

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

# See you on Sunday

'I'M GOING to the Socialist Worker industrial conference to get support for the working class to overcome the capitalist system of this Tory government and to overthrow by whatever means the Industrial Relations Act,' says Ron Connor, AUEW shop steward at Con-Mech in Woking—scene of the latest battle for union rights that has led to the £75,000 fine on the AUEW.

Ron added: 'We desperately need to form a rank and file movement to put the leaders of the unions on their right and proper course—that is, less red tape and chats with the Tories and more action.'

Ron Connor is not alone. In the last week, many hundreds of workers have decided to join the coaches, trains and cars all heading this Sunday, 11 November, to:

### The Socialist Worker Industrial Conference Belle Vue, Manchester

So far, more than 2000 trade unionists have taken credentials for the conference and several hundred more are expected by the time the conference opens.

Such is the demand for seats, that an extra coach has been added to the special IS train that will take London delegates to Manchester.

Faced by soaring prices and profits, anti-union laws and conspiracy trials and union leaders in mortal fear of fighting for their members, the time has never been more urgent to begin to lay the groundwork for a mass rank and file movement of industrial militants. That is the aim of Sunday's conference—open to all trade unionists, not just members of the International Socialists.

The conference runs from 11am to 6pm. Chaired by well-known AUEW Manchester militant Wally Preston, the first session, The Struggle Ahead, will be opened by IS executive member Tony Cliff. The afternoon session will include a discussion on Building the Rank and File Movement, opened by Roger Rosewell, IS Merseyside organiser.

Admission to the conference is 10p and credentials can be obtained at the door on Sunday morning.

Belle Vue has every facility—so why not bring the children along too? A nursery will be open all day and there is a zoo in the grounds.

There will be three bars open during the lunch break for drinks and snacks from 1pm to 1.50 and a restaurant will provide meals from 11.30 to 3pm.

The editorial board of Socialist Worker looks forward to seeing you there, at one of the most important and significant gatherings of militant workers in the last 10 years. The Glasgow firemen have given us a tremendous boost this week. They have shown that militancy pays and have burst a hole through Phase Three.

A united rank and file movement can provide the energy and the driving force to smash Phase Three completely and bring down the Tory government.

That's what the conference is all about.

See you on Sunday!

**IMPORTANT:** the special London train for Belle Vue leaves ST PANCRAS station at 7.15am not Euston—the normal station for Manchester. Please be on time and go to the right station. The return train leaves at 6pm.

# FREEZE ON FIRE

## Firemen blast Tories

TEN MILLION CHEERS for the Glasgow firemen! They have given Heath and his millionaire government the biggest f\*ck in the pants since the miners' strike 20 months ago.

Jim Flockhart, the Glasgow firemen's leader, told Socialist Worker this week: 'Before the strike, everybody kept telling us that we could never get more than £2.48. They all said there was no legal way to get any more.'

'We have won because we went on strike, because we fought in defiance of our leaders and because we got wonderful support from trade unionists who ignored their leaders.'

'We started out for £5 and now, with the strike, we've got more than we asked for. We've got £8 to £9. And I'll say this. In my opinion if for any reason the government turn it down, step back or reduce the payment in any way or delay for too long, then there will be a national firemen's strike until we get the lot.'

Jim added: 'You'd need a Philadelphia lawyer to find your way through Phase Three.' And plenty of lawyers from the Home Office have been busy explaining how the firemen's settlement proves the 'flexibility' of the freeze.

But why did the lawyers and the employers suddenly get down to twisting, inflating and exaggerating the

Phase Three proposals up to and over the limits of every clause?

It was because the army in Glasgow could not put out the fires. It was because senior firemen in Glasgow were joining the strike in droves. It was because firemen all over Britain were refusing to answer anything but emergency calls. It was because the properties of millionaires all over the country could no longer rely on protection from some of the most hard-pressed and devoted workers in the country.

The Glasgow firemen exposed the impotence of left-talking union leaders and their hacks in parliament. Dismissed by the Fire Brigades Union leaders, abused by 'left' MPs in the Daily Express, the Glasgow firemen's leaders got more money, more recognition and more workers' sympathy in a week of action than in 30 years of 'responsible co-operation'.

The Glasgow firemen have pointed the way for workers everywhere who are sick to death with high prices, low wages and the Tory government. The firemen won because they went on strike. So can the miners. So can the engineers. So can the hospital workers.

So can all of us.

**PHASE 3 ABLAZE: PAGE 2/FIREMEN TALKING: PAGE 6/UNION: PAGE 12**



Part of the 2500-strong demonstration by Sheffield engineering workers on Monday, striking over the NIRC fine on the union. Reports: back page. Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

**How to get a £385 a week pay increase: see centre pages**



# Fight Heath's prices swindle!

'WE'VE GOT TO get together to do something about prices', says Elaine Ibbett. 'It's no good housewives just grumbling among each other.'

Elaine Ibbett lives in Grimsby with her husband, John, who is shop stewards' convenor at a chemical factory in the town. She has three children and she is driven to distraction every week trying to feed and clothe her family in the middle of Edward Heath's 'boom'.

John Ibbett brings home £29.63 each week. £7 goes into the bank to pay for the mortgage on their house, bought 13 years ago, and for furniture hire purchase.

## Essential

This bank deposit will have to be increased in January because the Halifax Building Society is increasing its mortgage rates.

John Ibbett takes £4.63 for maintaining his car—essential since the cuts in the Grimsby bus services have meant that there is no public transport to work. Elaine gets £18. Before she starts to buy food, Elaine has to spend the following:

- £1 on insurance
- £1.20 on television rental
- 50p on gas
- 90p on electricity
- £1 on rates
- Total £4.60



Elaine Ibbett: 'We've got to get out protesting and boycotting'. PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

Five weeks ago, at the end of September, Elaine started to write down the prices she was paying for food and groceries. Each week she has written down the comparable prices. The results are horrifying.

Elaine reckons that she cannot spend more than £9.20 a week on food and groceries. She must keep £1.20 aside for newspapers, special pack meals when John goes on night shift, and 'emergencies', like her clothes and John's.

Last week Elaine divided up her £9.20 as follows:

- Groceries: £5.46
  - Meat: £2.36
  - Fresh vegetables: 31p
  - Milk: £1.04½
  - Total: £9.17½
- For exactly the same items five weeks ago she spent:
- Groceries: £4.92
  - Meat: £2.04½
  - Vegetables 29p
  - Milk £1.04½
  - Total: £8.30

Food and grocery prices have gone up by 9.5 per cent in just over a month—an annual rate of increase of more than 70 per cent.

Two dozen eggs cost Elaine 24p more. Four pounds of sugar are up 5p. A packet of Persil is up 3½p. A joint of beef is up 25p, three quarters of a pound of lamb chops up 4½p, three quarters of a pound of liver up 5p, a pound of lard up 3p, a bottle of Fairy washing up liquid 3p, a bottle of orange cordial up 2p.

The result for Elaine is brutally simple. Over the past five weeks, she has had to cut out 87p worth of goods from her family's food and groceries.

'Bacon was the first to go', she says 'It's just impossible to go on buying it. I went down from a pound to half a pound and then

cut it out altogether.

'I used to buy much more fresh vegetables. A pound of tomatoes. A lettuce. A pound of apples and half a dozen oranges every week without fail. Gradually, I've had to cut them out, and the children's diet suffers all the time.'

'Every week the situation gets worse. Last week, the woman who runs the corner shop showed me a list of new biscuit prices which she got from the wholesalers. In two and a half pages of listed prices only three packets have not gone up in price over the last month. This week—since I gave you the figures—Robinson's baby food has gone up 1½p per packet—which means another 12p per week on my bill.'

## Organised

Elaine has noticed that the women in the street complain all the time about prices, but do very little about it. 'We've got to get the women out protesting.'

'It's not enough to think that the government is fooling us all. We've got to do something about it. We've got to get organised and fight the people who are profiting by higher prices.'

Throughout the winter, Socialist Worker will be running regular features and articles about the Great Heath Price Swindle and How to Fight It. We want ideas and information from shoppers of both sexes all over the country.

## Chile casts shadow at CP congress

by Jim Higgins

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, which meets for its 33rd national congress this weekend, will be unable to report any great advance in its progress or success.

The decline in circulation of the Morning Star has been halted and in two years membership has increased by 1100. This is a fairly feeble result of party activity in a period in which there has been an unprecedented upsurge of working-class militancy and large-scale recruitment by the revolutionary left.

The executive committee's resolution For Left Advance is a simple repetition of the old commitment to the 'peaceful road' to socialism. With minor amendments it could have been written at any time in the last 10 years.

Political advance is still seen in the election of a Labour government and in a continuation of the election of 'lefts' to the TUC General Council and trade union office. Not one word of criticism is levelled at the dubious antics of these same trade union and Labour 'lefts'.

Some 28 branch resolutions are addressed to the question of Chile and the lessons for socialists in Britain. There can be no doubt that the 'parliamentary road' to socialism has been seriously devalued in the minds of a significant section of party members. It is true that Acton Works branch can say, performing a splendid imitation of an ostrich, 'We refuse to learn the lesson that capitalism wishes to teach us from Chile that socialism can only be built by bloody struggle.'

## Drastic

But this is not the general tenor of the resolutions, many of which call for a basic revamping of the party programme on the question of the state and the role of the armed forces. The logic of such a drastic reevaluation would destroy not just a part of party policy but expose the fundamentally reformist nature of the whole programme.

A number of resolutions speak to the bad party education and call for a return to marxist-leninism—a development that would certainly put current policy in jeopardy.

Keele complain that of the 30,000 paper members only 16,000 bother to pay subs. The LSE student branch notes with concern the growth of the International Socialists among organised workers and calls for a political reply to and debate with what it chooses to call the 'ultra left'. Nothing would be more calculated to improve the level of marxist understanding in the party.

If the apparent feelings of unease at party policy and tactics expressed in branch resolutions is carried through to the actual congress debates then the leadership is in for a rough ride. One thing is clear: whatever the congress debates, the Communist Party is deeply entrenched in its reformist policy.

The critical resolutions merely indicate the extent of the party's decline and the impossibility of carrying the necessary marxist-leninist policies for a socialist party today.

# FIREMEN SET PHASE 3 ABLAZE

GLASGOW FIREMEN have won a great victory in the face of their employers, the government and the Fire Brigades Union executive.

The union special conference had been called to isolate the Glasgow strikers. But the undemocratic treatment they got won them even greater rank and file support.

Action continued to spread. By Friday Wembley station in North

by Steve Jefferys

London was effectively on strike.

The government and the union leaders had all had enough. They wanted an end to the dispute before a rank and file strike started to spread nationally. An emergency National Joint Council meeting was hurriedly called.

The local authorities came up with a surprise offer: scrap the Phase Two £1 plus 4 per cent agreement, supposed to have run from 1 October, and replace it

with a deal that, dressed up, might look as if it bore some relation to Phase Three's top limit.

This deal gives firemen the 7 per cent maximum rise allowed plus a 20 per cent rise for all the 'unsocial hours' they work as well. At Sunday morning's meeting, where all but two of the 528 strikers voted to return to work, Jim Flockhart, the chairman of the strike committee said: 'It was stated a few days ago that the unsocial hours provisions would not apply to firemen, policemen or nurses. This obviously doesn't refer to striking firemen.'

The firemen also get a further overall

1 per cent rise under a bogus 'flexibility margin' supposed to cover things like sick pay schemes or changes in pay structures.

Glasgow firemen will keep their present 48p undermanning allowance and also get an additional £2 a week 'travel' payment on top. Wages for Glasgow firemen just starting in the job go up from the present £24.35 for a 48-hour week to £31.76—a rise of £7.41 compared with the £3.79 they were offered before the strike.

And wages for fifth year qualified firemen in Glasgow go up from £32.34 to £40.63—a rise of £8.29. This compares with the £4.21 rise he would have got without the strike.

These rises are all above the Phase Three maximum pay rise levels of £350 a year and so represent a clear defeat for Tory pay policy.

Nationally the increases in firemen's rates are as follows:

48 hours	56 hours
[up to six months' service]	
£5.41	£5.85
[for five years' service]	
£6.29	£7.48
[for 15 years' service]	
£6.65	£7.86

There are three main drawbacks to the offer. Firstly, firemen will forfeit the increases due them between 1 October when the old agreement expired and 7 November when the new one comes into effect.

## EXTENDED

Secondly, the Cunningham report in 1971 promised firemen 56 hours' wages for 48 hours' work from April 1974. As the implementation of that agreement would be contrary to Phase Three, it has now been put back to 8 November next year, a six months' saving to the employers.

But there is no guarantee that Phase Three will not be extended longer than 12 months or that Phase Four won't prohibit the further increases of more than £8 per week that would be involved in Glasgow. There's also no commitment to negotiate new national wage rates from October or November 1974 and there is a danger that the employers will try and make the present rises last for longer than the 13 months now proposed.

Nevertheless the settlement is a great victory. Firemen have at last broken the 'no strike' chains that bound them.

The next step will be to build a rank and file reform movement within the FBU that will fight for good wages and conditions, and for union democracy. For the rest of us, the next step is to follow the firemen in their successful assault on Phase Three.



Marchers in Hove: IS member Rick Noss (right) greets NF hecklers. Picture Peter Harrap (Report)

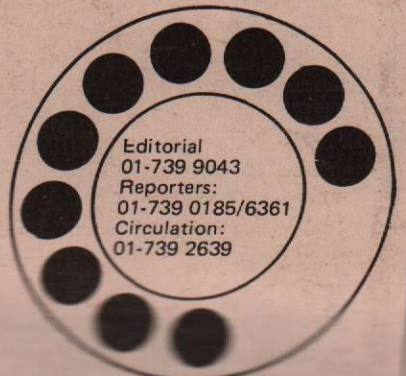
## MARCHERS CHALLENGE SEASIDE NAZIS

BRIGHTON:—On Saturday 350 people attended a rally and demonstration against the National Front, who stood in this week's Hove by-election.

The demonstration, organised by the Brighton Committee against Fascism, was supported by trade unionists from Brighton, Hove, Crawley and Newhaven Brighton International Socialists were out in strength. Other IS branches from as far as Southampton and Crawley also turned up. Other organisations included

the Communist Party, International Marxist Group, and individual members of the Labour Party.

