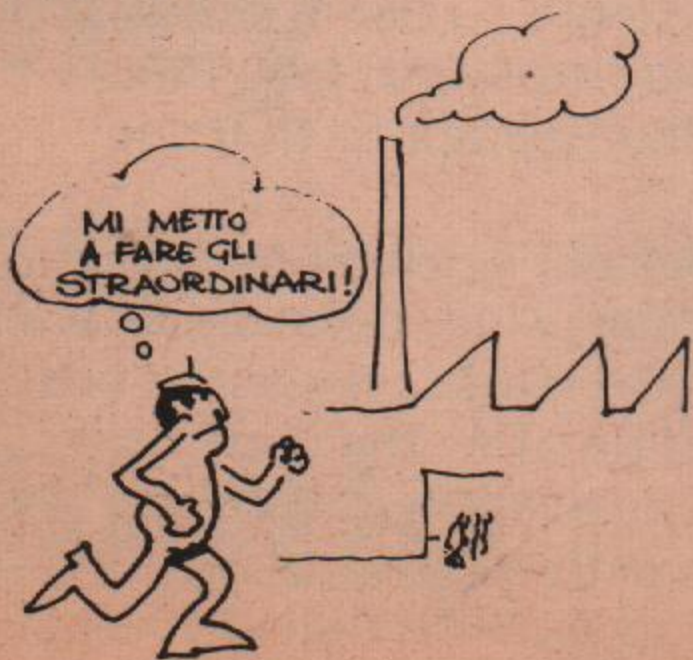
At an electronics factory in Dijon some shops handling chemical substances walked out when the temperature reached 109 degrees F and the fumes became dangerous. The management agreed to revised shift times for the morning shift to avoid the hottest part of the day.

At the Peugeot body works at Sochaux, the bulletin attacks the management's only solution to heat, which is to open all the doors and windows and exposes the worker to a variety of poisonous fumes carried by the wind.

A CARTOON FROM AVANGUARDIA OPERAIA (ITALY)



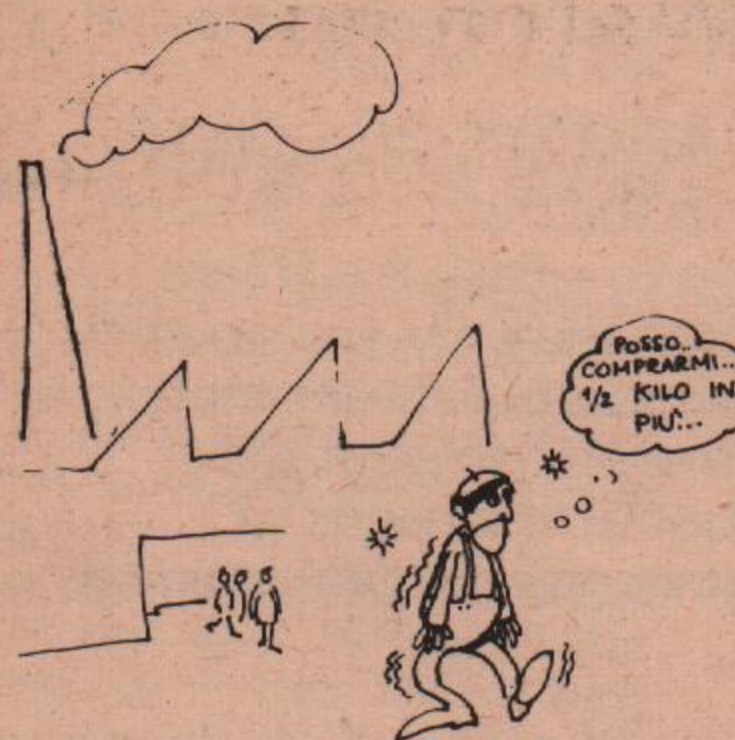
I can only afford half a pound (40p per pound).



I'll do some overtime.



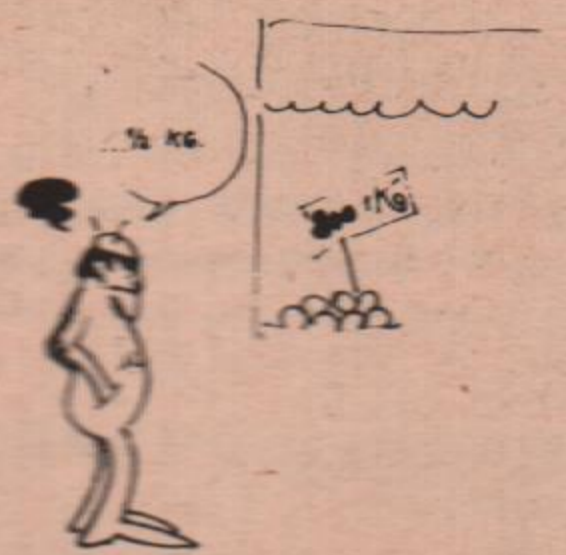
Good!



I ... can ... buy ... another half pound ...



I'll have ...



... half a pound please (80p per pound)

WITH the words 'We must demand sacrifices from everyone' Italian Prime Minister Rumor launched the anti-inflation programme of the new centre-left coalition government.

Phase one—a partial 90-day freeze on some food and industrial prices and rents—has already begun. But all the pronouncements of the new ministers point in one direction only—the problems of Italian capitalism must be paid for by the working class.

After the short price freeze intended to soften up public opinion, including the trade union leaders, the government is likely to impose a wage freeze, raise taxes, cut public expenditure, and even adopt the notorious police law, which the Andreotti government had drawn up, giving the police the power to arrest people for 48 hours on suspicion.

A so-called centre-left government planning such an offensive should surprise no one. The Socialists, who form the weak left-wing of the coalition, are committed to reviving the economy and curbing inflation, which, as the national daily *La Stampa* points out, can only mean forcing up productivity.

CRISIS

The rise in the cost of living in Italy is one of the highest in Europe. Between June 1972 and June 1973 commodity prices rose 20 per cent, while the lira plunged in value, depreciating as much as 35 per cent against the yen and some European currencies.

Italy is racked not only by inflation and stagnation but by a serious social crisis. Housing, transport, the health service are in a desperate state. The revolutionary socialist weekly *Avanguardia Operaia* claims the average cost of admission into hospitals in Italy is the highest in the world.

Sincere Nyerere takes wrong road

TANZANIA is the one African country reputed to be socialist. Its leader, Julius Nyerere, and his theory of rural socialism, are often heralded as fine examples for other developing nations to follow on a peaceful road to socialism.

Nyerere himself has taken a firm stand on a number of anti-imperialist and anti-racist issues, but if we look more closely at Tanzania we can see that its so-called socialism is an illusion.

In the first years after independence in 1961 there were few, if any, changes that affected the lives of ordinary Tanzanians. Most of the Civil Service posts were Africanised but there was no change in its structure.

After the revolution in Zanzibar and the slaughter of thousands of the Arab ruling class, the Karume regime on Zanzibar and Nyerere agreed to unite the two countries into the United Republic of Tanzania. But the union was little more than nominal and Zanzibar has continued to follow its own peculiar nationalist road.

But an indication of the means that Nyerere was prepared to use in the early post-independence period came in 1964 when there was a mutiny among army officers and he called in British troops to restore law and order.

The crunch came for Tanzania in the mid-60s when there was a fall in world prices for sisal, the country's main export. It had been used for rope-making but it was being replaced by artificial fibres. This really exposed the economic weakness of the country for she was now

by Mike Balfour

Any attempt to introduce far-reaching social reforms would not only be too costly for Italian capitalism, but would also collide with powerful interests within the ruling class.

Far from being the reformist government it has claimed to be, the present coalition will travel along the same road as the Andreotti government. Yet the right-wing repressive government of Andreotti failed to defeat the working-class movement in last autumn's struggle over the

STRONGER

national labour agreements. Although the agreements nowhere met the demands of the militants, the organisation and militancy of the Italian workers have never been stronger.

The future of the Rumor government largely depends on how far trade union leaders are prepared to

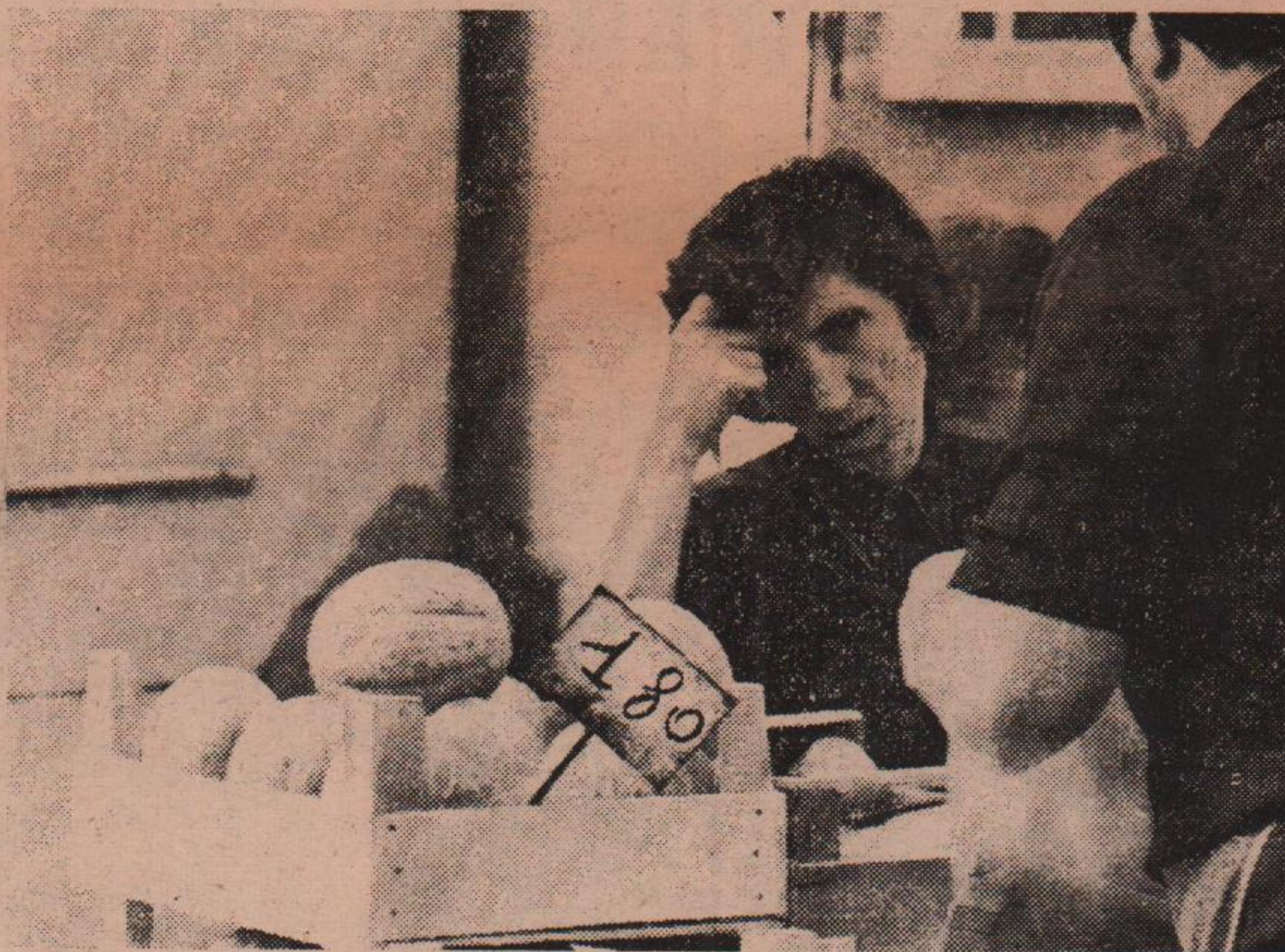
collaborate. Already leaders of the Communist CGIL have expressed a cautious optimism about the new government.

At the recent national congress, the CGIL proposed a 'global' agreement with the government—in essence an agreement to maintain peace and productivity in the factories in exchange for a programme of reform.

The failure of the trade union bureaucracy to lead the fight over the national agreements caused deep discontent among the militant rank and file in the unions.

Any attempt to collaborate with the Rumor government with its anti-working-class programme will deepen the rift. But the trade union leadership must be forced to reject the government by organised rank and file pressure.

The influence of the revolutionary left will be decisive in this task. If the Rumor government and the Italian ruling class have their way, it will be the workers and their families who will have to make the sacrifices.



by Bob Cant

almost totally dependent on the small amounts of coffee, cotton and tea she could sell, and none of these enjoyed anything like a stable market. Apart from a small supply of diamonds, there were few minerals.

In 1967 Nyerere made the Arusha Declaration, outlining his ideas for using the traditional extended African family, ujamaa, for socialist development.

Ujamaa villages would be set up all over the country in which the old traditions of helping one's brother and one's neighbour would be transformed into a social relationship that would promote development. Everyone in an ujamaa village would work together on the land and the income of the village would be used to feed everyone, to provide schools and clinics and to invest for further production.

Resented

The accumulation of wealth by individuals was to be discouraged. Government and party leaders were not to own shares in private companies and not to own more than one house. Banks and most major industries were nationalised.

The acceptance of these proposals was essential for Nyerere's political survival. Clearly there must have been a lot of opposition from the groups of people who would, under other circumstances, have become capitalists.

The rich farmer class that had emerged

in the fertile coffee and cotton growing areas and had been educated by European missionaries, resented this increase in state power but perhaps felt too weak to oppose it. However, their sons and daughters, educated at western universities, are highly influential in the Civil Service which controls investment and Tanzania's overseas trade.

And so economic power, although not in private hands, is still concentrated on a tiny minority of people.

Nyerere's personality has contributed a great deal to the acceptance of these proposals by ordinary Tanzanians. Popular with almost all Tanzanians, he has prevented the rich from becoming richer. He helped to build ujamaa villages. He has, unlike Amin in Uganda, discouraged racist feelings against the Asian middle class although he has nationalised most of their property.

He has given real financial support to the Southern African liberation movements. However, we cannot ignore the fact that he is building up a state capitalist economy.

Socialism cannot be built in one country—let alone a backward one with few resources. The Tanzanian government is increasingly being forced to make economic agreements with China, Uganda and Zaire which will cost its people dear.

It must, however, do this if it is to continue to have access to the world market. But socialism, in Africa as in Europe, cannot be achieved by such means but only by the working class controlling economic and political power.

The working class in Tanzania, and in Africa as a whole, is small but only when the working class is capable of taking power will there be socialism in Africa.

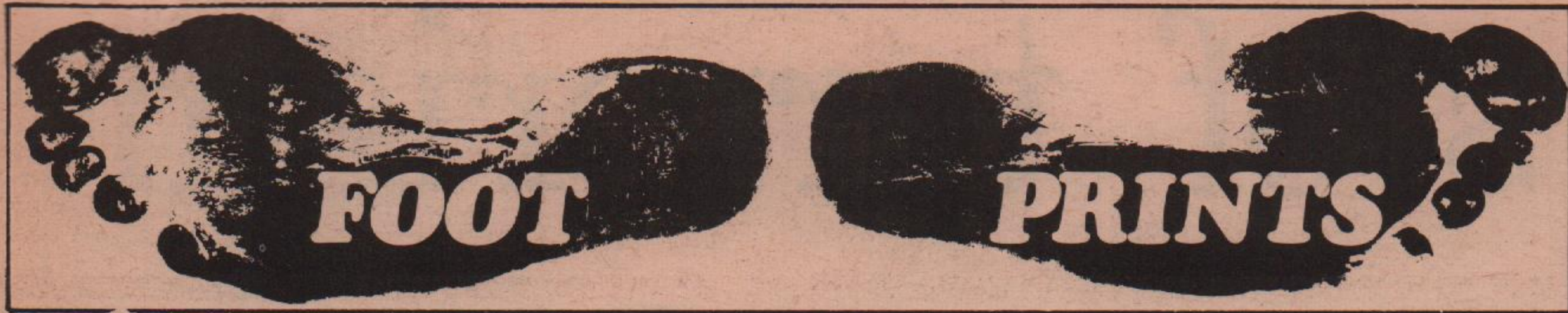
VICTOR SERGE

Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941

TRANSLATED BY PETER SEDGWICK

The memoirs of Victor Serge, revolutionary, novelist and poet, are a testimony to the experience of three successive revolutionary generations—the anarchism of pre-1914 France, the syndicalism of Barcelona 1917, finally Russia as Stalin took over. Out of the annihilation Serge himself survived as virtually a lone witness.

70p including postage, from
IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



Free Press Department

ON 21 July Socialist Worker carried a story about Brian Beard, a herdsman who was evicted from his tied cottage two days after he had gone sick with chest pains. We passed the story on to the Birmingham Mail, hoping that Mr Beard would get more publicity for his case.

The Mail did use the story—on 23 July. For some reason they forgot to mention that the landowner who carried out the eviction is Dr I A B Cathie, chairman of Warwickshire County Council.

FACT TO REMEMBER: Birmingham is in Warwickshire.

KEARTON'S TEARS

Meakin the mild

ASIAN workers at any mills owned by Courtaulds, who have been disturbed by the recent decision of the House of Lords to make the 1971 Immigration Act retrospective for illegal immigrants, will be interested to hear that the tax dodge whereby Courtaulds have pinched millions of pounds from the taxpayer has now been closed by legislation. The legislation will not, however, be retrospective.

The trick was to use three companies in a group to buy and sell to each other industrial buildings already owned by the group. Somehow or other this enabled Courtaulds to concentrate all its

writing off allowances for buildings into one year.

Last year, 1971-72, although profits were up from £23.9m to £36.6m Courtaulds paid no tax at all. The tax loophole was then changed by the 1972 Finance Act, but Courtaulds had been able to 'save' on tax allowances for its investment grants. So this year—with profits up again to £56.3m—the company has paid only a miserable £100,000 in tax.

Lord Kearton, chairman of Courtaulds, not only makes money from dubious tax dodges. He tries to get moral credit from it. In an interview with

the July issue of Banker, he was asked what changes could be made to company accountancy practice.

'As a very general comment,' replied Kearton, 'I would say that in the way company legislation works nowadays there are certainly no prizes for honesty and straightforwardness, and the penalties for obscurantism and presentation of accounts in a slightly misleading way seem to be minimal. A company like ours which tries to be straightforward does not, and perhaps should not, get the slightest good marks for it.'

Ten out of ten for hypocrisy, if nothing else.

PEOPLE on assault charges should know about a new way to bring the courts round to your point of view. All you have to do is sign up for service in Northern Ireland.

Consider the case of Graham Meakin who, a few months ago, was travelling by train in the Southend area with some friends when, by mistake, they got off at the wrong station. The party were complaining bitterly to no one in particular about their mistake when an innocent bystander, a Mr Douglas Butcher, started to laugh, 'You are,' he told them, 'a lot of dozy twats.'

Mr Meakin rushed at Mr Butcher and hit him three times in the face. As Butcher staggered forward, Meakin kned him, punched him again and butted him with his head. He was talking about 'finishing off the job' when his friends pulled him away.

Last week, Mr Meakin appeared at Southend magistrates court charged with assault and causing actual bodily harm—charges which, as many Socialist Worker readers know, can often result in a jail sentence.

Meakin pleaded guilty, but was lucky to have an outstanding character witness in Captain Tim Manners-Smith, 20, an officer of the Royal Green Jackets. Mr Manners-Smith is Mr Meakin's platoon commander, for Mr Meakin is a soldier.

Mr Manners-Smith begged the magistrates 'not to remove one of my most valuable riflemen from his place in Ballymurphy. We return to the area's notorious streets next week, and will rely heavily upon him. I ask the court to remember Meakin's ability as a soldier.'

'Meakin has for long periods lived in an environment where violence is normal. And he has patiently endured insults from the "other side" as no doubt he will next week.'

'But his temper becomes quick when people are attacking things he holds to be of value.' The magistrate, Mrs Vera Smith, fined Meakin £10. She made no comment.

The Glory of Godber

IN THE autumn of 1971 there was a fuss about Tory ministers arranging for convenient questions to be asked by friendly back-benchers so that nastier ones from Labour MPs were never reached. A Parliamentary Select Committee 'disapproved' of the practice, which was instantly stopped.

Now it has started again, in the Ministry of Agriculture, whose ministers, headed by prosperous farmer Joseph Godber, are very anxious to protect their Prime Minister from answering questions about the increase in food prices.

Thursday 19 July was the last opportunity for putting questions to Heath on the subject of food prices before MPs went off on their 10-week holiday.

Before questions to the Prime Minister, however, came questions on Northern Ireland. Before 19 July, the usual number of questions asked about Northern Ireland was 7. On 19 July, 16 questions were asked—some of them by very unlikely people.

Mr John Farr, secretary to the Tory Party's agricultural group, asked about the export of live sheep from Northern Ireland.

Then Mr Charles Morrison, group chairman, asked about 'agricultural expansion' in Northern Ireland. He was answered in meticulous detail.

Then Mr Adam Butler asked about investment grants in Northern Ireland. Mr Butler is parliamentary private secretary to the Minister for Agriculture.

After all these unexpected questions, followed by carefully-rehearsed replies, there was no time left for the questions to Mr Heath on food prices, and no need for another bunch of unflattering figures in the press the following day.

As the government's white paper on the City said last week: 'The more people can see what is actually happening the less likely they are to harbour general suspicions.'

Alfred and the links

ONE of the happiest onlookers in the vast crowd of golf-lovers who watched this summer's Open Golf Tournament at Troon, Ayrshire, was Alfred McAlpine, chairman of Sir Alfred McAlpine, the well-known building firm. Mr McAlpine took a whole week off work to go to the tournament and was careful to make careful arrangements about transport to the Troon links.

He was staying, naturally, in Scotland's most luxurious hotel, at Gleneagles, which is said to be even more extravagant than the



Dorchester, London, which is owned by the McAlpines.

Every morning Mr McAlpine and his party were driven by a chauffeur to Perth airport where a McAlpine Beechcraft executive jet was waiting to take them to Prestwick airport, where they were met once again by a chauffeur-driven hired car which took them to Troon. The cost of the four-mile return journey from Prestwick to Troon was £40 a day.

Mr McAlpine told the local Troon and Prestwick Times on 20 July: 'I am very keen on golf and have certainly enjoyed this week's play. Flying to Prestwick is no hardship...'

THE CASE for compulsory religious education in schools, as I understand it (which I don't) is to some extent based on the idea that religious education classes can and should have no political significance whatever.

Religious Films is an organisation in London which circulates suitable films mainly to secondary schools for viewing during religious education classes. The firm's catalogue includes the following interesting item:

'NCC: Challenge of Africa: Africa is shown as a new field of combat on which materialistic communism flaunts its challenge, not boldly as yet, but slyly, preaching freedom while planning tyranny, seeking to pervert the leadership of young African Christians through false appeals to race loyalty. Such a young man was N'Uanta, a village boy, who, while tempted to leave the Christian faith, was finally restored to his family, his people and his Church by his early Christian training.'

NCC stands for the American National Council of Christian Churches.



THE PORT BOSSES' BLOOD MONEY

THE Port of London Authority management are well known for their civilised behaviour. Two weeks ago the Blood Transfusion Service made one of its regular visits to the Royal Victoria Dock in London. Dockworkers of PLA/Thames Stevedorin responded well, giving 109 pints of blood.

The following day one of the PLA/Thames stewards was in the company's traffic office. A phone

call came through from senior management regarding the inordinate amount of time taken up by the session. 'This time it cost us £360 in man hours,' whined the cost-conscious manager.

Even the traffic officer, a management appointee, could not stomach this. 'A cheque for £360 wouldn't be much use to you if you were injured in a road accident,' he retorted.

Watch out, there's a school governor about!