George Peake, of the IS national committee, spoke at the rally about his own background in South Africa and tied it in with the fascist nature of the National Front. National Front members, who were staging their own rally in the local town hall heard the shouts of the marchers: 'The National Front is a fascist front—smash the National Front.'



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# 'GESTAPO COPS' ATTACKED IN COURT

'IT WAS like going in front of the Gestapo during the war.' That was how Mr H James described an interview with the police in the aftermath of the Shrewsbury picket last year. 'It was their intention to condemn anyone, the way we were interrogated.'

Mr James was giving evidence in the trial of the six building workers on charges of conspiracy to intimidate workers to abstain from work, unlawful assembly, fighting, and making an affray. The men in the dock represent trade unionism on trial for its life in this country. Their fight is for a basic union right—the right to picket.

The six are John Carpenter, McKinsey Jones, John Llywarch, Kevin O'Shea, Eric Tomlinson and Des Warren. The Shrewsbury trial is now in its seventh week.

Under cross examination Mr James said the police had kept him for four hours, asked questions they had asked hours before, and tried to trip him up. The second time he saw a copy of the statement he had made to them he said that an extra bit had been added to the end without his permission. It had been altered to say that he had seen one of the pickets 'running up the site with a stick in his hand.'

Last week a furious legal argument developed over witnesses' statements. Before going into the witness box witnesses are allowed to refresh their memories from the statements they had made to the police soon after the strike last year.

Under cross-examination it turned out that the witnesses were being shown their statements by a detective involved with the prosecution, and were even being shown copies of the photographs from which they were expected to identify the defendants!

## Flying picket

There were numerous copies of these photographs in the court, and some have been marked with rings to show 'suspects'. Several witnesses who described how the pickets had broken windows, sworn and threatened them, admitted that they had identified Des Warren as a 'leader' from photographs that the police had shown them after they had seen his photograph in the People newspaper. A week after the flying picket the People had featured a picture of Des Warren as a 'wrecker of industry'.

Cliff Grocott, 30 years a hod carrier, said he was working on scaffolding on the Brookside site when he was threatened by 20 to 30 pickets. He was pulled down. 'There was quite a lot of argy-bargy and a few blows struck. They were all pushing and shoving and trying to get a blow in.'

'A few landed. I was knocked to the ground and hit on the back of the head with a brick. I asked for some of it by

## Fight goes on

STEVENAGE:-The fight for 750 threatened jobs at G W King, a subsidiary of the Tube Investments giant, goes on. Despite management claims that they cannot negotiate 'under duress', a continuous picket is enforcing an embargo on all goods leaving the factory.

Management agreed to listen to representatives from the workers after a meeting between members of the action committee and Minister of Trade and Industry Christopher Chataway. The workers told management how they could keep open the majority of the factory—not just the small section the bosses consider 'viable'.

The embargo, the workers' main weapon, is worrying the company. The battle can be won if the King workers maintain their stand and get support from other workers—both financial and by their refusing to allow other workers to maintain King tracks and conveyors. Workers at Ford, Dagenham, and Perkins Diesel, Peterborough, have already agreed to black such work.

## Clean sheet

BLACKBURN:-Members of the Sheet Metal Workers Union at Huntfield Engineering have won the re-instatement of a victimised worker. Jimmy McHugh, sacked by the firm two weeks ago supposedly for driving a wagon into a door, was in fact victimised for standing up to the new manager.

Union officials failed to get him reinstated so 40 workers walked out. Workers were persuaded to return to work the next day because management refused to negotiate 'under duress'. But Jimmy was reinstated a day later because another section struck in his support.

Throughout the dispute the union officials showed they were not interested in a real fight. They opposed picket lines even though supplies were still going through.



SW Reporter

continuing working. Of course these men must have been under pressure after being out of work for 11 weeks and I made allowances for that.'

He went to a mass meeting on the site, but felt groggy. He had refused point blank to go to hospital in a police car, and he did not identify anyone from the photographs.

Another witness, Mr Roberts, said he had seen Grocott with a brick in his hand threatening pickets who tried to come on to his scaffolding. A brick weighs about five pounds.

Inspector Powell described how the pickets had given him the shot-gun which they had been threatened with on the first site. By this time it was in two pieces. He was 'unable to remember' whether he had been told to investigate the matter. No charge has ever been brought against the gun's owner.

He had, he said, followed the pickets on to most of the sites they had visited. They had 'shouted and bawled and used foul language.' He had been afraid to

interfere in case he was 'seriously assaulted' and insisted that he had felt 'most inadequate'.

By contrast, on the Brookside site Cliff Grocott said that when he had been knocked to the ground by 20 to 30 pickets, a student working as a labourer had rushed over, pushed the pickets aside and helped him to his feet.

## Mass meeting

Further evidence of the attitude of the police came from Sergeant Bastable. Describing the mass meeting on the Brookside site, he volunteered the information that he didn't know what the lump was, to which the speakers had referred, and he didn't know to that day.

Ex-Chief Inspector Meredith described the crowd at the mass meeting as 'motley'. Cross examining, Defence Counsel John Platts-Mills remarked that of course, 'we'd all much rather see a group of uniformed men standing in line.' Meredith admitted that he'd shaken Warren by the hand—but he didn't know 'that he was a criminal then.' Des Warren and his mates have not yet been found guilty of anything. The trial continues.

# Report on racism flays the police

by John Rose

'YOU fucking swines come over here and then you bastards don't know how to address us. I'm your God you bastard . . . Take your rice and curry back to India.'

Ealing's police officers gave this advice to an Indian civil servant who they arrested when he refused to tell them his age. At the police station he was slapped and punched. In court, he was found guilty of using insulting behavior.

This is one of the examples from the Ealing Community Relations Council's investigation\* into police intimidation of the black communities published last Thursday.

Its findings, which will come as no surprise to industrial militants, include the case of the Indian schoolteacher whose windows were repeatedly smashed by white kids. Each time he asked for police protection it was refused. Finally he himself chased the kids off with a walking stick. This time the police did intervene. They threatened to arrest the Indian for carrying an offensive weapon.

Again the case of the black bus conductor who sent for the police after a white woman refused to pay her fare. She had told him to go back to India and had taken a swing at him with her handbag. He had sworn at her in return. The police arrested the bus conductor for using insulting language.

In one case police burst into the house of a West Indian shop steward and his family after a fracas in a pub. One policeman was smelling of liquor. They saw the West Indian's son using a kitchen knife as he cooked. They grabbed him and the knife.

The police stated in court that the boy attacked them with a knife outside the house. The boy was found guilty of assaulting two police officers and carrying an offensive weapon. After the court case two independent witnesses denied the police version.

This excellent report has already become an embarrassment to its sponsors.

The ECRC's full-time officer, Martyn Grubb, leaked a copy to Scotland Yard weeks before publication. On the day the report was published Scotland Yard issued a document denying most of the charges and hence took the sting out of the bad publicity.

The signs are clear that the local establishment wants to play the whole thing down. The responsibility falls on local trade union militants to explain the implications of the report to their workmates and to step up the campaign against racism.

*Police immigrant relations in Ealing by Dr S Palle available Runnymede Trust 50p. Stuart House, 1 Tudor Street, London EC4YOAD.*

## Women fight for union

READING:-70 women workers at the Biro-Bic plant at nearby Theale have launched a major struggle for union recognition. It started with a petition signed by all the women except one asking for elementary improvements in conditions at the plant where tea breaks, for example, are forbidden.

The manager, a real dictator, rejected their demands out of hand. The women staged two half-day walk-outs and 60 applied to join the AUEW. Three stewards have been elected.

The factory is a sweatshop with women working from 7.15am to 4.15pm with only one 30-minute break—for lunch. The women earn £21 a week before tax—about £15 a week less than women in the neighbouring Prestcold plant where equal pay is in operation.

The women are actually fined £1.75 over and above lost wages for each day they are off work more than three days a month. Husbands are being organised to give support and the Prestcold workers are offering assistance.

# Socialist Worker

# WHAT WE THINK

THERE WAS a manning dispute last month in the Chilean port of San Antonio. The Financial Times of 23 October reported the outcome. 'Six workers were shot . . . as the result of differences between the military and stevedores about the operation of bulk loading equipment.'

The San Antonio dockers had the temerity to hold a meeting to consider a government ordered reduction in manning scales. The leading 'trouble makers' were arrested. 'It was announced that they had been shot while trying to escape.'

These are the military gangsters to whom Lord Stokes presents three motor cars as a token of British Leyland's esteem. No doubt he admires their methods of solving industrial disputes. The official explanation is that the cars are 'to help Chile's economy'. By increasing the productivity of the murder squads presumably.

Meanwhile, a delegation of the Chilean Employers Association is in Britain lobbying British firms and government departments in favour of the military dictatorship. 'The idea is,' according to the Observer newspaper, 'to portray Chile as a paradise for big business.' An easy job, Chile is a paradise for big business. That is what the military government is all about.

One of the delegation of fascist businessmen is quoted as saying: 'We told Shell to write out itself the rules under which it would like to operate in Chile. The Shell people couldn't believe their ears.' The 'rules' presumably include provision that any 'troublemaker' attempting to defend working conditions in a Shell installation in Chile will be 'shot whilst trying to escape.'

There are people who believe that our employers are more 'democratic', that they would never resort to such methods. Don't believe it. They would if they could. Their boot-licking of the Chilean generals shows their real attitude.

In the short run our employers are held in check by the strength of working class organisation. In the long run the menace can be beaten only by a revolutionary transformation of society with no nonsense about the 'parliamentary', 'constitutional' approach that produced the Chilean tragedy.

## TORY CON TRICK

'LABOUR'S prices and incomes policy has been a failure. We shall not repeat it.' That was what the Tory election manifesto said in 1970. Times change. We have now had one year of the Tory prices and incomes policy. It has not been a failure. It has been a roaring success—from the point of view of the bosses.

Profits have soared. In the first six months of 1973 these companies reported the following increases: ICI—144 per cent, Guest Keen and Nettlefold—72 per cent, Tube Investments—101 per cent, Barclays Bank—75 per cent, Lloyds Bank—96 per cent.

Overall, the Financial Times report on 807 large companies shows profits up by 32 per cent from July 1972 to July 1973, and that includes four pre-freeze months when big business was not doing so well.

During the 12 months of the prices and incomes policy to date wage rates have risen, on average, by 8 per cent. Actual earnings by 10 per cent due largely to increased overtime. Prices have risen 10 per cent according to the government's index which notoriously understates the real increase.

At first sight it might seem that while profits have rocketed, real wages have just kept pace with price increases. Not so. The figures report gross pay (before stoppages) and stoppages take one third of the average worker's increase. Real wages have fallen on average.

As always under a capitalist prices and incomes policy the worst paid have been hardest hit. 'To cover the rise of more than 10 per cent in living costs which this group has suffered,' reports the Financial Times, 'would need a rise in gross pay of 18 per cent.'

The moral is clear. The prices and incomes policy is a confidence trick which has successfully transferred money from the poor to the rich. It will go on that way until we smash Phase Three.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E15



# ATTACKS ON LEFT BY PERON

by Mike Gonzalez

EVER since Peron won the Argentinian presidential election his wait-and-see politics have turned into a sustained campaign against the left.

When he first returned to Argentina, Peron took care not to launch any direct anti-revolutionary offensive. The left, which had taken a leading role in defeating the previous military government, still enjoyed considerable prestige and influence at shop-floor level.

The working class expected from Peron a clear statement of support for workers' organisation and an equally clear rejection of the right wing.

Peron, as usual, gave neither. Calling for 'national consolidation', he asked all sections of the resistance movement to unite behind him. The object was to play a waiting game, until he felt that his own control over the Justicialist (Peronist) Party was strong enough to declare his own position.

The decision to remove the elected president, Campora, and stand for election himself, with his right-wing wife as vice-president, clearly came at the point when he felt able to reassert that control.

Since then Peron's policies have increasingly clear. The outlawing of marxism, and all marxist parties, was a move directed at the ERP, the People's Revolutionary Army, which has been the clearest critic of Peron's policies. The ban, however, also affected the Peronist Youth, which has maintained throughout the need for continuing revolutionary struggle.

## ALLIANCE

The appointment to the key Ministry of the Economy of the chairman of the Argentine employer's organisation, Juan Gelber, can leave little doubt that with the example of Chile before him, Peron has formed a clear alliance with capital and the parties of the right. His policy is one of class collaboration against the revolutionary left.

The murder last month of Jose Rucci, the discredited general secretary of the Argentine TUC, was at first attributed to the ERP. This added fire to the campaign within the Peronist party for an all-out attack on the left, together with a demand that anyone who failed to carry through the purge should be expelled from the party.

A week later the murder of the leader of the Peronist Youth, Grismer, confirmed the growing impression, even in government circles, that both assassinations were the work of the extreme right. The fascist right is active and relatively strong in Argentina, and has been increasingly active in ex-servicemen's clubs and the like.

None of this, however, has affected the growing attack on the left. The right, of course, remains virtually untouched.

## CONTROL

The lessons to be drawn are clear. The ferocity of the attack is an indication that the revolutionary left still has much strength in the industrial working class—and it is there that they must build, as the nature of the so-called 'national alliance' under Peron becomes clear.

The initial bowing to workers' demands was simply a sop. There will be no change in the political and economic structure of Argentina. The old ruling class is effectively in control again even if it is a little less free to operate under Peron than under the military.

Peron has drawn the lessons of Chile in his own way: avoid the danger of a new military coup by forming alliances with the middle class, by repressing the revolutionary left, by opening the country to foreign investment, and by limiting the workers' movement. By the same token, the call for the workers' movement must learn from Chile too—the lessons of the failure there to build and defend the revolutionary organisation of the working class.

# Election shock for the generals

by Janice Grant

THE recent elections in Turkey saw the first attempt at a return to capitalist democracy since the coup by the generals in March 1971. The elections themselves were forced by popular pressure—though they can hardly be called democratic since the Labour Party is banned.

The results proved a shock for the Turkish ruling class, for the next government is likely to be a coalition of the Republican People's Party and the National Salvation Party with a limited nationalisation programme, restraints on big business and other measures to create a national economy. Also likely is a general amnesty, invalidating many of the laws passed by the military junta.

The Republican Peoples Party won a majority of seats—its main support coming from the working class and

middle class in large towns and from many peasants. Its economic policy is based on the need to develop Turkey without international finance.

The newly-formed National Salvation Party also supports this, uniting the small and medium-sized businessmen against both big business and communism. It favours free speech, the right of all political tendencies to exist in Turkey, and an amnesty.

## Certain

Whether the RPP has the will or the ability to carry out reforms in the face of any opposition is doubtful. It also seems doubtful that the amnesty would include the re-



Israeli troops (foreground) face soldiers of the trapped Egyptian army in the town of Suez

# Sadat's tightrope

by Jim Higgins

EGYPT, as the largest and most powerful Arab nation, is one of the most crucial factors in the complex Middle East situation. The war aims of the Egyptians can be understood only in the context of the country's economic problems and the contradictions between these problems and the political pressure to redeem the national honour and regain the occupied lands.

One of the greatest crimes of the Zionist intrusion in the Middle East is that it serves to justify the bureaucratic military excesses of the Egyptian leadership.

Egypt presents a classic picture of underdevelopment. Every year more than £425 million must be spent on development just so that the economy will not go backwards in the face of the population explosion. More than £700 million—a quarter of the gross national product—is spent each year on armaments. This is not counting the cost of a war: the impact of the 1967 war ruined what feeble economic planning there was.

Economic misery is not, of course, evenly shared. Cairo, a city of five million people, displays the extremes of poverty alongside the extremes of conspicuous affluence.

The full compensation paid to those who lost land by the land reform of 1952 released huge funds for the wealthy to speculate. Such was the extent of speculation that

in 1961 the banks were nationalised to prevent speculation against the Egyptian economy in the conflict with Israel.

The radicalism of Nasser—more often expressed in words than actions—has been muted under his successor, Sadat. Sadat is a thorough-going bureaucrat, presiding over a society in which popular control is minimal and the real decisions are restricted to a small circle of leaders.

## Apparatus

As with all tightly-controlled bureaucratic machines, phenomenal inefficiency is the result. If the top man is not there to make a decision then no decision is made. This simply reflects the penalty paid for mistakes—as the summarily executed officers of the Second and Third Armies in 1967 could testify.

Workers in Egypt are doubly controlled. Practically all enterprises of any size are directly owned and controlled by the government, while the trade unions are part of the Arab Socialist Union, the only legal party, which is itself part of the government apparatus. Wage restraint is a permanent part of their lives.

While Egypt is caught in the dilemma of trying to develop

economically with limited resources, this is made worse by Israeli military pressure. Development demands a period of peace. Political pressure demands a show of military force.

Trying to avoid the contradictions in this situation requires all Sadat's talent for secret diplomacy, propaganda and bureaucratic manoeuvre.

Egypt's initial military success in taking the Israeli Bar-Lev line on the east bank of the Suez canal—and it was a considerable achievement—has united the Arab regimes behind Egyptian leadership. It has unlocked the oil revenues and made the 'oil weapon'—though the Arab regimes are not prepared to use it to the full—stronger.

If Egypt can get a settlement which includes Israeli withdrawal from the east bank, it can get on with widening and deepening the canal. Plans have already been drawn up, in co-operation with a Japanese consortium, to enable it to take ships up to 300,000 tons. Egypt would also be able to develop its union with Libya, filling out Libya's underpopulated tracts with Egyptian farmers.

## Advantage

Projects like these can provide the cash that cannot come from within Egypt itself and will not be provided by the superpowers.

The 'sit tight' of the Egyptian armies after taking the Bar-Lev line was partly because of limited equipment—the Russian military installations in Egypt were destined for defence, not offence—and partly because the Egyptians calculated on the diplomatic advantage that this military success and the oil weapon would bring.

The costly and dangerous price of following up the initial victory had to be offset against US refusal to accept a greater defeat for Israel. A deal had to be done, and Brezhnev and Nixon cobbled up an agreement that would maintain existing power relations in the Middle East together with the client status of both the Arabs and the Israelis.

In all this shadow boxing and manoeuvre the greatest victims are, as before, the Palestinians. Denied any status inside or outside Israel, they are to be sold in the post-war settlement. As one leading Palestinian told me: 'Now we are neatly boxed and they are waiting to put the lid on.'

allies became concerned. Turkey no longer had a government capable of producing the required laws so they could expand and increase the exploitation of Turkish workers. The growing left-wing movements were a threat to the power of the United States and this important NATO bastion of the Middle East.

It is questionable whether the coup was inevitable, but it certainly solved the problems of the Turkish ruling class. The radical nature of the slogans produced by the generals even managed to halt a movement of radical nationalism within the ranks of the army. The junta then set up the 'government above party politics' led by Erim.

It is in the conditions created by this degeneration of so-called democracy that the recent elections have been held.

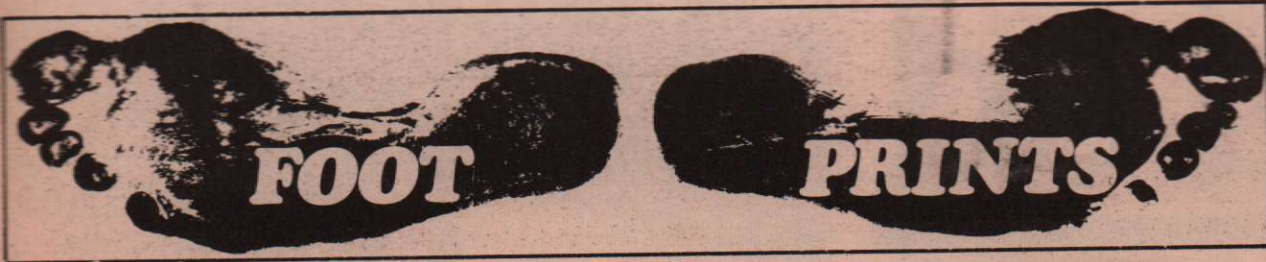
lease of all Turkey's political prisoners. RPP leader Bulent Ecevit has shown that in his attempts to appeal to a majority he can move to the right.

One thing is certain about this government; it does not represent the working class.

The main loser of votes was the Justice Party, which held power for six years before the military coup, amid growing popular discontent with its political and economic policies, and steady growth in the left-wing students' and workers' movements. Its attempt to pass anti-trade union laws was met by a mass demonstration of workers in Istanbul in June 1970.

Foreign capital and its Turkish





## QUOTE OF THE WEEK

'We are not talking about socialist revolution.'  
David Cook, Communist Party's national student organiser, writing in the party's latest policy statement on students.

## Byrne, baby, Byrne

OWEN BRISCOE, who has shocked the right-wing leadership of the Yorkshire pits by winning the first round of the election for Yorkshire general secretary of the NUM by a wide margin, has been protesting this week about a leaflet calling on miners to work for outside contractors for £15 a day.

The leaflet has been distributed to miners in the Doncaster area by Cementation, a civil engineering firm. It refers to work for the National Coal Board near Wrexham, but the money offered is more than twice that earned by miners who work for the Coal Board.

Private contracting in some Coal Board areas has become almost a habit. The Coal Board turns a blind eye while the contractors hire miners. Specific Coal Board jobs, like digging a new tunnel, are then farmed out to the contractors at fat prices.

It is a foul, corrupt practice, and is only permitted in areas like Yorkshire where the right-wing of the union has been accustomed to control. In Derbyshire, for instance, private contracting work for miners is completely banned by the union.

But the most interesting aspect about this latest leaflet is that Cementation is a subsidiary of the big property company Trafalgar House.

Another subsidiary of Trafalgar House, Charlton Contractors, was mentioned during an important corruption case last summer at the end of which Maurice Byrne, a former Mayor of Pontefract, was sent to prison for 30 months for accepting bribes from contracting firms in exchange for council contracts.

It emerged that Byrne, and the company that employed him, Carlton Contractors, were at the centre of massive bribery operation which extended throughout Yorkshire and the North East. At one stage Byrne wrote down the names of four leading councillors and passed them surreptitiously to the judge. They were never published.

When he was asked on whose instructions he sought these bribes, he replied: 'I can never do that off my own bat. It came from my boss Flannery and he referred to his boss in Epsom.'

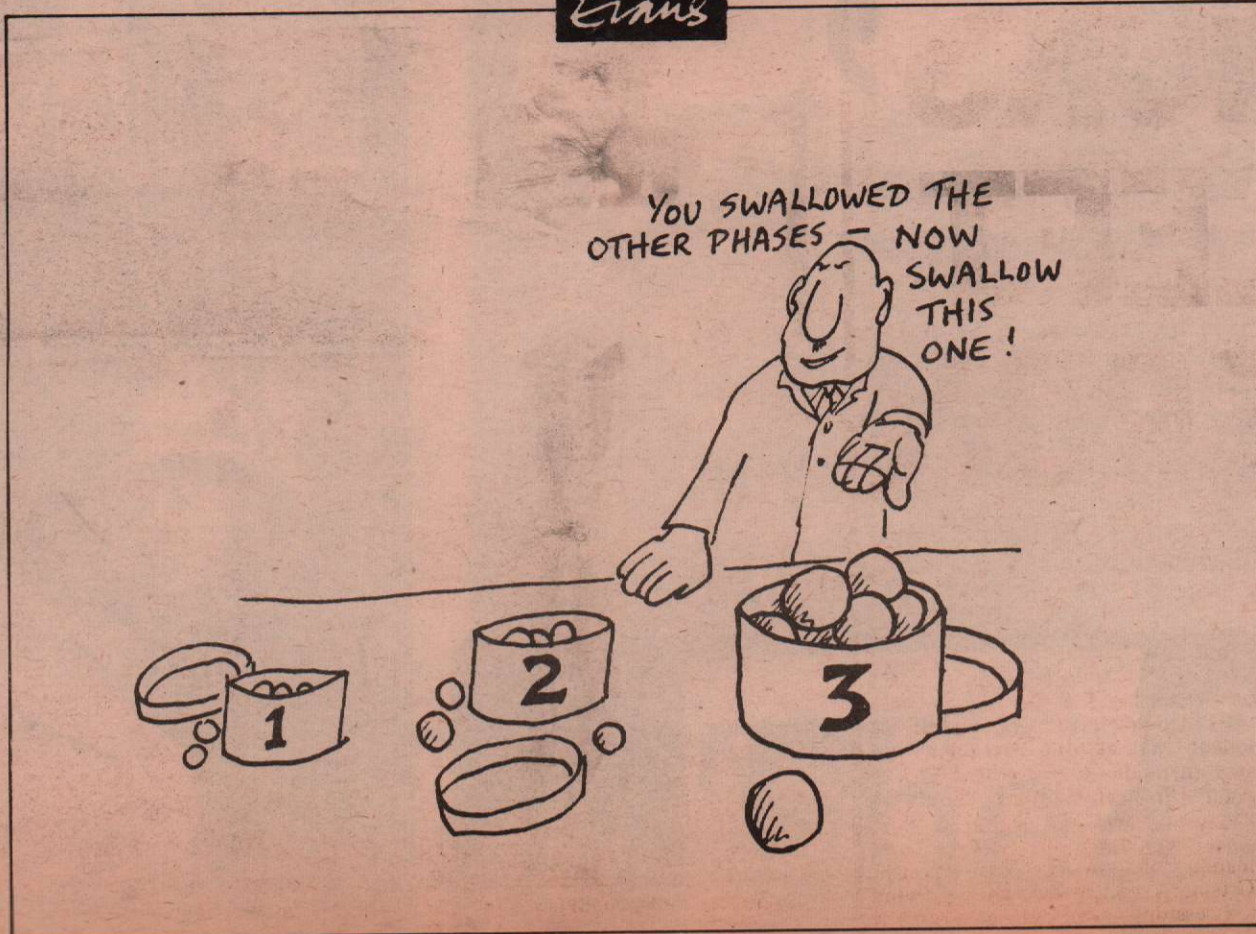
The headquarters of Carlton Contractors was at Epsom, so—and still is—an office of Trollope and Colls, the giant building firm which is another subsidiary of Trafalgar House.

At the end of the case, Trafalgar House sent a top barrister to Leeds to plead with the judge to allow him to say that Trafalgar House knew nothing at all about any of this corruption.



CHRISTMAS is going to be a little expensive this year: the above advertisements, for an 1893 Chateau Latour claret at £253 a bottle and an 1899 Chateau Latour at £295, come from a recent wine merchant's price list.

Evans



## Marshall law for the rich

Marshall Cavendish are the publishers of magazines and partworks and make a huge profit by exploiting 183 workers, many of them poorly-paid journalists. Enormously improved profits last year led to a 40 per cent dividend, which was lovely for Mr Marshall, who has nearly two million shares in the company, and Mr Cavendish, who has nearly one million.

Last January, however, when the dividends were paid Mr Marshall and Mr Cavendish found it difficult to make ends meet. It was in the middle of Heath's wage freeze and they needed some more cash. On 11 January, Mr Marshall sold 99 shares of something called 'Class A Common Stock' in his own company. Mr Cavendish sold 81 shares of the same stock.

For each share, I kid you not, they received £2,855. So Mr Marshall made a capital gain of £282,645 and Mr Cavendish of £231,255. Right in the middle of the fiercest month of Heath's freeze.

# The whole town's talking about the Jones ploy

A TERRIBLY distressing thing happened at last Tuesday's emergency meeting of the Bootle Labour Party. Its chairman, Mr R K Jones, who is also chairman of Bootle Council Planning and Estates Committee, was not present.

The leader of the Labour group on the council, Hugh Bird, had to get up and apologise to the meeting for Mr Jones' absence. 'Mr Jones has been very sick since reading a recent article in Socialist Worker', he said.

I realise with horror that this must

be a reference to an article I wrote some weeks back drawing attention to the success of Wimpeys, the biggest building firm in Britain, in getting council contracts at Bootle.

I also pointed out that Wimpey's excellence as a building firm is well known to Councillor A S Moore, deputy leader of Bootle Council, and Councillor Jones, since both councillors work for Wimpeys.

What can I do to cheer Mr Jones up in his distress? Perhaps if I quote from recent council minutes at Bootle, he will immediately feel better.

For instance, from the councillor's

own committee on 10 October: 'Langton branch railway line. Subject to agreement with British Rail, offer of George Wimpey and Co Ltd to undertake tipping of cutting of Langton branch railway line from Derby Road/Rimrose Road to Stanley Road.'