MY PICTURE this week shows Keith Gilbert, right-wing member of the Newham Ratepayers' Association (Tories), enjoying an informal moment with his wife Sue. Mr and Mrs Gilbert were 'modelling' for the 'glamour magazine', Parade, and four pictures of them similar to the one above were taken allegedly to illustrate an 'article' about bugging methods in divorce cases.

Three weeks after the pictures were published, Mr Gilbert was appointed governor of the Rokeby and Sarah Bonnell Comprehensive Schools.

The Newham Ratepayers Association strongly supports christian standards and instruction in schools and deplores the tendency to low moral standards in schools which have corroded the fabric of our national life.

Observers of the pleasant and acceptable face of capitalism will be glad to know that the matter did not end there. At the next meeting of the PLA/Thames accident prevention committee, management insisted that their comments on this matter be recorded in the minutes. This moving document now includes a statement that they hope future sessions will be 'better organised' so that 'fewer man hours are lost.'

Two years of terrorism

ONLY THE NAMES ARE CHANGED

TWO YEARS AGO this week the Tory government, acting on the instruction of the Unionist Party and its political police, decided to round up as many of their political opponents in the north of Ireland as possible and imprison them without charge or trial.

Early on 9 August 1971 thousands of British troops invaded the Catholic ghettos, smashed down doors and dragged hundreds of men from their beds. Many were then tortured. All were interned in dingy nissen huts surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by machine-gun posts, Alsatian dogs and armed troops.

But in the two years since then internment has been abolished. The notorious Special Powers Act that permitted it has been removed from the statute books. Long Kesh internment camp no longer exists.

The Unionist Party that ruled Northern Ireland for 50 years and many times used internment to suppress its political opponents has been removed from the position of sole guardian of British interests in the north, and the parliament of Stormont which was its private possession has been abolished.

For the first time in 50 years the Catholic middle class is to be given a say in the running of the Six Counties.

Created

One might conclude—and many do—that at last the corruption, discrimination and violence against anti-Unionist people that have been the hallmarks of British rule no longer exist, and that democracy is being created for the first time under the benevolent rule of William Whitelaw.

But the reality remains unchanged. All that is gone are the old names.

Internment has been replaced by detention. Long Kesh has been re-named The Maze prison. The Special Powers Act has been changed to the Emergency Provisions Act. The arbitrary power of the Unionists to intern their opponents at will has been replaced by the equally arbitrary power of one pro-Unionist judge who conducts his trials in secret and can even exclude the accused man from the court when evidence is being



The Maze concentration camp, once Long Kesh

by Mike Miller, Socialist Worker Belfast reporter

given against him.

In many ways things have actually got worse for the hundreds of men locked in The Maze. Evidence that was thrown out by open courts because it was got by torture is permitted in the secret courts, which are conducted inside the concentration camp itself. Police spies and touts are having a field day.

The 'trials' mean that the Tories can claim internment is over, and the British press and television have been quick to agree. For the men inside, the fact that they are detained with trial rather than interned without trial makes no difference whatsoever.

The concentration camp is still run on the same lines as before and that means continual harassment, humiliating searches, occasional beatings, denial of the most basic rights, and a regime clearly designed to break spirits, destroy morale and cause tension between the men.

The camp regulations are enforced arbitrarily. The internees have no set of fixed rules to judge the measures

used against them. The authorities can do as they please with the men under their control. They can change, break and ignore rules without warning or reason.

Ruthless

It is a common assumption that the internees have a great opportunity to educate themselves in the long hours when there is nothing else to do. The Whitelaw regime even boasted recently that 100 men had entered for examinations. But even in this area the authorities have shown a ruthless determination to frustrate the efforts of the men.

Books required for educational purposes are frequently seized by the censors. Men are moved from one compound to another to prevent them following any one course through to the end. The camp library, which it had taken the authorities two years to provide, consists of 48 novels.

When the army carry out their

frequent raids notebooks and textbooks are often stolen or destroyed. Teachers who stated that they were Irish by nationality were banned from going in until they said they were British.

Most of those interned are young workers who left school at 15. Clearly the Tory rulers want to ensure that they don't rise above their station in life.

Recreational facilities don't exist. One hour per week of organised sport is all that is allowed each man. There is one small miniature billiard table, one table tennis outfit and one punchball.

Overcrowding in the nissen huts where the men live and sleep has got worse since hundreds of prisoners have been moved in from jails too small to hold all who have resisted British rule. More join them every day. There are between 800 and 1000 men in the camp.

At night the concentration camp is a mass of blinding light. Every corner is illuminated as troops in the

watch-towers train their machine-guns on everything that moves.

This week the new Assembly meets for the first time. Members of the middle-class Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party will sit down with the men who introduced internment to see if they can come to a gentlemen's agreement on how they can best run Northern Ireland in the interests of British big business.

Comrades

Gerry Fitt, the SDLP leader, said on television recently that he would not release the internees if he had the power to do so. He knows the men in The Maze are likely to stand in the way of British plans to integrate the Catholic middle class into the political establishment of the Six Counties, so he has insisted that their comrades outside must surrender before they are freed.

It is the task of all those who see the need to defeat British plans for Northern Ireland to demand the release of the internees, support all those who are fighting for this, and not be fooled by either the scurrilous propaganda of the British ruling class or their SDLP sidekicks.

The new killer fire danger...

FIRES in houses and industrial premises in England and Wales killed 771 people in 1972-16 per cent more than in 1971 when 666 people were burned to death. And the number of fires again increased substantially.

Commenting on this situation in his first annual report to the Home Office, which was published at the end of July, the Chief Inspector of Fire Services, Mr K L Holland, stated that these figures were 'very disturbing'.

The number of fires and the number of people killed in them has been rising 'disturbingly' for a number of years. And absolutely nothing is being done about it. This will ensure that the Chief Inspector finds that the figures in his reports for 1973 and the years beyond even more disturbing.

Pursuit

The traditional causes of serious fires are still with us—badly designed and maintained houses and hotels which will remain a fire hazard for as long as they are built or operated in the pursuit of profit.

But ever since the terrible James Watt Street furniture warehouse fire in Glasgow five years ago, the Fire Brigades Union and the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union have been drawing attention to a new source of household and industrial fires which also means that a relatively minor incident can have devastating consequences.

This new hazard is polyurethane foam, a petrochemical compound which is being increasingly used in industry and finds its way into virtually every household, particularly working-class households. Both



Firemen tackling a recent foam blaze in North London

the FBU and FTAT are convinced that it is this which is directly responsible for a large proportion of the extra fires and deaths from fires.

In their search for low-cost, high-profit products, the furniture manufacturers have made a major switch to this material for cushioning and padding. The material has also been widely introduced for the same reasons in the clothing industry (to line and back overcoats for example) and also into the toy-making industry where it is used to stuff dolls and teddy-bears.

The compound is manufactured by Shell, BP, ICI, Monsanto and all the other big names in the petrochemicals industry. These socially-responsible firms have made and marketed the stuff on a huge scale, without a single thought for the consequences.

The one slight problem with polyurethane foam is that when it is exposed to heat (not even to a direct flame) the compound ignites and gives off deadly carbon monoxide fumes. The Furniture and Allied Trades Union is also in possession of evidence to suggest that the compound can combust quite spontaneously.

A number of the people killed in the dreadful James Watt Street fire would in all probability have died from these foam fumes, even if the fire exits from the warehouse had not been padlocked to safeguard its contents. And fire brigades up and down the country are having to attend an ever increasing number of incidents where children are found choking

or dying because their dolls contain polyurethane and they have been left near a household fire.

The government, ever loyal to Monsanto, Shell, BP and the rest, steadfastly refuses to take any serious action such as banning its use in products where it is a hazard. The chemical and furniture industries are naturally resisting any of the changes demanded by the furniture and fire services unions since polyurethane is a valuable source of profits.

Disasters

At present the Department of Employment is busy drawing up a code of practice relating to its 'safe usage and storage' in industry. This will not be legally enforceable and will not deal with the problems unleashed on working-class families crowded into tiny living spaces where children can hardly be prevented from leaving their toys near heat.

The compound also threatens those who work with it, such as furniture and other workers, and those who come to deal with the disasters it causes, the firemen. The Fire Brigades Union is acutely concerned at the increasing numbers among its members who are being crippled for life by industrial asthma as a result of burning polyurethane.

And the same deadly compound is even finding its way to the breakfast table. One of its variants is used to make non-stick frying pans which, when cracked and subjected to normal heating, give off the same deadly fumes.

This book documents in detail the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, and the staggering brutality of the methods used. It documents the political trials with which the regime hoped to destroy the left.

Faced with a virtual blockade on real news from Turkey, Jane Cousins went there to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners. She was given access to papers and documents which are here published for the first time.

£1.50 paperback
Illustrated
15p post + packing

Pluto Press Limited
unit 10 Spencer Court
7 Chalcot Road
London NW1 8LH
telephone 01 722 0141

Questions
and
answer
on
inflation

Everyone knows that prices are going up—fast. But is it really a crisis?

Depends what you mean by a crisis. Prices overall are rising by about 10 per cent a year in Britain and even faster in a majority of the advanced capitalist economies.

Even if the rate of inflation gets no worse, 10 per cent a year means that money halves in value about every 50 months—no one likes that, not even the ruling class.

But the government keep saying everything is under control.

Surely—but that is not what the ruling class really thinks. Look at how they are actually behaving.

Because they have so little confidence in the present or future value of paper money, they are doing their best to get out of money and into other commodities which preserve values more successfully. For instance the rich have been amassing paintings and works of art.

And more recently the big corporations and the wealthy have been stockpiling huge amounts of cocoa, coffee, tin, copper and other commodities—not in order to use them but to hold them as a money substitute.

Granted price rises are becoming frightening, but are they causing real hardship?

Too true. Evidence submitted by local authorities and health bodies to the government recently confirms observations that real rock-bottom poverty is on the increase.

The hardest hit are the old and the low paid. But in Wales there have been reports of an increase in an illness called rickets due to malnutrition—striking evidence of the effects of poverty. Of course it is not just higher prices but frozen wages as well which are responsible.

But would there be a problem of rising prices if wages had not risen so fast in the past?

Yes, there would. One of the most dangerous and, to tell the truth, successful myths, spread by the Tories and their press is that inflation is caused by wages.

A look at the figures over recent years proves the opposite. Price inflation started to take off in this country about a year after the 1967 devaluation of the pound which directly raised the cost of imported food.

For the first 18 months or two years, prices were racing ahead of wages. It was not until late 1969 that the penny dropped for most trade unionists and wage claims started to reflect past loss of real wages and expected future loss.

In other words, wage demand reflects an inflationary situation, not the other way round.

But surely wages must have some effect on prices?

Of course they do. Quite simply, business raises its prices when increases in costs threaten its profit margins.

Profit margins in recent years have not so much been threatened by higher wages but by the increase in the unit cost of output brought about partly by uneconomic working (idle plant and machinery for instance) and partly because of a slowdown in the rate of increase in productivity (output per worker).

If on top of that workers try to

maintain the living standard of themselves and their families by putting in for more wages, the bosses will respond by pushing up prices even faster.

If productivity rates have been falling, doesn't this mean that the workers must take some of the blame?

Absolutely not. Productivity rates have been slowing in spite of a massive wave of productivity deals which have involved increasing the work pressure, reducing manning, slashing safety standards, speeding the production line and so on. In physical and mental terms workers are more productive than ever.

So why is industry not able to maintain the necessary levels of productivity which could ensure profit margins are not cut?

A major question and a complex one. One reason is that in general the overall rate of expansion of the entire capitalist system has been slowing down.

A major cause of that has been the reduction of the proportion of wealth in key capitalist economies like the US spent on the arms race. In the past this provided a floor for output and employment.

The slowdown has meant long periods in which firms have had idle plant and machinery—very costly in today's conditions.

In addition the bosses have been investing less out of their profits: partly because of lack of confidence in the future, partly because the state is not subsidising to the same extent their investment in new technology because the state has been cutting expenditure on defence research and development.

You keep mentioning the squeeze on profits but surely profits have never been so high?

For the moment, yes. And we have to deny the right of the employers to take profits—be they high or low.