'Including laying of drains and provision of tip soil for sum of £4000 accepted, subject to contract, and Management and Finance Committee requested to make financial provision for borrowing of money to finance scheme.'

Or, again, from the Recreation and Amenities Committee whose

members include Councillor A S Moore: 'Removal of cycle track—request George Wimpey and Co to submit tender.'

That passed the council on 8 August.

But this is small stuff. Everyone in Bootle is anxiously watching to see who will get the proposed £3 million housing contract in Sefton. There are 350 houses involved. The three front runners are Cubitts, Unit Construction and... (right again) Wimpeys.

I understand that Wimpeys have plans for a celebration dinner in case they win the contract. I do hope that Mr Jones will have recovered enough by then to make it.

## Fireraising department

THE firemen of Glasgow and their brothers who were engaged in sympathy action might be interested to know of one massive increase in the fire service which appears at first sight to be more than 7 per cent.

Terence McCarthy is the Chief Fire Officer of Warwickshire and gets £5505 a year for his services, which is rather more than £100 a week.

His job will be 'upgraded' when the new local government boundaries come into effect next year. Although his work will hardly change at all, his salary must come up to suit the dignity of a senior public officer in an enlarged authority. Warwickshire County Council's Personnel Subcommittee has recommended that Mr McCarthy's new salary be £7,404—a rise of £1,809 a year, or 30 per cent.

Mr McCarthy's rise is entirely legal under the government's 'no-exceptions' wage control.

## Another jump in salary

By ALEX BRUMMER

A SECOND, potentially embarrassing revelation of large increases in directors' salaries came to light yesterday in the annual report of Ingall Industries—the engineering and funeral furniture group.

The pay of Mr Jeffrey Bennett, the group's managing director, has gone up from £6,830 in 1972 to £11,903 this time round. The salary of the non-executive chairman of the group, Mr Marston Riley, has doubled at £3,000. These details have emerged at a time when the Government is trying to build a formula into its Stage Three plan to cover directors' salaries after last week's disclosure that the salary of Sir John Stratton, chairman and managing director of FMC, the meat group, had jumped by

## No flouting of Pay Code, says Barber

By KEITH HARPER, Labour Correspondent

The Government and the TUC last night plighted their troth to further talks on the economy, although as far as Stage Three is concerned they have reached the end of their barren courtship.

The talks will probably not start before the New Year, but the Government is anxious to keep the door open on such matters as its proposed new Low Pay Board, to which the TUC is opposed if it means handing the job over to the Pay Board. The Chancellor indicated at the end of the 90-minute meeting that "constraints on growth" would be on the agenda of the National Economic Development Council

Two stories from the back page of The Guardian, 23 October

## Morris 500

THE debate in the House of Commons on 17 October on the government's wage freeze was used by most Labour members as an occasion for exposing the effect of government policies on ordinary people in their constituencies. Not so Mr Alfred Morris, the Labour MP for Manchester Wythenshawe.

Although Wythenshawe has more than its fair share of starving pensioners and struggling housewives, Mr Morris devoted his entire speech to what he called 'the extremely serious manpower problem in the Metropolitan Police Force.'

There are no Metropolitan policemen in Mr Morris' constituency and, if there were, they would probably be engaged in some activity which would damage the interests of the people who vote for Mr Morris.

But Mr Morris, as he reminded the House, gets £500 a year—unless there's been any recent increase of £1 plus 4 per cent—for acting as 'parliamentary advisor' to the London police. The police, I understand, insist on adequate coverage in full-scale debates, so the workers at Wythenshawe will just have to wait.

## NEW STATESMANSHIP FOR SECURICOR

THE New Statesman has refused an advert for Socialist Worker. After at first agreeing to include it, subject to seeing the copy, the ad-men at the Statesman, Andrew McBean and Michael Roberts, both of whom went out of their way to be patronising and offensive throughout the discussions, declared that the copy for the advert was 'libellous'.

There is, of course, nothing in it which is libellous. The truth is that the Statesman is scared stiff of advertising a properly socialist paper.

I notice, incidentally, that this week the Statesman publishes a centre-page advertisement (cost: about £500) for the para-military, ultra-Tory property-protecting organisation, Securicor—or Securicarr, as it is affectionately

known by those who remember the former directorship of Home Secretary Robert Carr.

I make this pledge to the slick ad-men of the New Statesman. When Socialist Worker sells more copies than New Statesman, which at the present rate of advance will be about next autumn, but probably before, the New Statesman will be allowed to advertise with us. But Securicor won't.



# 'Dedicated idiots...'

GLASGOW'S FIREMEN have gone back to work after their short, sharp battle with government, local Labour council and their own union leaders. Their militant stand has flung down the gauntlet as the workers prepare to challenge the government's Phase Three policies.

To get an idea of why they struck and what their job is like, I spoke last week to three Glasgow firemen—Frank McAvoy, James Harte and Frank Simpson.

They work at Glasgow's Parkhead fire station. Frank McAvoy has done 16 years' service, James Harte 18 years and Frank Simpson 22 years.

'The strike is 99 per cent about money,' Frank McAvoy said. 'The thing that really made us aware of how low our wages were was when we compared our wages—and we all earned the top rate with more than 15 years' service—with those of the watch room girls.'

They're the girls who take the emergency calls at the fire stations. 'We think they're fully entitled to their wages,' Frank added, 'if anything they deserve more. I think their's is a lousy job. But after the £1 plus 4 per cent increase, they'd actually earned more than us over the full 48 hours we have to work.'

But Frank Simpson didn't think that was the chief cause of the grievance. 'I think the main thing is the fact that Glasgow employs firemen out at the airport who earn between £8 and £11 more than us. But if there's a fire out there then they still call us out as well.'

Frank McAvoy got Frank Simpson to show me his wage slip. 'He's been 22 years in the service and that's his wage for a full 48 hour week—£24

## GLASGOW FIREMEN TALKING



Frank McAvoy, Frank Simpson and James Harte

after tax and superannuation.

'That's what he got last week and he's still got to support his mother. And the £1 plus 4 per cent won't make a great deal of difference when it is added on.'

James said he joined the fire service 18 years before to get more money. He was earning £5.15 as a salesman, compared to £9.12 as a fireman.

'But now I believe we must be right at the bottom of the wages league,' he said.

Frank McAvoy joined the service more for security than pay. 'I was getting married and wanted a settled wage. I didn't think then I'd ever have to worry about a strike.'

'But now it's a struggle to get by. The corporation's cornered us. Personally speaking, I think it's been building up for years. We've been wanting decent wages and payment for shift working like in industry.'

### Entitled

'Outside industry gets shift allowances,' James Harte chipped in. 'We don't and we have to work 10 hour days and 12 or 14 hour nights.'

'We go out on a Saturday night at six o'clock and work through until 10 on Sunday morning,' Frank McAvoy said bitterly, 'and then the Prime Minister can turn round and say we're not entitled to an "unsocial hours" allowance.'

'There are times when we've got water coming out of our arses in the middle of the night. If we're fighting a fire, we have to stay on till relief teams are organised—and we can be there a couple of hours over our normal shift.'

'Do you know—the very youngest navy boys now doing our jobs at Parkhead are earning £5 a week more than us. And one of the soldiers told us that he's getting £43 a week—and that's for 12 hours on and 12 hours off.'

BASIC PAY	OVERTIME PAY	OTHER ALLOWANCES (SEE BELOW)	
33.53	0.00	0.4	
DEDUCT LAST WEEK	ADD THIS WEEK	ACTUAL CASH PAY	
0.46	0.06	24.0	
OTHER ALLOWANCES AND DEDUCTIONS			
CODE	£	CODE	£
75	0.03	76	0.
CODE	£	CODE	£

Frank Simpson's pay slip

Pensions were another sore point, James Harte said. 'Take this business of superannuation. What it means is that we're paying more than £2 a week towards our own pension. When we do finally retire at 55 or after serving 30 years, we get two-thirds of our last three years' annual pay as a pension, but it doesn't go up to keep in step with prices.'

'And our pension is also taxable,' Frank Simpson added.

'The reason many of us don't get round to quitting,' Frank McAvoy said, 'is that once you get past a certain mark you wonder whether you should get out and jeopardise your pension.'

'But there's also a lot of dedication in this job. I suppose you could sum it up in two words—dedicated idiots.'

I asked them how they replied to people who accuse them of risking lives by taking strike action.

Frank Simpson's reply was short and to the point: 'We say that it's the government who are putting people's lives at danger.'

Frank McAvoy added: 'By its



actions, the government is forcing experienced Glasgow firemen to leave the job because they can't continue living on the meagre wages we're paid. So it's Glasgow corporation and the government that are responsible for any risk, not us.'

'Some 70 firemen left the service last year in Glasgow and we're now about 200 under strength. Five more are also due to be paid off soon for health reasons—and that's something people don't know too much about.'

### No choice

'The health hazards in this job are fantastic. Firstly there's the smoke. We go into smoke every day. Most times it's worse for you than years of cigarette smoking. And the government's supposed to be trying to get us to stop that.'

'Nine times out of ten you've got to swallow the smoke,' James Harte added. 'There's no choice. If there's a life at risk you can't wait for the breathing appliances—you've got to go inside and see if there's anyone inside.'

Frank McAvoy spoke about the pressure on the men's nervous system. 'When the alarm bell rings you only have to put your hand to your heart to feel it pounding away to know the pressure's on. There's a big number of firemen who have heart attacks.'

Frank Simpson said there were hidden dangers in fighting fires in

Glasgow's tenements. 'You know what some of these youngsters do before they set them alight? In two cases in our area recently they've actually taken up the floorboards and then replaced the lino.'

'So if you came in with a hose, that'd be it. We always try to check the floors when we go to one of those fires. Glasgow's an old, old city and in some ways that must make our job worse than elsewhere.'

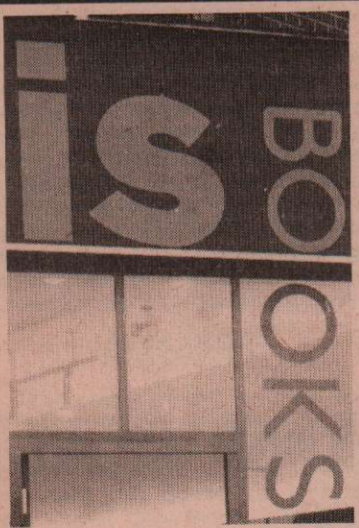
Frank McAvoy added: 'If the authorities were really concerned about us—and the city—then they'd get all these old disused buildings taken down. But the corporation has treated us like idiots for years.'

'And we're not treated much better by the union. We pay £1.16 a month dues and this includes accident benefit. A while back, I was off work for nine months with torn cartilages after I twisted my kneecap running down an embankment at a fire. For that nine months I got £216 accident benefit from the FBU.'

'The union national executive say they're all for the working class. I certainly can't see how.'

James Harte observed drily: 'As far as Parry [general secretary Terry Parry] is concerned, he's not a member of the firemen's union. He must be a member of the seamen's union—he's sold us down the river that often.'

'We certainly don't want to get out of the FBU. But I can tell you one thing—we want to get rid of the present crew that's on top.'



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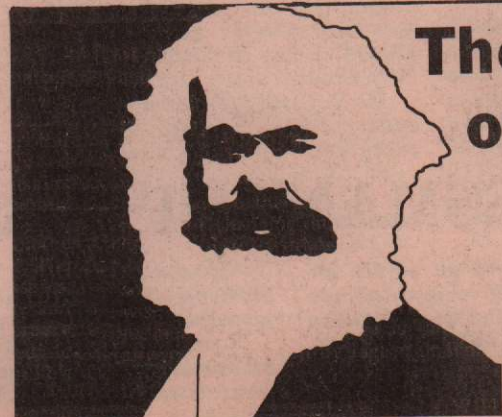
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## The Meaning of Marxism

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# THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS: Part Seven of Duncan Hallas' series

On 2 September 1870 the French Emperor, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, surrendered himself and 104,000 of his soldiers to the King of Prussia at Sedan near the Luxemburg frontier. It was the end for the French Second Empire. Two days later a new republic was proclaimed in Paris.

The war between France and Prussia had been provoked by Louis Napoleon's government on a frivolous pretext, 'on a mere point of etiquette, said an English paper. But the undelying causes ran deep.

Louis Napoleon had been elected president of the Second Republic at the end of 1848. He posed as the champion of the peasant and the working man, as opposed to the middle-class republicans who had organised the slaughter of Paris workers in June 1848. At the same time he promised 'law and order'.

In 1852, with the support of the army and the police, he declared the republic abolished and proclaimed himself Emperor. The workers, savagely resentful of the June massacre, did not lift a finger to defend the middle-class republic. From then on flag-wagging and drum-beating about the 'glories' of France under the first Napoleon and military adventures abroad became more and more the mainstay of the regime.

'The Second Empire,' wrote Frederick Engels, 'was the appeal to French chauvinism . . . Hence the necessity for occasional wars and extensions of frontiers.'

## Desperate gamble

Louis Napoleon engaged in wars in Russia (the Crimean war), Italy, Africa, China (along with the British in 1860) and Mexico where he attempted to establish a puppet 'Emperor'. In 1870, in a desperate gamble to ward off growing opposition in France, he undertook his last adventure—war with Bismarck's Prussia, since 1866 the strongest power in Germany.

The gamble ended at Sedan. A republican 'Government of National Defence' was formed to 'resist the Prussian invaders'. Soon the Prussian army arrived outside Paris.

The new government organised 'a mock defence of Paris . . . General Trochu, its agent, flung away his men in useless sorties, mismanaged and disorganised the National Guard . . . That this policy was deliberate was shown by later discoveries of correspondence.'

In 1792-93 the revolutionary forces had beaten and driven out the invading armies of Prussia, Austria, Britain and Spain, as well as crushing a massive domestic counter-revolution. New armies had been built with former NCOs and civilians as commanders.

Revolutionary 'Commissaires' were put alongside the generals, old and new, and by a liberal use of the guillotine and the firing squad large numbers of treacherous officers had been eliminated. The entire resources of the country were mobilised in defence of the republic.

That was 80 years earlier and in those 80 years the middle classes had become 80 times more conservative. There was to be no revolutionary mobilisation this time. Better the Prussians than the reds!

The French armies, which still controlled most of the country, were led by Bonapartists, by royalists, by reactionaries who feared the consequences of a victory won by popular resistance more than they feared defeat.

## Conflict

'Paris,' wrote Karl Marx, 'was not to be defended without arming its working class, organising them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites.'

'In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate for one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.'

The siege of Paris lasted from mid-September to near the end of January 1871, '135 days of the worst winter within living memory, a winter of Siberian cold, with famine and epidemics.'

No serious attempt was made to organise forces for the relief of the city because, as Marx had noted, the backbone of the defence had come to be the armed workers organised in the battalions of the originally middle-class National Guard.

The 'ultra-patriotic' republican government, while proclaiming in public 'we will not cede an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses' was concerned, before anything else, to arrange for the surrender of the capital city and a peace at almost any price with the King of Prussia.

It succeeded. On 27 January an armistice was signed which provided for the surrender of Paris. In March a peace treaty was agreed, a treaty that

involved the ceding to Prussia of two provinces that had been French since the seventeenth century.

But the treacherous republican government, now established at the old royalist capital, Versailles, was not able to arrange for the immediate disarming of the Paris National Guard.

'Armed Paris,' in Marx's words, 'was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy.' In February the National Guard had reorganised itself on the basis of elected officers, subject to recall, and established a central committee with a socialist majority. The Bonapartist officers fled or were dismissed.

In March the Versailles government sent troops into Paris to seize the 400 pieces of artillery in the hands of the Guard. The attempt failed and the central committee took full control of the city. It ordered immediate elections for a democratic commune.

This took over on 28 March. Marx's classic description of it can hardly be improved.

## Attributes

'The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards . . . responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men . . .

'The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time . . . the police was at once stripped of its political attributes and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration.'

'From the members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages* . . . Having got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government . . . the priests were sent back to the recesses of private life . . .



The massacre of Communards by troops in the last days of the Commune: 30,000 died.

# 1871: The first workers' state

Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and revocable.'

This revolutionary, democratic regime which, as Engels said, 'must necessarily have led in the end to communism,' was however isolated in Paris. A member of the Commune, Milliere, shrewdly noted:

'In Paris and some other great towns the working class is sufficiently prepared to attempt it [the revolution] successfully; but in most small towns and particularly in the villages it is as yet incapable of it. Therein lies the great danger to the revolution that has begun in Paris.'

France in 1871 was still predominantly a peasant and rural country and the peasants, unlike those of Russia in 1917, were predominantly conservative since they enjoyed the fruits of the great revolution of 1789.

There were riots or attempted risings in support of the Commune at Marseilles, Lyons, St Etienne, Limoges and a few other places. But there was no nationwide revolutionary movement. The Versailles government kept control, helped by the Prussians who returned tens of thousands of French prisoners to help the counter-revolution.

On 2 April the Versailles army began its assault on Paris. Until the end of May the National Guard maintained a heroic resistance, 'the Parisian workers throughout the struggle did the impossible.'

In the end weight of numbers and superior equipment enabled the counter-revolutionary troops to break in. A large part of central Paris was destroyed in the fighting and after the last pockets of resistance had been destroyed the forces of 'law and

order' exacted a most bloody revenge.

There were wholesale shootings of men, women and children, 'only 14,000' according to the Bonapartist General McMahon, 30,000 according to left wing writers.

These were followed by 'legal' executions (ie after trial) and massive deportations of workers to tropical colonies. By these means the 'democratic' Third Republic, which lasted until 1940, was established.

For Marx the Commune marked 'a new point of departure of world-wide importance,' the first workers' state and the model for those to come.

Twenty years later Engels summed it up: 'do you want to know what the dictatorship of the proletariat looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat.'

## This is dynamite!



Want to know how to fight Phase Three, the latest Tory swindle on the workers? Here's all the information and ammunition you need crammed into a fighting, no-punches-pulled, 32-page pamphlet from Counter Information Services.

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Special offer to IS branches: see column one, page 6

Next, in two weeks time,  
The Russian Revolution



# Parasites

## ORGY THAT'S AN

NEXT WEEK'S ORGY of bedding, boozing and buffoonery—otherwise known as the Royal Wedding—is an insult to the working people of Britain.

It is a ruling-class celebration to mark one year of that blatant swindle, the 'counter-inflation policy'—Phases One and Two.

And it will be the victims of that policy who will have to foot the bill for the celebration, a bill running into hundreds of thousands of pounds

The assorted gaggle of drones, spivs and chinless wonders have something to celebrate. The last 12 months has been for them a bonanza of soaring profits

While working families, their wages held in the vice of a total freeze or £1 plus 4 per cent, have seen their living standards slashed by a flood of rising prices and rent increases.

And so on Wednesday the champagne corks will pop and the caviar will be spread extra thick as that sickest of all sick jokes, the capitalist system, notches up another milestone in its over-long history.

### NO PLANS

Not that it's been altogether an easy year for our rulers. There have been a few internal problems along the way.

In fact, until the beginning of the summer it seemed we might be spared the prospect of the splicing of Princess Anne. After all, as Buckingham Palace pointed out on more than one occasion, the princess and her fellow saddle polisher were 'just good friends'. There were no plans for marriage.

But suddenly the system hit crisis. In quick succession we had the Lonrho scandal and the

## INSULT TO WORKERS

Lambton-Jellicoe affair.

The first gave a revealing insight into the squalid world of big business and high finance. A boardroom squabble showed the astronomical salaries of the top directors, free perks such as Rolls-Royces and country houses worth £300,000, backed by vast tax fiddles in Caribbean tax havens.

The second showed the utter hypocrisy of those 'born to rule'. Lords Lambton and Jellicoe, members of a class constantly preaching the 'sanctity of marriage' and thundering against the sins of permissiveness and pornography, were discovered frequenting high-class brothels where the charge for one hour's synthetic love was the equivalent of three weeks' wages for one of Lord Lambton's farm workers.

With that remarkable solidarity that is the hallmark of the British ruling class, ranks closed and Her Gracious Majesty was prevailed upon to organise a suitable diversion from the sordid goings on of Lonrho and Lambton. She was happy to oblige, for a member of her own vast family, Angus Ogilvy—Mr Princess Alexandra—was a former director of Lonrho.

And so a marriage was arranged and all next week the Fleet Street slush pumps will be



OGILVY: Lonrho connections



PHILLIPS senior: Walls boss

wide open, pouring a nauseating river of drivel into our homes.

We will be spared nothing. From the tip of Anne's coiffure to the spurs on Mark's boots, we

will be deluged by a welter of fatuous words and pictures.

If a fraction of that press coverage were devoted to the plight of old people faced by the prospect of death from lack of food and warmth this winter or the 15 million people living in sub-standard housing, then the mighty 'free press' might serve some purpose.

But the exploits of a rich, haughty princess and an inarticulate junior army officer are considered to be far more worthy of our attention.

### PURSUIT

It is a nauseating spectacle. That brilliant writer Oscar Wilde once described the country gentry who engage in fox hunting as 'the unspeakable in pursuit of the uneatable'.

Turning Wilde's remark on its head, it could fairly be said that the courtship of Princess Anne by Captain Phillips, whose father is a wealthy director of the Walls' food empire, was a case of the uneatable in pursuit of the unspeakable.



A specially-commissioned wedding portrait by Philipo Evans

## HIGH COST OF ROYAL

FROM TIME TO TIME, the press and Tory ministers froth with rage over the amounts of public money paid to people on social security. The villains of the piece are usually unemployed workers or people whose wages are too low to keep them out of dreadful poverty.

The insulting terms 'feckless' and 'work-shy' are often used to describe them. But little or no attention is paid to one substantial group of people who perform no useful function but who live in unimaginable splendour on public handouts.

That group is the Royal Family. While most of us have struggled to make ends meet in the last few years as successive versions of 'incomes policy' have chewed into our wages, the Royal Family have been able to show the TUC a thing or two when it comes to bumping up their pay.

Next week, Princess Anne's annual allowance will increase by £385 a week, from £15,000 to £15,385.

In 1972 the entire Royal Family received vast pay increases from the government. This was not the expected generosity of a Tory administration, for the way had been paved by the loyal Labour regime, which set up a special Select Committee to look into the royal finances.

After long deliberations, the Select Committee recommended increases to parliament which became law on 1 January 1972. The Queen and her family received Civil List increases amounting to 104 per cent as shown in the table.

	Previous Payment £	Present Payment £
The Queen	475,000	980,000
Duke of Edinburgh	40,000	65,000
Queen's younger sons		
at 18 before marriage	10,000	20,000
after marriage	25,000	50,000
Queen's daughter		
at 18 before marriage	6,000	15,000
after marriage	15,000	35,000
Queen Mother	70,000	95,000
Princess Margaret	15,000	35,000
Duke of Gloucester	10,000	20,000
Widow of Prince Charles	30,000	60,000
Widow of Duke of Gloucester	—	20,000
Widow of Queen's younger sons	—	20,000

But that table is only the tip of the iceberg. A further £60,000 a year provides for the expenses of members of the Royal Family who do not get a direct wage. Both Princess Alexandra and the Duke of Kent get £10,000 a year each.

The total we fork out via the Civil List is £1.27 million a year.

**Estate Revenue**  
The Royal Family's income gets an enormous boost from its tax-free revenue from two vast estates. The Queen gets all the profit made by the Duchy of Lancaster—it was £300,000 in 1970 and will have increased spectacularly in the last three years. The estate is made up of 52,000 acres in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and London and includes shops and

offices in Leeds, Leicester and Crewe, half the bed of the River Mersey and all the Lancashire foreshore.

The other estate is the Duchy of Cornwall. This consists of 128,930 acres in Somerset, Devon, Gloucestershire and elsewhere, including the flower farms of the Isles of Scilly and land in London. All revenue—it was £210,000 in 1970—goes to the Duke of Cornwall. Never heard of him? He's better known as the Prince of Wales.

Unlike his grasping relatives, Charlie is given to wild bouts of public charity. He hands over half his revenue to the government. This means he has to scrape by on a mere £104,000 a year, plus his navy pay of £3785 a year and the investment income from his private fortune.

### The tax dodge

The Queen and her family have over the rest of us either on her Civil List or private investment free of income tax.

### The perks

The handouts of the royal household are enormous. In 1971—payers.

Of the royal household, the Queen pays for only Balmoral. The Duke of Edinburgh pays for the Environment pays for Buckingham Palace, Kensington, Ham House, Holywoodhouse, and the Queen's private house in London. The royal household's total expenditure in 1971-72 was £974,000.

The royal household's telephone services are provided by the Post Office. This costs £52,000 a year.

Organisations like the Royal Household Campaign for provide free phones might often lie along the way if they are at home. The government's down such requests.

The Queen, with her servants, is unlikely to have any length of thought—she were to be a housewife.

### The royal yacht

One of the most expensive items of public money in Britain, to which the Queen can retire when the life in one of their yachts. The word yacht is nonsense. The boat and weighs nearly 6,000 tons.



### NEW FROM SOCIALIST WORKER

Two important pamphlets describing the life and political struggles of two great revolutionaries—Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky.

Written by Jim Higgins and Duncan Hallas, the pamphlets rescue Lenin and Trotsky from their political enemies and false friends and underscore the modern relevance of what they fought for: workers' revolution.

5p each plus 3p post. 12 copies or more post free: IS Books 265 Seven Sisters Road London N4.



# on parade



## THEIR PRIORITIES & OURS

We pay an estimated £4.7 million each year for the Royal Family.

The entire cost of the government's Family Income Supplement to help those in poverty was £4.1 million in 1971-72.

£4.7 million is nearly six times more than the government has budgeted for its new occupational health scheme, designed to cover 25 million workers.

£4.7 million would provide free school meals for 150,000 schoolchildren for a whole year. It would provide free school milk—abolished by the Labour government that set up the Select Committee—for 400,000.

£4.7 million would build 800 new council houses a year.

Nursery school places could be increased by 60 per cent.

Welfare services for the blind cost only £4.6 million and there are 140,000 registered blind people.

Only £2 million a year is spent on the prevention of river pollution.

£4.7 million would build 10 new hospitals a year—and a quarter of all hospitals in Britain were built before 1861. There are 150 mental hospitals in Britain—a third more than 100 years ago.

## Icing



**SHE HAD TO MAKE DO WITH CHARLES'S HAND-ME-DOWNS**

Heart-rending headline from last weekend's Reveille

## on the cake...

THE ROYAL FAMILY plays a vital role in helping to maintain the system of robbery called capitalism.

They are the 'perfect family'. They represent order, tradition, the 'British way'. They are a powerful conservative force against change.

They are the icing on the cake, and a pretty mouldy cake at that. Of course, things are different to a hundred years ago. The independent action of the working class through their trade unions has put a stop to the appalling excesses of Victorian and Edwardian times.

But essentially the system has not changed. A tiny minority still owns and control most of the wealth that the workers produce. Seven per cent own 84 per cent of the wealth.

The slums still disfigure the major cities. Ten million workers still earn less than £25 a week. Real poverty, as even government figures admit, is increasing.

### Colour

Fobbed off with a £10 charity insult at Christmas, old people face each winter wondering whether they can survive to the spring.

No money to eradicate the slums, wipe out poverty, pay workers a decent wage, treat the old with care and humanity.

But there is plenty of public money for Concordes, Maplins, Channel Tunnels—and royalty.

The aim of the Royal Family is to bring a little colour into otherwise drab lives. They attempt to divert attention from the injustices of the system.

They are never out of our sight. Their every petty adventure, silly gesture, boring speech or sickly romance are paraded before us by a grovelling press and television.

And they are not 'above politics.' The haste with which the present marriage was arranged to

distract attention from Lonrho and Lambton shows how sensitive the Royal Family are to the needs of the system.

Sometimes their political interests can be embarrassing. That well-known tie knot, the Duke of Windsor, had to be bumped hastily off the throne in the 1930s when he showed too much approval for Hitler, with whom Britain was preparing to go to war. But in general the Royal Family are loyal supporters of the status quo.

Their wealth, their luxury, their

opulence are a daily snub to working people. They are, in the strict sense of the word, parasites.

In a society so rent and cracked by inequality, with workers forced to pay for the chaos and inefficiency of a system they do not control, it is a crying scandal that we have also to shoulder the financial burden of a family that has never done and will never do an honest day's work.

The working class has no need of romantic heroes, sugary princesses, tinsel and ermine. In the socialist society we can—and

must—build, excitement and adventure will flow from the collective struggle to wipe out poverty and need and where the only priorities are human, not financial.