The full product of its labour belongs to the working class. We have to expose the hypocrisy of wage restraint when the banks, for instance are reporting 60, 75 and even 95 per cent increases in profits

by



JOHN PALMER

and some property sharks' profits are up 300 per cent.

But as socialists this should not blind us to the fact that the system faces a profit crisis. The rate of profit on capital invested is declining (thanks to the chaos of the capitalist system) and this is at the heart of the ruling-class offensive against wages and living standards.

But Enoch Powell says it is all the fault of the government printing too much money.

This is an illusion even shared by some on the left. Of course, in an inflationary situation they will print more money and this, in turn, will feed the trend towards rising prices.

What Powell really means when he calls for a nil growth in money supply is a massive deflation of the economy. That is, he wants a slump and massive unemployment to break the resistance of organised workers to cuts in real wages.

For the moment the Tories think this politically and industrially too risky a strategy. But sooner or later they will try this one.

Powell also says that capitalist competition can hold down prices.

Rubbish. It is doubtful whether competition ever worked that way for long.

Today the giant international firms which dominate all the major capitalist economies do not restrain prices. They try to maximise price increases to satisfy their massive

appetite for finance for investment and promotion.

Do the multi-national firms really have an effect on the cost of living?

Not half. I mentioned the massive investment in food and other commodities by big business. This is what has been behind the breathtaking rise in commodity prices which in turn are forcing up food prices in the shops and industrial costs.

Another way in which big business forces up prices is by charging much more to cover the cost of replacing plant and machinery—not at the original cost (the old system of accounting) but at what directors think the plant and machinery might cost given the continuation of inflation.

Workers are not allowed to anticipate higher living costs in wage demands, but the employers can do so to protect profits.

But on food prices, surely genuine shortages are partly to blame?

Right. One reason for the shortages is the past policy of governments in America and elsewhere in paying farmers to restrict output in order to boost merchants' profits.

But of course the complete inability of the state capitalist regimes in Russia and China to solve their agriculture crisis has also boosted world demand for wheat and other key foodstuffs.

Well what about the future—will things get better?

This is most unlikely. Inflation is now a world-wide problem. And the attempts by each capitalist government to solve it (for instance by credit squeeze, high interest rates etc) only make the overall problem worse.

In addition, there are now doubts about whether the short-term boom in output and jobs can last. Before long we may return to rapidly growing unemployment and runaway prices at the same time.

Well what should workers do? Go for threshold agreements to protect wages from further rises in prices?

Threshold agreements are a

fraud. Firstly the government cost of living index understates the real increase in prices that faces the working-class shopper.

It is a so-called average man's index (that is, it includes the cost of Ted Heath's yacht, Lord Lambton's champagne as well as the worker's rent and food costs). Secondly threshold agreements assume that net take-home pay will fall below the underlying trend of prices.

And thirdly workers only get part compensation (and that long delayed) for any further rise in prices.

In other words, threshold agreements represent built-in and repeated wage cuts. They must be opposed. Only by going for big pay claims do workers stand any chance of protecting living standards.

How can this best be assured given the line-up of the bosses, the press, the government and—so often—the union leaders against militant struggle by workers?

Only by rank and file organisation and unity: within industries and unions with the aim of linking the entire working class. The rank and file must also fight on behalf of the weak (pensioners, nurses and so on). They must also fight for rank and file control of the unions.

And they must challenge the government and its policies head on. Not only on wages, but rents, union laws and also on all those issues which the ruling class use to weaken the labour movement: anti-immigrant laws, repression against militants and minorities.

But surely that is a political job as well as a trade union job?

Exactly. Which is why we need a fighting workers' socialist party. The Labour leaders intend to put up no fight. Indeed as Clay Cross shows, they directly help the government to weaken its militant opponents.

There is really only one organisation that can be built into this kind of real socialist alternative.

The International Socialists? You've said it. Join us and help end this whole rotten and unjust system.



One year since Pentonville—and now th

9000 docks jobs go down the river

WHEN A THOROUGH working-class account of the great frauds and swindles of our time is finally drawn up, Jack Jones and his associate Lord Aldington are assured of at least a chapter in that reckoning.

Exactly one year ago the Tory government was rocking. With the docks employers, the Tories had gone the distance with their new weapon, the Industrial Relations Act.

Five London dockers had been jailed. The docks industry was paralysed and a mass movement to free the five was growing by leaps and bounds. For several days the situation threatened to engulf the government.

To commemorate this great occasion in British working-class history two gentlemen, one an OBE, the other a Lord, issued their own little souvenir. Their miracle cure for the docks industry was published just one year ago this week.

In the Jones-Aldington report there was talk of levies on unregistered ports and wharves so that they could not 'compete unfairly' with those where dockers were organised and strong. There was mention of negotiations to ensure that the more protective cheap labour swindles like Midland Cold Storage in London employed registered men.

There would be a committee to look into the appalling working conditions and facilities (or lack of them) in the unregistered ports and wharves.

But mainly there would be large bribes to get the registered men to quit their jobs and leave an industry which everyone agreed was overmanned and in decline—except for the booming sectors outside the dock labour scheme.

Initially little faith was placed in the Jones-Aldington report. But Jones kept the official strike going for just long enough to get it called off and take the heat out of the situation and off his union, the Transport Workers.

But what is the situation today—one year after the miracle cure was forced on the dockers?

The so-called concessions in the Jones-Aldington report have never been implemented. And the employers have simply received massive amounts of public money to

get rid of a record number of registered dockers in the shortest possible period.

By February, when the specially-boosted severance payments were brought to an end, 9000 men who last summer had been willing to fight for job security and to take on the Industrial Relations Act, had been persuaded to pack it in.

There are now only 32,000 registered dockers left in the industry.

The situation in dockland is desperate. The employers, sensing one concession by Britain's biggest and most powerful trade union, have not relented.

Take Glasgow and Greenock—not militant ports traditionally, but ports where dockers are registered workers and therefore

benefit from the wages and conditions that the Dock Labour Scheme concedes.

Both the ports lie strategically at the gateway to industrial Scotland, an area long afflicted with chronic unemployment. The Jones-Aldington report and its specially-boosted severance money has reduced the labour force by more than one third in a few months. But that is not all.

Because the provisions about the unregistered ports in the report were only salad dressing, Jones-Aldington has opened the way to even more sinister developments.

Plans are now going full steam ahead to develop a new, rival unregistered port well away from any strategic area to service in-

dustrial Scotland (therefore increasing transport costs). It is positioned not only to threaten the registered dockers who remain in Glasgow and Greenock, but those in the North of England too.

The new unregistered port is to be developed at Cairnryan, on Lock Ryan near Stranraer where the ferries leave for Ireland. Indeed Cairnryan is an old military port closed down in 1960. Now it is to rise again as part of the strategy to turn the port industry back to a position where the employer has untrammelled power.

With Leith on the east coast, the situation is more or less identical. During the national strike last year Leith dockers picketed the unregistered port of Montrose.

But because the trade union leadership castrated the struggle in 1972 and had the pickets lifted, the registered dockers' picketing acted as an advert to employers about the delights of the unregistered port of Montrose. Montrose is now booming.

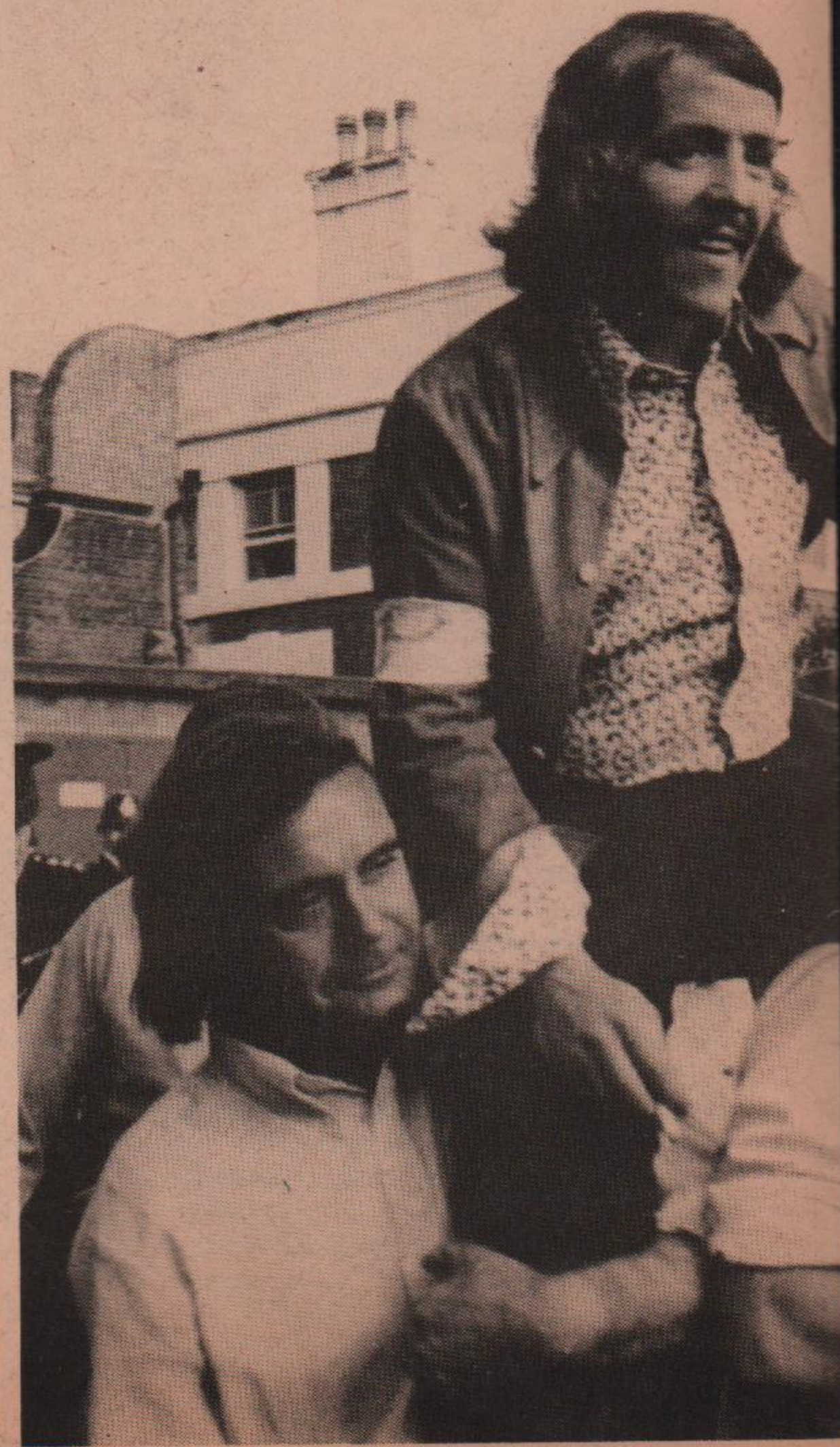
Massive

The situation in and around Merseyside is little different. In the period 1971-1972, 1260 fewer ships used the port of Liverpool. Trade was deliberately switched away, mainly to unregistered ports like Heysham.

Mike Wood of Liverpool International Socialists has been taking a look at the situation in this massive unregistered scab port. His investigations reveal a great deal about the purpose of the operation and the employers' and government's strategy.

The port employs just 10 registered workers, all members of the National Union of Railwaymen. In addition there are about 50 men permanently employed. The rest are casual workers taken off the dole, paid 62½p an hour and willing to work 60 hours a week or more from fear that their

One year ago: Conny Clancey, one of the Pentonville away the strength of this movement in their desperate



job will be gone the next day.

One casual worker interviewed by Mike described the situation as follows:

Wages are kept down by factors like lack of organisation, high unemployment and the co-operation of the local Departments of Social Security and Employment, who kindly send their clients along every so often.

In return, the main employer, James Fisher, keeps the Social Security informed about who's working there so that your dole will be docked.