Only one symbol of the old society will remain. A single Labour Exchange, constructed with loving care at the end of The Mall, where every week Citizeness Elizabeth Windsor and her brood will try—unsuccessfully—to claim their dole.

(Some facts in this feature appear courtesy Labour Research Department.)

## DRONES

enjoys an advantage as she pays no tax, List handout or her income. Both are x and surtax.

multiply. The al household staff—are paid by the tax

houses, the Queen Sandringham and department of the for the upkeep of Windsor, St James',pton Court and is cost the taxpayer 2.

sehold's postal and provided free by the was estimated as 1971.

Age Concern have the government to for old people who ne for hours or even ken ill or fall down ernment has turned as 'too costly'.

h a vast retinue of to lie unnoticed for me if—perish the to slip on a marble

st grotesque wastes is the royal yacht n the Royal Family 'become bored with eight residences t, for a start, is a t is 412 feet long 000 tons. Launched

in 1953, she cost £2.15 million. She has a permanent crew of 14 officers, 51 ratings and 124 junior ratings.

Running and maintenance costs in 1971-72 were £839,000, plus a refit in 1972 costing a cool £2 million.

In total, the yacht has cost £8,377,915 between 1953 and 1971.

The Queen has other modes of travel. In 1971-72, the Queen's Flight cost £700,000 and the Royal Train £33,440.

### The burden

It is difficult to arrive at an accurate total cost for maintaining the Royal Family because not all the figures are available. But an addition of all the figures in this article comes to £4.7 million a year.

This does not include the loss to the Inland Revenue from tax exemptions, the cost of royal visits shouldered by local authorities, the cost of visits abroad and such incidental charges as that £2 million refit for Britannia.

But the most amazing fact of all is that the Royal Family does not need a single penny of this vast sum screwed from our wage packets every year. For they are all extremely rich

Just how rich is a closely-guarded secret. But the Queen is one of the wealthiest women in the world. The Select Committee dismissed as 'exaggerated' suggestions that the Queen is worth £50 millions.

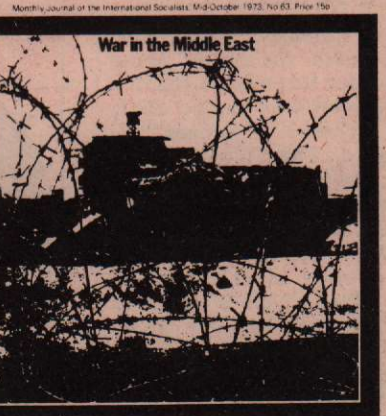
How much of an exaggeration? Is she worth £30 million, £40 million? Certainly, she won't be going hungry this winter, especially with that free grub she'll be getting from now.

The Queen may have lost a daughter but she has gained a free supply of Walls pork sausages.

**'Israel, as a separate state, can only maintain itself by allying with imperialism.'**  
**'The conflict of industry between bosses and workers over the cost of safety touches the lives of millions. If an army was suffering these casualties it would fight back.'**  
**'... the Communist Party itself has since become a victim of teaching it's leading members to seek responsibility.'**

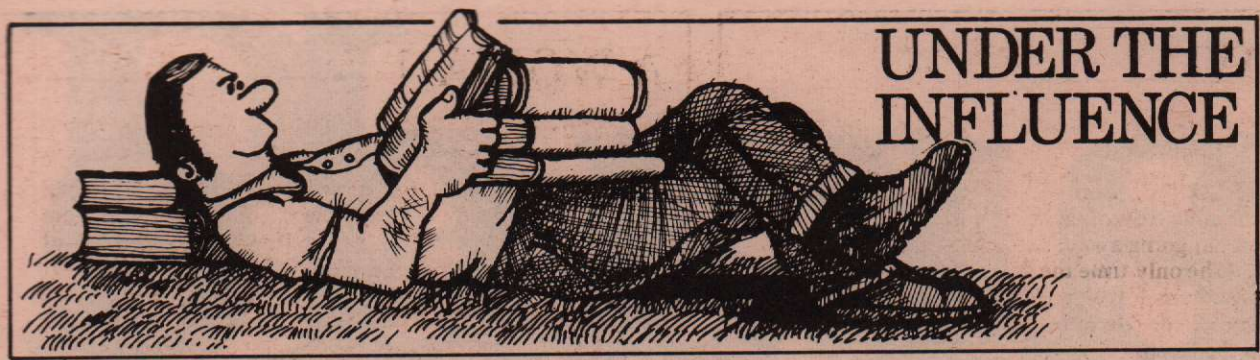
The October issue of the journal of the International Socialists, on the Middle East, industrial hazards, Chile and more.

## International Socialism



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IS Journal, Corbridge Works, Corbridge  
Crescent, London E2 9DS





UNDER THE INFLUENCE—where socialists write about the books which helped make them revolutionaries—this week features Gill Sims writing on **The Glass Menagerie**, the play by American playwright Tennessee Williams (available in Tennessee Williams: Three Plays, in the Penguin Plays series, price 40p).

Gill is a housewife with two children and lives in

Harrow, North London. She joined the International Socialists 13 years ago when the organisation was less than 200-strong. She has organised trade union branches while working as a shop assistant, librarian and council clerk, and has recently been active in local women's campaigns for free contraception (successful) and free school milk (unsuccessful).

# In a Glass Menagerie,

THE cumulative effect of many writers on one's outlook makes it difficult to pick out the one novel or play which, for me, revealed the anti-life nature of capitalist society.

But I do remember that a TV production of Tennessee Williams' play, *The Glass Menagerie*, which I saw as a teenager, crystallised and expressed much of my own incoherent hostility to the Tory indoctrination which I received daily from my own family.

The play exposes the American Dream. Tom is a poet whose talent is suffocated by his monotonous, meaningless job in a warehouse. He envies people living in countries where there are revolutions, feeling that the life of the American workers has been robbed of meaning and that the mass media has become 'the opium of the people'.

He says their life can be summed up in the image of people in a dark room watching other people doing things on the TV.

In a clumsy attempt to explain his sense of alienation to his mother, he says: 'Man is by instinct a lover, a hunter and a fighter, and none of these instincts are given much play at the warehouse!' Which only provokes the reply: 'Don't quote instincts at me. Christian adults don't want it. Only animals have to satisfy instincts'.

The play is set at the time of the Spanish Civil War and Tom is impatient with the American people for not 'waking up' to the real nature of their own country. Bored stiff at work myself, first as a shop assistant and later as a library assistant, I immediately identified with Tom.

## Passive

But the situation of his sister struck home even closer. Laura, having failed either to find a husband or to complete a secretarial course—which her mother assures her are the only two alternative life-plans for a woman, has retreated into fantasies.

Tennessee Williams shows that capitalism alienates women from life even more than it does men, restricting them to a passive, biological role. The system which prevents a full flowering of men's potential has an even more retarding effect on women, who are kept in a position of inferiority and expected to achieve all fulfilment through the agency of a man. The women in this play are shown to be wretchedly unhappy and so conditioned to submissive acceptance that they are unable to act to change their lives.

## Existence

The author ridicules the magazines which perpetuate the myths about women in order to preserve them as passive consumers who can be easily exploited: 'These magazines for matrons called *The Home Maker's Companion*, the type of journal which features the serialised sublimations of ladies of letters who think in terms of delicate cup-like breasts'.

Laura's mother is an agent for these magazines, which is ironic as her daughter is lame, and she cannot admit this because, in terms of her values, she would be negating her daughter's very existence.

The theme of alienation at work is paralleled by the author's picture of alienation in sexual and emotional life. He shows the relationship of men and women under capitalism to be one of mutual

# throwing stones...



Tennessee Williams

of waiting around hopelessly for somebody else—a man in their case—to do something about it. He runs away to sea, away from the tenements which the author describes as 'always burning with the slow and implacable fires of human desperation'.

## Solution

Tom says: 'I descended the steps of the fire-escape for a last time'. But he adds that he didn't find real freedom through this individual action and continued to feel responsible for those left behind.

This play helped me to realise that the problems that until then I had thought peculiar to myself are generated by the way society is run. The ending of the play left me with the feeling that a private solution to a public problem is never really any solution at all.

exploitation. He exploits her sexually and she exploits him financially.

Laura is nauseated when her mother insists she pads her tits, but nevertheless she consents. Her mother doles out the cheerful advice: 'They call them Gay Deceivers. All pretty girls are a trap, and men expect them to be'.

Tom fails in his attempt to persuade his mother and sister that they have all been dehumanised by the society in which they live and that they ought to act to change it instead

## NEXT WEEK:

Vic Tambling writes about William Gallacher's chronicle of industrial and tenants' struggles in Glasgow during the First World War, *Revolt on the Clyde*.

# Derby directors rule...OK?

'I HAVE never yet known anyone who starts kicking up against the establishment or whatever you call it in football and who has got away with it.' So said Sam Longson, Britain's Unpopular Football Millionaire of the month, and chairman of Derby County.

Mr Longson said no more than the truth. Of course there have been revolts—like the one in the early 1960s which freed players from fixed wage rates and transfer arrangements. But on that occasion the fight of the Professional Footballers Association was given backing by the big clubs who had been making back-stage deals with players for years anyway.

The result of the campaign has given more money to the players in the top divisions but at the same time strengthened the hands of the big clubs. Big city equals big club equals best players.

From a situation of tightly controlled teams based on rule books, and regulations we've been moved to a situation of tightly controlled teams based on rule books, regulations and big money.

As is common with rule books whether they be called constitutions or regulations for gardening clubs they can be junked quite easily by the powers that be.

What happened to Brian Clough confirms what the Foul magazine editorial staff said in *Socialist Worker* (6 October) and what Gillian Sims wrote in her letter on 20 October. Football, the most spectator sport in Britain, is like the society which produced it, profoundly undemocratic.

## Dismissal

Which doesn't mean that we would have had any need to have shed tears for the briefly unemployed Brian Clough. With £16,000 coming from London Weekend TV I don't reckon that you would have seen much of him at the local Claimants Union, or picking coal from slag-heaps to get him and his family through the winter. With a part-time number like that who needs Brighton?

So while drying our eyes we can look at some of the extraordinary happenings surrounding his dismissal.

'We want to be treated like men' said winger Alan Hinton, 'and spoken to by the people who are supposed to be running this club. Our part in these events is not to be taken lightly.'

Great stuff, and on that night three weeks ago when the directors of Derby huddled round the board-room table with the barricades up then some of us thought something was going to happen. The players, as they sat in might have realised that all the garbage about 'everyone for the team' came down precisely to what it does at the Ford Motor Company, only substituting Samuel Longson Esq for Henry Ford II.

The difference being that Ford workers at least have unions, shop stewards and effective solidarity. What the players have is the PFA and its secretary Cliff Lloyd. Mr Lloyd wasted little time in putting his principled union stand.

'I have told them through their union representative Terry Hennessy that they



Sam Longson: brooding in his boardroom



Brian Clough: a non-member of Brighton Claimants Union

have their own reputations to consider. And the sooner they get on with the job of playing football the better. Having expressed their loyalty to their previous manager they have gone as far as they possibly can. They must remember that they are contracted to play for Derby County and not Brian Clough.'

That is how a sweetheart union, a company union operates. And that's what the PFA is.

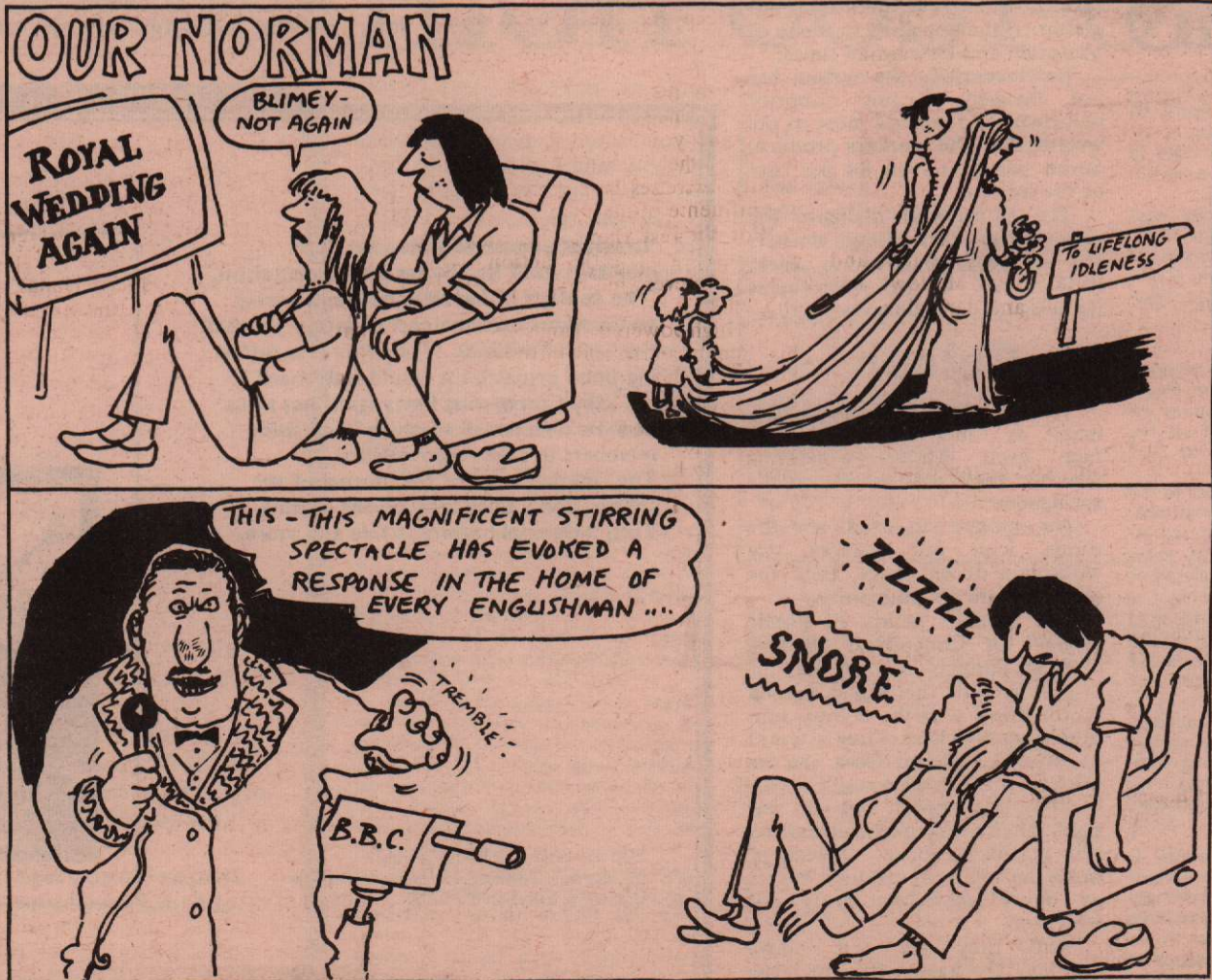
It can afford to be so. Football is the escape mechanism for many of us on Saturday. You go off to football matches and see *your* team win (you must be joking-Ed) and the money runs in for the big clubs.