The only represented union is the NUR, with 10 members. At a recent committee meeting of the NUR it was decided that any employee guilty of throwing the employers' produce around would face branch discipline. The decision was presented to the whole workforce in handouts specially photocopied by the management.

Until a few weeks ago gangs in the holds consisted of three men. Management have just come up with the argument that three-men gangs are only appropriate where there are electric cranes. Since there is only one electric crane, gangs have been cut to two.

Casual stacking and unstacking is very dangerous. Fork lift drivers are on a tonnage bonus and go like hell. They have been known to knock people over, strike or squash them with pallets, drop whole loads or knock over whole stacks on to casuals.

The atmosphere is very dusty. There is no drinking fountain, though one decent foreman will obtain it. There is a medical room. It's so well equipped that it doesn't even have aspirin. A casual had to go out for some recently. He was docked time of course.

Heysham is booming. James Fisher and Co has set up there and taken over the Israel and Cyprus fruit trade from the registered ports of London, Hull and Liverpool. In this supposedly declining industry, Fishers have built a £250,000 terminal and are plann-

ing to build more

The value of not confined to sited there with ing a permanent pool. And the trag been all too succe

Jones-Aldington 3000 registered o pool. Overnight t port had a mas labour. The em for more.

Shop steward answer—open the more registered l direct instruction government, the e and demanded i of casuals in the r

Extra

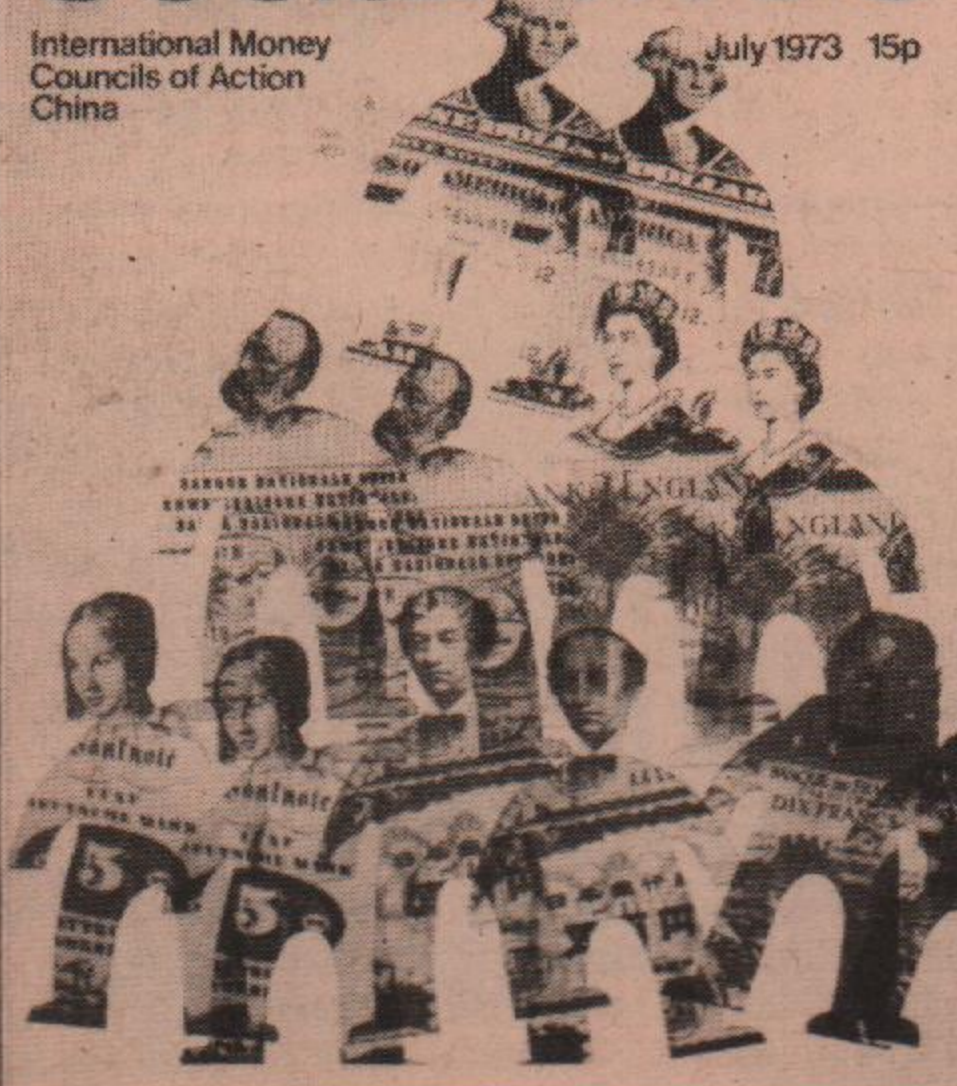
Liverpool accep The queue for long. And the me at a moment's no

In London the of the docks in apace. Midland open still and t after Jack Jones

Olivers Wharf, by turn the place over were living on the balconies where the They left the painte 'mind the cranes ove



International Socialism 60



The July issue of International Socialism features an important article by Chris Harman on the experience of Councils of Action and their relevance to the current struggles of the working class. Other articles include:

Monetary Crisis: John Ure
India and China: Nigel Harris
Fourth International: Duncan Hallas
Why did you join the Party?: Robert James

Plus Notes of the Month and book reviews.

International Socialism journal, 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN.
Annual Subscription £2.10

Special report by Laurie Flynn

The industry is quietly being massacred

Five, is carried shoulder-high after his release. The union leaders have cynically frittered love affair with the employers.



the operation is Heysham. It was view to provid- threat to Liver- edly is that it has ssful. n bought out ckers in Liver- is 'overmanned' ive shortage of oyers pleaded e had a simple e register, recruit our. Under the s of the Tory omployers refused the introduction egered port.

ected

oted 500 casuals. e jobs is miles n can be laid off ice. bsence massacre ustry continues Cold Storage is riving one year eached an agree-

Tower Bridge in London. They didn't even knock it down to flats for city businessmen. As if to boast that the new clients cks of redundant dockers, they just altered the insides, put ergo used to go in and sold off the units at £40,000 a piece. sings too. The swinging new occupants are reminded to 'head' as they enter.



ment in principle that it should be brought into the scheme.

The Port of London Authority still plans to turn the river banks into the biggest speculators' paradise known to man, using some of the money extracted to finance a super-port at Maplin employing about 50 men.

There is a great deal of disquiet and frustration. But London has resisted casuals and the London Dock Labour Board is now asking the government to allow some permanent recruitment. Part of Jones-Aldington was to ban this.

Roy Garmston, until recently deputy chairman of the Hull docks shop stewards' committee and the man who sells 800 copies of the rank and file paper *The Dockworker* among the port's 2000 men, sums up the situation well.

In an interview with *Socialist Worker* by Martin Shaw of Hull IS, Roy outlined the unresolved issues—the activities of the unregistered wharves in and around the city, and their equivalents up and down the country.

Little has been done, he says, by those who sold the Jones-Aldington package, to implement

it. And Hull will want to stick closely to the national port shop stewards' committee's September deadline for implementation. If this is not met, Roy Garmston believes that an unofficial blacking campaign will be necessary again.

Roy is a 'blue' union man, but he feels a lot of TGWU members in Hull would agree with him that their officials bear much of the blame for the present situation. 'If ever a crowd of men have been sold out,' he says, 'the dockers have.'

Control

Putting it bluntly, Roy Garmston feels that while TGWU building workers have been fighting to end the 'lump' on the sites, the TGWU has been encouraging the 'lump' on the docks—in the shape of unregistered work. The Jones-Aldington recommendations were designed to 'get a recruit-crazy trade union off the hook.'

The only real solution Roy can see to the continual threats to the dockworkers' gains, is full nationalisation of the ports under workers' control. But he does not think this will come from a Labour government and argues that the existing forms of nationalisation put many dockworkers off the idea. Indeed the opposition to 'politics' itself is quite strong.

'But every fight we have been involved in has been political,' Roy says. 'The scheme itself is political—it was drawn up by judges and politicians.'

One thing is for certain—the National Port Shop Stewards will be back and the struggle will begin again. Dockers are specially hated by the employers, the government and the police force.

There is no greater achievement in their minds than to preside over the destruction of the Dock Labour Scheme and regain the power they exercised so ruthlessly than half a century ago.

THERE'S ONLY ONE WAY FORWARD

GRAHAM THACKHAM and Ian Olley both work in the Royal Group of docks in London for the same company, Scruttons. They were intensely active in the picketing and blacking campaign last year.

And as far as they are concerned nothing is settled. The battle goes on.

Neither of them are shop stewards. They are among the more enlightened and militant rank and filers in the Royals. Last week they told *Socialist Worker* about the continuing crisis in their industry.

IAN OLLEY: The massive attacks on us have brought a general feeling of malaise. With the kind of official leadership we got during the great battles last year, a lot of people say: Well, what can you do?

Many men say this is a dying industry, going into containers, and therefore there must be less jobs.



But the truth is this is an expanding industry. New ports and wharves are appearing everywhere—outside the Dock Labour Scheme that is. And our first target is to bring the lot into the scheme.

GRAHAM THACKHAM: Our industry is only contracting where the men are organised and militant. It's growing where the employers can work fewer men on the same job for less pay in lousy conditions. The employers and the government are an organised body out to break us. When we picketed at Colchester last summer we saw scenes straight out of the last century.

The boss goes into the coffee shop and hauls his men out of there. If there's any lip you just don't get work. The situation in these places is just like the lump in the building industry, but with one added advantage. It's much cheaper.

When we were down at Colchester there were three Dutch boats in, roughly 500 tonners. There were six men on the wharf running from ship to ship doing bits and pieces as required, switching from coal to grain to bricks.

We would have 20 men in proper gangs doing that work. And though they may be getting £40 a week for endless hours, they are doing people out of jobs, or helping to do them out of jobs.

IAN OLLEY: It's not the blokes, it's the gov'nors. You can't blame the men in a way. Some of them at Neap House are farmworkers on terrible pay who come and work in the wharves at night and then at dawn go on the farm. They're trying the only way they know how to get a living wage.



This does not mean that the trade union movement should put up with the situation. But the trade union leaders are willing to collaborate. They don't want to rock the boat and believe that the return of a Labour government will solve everything.

In fact it won't solve anything. The last Labour government promoted to nationalise the registered ports and then they decided against it. In fact, the prospect of nationalisation encouraged the spread of the scab ports and wharves. The employers thought they would save as much as possible by going outside the scheme, found it profitable and just carried on.

GRAHAM THACKHAM: Aldington-Jones, that is collaboration. The unions were in a position to kick out this government this time last year. They will go so far and then the consequences scare them to death. Then it's back to Downing Street for cups of tea and gin. It was the same with the wage freeze.

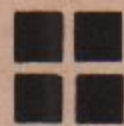
IAN OLLEY: Just look at Felixstowe this booming new port where money is being poured in. It's based on a rail head.

We used to have a big rail system here in the Royals. What did they do? They ripped it up and cemented it



Graham Thackham (left) and Ian Olley (right) on the demo for the freeing of the Pentonville Five

over. Now the work is being done unregistered at the London International Freight Terminal by British Rail. And the rest has been turned over to road haulage. They turn the industry over to the most inefficient way of doing the job—road transport. The Tories' pals in road haulage make a bundle of course.



GRAHAM THACKHAM: The gov'nors just don't want to know in our dock. They're planning 10 years ahead to kill London. They're looking for cheap labour all the time.

The port is deliberately run in the most inefficient manner possible. They say they want a quick turn-round with the ships so then we should unload and then sort on the quay or in a cold store. But they won't do that. They insist on sorting in the holds. The cranes and the fork lifts are old rubbish, too.

IAN OLLEY: The truth of the matter is that this industry should be taken completely out of the hands of private

enterprise. They can't run it efficiently, never mind democratically. They hold everybody back.

They move to these scab ports for cheaper labour. But transport costs go up. And in any case, are the so-called savings ever passed on? Not at all. This is a service industry and it should be run by us for the benefit of the community.

GRAHAM THACKHAM: The problem is that you can't get genuine nationalisation with a capitalist system. Look at the railways and the mines. They just take away every bit that's profitable and make the worker pay for the rest.

IAN OLLEY: Nationalisation of the docks under workers' control would be a first step though. It would give us a chance to get rid of the profiteers and the ex-sea captains and army officers who think they know how to run a dock.

The only thing we really lack at the moment is good, tough leadership. Our paper, *The Dockworker*, is doing a good job. But leadership as far as the union is concerned takes time. And the one thing we don't have too much of is time.

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Social Security for Strikers



a *Socialist Worker* pamphlet 2p
5p (inc post), 10 or more post free, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Jack rips on TELEVISION BY NIGEL FOUNTAIN

ONE FIELD where the British have always excelled has been in murdering each other. They may not murder as many of their fellow countrymen as the Americans. They may not indulge in the dramatic murders of passion that the French are always said to perform. But when the gas-lights are switched on and the drizzle hits the cobbles then there they are, gassing, poisoning and—in the case of Jack the Ripper—stabbing their way to immortality.

So BBC-1's Friday night 'dramatised documentary' series on the Ripper is probably getting the big audiences. It's ironic that from the early realism of 'Z-Cars', Watt and Barlow have been elevated to stars and are now allowed, as they become increasingly unreal

characters, to investigate the horrific reality of the London of the 1880s.

The technique is tiresome: 'Funny you should say that. I just so happen to have a sworn deposition in my pocket . . .' But the content is fascinating.

Squalor

In the hell-hole of the East End Jack the Ripper murdered at least five prostitutes, terrorising Whitechapel and crystallising the squalor and misery of the area into fear of an unknown monster.

By episode six Watt and Barlow will doubtless have provided us with a Softly-

Softly guaranteed ripper. The game of finding him (or her) has continued unceasingly since the 1880s. My own selection, for socialist reasons, has always been the Duke of Clarence, Queen Victoria's son—but it's just a game.

The real answer was provided by a recent production at Stepney's Half Moon Theatre where the cause of the outrage was shown as the squalor of life in the East End. A mile from the centre of the financial power of the greatest empire on earth human beings lived in conditions of the jungle. Destitute, thirty to a house, riddled by disease, the way out for many was petty crime, prostitution, the gin bottle and, maybe, the Salvation Army.

There was another way out too. The

anarchists had some strength in the area, so did the socialists—and the fascists. The British Brother's League, the first home-grown fascist movement, was organised at the turn of the century in the slums of Stepney.

The final horrific irony can be found by taking a trip down to Whitechapel now. Brick Lane, Albury Street and Leman Street, where the Ripper found his victims, are still there. The slums are still there. The meths drinkers, the destitutes, the sweat shops are still there. Paki-bashing has replaced jew-baiting as an occasional obscene emotional release. Stepney remains the poorest borough in London, with a homeless population as big as in 1900. Jack has had the last laugh.

Paul Foot reviews the film State of Siege

COSTA-GAVRAS, the film director who made 'Z' and The Confession, is not popular with governments—not even the Chilean government, which originally gave him permission to shoot a film about the Tupamaros in their country.

He and his script writer, Franco Solinas, spent many months in research about the Uruguayan urban guerrillas and their war against American imperialism. But when he came to shoot the film he discovered that President Allende's regime was not as friendly as expected.

Allende himself was anxious to 'build bridges' to the American government and their 'aid' agencies, and did not want to be held responsible for anti-American propaganda.

When Chilean army generals joined Allende's government, they protested bitterly at the government's assistance to the maker of 'Z', which they accurately denounced as an 'anti-military' film.

Promises about the supply of military equipment for the film were quickly broken.

TYRANNY

The Communist-controlled trade unions were the most obstructive of all. Their journals damned The Confession, which had exposed the tyranny behind the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s.

Costa-Gavras was forced out of Santiago to Vina del Mar and finally to Valparaiso. He stuck to his task through all the obstruction, and has produced another masterpiece.

The central event on which State of Siege is based happened on 31 July 1970, when D A Mitrione, an official of the American Agency for International Development (AID) was found shot in Montevideo, Uruguay, a week after he had been captured by the Tupamaros urban guerrilla movement. The Tupamaros had called for the release of political prisoners in exchange for Mitrione's life. Their demand had been rejected by the government.

So great was the uproar about Mitrione's death and the plight of his wife and seven children—Frank Sinatra held a concert in their honour—that no one bothered to ask the question asked early in the film by an ageing and cynical Uruguayan journalist: Why was such an apparently obscure functionary of a liberal 'do-gooder' agency treated with such priority by the Tupamaros and by the Uruguayan state machine?

The question and the answer is the theme of the film. From the outset, we know that Mitrione—Philip Santore in the film—is eventually shot. So the mystery is not what happened to him, but why.



Santore played by Yves Montand, wounded during the kidnapping, is questioned at guerrilla headquarters about his dealings with the secret police and American-style torture methods.

THIS FILM IS SUBVERSIVE

Santore/Mitrione, it emerges, was not an innocent functionary, nor was the AID a 'do-gooder' agency. His world was the police force, and his speciality the technology of police terror. He had been moved by the American government from the post of chief trainer at the Washington Academy, which teaches terror to policemen from all over the world, to Brazil to mastermind the overthrow of the parliamentary regime of Goulart, to San Domingo to supervise a military take-over in 1965.

Soon afterwards he left for Uruguay, and applied himself to 'rooting out' the Tupamaros. Not long after his arrival, a parliamentary commission in Uruguay reported that torture was being practised on a wide scale by the Uruguayan police, at least two of whose senior officers had trained at the Washington Academy.

Those around Allende who call themselves intellectuals denounced Costa-Gavras for casting their loveable leftie Yves Montand in the role of villain. They complained that the film would 'glorify' the CIA.

On the contrary, the casting of Montand as Santore is a masterpiece. Santore was a barbarian. But his barbaric methods were used to defend what he called the 'foundations of our society, the Christian civilisation, the Free World.' So it was

proper that the barbarian should have charm, courtesy, not a little courage, a beautiful wife and seven delightful children. Of such stock are modern barbarians made.

No one except the Tupamaros who killed Mitrione will ever know exactly how close the film is to the truth. No doubt he exaggerates the inside knowledge of the guerrillas. That does not matter, for the real message of the film is the importance of information.

DISCOVER

Information about capitalism and imperialism is not published in the newspapers owned by capitalists and imperialists, but it is available to their opponents if only they will find it out. One of the major tasks of the genuine revolutionary is to use his or her position in society to discover what the brutes are up to, and how they plan to put it into effect.

If the revolutionaries are so disciplined, the brutes are never safe. When the police chief meets the fascist leader in a night club, he is not safe from the eyes of the revolutionary waiter. The visiting intelligence agent at the airport is under observation of the baggage man.

Even the police academy in Washington itself, vetted and re-vetted against subversives, is not safe from

the apparently docile secretary or the 'ignorant' clerk.

If Costa-Gavras is even remotely right about the extent of the Tupamaros' intelligence information, it is a shocking comment on the state of revolutionary intelligence in this country or in Ireland. We have not even started to collect information which is much more available here than it was in Uruguay in 1970.

The purists will complain that State of Siege romanticises the urban guerrilla movement, that it leaves the guerrillas even more impotent at the end of the film than at the beginning, that it does not point to the existence of a mass movement which has the strength not merely to expose but to overthrow the society behind Philip Michael Santore.

This is all quite right, and I hope that Costa-Gavras will turn his attention next to the working-class movements of the advanced industrial countries. But State of Siege is still a fine subversive film, as good as 'Z' and better than The Confession.

It is showing at the Curzon, Mayfair, London W1. 'Z' got a circuit release and so should State of Siege. Write now as union and International Socialist branches or as individuals and demand that it be put on at your local cinema.

Steptoe won't lie down

THE new Steptoe film, Steptoe and Son Ride Again, still maintains a ridiculously high standard after all these years and knocks those horrid soap operas like Love Thy Neighbour into Hercules' nose bag.

Ray Galton and Alan Simpson, the scriptwriters, made Steptoe's unspeakable character live on the box and here again they catch some of the feel of London working-class life—the boozy funeral wake for the old man (no, the old sod isn't really dead), a night out at the dogs, Milo O'Shea's drunken doctor who certifies the old 'un dead, and lots more.

Death dominates the film—the 'death' of blowsy Diana Dors' old man, the wake, the funeral march and ceremony are just right. But the essence, a good laugh sharply told, is still there.

Neil Hamilton

LEVINÉ

The Life of a Revolutionary

"We Communists are all dead men on leave... I do not know if you will extend my leave or whether I shall have to join Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg... But I know, whatever your verdict, events cannot be stopped..."

We have all of us tried to the best of our knowledge and conscience to do our duty towards the International, the Communist World Revolution."

These were Eugen Leviné's last words in court before his execution.

On 7 April 1919, a soviet government was formed in Munich led by poets, artists and writers. It had little working-class support and was doomed to failure. But the Communists rallied to it—to save what they could from the ruins.

Eugen Leviné led the defence of the Munich Soviet. He was born in Russia, educated in Germany and became a revolutionary very young. He took part in the 1905 events in Russia, was imprisoned, escaped to Germany, joined the German Social Democratic Party and then, during the war, the Independent Social Democrats and the Spartakusbund. Later he was one of the Spartakists to be elected to the first Central Assembly of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets in December 1918.

He took part in the January fighting in Berlin, and then worked for the party in the Ruhr, Brunswick and again in Berlin. Finally at the beginning of March he was sent to Munich where he met his death.

This is the book of his life and of the Munich soviet, by his wife and comrade Rosa Leviné-Meyer

published by Swan House at £2.50
This special edition from

Pluto Press
Book Link

paperback £1.25 +15p postage

by arrangement with Swan House
Mail only and cash with order to

unit 10 Spencer Court
7 Chalcut Road
London NW1 8LH
telephone 01-722 0141

THE LIBERALS

Dogfood politics

OUR great Liberal by-election victories are the beginning of the end for your revolutionary attempts to overthrow the democratic system. We have shown that a party which is fearless and radical can be successful within the system.

Unlike the two big parties, we have campaigned honestly and openly on our policies and record. It is only malicious people who claim that our candidates did not mention our party's support for the Tories on issues like the Common Market, the Industrial Relations Act and the Freeze.

Our programme of 'community politics' is based on direct experience of the lives of ordinary people—like Mr and Mrs Jeremy Thorpe themselves. Mr Thorpe has first-hand contact with people's problems, as a director of a firm giving second mortgages. While Mrs Thorpe, formerly the Countess of Harewood, is an ordinary housewife who every day faces the full rigours of rising prices.

This is why we are winning seats in great working-class cities like Ely and Ripon. Our policies will benefit ordinary working people and we are a party of action not words. This is shown so successfully by Mr Austick, the new MP for Ripon, who is campaigning for a £24 minimum wage and has already brought the wages of his own employees up to £14 (yes, fourteen) per week.

People are seeing in the Liberal Party a whole new style of politics. In the words of one of our greatest writers, Mr Clement Freud MP: 'We shall not sell our policies to the electorate like soap powder. We shall sell them like dog food.'—A LIBERAL (Name and address supplied).

Welfare—the big danger

JIM KINCAID'S article 'Why our welfare is in a state' (29 July) was confusing and did not explain the function and contradictions of welfare under capitalism.

The first weakness lay in not stressing either the active role that the working class has played historically in fighting for welfare reforms (such as the fight for the shorter working day and for workers' education), or the grip of reformism and 'welfare statism' on working class consciousness.

This resulted in the failure to explain the contradiction in the article, and in society, that on the one hand welfare fosters illusions in capitalism and aids its smooth running, and on the other that 'improvements in welfare directly threaten the fabric of capitalist society.'

Secondly, the article did not show how the welfare state is an aspect of the capitalist state and reflects its instability. Is it coincidence that the expansion and cutback in welfare in the fifties and seventies occurred in

The apprentices' movement grows

THE article which appeared under my name in last week's Socialist Worker on apprentices highlights a development in the labour movement in the past few months which all socialists will welcome.