So for some of the players the money is good and the question of how their lives are controlled is irrelevant. You may have a go at the Ref, but that's the rebellion. When it comes to the crunch as it did on October 16 the players turn out to be powerless.

There was the spectator's revolt with a meeting in a Derby bingo hall the other week. But that seems to have 'died the death' as one of the people who went said.

Organisations like the PFA most resemble the Police Federation. In both cases strike action is 'unthinkable' and by the standards of society the pay is good. Both are important to the 'well-being' of the country. One protects the minority's wealth, the other sells a dream to the majority. They must be well-paid, well publicised on TV and in newspapers, and do as little as possible to worry us that they too are human beings.

JOHN TELFAIR



All books mentioned in Review page can be obtained by post from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (phone 01-802 6145). When ordering books, please add 7p to cover postage and packing.



## A GIRL

IN Kingston-on-Thames, a 16-year-old convent girl is trying desperately to get off drugs and finally gets a place booked in a treatment hostel. The day before she enters the hostel she is picked up again by the police, stripped, searched and put in the cells. In a black depression, she successfully takes an overdose of drugs and dies choking on her own vomit.

## A BOY

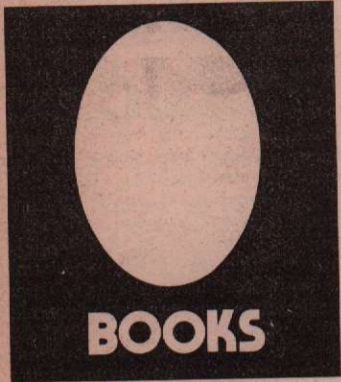
A 14-YEAR-OLD boy who ran away from his home in Kent after a family row, leaving a note saying: 'Nobody loves me and I am going away,' is caught thieving. The local paper reports: 'The only time the defendant showed emotion was when his father's letter was read out in court and for a few minutes he cried.' He is found guilty and sentenced to six strokes of the birch.

## A WOMAN

IN A Holloway hostel for discharged prisoners a woman tramp, arms already scythed with deep wounds from suicide attempts, finally kills herself with an overdose of sleeping tablets. Her 37 years have been a trek from Dr Barnardo's through approved schools, prisons, hostels and overdoses until she reached the point at which she'd invent crimes at police stations just to get sent back to prison.

—three cases from Des Wilson's Diary of Protest

# How people are destroyed



### MINORITY REPORT: A DIARY OF PROTEST 1970-73, by Des Wilson, Quartet, 50p.

DES WILSON'S journalism is a series of these bleak snapshots of the system as it really is: heartless, hopeless, loveless. For three years Wilson sat in the back of magistrates courts, knocked on slum front doors, talked to gypsies and unmarried mothers and junkies and the homeless.

He listened to the endless stories of how hearts are broken, the system's infinite small-mindedness and meanness and spite towards the losers.

And he listened with a care which

should shame those marxist journalists whose idea of a good day's work is a five-part series on Revisionism in Bangkok. For what he shows is not sentimentalised victims but a process of victimisation. He shows how the system not only kicks people when they are down but gangs up to do it.

For example, not only are furnished tenants largely without security of tenure but they are kept in ignorance of their few existing rights, unfamiliar with the legal system and scared of the landlord's power. If they are bullied into moving out they cannot afford to rent somewhere in the same area, so lose their local jobs, easily become split up and find their children snatched into care. If they come

to court they face not the de luxe judicial service provided for a middle-class defendant equipped with the family lawyer but a bewildering ritual of forms and remands which make even being found innocent a harrowing ordeal.

Once trapped inside this web, escape is impossible and struggle exhausting.

The phrase 'Poverty Trap' takes on a numbing real meaning when Des Wilson describes a Christmas in Westbourne Road, North London, which Alice, an unmarried mother with a five-year-old epileptic child, spends alone in front of an old, flickering TV set. She pays £5 rent and £4 for HP—which leaves her with exactly £3.50 Social Security money for everything else. She has no new clothes, he has no new toys,

neither eat meat much, even at Christmas.

'Police harassment' really means something in the case of Snowy, a gypsy who had just come out of prison back to his wife, Cinderella (real name), three kids, a new job on the buildings and the down payment on a motor caravan. He was re-arrested 16 days later for non-payment of £162 worth of earlier motor licence fines and sent back to prison for six months.

All very sad but it could never happen to me, you think. Well none of us are as far from the tender mercies of the magistrates court, the Social Security and the emergency hostels as we are encouraged to think. Stay healthy and able to sell your labour and you will survive. But a re-development scheme, a new landlord, a sudden closure or an accident at work or simply the failure to make ends meet can suddenly throw anyone into that dingy bureaucratic maze called the Welfare State where your rights are unknown and the rules are always changing.

Snowy and Alice are not exceptions to be pitied and tut-tutted over, they are examples of how we are caught in a 'no-win' system. A gypsy so hounded by the police that he never has space to get himself organised or an unmarried mother who can never get up the energy to try to find a new flat or a job are sold to us by newspapers and TV as pathetic creatures who deserve their own misery.

## Madness

In fact they are simply trapped in the same sort of vicious circle by the same sort of system as the financially better off trade unionist who still mysteriously finds that however his money wage rises it's made a mockery by price and rent rises.

But it is here that one's admiration for Des Wilson stops. He draws a sharp and un sentimental portrait of a vile social system. He points out that 'the rich prosper and the poor suffer whenever a basic necessity of life is in short supply.'

He understands the literal madness of a situation such as that on Merseyside in 1971, when 700 construction workers, 300 bricklayers, 293 plumbers and 250 electricians are out of work while 21,500 houses in the city are officially unfit for human habitation, 35,000 council flats and houses need urgent improvement and 13,500 families are on the council house waiting list.

He even shows how do-good measures like Housing Associations and state subsidies for house renovation have actually made things still worse for the people they are supposed to help.

But Wilson still appears to believe in government legislation, 'wise and generous public expenditure,' strong-minded ministers who don't get side-tracked by their civil servants plus, of course, skilful, dashing, publicity-conscious campaigners to act on behalf of the minorities. Having torn off one set of rose-coloured spectacles, he promptly replaces them with another, currently known as 'Community Politics'.

## Vileness

The way to break out of the vicious circle is not by shaming capitalism into doling out more of its conscience money. It's not by running for parliament—certainly not by running as a Liberal, as Des Wilson is going.

It is first to face the fact that poverty, homelessness, unemployment always have and always will be a central part of the capitalist way of life. It is to see the oppressed themselves who must be put firmly in charge of their own liberation.

If the vileness of our society is to be abolished, it depends on people like Snowy and Alice and hundreds of thousands of others discovering the political strength to act for themselves.

The idea of a socialist party that fights alongside working people and brings together their struggles with the aim of destroying capitalism may seem far-fetched to somebody who thinks socialism is something to do with Harold Wilson and Transport House. But such a project is a great deal less utopian than the belief that the tiger of capitalism can be tamed by a few whizz-kid charitable foundations.

DAVID WIDGERY

The review of Sheila Rowbotham's *HIDDEN FROM HISTORY*, which appeared in *Socialist Worker* last week, was written by Juliet Ash, whose name was omitted in error.

## Marlowe gets MASHed

RAYMOND CHANDLER wrote thriller fiction in a style that at times bordered on literature. Many of us approaching or even set in our middle years took pleasure in the style, character development, if not the plots of Chandler's novels.

In the late 1940s Hollywood latched on to the central character, Philip Marlowe, and several films were made of varying quality. Whatever the demerits of these earlier films—and Chandler went on record to say he despised them all—their tinkering with the text and essential content was as nothing compared to the distortion of the latest film, *The Long Goodbye*, soon to be going the cinema rounds.

The *Long Goodbye*, it could be argued, was Chandler's best novel. But the film's director, Robert Altman, has produced a complete travesty of the book and the character of the private detective Marlowe, and has made the plot almost incomprehensible.

Marlowe, in Chandler's original, was an intelligent man, a tidy man with a well developed conscience and a sense of personal loyalty. He was disgusted by the mess that big business, corporate wealth, police corruption and big crime were making of America in general and California in particular.

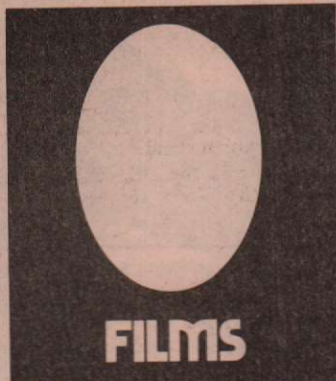
This is summed up in his comment on the town of Hollywood: 'One day it was a big dry sunny place with ugly homes and no style, but good-hearted and cheerful. The next it was a hard-boiled city with no more personality than a paper cup.' He had no hope that it would change but his protest was expressed in an individual set of personal values and integrity.

Now that is not the stuff of social revolutions, but it is something, and helps a bit if only by negative example.

Mr Altman's film has none of this. The part of Marlowe is taken by Elliott Gould, played like an extension of his role in *MASH*, and made to look like Bernard Levin with the glasses and cutting edge removed. This Marlowe is a slob, striking matches on his own and other people's furniture. He is flip



Elliott Gould playing Philip Marlowe: 'Like Bernard Levin with the glasses and cutting edge removed'



where Marlowe should be witty, and merely obscene where Marlowe was verbally dexterous and damaging.

The plot has Marlowe involving himself in the case because he cannot believe that a dear friend murdered his wife. It ends with Marlowe discovering that the dear friend did in fact murder the wife and then, presumably from pique, murdering the chap.

In between we are treated to Nina Van Pallandt, late of folk-singing duo Nina and Frederick and of the

Howard Hughes scandal, suffering from a severe case of acting, and looking, through the magic of the filter lens, like an advert for Consulate fags: 'Cool as a mountain stream.' Sterling Hayden turns in a good performance closely resembling in appearance and behaviour Ernest Hemingway in his last days.

A contemporary gloss is given to the piece by the introduction of Marlowe's neighbours, a collection of nubile young ladies, who at all hours of the day and night do their beauty exercises bare-breasted under the influence of marijuana.

For the rest there is no apparent detection and little action. One scene, however, may be symbolic of the whole.

A high-powered gangster orders his henchman to castrate Marlowe, but the order is countermanded by the fortuitous arrival of a large sum of money. It is a pity someone did not give Robert Altman a copper or two before he so successfully emasculated *The Long Goodbye*. The film has no more character than a paper cup.

JIM HIGGINS

## BLACK AND BRILLIANT

STYLES used to work for Ford. Robert starts work in a textile factory. They tell their stories—the stories of black workers in South Africa.

The two actors who devised the play *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* are playing their own condition. It was put together in a theatre workshop in the slums of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, has been on at London's Royal Court, and is now on tour around Bristol, Sussex, Leicester, Stirling, Cardiff, Birmingham, Liverpool and Dublin.

As the characters in the play tell their stories they bring home the realities of life under apartheid more than all the figures, reports and pious editorials of the Fleet Street press put

together.

The play focuses on the total control which the system maintains over the lives of black workers, a control maintained by the pass law system, the deliberate creation of vast pools of labour in the 'independent' bantustans and an unorganised and insecure labour force, in the cities.

Styles gives a superb account of the visit of Henry Ford II to the plant. The sudden appearance of safety measures, cleanliness, a slow production line and happy smiling faces for the appearance of the 'Big Boss'—and the immediate reversal to production slavery when he's gone.

Survival is shown to be a matter

of ingenuity and opportunism, of dreams and illusions. Under those conditions of blanket repression, little else seems possible. A life of grovelling despair creates a sense of 'gratitude' at the chance to flog your guts out for £7 a week.

These are the grim realities, but the means of changing them are in the hands of the Ford worker and the textile worker. This play does not spell out solutions, perhaps because that is not a wise thing to do in South Africa at the moment, but the message is there for anyone not blinded by racism or liberal wooliness to see.

ALAN BALDWIN

## PREVIEW

SATURDAY: BBC-2, young International Socialists talk about their politics on WESTMINSTER, which is repeated on Sunday.

SUNDAY: ITV. The Oranges and Lemons series of plays about the East End of London seem quite promising. This week's is BRENDA by Susan Pleat.

TUESDAY: ITV. Duncan Hallas, political secretary of the International Socialists is taking part in the appallingly named REDS UNDER THE BED. A documentary about the left in Britain. Since it is introduced by Woodrow Wyatt, watch out!

BBC-2. One of the most interesting English films of the early 1960s was THE ENTERTAINER, starring Laurence Olivier as seedy comedian Archie Rice. It deals with Rice's crack-up coinciding with the Suez crisis of 1956—and the end of the British Empire.

THURSDAY: BBC-2. The third in Opinion's series PEOPLE AGAINST THE PLANNERS is about the fight of the York 2000 group to preserve the city against ring roads and the city council...