This is the increasing organisation among young workers in general and particularly engineering apprentices. In the Manchester area this is happening not only at Gardners but also in many other factories. Indeed in one factory in Oldham young workers have a fully developed shop steward system which takes a full part in the factory's joint shop stewards committee.

For many years the bosses' use of apprentices as cheap labour, the young workers' low level of organisation and the apathy of adult workers to the problems of apprentices has meant that union organisation in many factories has been weaker than need be. Now this situation is changing. Socialist Worker should do everything it can to speed the change by calling on adult workers

LETTERS



Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper—and what you don't like. Your thoughts and comments on problems facing working people. Your experiences at work.

But please be brief. We receive so many letters now that we cannot publish them all. We could publish many more if writers restricted themselves to 250 words at the most.

Letters must arrive first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals please to avoid confusion.

times of varying healthiness in capitalism?

These factors must be linked if we are to make demands that move us forward. Demands for higher benefits—in addition to, not instead of, higher wages—raises consciousness through struggle and the system's inability to grant them. Pleas for 'welfare' in the abstract lead to the slough of reformism.—JENNY TAYLOR, Leeds

Class, not king

STRICTLY speaking I would say that it is inaccurate for Chris Harman to say Britain's revolution in the 1640s was between the king and the middle classes (Socialist Worker 7 July). The change was essentially from feudalism, which he doesn't even mention and was brought about by the up-and-coming capitalists, led by Cromwell.

In a recent schools television programme, 'History in Evidence',

the revolution was presented as king versus people, while in the film Cromwell it was largely Charles I's catholic queen against the protestants. Schools always wrap up the feudalism to capitalism change—I doubt if even the teachers of history know.

Cromwell skillfully allied himself with the Levellers and others until after the revolution, when he liquidated this quasi-socialist aspect. The Bolsheviks similarly used Trotsky on the left and the rich peasants on the right, later similarly liquidated by Stalin.

The Chinese communists in the 1940s not only allied themselves with the peasants but also with the Chinese nationalist capitalists, as opposed to those who acted as agents of international imperialism. The Chinese communists are now liquidating this contradiction before it becomes antagonistic.—W E TURNER, Bexleyheath, Kent.

IN your otherwise excellent editorial of 28 July you refer to certain members of the House of Lords as 'five geriatrics'. Might not this seem to imply a lack of sympathy with geriatric patients, who are among the most wronged of all groups under capitalism?—EDWARD UPWARD, Isle of Wight.

An Irish dilemma

WE ALWAYS have two sets of arguments about Ireland. The first is with English workers who are puzzled or annoyed that we support Irish people who fight against British rule. With practice these arguments are easy enough.

The second set of arguments is more difficult. There are many Irish people in this country who call themselves revolutionaries and socialists and who support one, other, or both wings of the republican movement.

It is hard to explain our outright rejection of politics which do not place the working class at the centre of the perspective, and at the same time explain our sympathy and support. We are certain that our support is well enough understood by republicans—we are equally certain that the arguments and implications of the fight for a workers' republic are a mystery not only to most republicans, but also to many IS members and supporters.

Socialist Worker is, and has, taken a lead on this question. To build on this we would like to suggest that SW carries a special supplement on the history of republicanism, and what it means today for the working class movement.

The Lofthouse colliery disaster supplement was a great success. We think that something of the same type, based say on the five feature articles in the December issue of The Worker, the paper of the Irish revolutionary socialists, would be invaluable, especially if it could be coupled with a photo-news special on life in British-occupied Ireland, Army violence, internment etc.—PAUL SMITH, JONATHAN PRUS, Coventry.

Insider story of yet another grubby fraud

THE PROPOSED Companies Act, published last week and hailed as a 'wide ranging reform' is a fraud. As the Financial Times itself said, it simply plans some 'new rules' for business and the City. Its proposals are few, and where they appear they will, from past experience, be ineffective. Most of the White Paper is a rambling statement of the various views on a company's social responsibility and the possible need of two-tier boards.

When the Companies Act eventually appears it will benefit the man responsible for it—ex-merchant banker Peter Walker, the man who as minister of housing promised security of tenure to furnished tenants and did nothing. He is the man who, as minister for the environment, promised action to let Centre Point and did nothing. The Companies Act will be the same—an enormous amount of publicity to quell criticism and then no action.

There are really only three proposals in the White Paper—to make insider dealing a criminal offence, to prevent the 'warehousing' of a company's shares and to make companies file their annual reports to Companies House more promptly.

Insider dealing is the term used to describe the practice in which company directors and other people knowing confidential information buy shares before this information is generally known, expecting to make a profit on the shares. And they often do make a profit. Edward du Cann, a director of Central and District Properties and Keyser Ullmann, a merchant bank, made £30,000 profit by buying Central and District shares just before Keyser Ullman bid for them.

Cunning

In the past the Stock Exchange has operated a voluntary policy but this has proved completely inadequate. When Grand Metropolitan Hotels made a bid for Watneys, the brewers, Watneys share price rose sharply ahead of the bid. The Stock Exchange held an inquiry and found there had been no insider dealing!

This discovery was partly the result of the stupidity and cunning of the Stock Exchange hierarchy, but it was also because of the existence of nominee names, something the government doesn't intend doing anything about.

It is possible for an individual or company, instead of registering shares in its own name, to employ someone else to look after its shares.

In the company's share register the shares will be shown as being owned by, for example, Midland Bank Nominees. It is then impossible to tell who owns the shares. Not surprisingly the government considers this perfectly legitimate. It is after all the way in which politicians hide their business interests and their wealth.

Nominee companies are used considerably in a city operation known as warehousing. If someone owns more than 10 per cent of a company, he is obliged to inform the directors.



But if several people own nine per cent, they are not obliged to, and without any warning, a company may emerge as being 30 per cent owned by someone else, as all the different nine per cent stakes are sold to one person by the warehousemen.

All the government intends to do is to reduce the declaration threshold to five per cent, which means the city operator just needs a few more friends.

The government is also to give companies the right to know who are the beneficial holders of shares, as opposed to the registered nominee-holders.

Thirdly, the government is going to make companies file their report and accounts, showing profits, shareholders etc, more quickly. This too is fatuous. If the government was only to enforce the laws already in existence and increase the workforce at Companies House, where all the records are kept, the law would be observed more fully.

It will not be a surprise if we hear nothing of the reform of company law again. There is nobody in the City remotely concerned about insider dealing so long as nominee names or any of the other devices for hiding the true ownership of shares exists.

But then there is no reason to think that the Tories—whose MPs are directors of more than 1000 companies—are really interested in increasing the amount of information that companies should have to disclose, in preventing people from getting rich or in introducing anything but the pursuit of profit as the purpose of business.

Capitalism thrives on secrecy, self-interest and irresponsibility. The Tories are not going to seriously threaten the system that keeps them in power.

T H Rogmorton

THE MILLION POUND STRIKE

THE strike in defence of trade union rights at Roberts-Arundel, Stockport, in 1967-8 was a victory for working class solidarity. Millions threatened to strike in solidarity, thousands blacked the factory's products, and management was forced to climb down. The firm made such losses in the confrontation that it later went out of business.

Trade unionists won the first round at Roberts-Arundel, and lost the second at Fine Tubes. Be ready for the third.

THE MILLION POUND STRIKE, by Jim Arnison, introduction by Hugh Scanlon 45p (postage included) from

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



FIVE HUNDRED people marched from Hyde Park to Whitehall in London on Sunday behind the banner of the People's Democracy movement from Northern Ireland. The demonstration was in solidarity with jailed PD leaders Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan, on hunger strike in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast, to back their demand to be treated as political prisoners. A PD march of more than 1000 people in Belfast on Sunday was attacked by troops. Picture: CHRISTOPHER DAVIES (Report)

TUC and Heath get even cosier

TUC general secretary Vic Feather told pressmen last Friday that the TUC's meeting with prime minister Edward Heath had been 'one of the best ever between the government and the TUC.' From the optimism the Tory leaders were exuding afterwards, they seemed to agree.

They have got agreement from the TUC to go on talking right up to the beginning of phase three of the freeze, despite the way prices and profits are shooting up while wages are bound down. It seems things have been organised to ensure that whatever agreement is reached is not subject to the embarrassing process of discussion at the annual Trades Union Congress at the beginning of September.

As The Guardian put it on Saturday: 'By the time Congress meets, Mr Heath will not have got round to making concrete proposals on what would follow Stage Three, in case they are overturned by Congress.'

The Tories, in fact, seem quite happy for the talking to go on forever. Once every six weeks or so they listen respectfully to the trade union leaders and say a few kind words. The TUC then says it feels happier and goes away to await further talks. Meanwhile, the government can prepare its own plans for holding down wages, granting price increases and pushing up interest rates, knowing that the union leaders will do nothing.

Embarrassed

The talks last Friday took place while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pushing up the minimum lending rate—on which other interest charges depend—to a completely unprecedented 11½ per cent. Even the banks were embarrassed at the mighty addition this will mean for their profits, already 50 or 60 per cent higher than last year.

But the TUC leaders were merely 'happy' to have had a friendly discussion with the men preparing to take money from their members' wage packets and give it to the bankers.

It would all be rather farcical, were it not that serious issues are at stake.

Union leaders Hugh Scanlon, Jack Jones and David Basnett have all warned recently that in the autumn there could be a big explosion of working-class discontent at low wages and rising prices. But their determination that the TUC should keep chatting with Heath shows they have no intention themselves of taking seriously preparation for the battles to come.

Next week

THE next four issues of Socialist Worker will be reduced to 12 pages while members of the editorial staff take their holidays.

Patients ban.. call for action

PORTSMOUTH:—After five months the Wessex regional joint shop stewards committee of the public employees' union (NUPE) has reluctantly lifted its ban on private patient services. Although strikes forced hospital managements to withdraw threats of dismissal, the stewards feel that without national support they cannot continue indefinitely.

The stewards deplore the lack of official support from the union, pointing out that the executive's interpretation of the conference resolution to 'press for the abolition' of private patients on the Health Service has been merely to request its sponsored MPs to include this measure in the next Labour Party manifesto. This was an excuse for not backing the effective action being taken in Wessex. No account of the struggle has ever appeared in the union's paper, Public Employee.

The committee has sent a militant resolution to the executive calling for industrial action in support of conference policies. They are calling for clearly-worded resolutions to be passed by branches, branch and shop stewards' committees and area conferences, so that widespread action can be taken without the executive watering down the content of conference policy.

They have promised to ban services for private patients again in support of any other group of hospital workers who take similar action. The rank and file paper Hospital Worker, which first reported the ban, will be campaigning for action as requested by the workers in Wessex.

The isolation felt during the strike and which has since forced the Wessex region to retreat must not be allowed to weaken the resolve of workers who are prepared to stick their necks out in pursuit of union policy.

BLACKS STRIKE AGAINST RACISM

NORTH LONDON:—For two weeks 120 black workers at the Standard Telephones and Cables new Southgate factory have been on strike against management-inspired racism in the plant.

On Monday 16 July Roderick Adams, the one black worker in the place who is being trained for a skilled job, was told he was being taken off training and would be given an alternative job or paid his full wages to stay at home.

Roderick and his union, the AUEW, refused to go along with this and insisted that his training should

continue. Management then said they could do nothing since Electricians' Union members were refusing to train him.

Fifty of his black brothers on the night shift immediately struck in protest. The strike has since spread and been made official by the AUEW.

'The management are claiming that this is entirely an inter-union dispute,' Roderick Adams told Socialist Worker. 'This is just not the case. As our convenor, Ted Corbett, has pointed out, the management are using the situation to foster trouble between the two unions and achieve their own ends.'

'This company belongs to ITT and you will know that they are famous for their diplomacy. That's what you get here, discrimination but diplomatically done.'

'If you're white and you get an unskilled job here, it won't be long before you get put on training. But it's very different if you're black. I know blacks who've been in the place for 15 years, others for eight or ten years who have applied for these jobs, time and again, and never got them although they are perfectly capable.'

'The difference with me is that I didn't apply for the job. After repeated pressure from the union on the matter, management decided they would train someone and I was asked. There was a half-day strike when I was due to start. And this latest incident started when a second black worker was due to take up training.'

'The management have got away with so much up here that they think they can just go on doing it.'

'A lot of these companies treat coloured people like trash. Black people in general get a very rough deal. And then those who give them it, always say: "Oh no we're not prejudiced, we're not discriminating". I can't stand that business—it is all being done behind your back.'

'I just hope that our battle gives a bit of encouragement to others who are getting a rough deal.'

Militancy hits changing steel town

by Dave Peers

CONSETT, Co Durham:—Consett is a company town, dominated by the huge steelworks which spews red dust and smoke over its streets and houses. And until recently it had little record of trade union militancy.

But Consett is changing and in the last few weeks the works have been in a ferment of strikes and industrial action, including the strike of 200 bricklayers and their mates.

For the first time craftsmen and labourers are out together, holding joint meetings, and going for the same claim. The bricklayers are on strike for a 35p an hour bonus for maintenance work done during the fortnight's annual holiday. All other maintenance workers are receiving the bonus.

This 35p bonus is unprecedented in the British Steel Corporation and Consett's example should be followed by every other steel plant in the country. It was won by a month-long work to rule by the fitters and electricians, who have now refined this tactic to a fine art.

An irritated BSC management last month accused the stewards in the steel plant of applying the Factory Acts in an 'exaggerated' fashion. They replied that they were taking the safety legislation only as seriously as the company were taking the government's wages legislation.

The other main issue dominating the works is the claim for revision of abnormal condition money (ACM) payments. ACM payments at Consett, especially in the steel plant where they are worth £9-£10 per week, are the highest in the country but inflation has reduced their value by 30 per cent in the last three years.

An IS Bulletin distributed in the works argued: 'We are working in today's muck for yesterday's money, and yet BSC expect full production. If the pay board prevents payment then a 30 per cent reduction of the work done in abnormal conditions would be an appropriate way of obtaining justice.'

A work-to-rule reduced production by about 30 per cent and led to a short strike over the working of a new vessel.

The dispute remains unresolved, and Consett remains angry.

Unions break big newspaper strike

NOTTINGHAM:—The strike of printworkers and journalists at T Bailey Forman, who publish the Nottingham Evening Post, is over.

After what militants in at least two of the five unions involved described as 'sleight of hand' tactics by union officials, the strikers agreed to return to work last Tuesday.

The best feature of the strike was the solidarity between workers in different unions from the very start of the dispute.

Significantly, the strike—during which the Posts' sister paper, the Guardian Journal, was closed—was broken only after this solidarity was broken, on the recommendation of union officials.

A draft settlement was drawn up by two National Graphical Association officials and two representatives from the employers' organisation—the Newspaper Society.

After the terms of the settlement were explained to a general meeting, the workers were then split into their five different chapels.

The chapels from SOGAT and NATSOPA agreed at once to accept the terms. The NGA chapel was split 50-50.

The blockmakers' (SLADE) chapel voted to accept, but also voted to stay

out on strike if the other chapels did the same. Only the journalists (NUJ) chapel voted against the settlement, but finally agreed, when all the other results became known, to go back to work.

Militants at all the meetings pointed out that the new terms do not meet the strikers' demands.

Although the right to discipline the scabs who worked during the dispute has been won, it is nullified by an assurance from the union side that the scabs will be 'recommended for re-acceptance' if they are expelled.

More crucially, the bosses have kept control over redundancies since the terms do not force them to accept only voluntary redundancies but also accept redundancy for 'surplus labour' over and above voluntary redundancies. So if T Bailey Forman's anti-union boss, Pole-Carew, can't get his redundancies from volunteers, he can force out whom he wants.

The redundancy terms agreed are no more than what one NUJ militant described to Socialist Worker as 'glorified notice'.

'A lot of our younger staff,' he said, 'will get no more than two months pay if declared redundant.'



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

Trade Union _____

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

Trouble earlier with safety gear

MINE DISASTER SMOKESCREEN

From Laurie Flynn, at Markham Colliery, Derbyshire

THE DISASTER at Markham number 2 Colliery in North Derbyshire was left to its true witnesses by Monday evening.

The great flying circus of Coal Board high-ups, obscene envoys of the Tory government, experts in this and that and journalists there to chronicle their empty words, their pre-packed sympathy, had broken camp and gone away to pursue the next item on their crowded agendas, to seek out some new sensation for the front page.

The miners stayed behind as they always stay behind. They were there at Markham on Tuesday morning. And they'll be there next Tuesday morning trying to pick up the pieces of their own lives unaided except by their own community and their own organisations, just as it was when they unravelled the bodies of their 30 comrades mangled in Monday's disaster, bringing them somehow to the surface in the hope that they might live.

On Tuesday morning at 5.45am they gathered in numb little groups outside the colliery canteen, their anguish embedded in their eyes and in their hostility to strangers who came to invade their grief. It is difficult to explain you are a socialist journalist.

These were some of the men who had to go back below ground, now with a new and only too brutally confirmed atrocity story to accompany them, again asking a familiar question: 'Why? In God's name, why?'

SMASHED

At 6.23am on Monday 30 of their friends got in the Shonkey shaft cage for the third descent of the day shift. Within seconds these 30 men were dead or lying trapped screaming and broken at the bottom of the shaft.

225 feet from the end of their normal 1800ft journey to the bottom, when the cage should have been slowing down, the braking and safety mechanisms failed. The down cage smashed to the ground.

Scarcely had the spontaneous co-operation of the miners got the dead and wounded to the surface and on the way to hospital or mortuary, when the official statements started to be shovelled out.

This was the first major winding disaster for many years, said the Coal Board, forgetting others and classifying near misses as unworthy of attention, never mind concern.

By the evening the NCB had discovered the disaster had happened because of a mechanical failure—the failsafe devices—all 14 of them, no less—had failed. The scene

was set for an inquiry, of the best impartial stamp, to probe deeper and identify the causes, strictly technical of course.

But the NCB's technique, all of it, is the child of definite priorities, high production and low unit costs. Anyone who cared to use their brain and their eyes could see that right after the disaster.

When the rescue operation was over management wanted the men who came on shift for work in other shafts of the pit to be compelled to go down and work. It would take people's minds off the tragedy, they suggested, thinking as ever of their production targets, and caring nothing about delayed shock.

For once, it seems, the NCB has got something going for it. Winding disasters do not happen with the same terrible regularity as they did not long ago. Money has been spent on making safer the men's journey to pit bottom.

But new winding techniques have been introduced to bring coal to the surface faster and in bigger loads. And that hints closer to the real story of Markham than a thousand references to fail-safe devices going wrong and 'fate' being unkind.

COMPLAINTS

For many weeks the North Derbyshire area council of the NUM has had one aspect of the situation at Markham under review. As part of its overall strategy of sweet-hearting the top union leaders and boosting production, the NCB has decided that Markham's three pits shall be one. The miners' union organisation too is to be rationalised in this bid for 'a more disciplined'—that is, less militant—workforce.

The underground workers, particularly at Markham number 2 pit, have been resisting this move. But the NCB has pushed its plan through on one group of workers. All the surface workers have been shovelled into one union branch. Surface workers include winding enginemen and others with key safety roles.

This has upset everyone. Still, what does the NCB care about the workers' states of mind when there's production at issue and fail-safe devices to refer to in times of trial?

Such things indicate the management's attitude, even if they bear no direct relationship to the disaster. And, in any case, what does it speak of management's attitude to complaints, concerns and the like?

Indeed the NCB itself has focussed attention on the winding gear. But it would be a disgrace if this focus was confined to pure technique instead of also dealing with the touchier issue of how matters of maintenance, service and complaints are dealt with at the highest level. Well before Monday's disaster the NCB had good

grounds to investigate this field.

One of the key 'fail-safe' devices on the winding gear is the overwind mechanism, which automatically drops into place if the cage is going down the shaft too fast and slows it down.

On several occasions recently the overwind on the Shonkey winding gear locked on when it was not supposed to. This was not, apparently, of grave concern to the NCB since it only meant that the cage abruptly faltered and shuddered upwards by about six inches during the descent. But to the miners in the cage that shudder was terrifying.

The key question is why this fault was never followed up with a critical examination of the whole winding system. The NCB would have reason to avoid or delay this as long as possible for it would mean taking one shaft out of use.

Further evidence of declining standards of maintenance and repair in this field—and incidentally a decisive rebuttal of the

NCB statements about the rarity of winding accidents—was released just before Monday's terrible disaster.

R T Purvis, mines and quarries inspector for Yorkshire, gave a stiff warning about these deteriorating standards in his annual report published this week. His report also notes there were three 'overwind' incidents in 1972 in Yorkshire alone, one of which killed a miner.

All the NCB regions are subject to the same pressures in the drive for production.

In North Derbyshire as elsewhere it is all done with the same sick excuse—if the miners can only reach some new, magic target for output per man shift, there will be utopia in the morning.

In 1973 at Lofthouse, then at Seafield and Cynheidre and now at Markham, there was no utopia. Just deaths, maiming and immeasurable grief.



Clerical workers on strike for 10 weeks at Salford Electrical Industries over an equal pay claim picketed the head office of parent company GEC in London last week. Speaking to the pickets is Roy Grantham, (centre, in glasses) general secretary of their union, APEX. PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

Anger as hospital faces the axe

LONDON:—In a dockland meeting, held in the shadow of the axed Poplar Hospital in the East End, trade union, tenant and community delegates declared they would not allow the hospital to be closed.

'They have taken away our police station, they've stopped the buses and they've closed the pubs, we can't let them have our hospital too,' said a local tenant who lived near the hospital. My rent used to be £1.08 old money and now it's £6.24 for the same house!

There was a strong delegation of women workers from the Poplar hospital who have already invaded the regional health board's offices to demand an explanation. The meeting was sponsored by the All London Health Workers Alliance who had leafletted 25 hospitals on the implications of the closure.

The Poplar closure is the first taste of the NHS re-organisation in 1974 which is being carried out by appointed area boards even more undemocratic than the present set-up and which is aimed at

cutting labour costs by closing smaller community hospitals.

Local people are mounting a campaign which will put the facts about the rundown of the health service in the East End into 'every workplace, community place and home'. They have formed a committee and are inviting representatives of local tenants, trade union and political organisations. They are also seeking to work with the dockland action groups already fighting the riverside speculators.

They are inviting hospital officials to a public meeting to meet the people whose hospital they are closing, they plan a protest march to the new marina hotels in September to show how much better equipped they are than the hospitals.

The committee secretary is Sarah Martin, 43 Barnes Road, London E14 (790 6710). Its next meeting to arrange detailed plans for the campaign is on 20 August at The Abersely, Abersely Road, London E14.

Fascists attack cameraman

LONDON:—Peter Harrap, a photographer, was assaulted by fascists when taking pictures of an extremist right-wing meeting at Caxton Hall last Thursday. Film was ripped from his camera and destroyed. The police, who arrived on the scene soon afterwards, are making no charges.

The secret meeting, attended by about 30 people, was called by the 'Unofficial' Halt Immigration Now campaign who intend to split the Monday Club and form a new right-wing breakaway movement inside the Tory Party. Organiser-in-chief is Jane, Lady Birdwood, founder member of the Festival of Light.

Also at the meeting were representatives from various Immigration Control Associations and leading members of the National Front, including Martin Webster, the Front's general secretary. It was chaired by Ronald Bell, reactionary Tory MP for South Buckinghamshire.

Peter Harrap told Socialist Worker: 'I was taking pictures through the door when one of the women [Lady Birdwood] screamed: "He's taking photos!", ran out and grabbed me. I was held in a half Nelson by about six men. The strap of my camera was broken, and the film was pulled out and thrown on the floor.'

'I noticed that as soon as the trouble started, the MP who was chairing the meeting ran out of the room and wasn't seen again.'

Subscribe Now!

SPECIAL OFFER

£3 for one year! -save £1

£2 for six months

Name _____

Address _____

Socialist Worker Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2