FRIDAY: BBC-2. GERMANY AWAKE in the World Cinema series is a documentary on Joseph Goebbels' wartime propaganda in Nazi films



# WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

## THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

### SCOTLAND

Aberdeen  
Cumbernauld  
Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Fife  
Glasgow N  
Glasgow S  
Greenock  
Paisley  
Stirling

### NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle upon Tyne  
South Shields  
Sunderland  
Teesside

### NORTH

Barnsley  
Bradford  
Dewsbury  
Doncaster  
Grimsby  
Halifax  
Huddersfield  
Hull  
Leeds  
Pontefract/  
Knottingley  
Scarborough  
Sheffield  
York

### EAST

Basildon  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Fakenham  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

### SOUTH

Brighton  
Canterbury  
Crawley  
Deal  
Guildford  
Maidstone  
Portsmouth  
Southampton

### NORTH WEST

Blackburn  
Bolton  
Burnley  
Crewe  
Kirkby  
Lancaster  
Manchester  
Merseyside  
Middleton  
Oldham  
Preston  
Rochdale  
Salford  
St Helens  
Stoke-on-Trent  
Stockport  
Stretford  
Wigan  
Wrexham

### MIDLANDS

Birmingham NE  
Birmingham S  
Coventry  
Derby  
Dudley  
Leamington and  
Warwick  
Leicester  
Loughborough  
Luton  
Mid-Derbyshire  
Milton Keynes  
Northampton  
Nottingham  
Oxford  
Rugby  
Warley  
Wolverhampton  
Worcester

### WALES and SOUTH WEST

Aberystwyth  
Bath  
Bristol  
Cambourne  
Cardiff  
Exeter  
Gloucester  
Llanelli  
Mid-Devon  
Neath  
Plymouth  
Swansea  
Swansea Valley

### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Barnet  
Bexley  
Camden  
Chertsey  
Colindale  
Croydon  
Ealing  
Enfield  
Fleet Street  
Fulham and  
Hammersmith  
Hackney  
Harlesden  
Hemel Hempstead  
High Wycombe  
Hillingdon  
Holborn  
Hounslow  
Ilford  
Islington  
Kilburn  
Kingston  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Mid-Herts  
North Herts  
Newham  
Paddington  
Reading  
Slough  
Tottenham  
Tower Hamlets  
Walthamstow  
Wandsworth  
Watford  
Wood Green  
Woolwich

# THE UNIONS

## Stabs in the back for firemen FROM THE TUC...

THE 'top people' of the labour movement did not spare themselves in the rush to support Terry Parry, general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, in his struggle to do down the Glasgow firemen.

James Jack, general secretary of the supposedly left-wing-dominated Scottish Trades Union Congress, moved at top speed to send a letter denouncing the firemen to all affiliated unions and trades councils.

by Laurie Flynn

The letter said a fireman's strike was without precedent. Firemen should not be called upon or expected to withdraw their services because of the very tragic consequences for working people and their families in the absence of this protection.

Jack insisted that his letter should be presented to committees and trades councils without delay. He specifically insisted that trades councils must make certain that 'on no account should any action be taken by resolution or decision of your council which would represent recognition of the unofficial action of the Glasgow firemen.'

Jack's deplorable letter was of course designed to prevent unions and trades councils giving money, facilities or support to the strikers, who after being sodded about for as long as anyone can remember, had taken their grievances into their own hands. One can just imagine how Jack would respond if the Glasgow police went on strike. He would probably sign on as a Special.

But the most interesting aspect of the Scottish TUC letter is the lack of action from people on its general council who could and should have moved at the very least to stop it. James Jones is a right-winger. But he is the secretary of a left-wing dominated general council.

It is inconceivable that Jack could have issued such a reactionary statement if the left-wingers were doing the job they imply can be done simply by winning seats on the general council.

Among the general council members are 'broad left' supporters Alec Kitson

and Ray Macdonald of the Transport Union. Communist Party members on the general council include Alex Day of ASTMS, Bill Niven of TASS and Bill Maclean of the Scottish miners.

The firemen in Glasgow are the first group of workers in Scotland to pick up the fight against Phase Three. Yet, it appears, the left majority of the STUC did not even call for silence on the issue, never mind what is really needed—support.

The TUC general council is not left-dominated though FBU secretary Parry is supposed to be one of the lefts who sit upon it. But it would appear that the absence of a left majority made no difference since the TUC statement is identical.

### SMOKESCREEN

Len Murray, who—according to the Morning Star—is more left wing than his predecessor, rushed out his statement the day before the firemen were to strike. 'Trade unionists cannot give their support to Glasgow members of the Fire Brigades Union who intend to withdraw their labour on Friday in defiance of their union,' said Murray.

He put up the smokescreen about the danger to workers caused by a fireman's strike. Like Mr Jack he forgets the permanent dangers inflicted by an undermanned, underpaid and grossly overworked service, which will continue as long as firemen do not put up a fight.

## ...AND WITHIN THEIR OWN UNION

EVER since the war, the Fire Brigades Union has played a leading part in the 'left' battle within the TUC and Labour Party. It was prominent in the campaign against German re-armament in the mid-1950s and in the CND campaign in the late 1960s—after the Communist Party had decided to support CND in 1958.

The FBU's general secretary from 1939 to 1964 was John Horner, a Communist Party member for most of those years, whose passionate rhetoric became one of the most predictable aspects of TUC Conferences. Even after he left the Communist Party, he and the union stayed firmly within the 'left' sphere of influence. In 1960, 1961 and 1962 he spoke in the debates on nuclear disarmament.

'We must constantly remind ourselves of the supreme fact which binds all men, whether they were born in San Francisco, Berlin or Peking: the simple fact that they are all men, they are all human,' he told the 1961 Congress.

In 1964, and again in 1966, John Horner was elected Labour MP for Oldbury and Halesowen in the West Midlands.

As an MP, Horner started to live up to the 'ideals' of his trade union background. In August 1966, he wrote an article in Tribune calling for TUC opposition to the Labour government's recently-imposed wage freeze.

When Tribune's editor ticked him off for organising workers' opposition to the Labour government, Horner replied pathetically: 'I should hate Tribune to give anyone the idea that I am now calling for mass action from the trade union movement against it [the incomes policy].'

This fear of 'mass action' forced Horner into closer and closer co-operation with Labour government incomes policy, Labour government racism and Labour government anti-trade union legislation—until he lost his seat in 1970.

The FBU, under its new general secretary, Terence Parry, another ex-Communist Party member, watered down

Horner's policy of left-wing talk and it became talk, pure and simple.

Horner had at least led the long fight for the beginnings of a national, independent union. In 1968, Parry supported a motion at the TUC calling for the repeal of all incomes policy legislation by the Labour government. 'It is in fact generally conceded that in the very nature of wage restraint and wage restrictions, it is a policy that even if it were desirable (and it is not desirable) could only be endured in the short term, he said. 'Some of the workers are always on the receiving end, and my union has had more than its fair share of that...'

### OPPOSED

In the same year, Parry threw his union's support behind an amendment not to cut off contact with Russian trade unions because of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. 'We want to maintain our technical contact with the Soviet Fire Service,' he said.

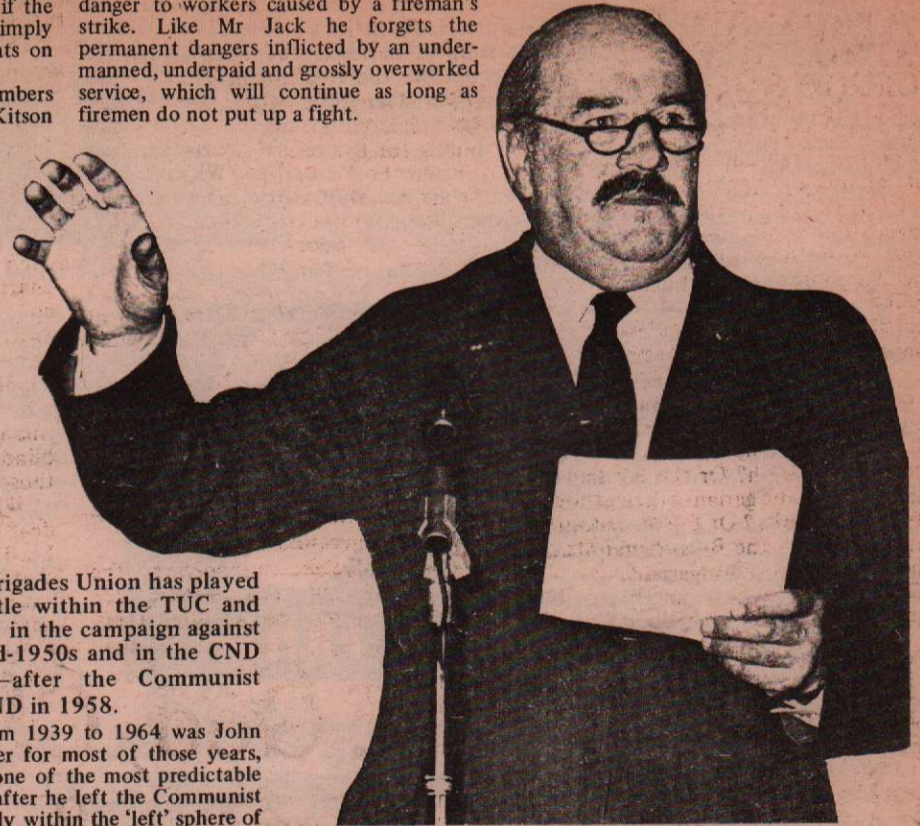
The Fire Brigades Union leaders opposed the Industrial Relations Act and entry to the Common Market. In 1972, Enoch Humphries, the new president of the FBU, fumed against the Industrial Relations Act at the TUC: 'The trade union movement has shown it is prepared

But the man who really takes first prize in the backstabbing stakes is Jim Sillars, a former fireman, FBU-sponsored MP for South Ayrshire and until recently chairman of the Tribune Group of left MPs. FBU members give Mr Sillars' constituency Labour Party £100-a-year to fight the good fight. In the Glasgow strike he has rewarded them richly.

He gave his opinions in a centre page article in the Scottish Daily Express—a paper which is not exactly renowned as a forum for even Sillars' phoney brand of socialism. It was titled 'Sorry mates—you're dead wrong' and said: 'There are many people in parliament and local authorities who want the best for firemen and are working hard to help the union make progress to this end on their behalf.

'What the men have to realise is that a strike in which there would be a loss of life would set back all our efforts.'

Glasgow firemen commented that this and all similar statements are patronising backstabbing, which would encourage Glasgow's Labour Council and the Tory Home Office to hold out—so making the loss of life more likely. And, said the firemen, if such a terrible thing had happened, let there be no doubt about who would have been responsible.



Terry Parry: All talk

to defend by its united action the rights to free collective bargaining, rights which we fought for and will not surrender.'

A month later he was at it again—at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool. He had just come back from Vietnam, and earned himself two standing ovations with some tub-thumping about the American bombing.

Now Parry, Humphries and all the other fake 'lefts' are faced with their own members casting aside the rhetoric of union officials and taking action to safeguard their living standards. Now the 'lefts' of yesterday have become the bureaucrats and policemen of today. Now they are shouting 'back to work!' and 'Call up the army!' like any fourth-rate editorial writer on the Daily Express.

The lessons will not be missed by workers. Left rhetoric, left posturing and left resolution-mongering is no substitute for organisation and propaganda in the rank and file. On the contrary, the rhetoric of the 'lefts' serves only to confuse, and dismantle the militancy of the rank and file.

What's needed in the FBU is a movement for change which will sink its roots deep in the rank and file, clear out the fakes from the union executive and organise to ensure that their like will never get control again.



# Fancy a docks job then Mr Heath...

IN JUNE 1970, the Tory leader and prime minister Edward Heath said 'Our purpose is not to divide but to unite, and where there are differences to bring reconciliation, and to create one nation.'

If Heath really meant what he said (as we Scots say, Ah hae ma doubts) it is about time he got started with the cargo watchmen in King George V Docks in Glasgow.

In a recent conversation with one of them these startling facts emerged.

He works an 84 hour week for £31. That is, let me emphasise, 12 hours per day, seven days a week. He has four dependents so he doesn't have to pay much tax—but how much does the single independent watchman have to fork out for this miserable pittance?

He, as are all the watchmen, is a member of the right-wing, boss kowtowing General and Municipal Workers Union.

Anyone who has ever had the misfortune to visit King George V Docks in winter-time would know that icy winds sweep up the River Clyde and blow into the huge sheds, through the massive sliding doors. Three or four of which are kept open to allow entrance and exit to cargo.

Yet these watchmen stand on duty for 84 hours a week for a miserly pay of roughly 35 pence an hour, watching cargo worth millions of pounds.

I wonder what the leaders of the GMWU would feel if they worked such long hours for such a low pay? Why, the members of the House of Lords make more cash in expense money for paying a short daily visit to the 'upper' house!

All Heath's boasts to create 'one nation' are received with the scorn they merit among the working class cargo watchmen of King George V Docks:—HARRY CUNNINGHAM, Glasgow E3

## Arabs: are we crude and patchy?

STEVEN MARKS' report on the Arabs is so crude and patchy that it reminds one painfully of the antics of 'official' Soviet Jews who fall all over themselves to prove they are just as anti-Zionist (which in Russia really means anti-Jewish) as their pukka-sahib Russian brothers. This must have driven many Russian Jews into the arms of the Zionists.

Could the real Mr Marx (Karl) please stand up and give his analysis of wars in his time? Did Engels want the noble Germans to attack Britain to free the Irish? Or the Russians to liberate the Bulgarians (their stooges) from the Turks? Or the Macedonians to get rid of the Bulgarians? Or did he leave all these antics to Mr Gladstone, the British liberal prime minister?

## Postal points: God, Chile, chickens, Palestine & more...

PALESTINE . . . what we are witnessing in the Middle East is the jockeying for advantage of the capitalist powers. Neither the USA or the USSR have the interests of its workers at heart. Your support of the Arabs amounts to a voting of moral war credits to one side in an indefensible war.—MICHAEL EGAN, Massachusetts, USA.

CHILE . . . Is not parliamentary democracy a product of the ruling classes' ability to compromise in order to stay in power and a testimony to the partial failure of the working class democratic movements and not their success? Can socialism be granted to us by another such compromise? Is it not possible that the ruling class might in anticipation of a 'socialist' majority in parliament close factories and use the armed forces before any 'socialist' government had a chance to 'legalise' the revolution by passing a bill?—MAL COLLINS, Leeds.

CHICKENS . . . My local butcher

# 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.

If Socialist Worker wants to support national liberation struggles whatever the consequences it should support General Grigorenko who has been declared 'criminally insane' for arguing for the return of the Tartars to their home in the Crimea. The Tartars are Muslim too. Why are you so silent about them? What, no war to free the poor Tartars?—MARY O'BRIAN, London N1.

Socialist Worker does support the struggle of Soviet dissidents, to confuse anti-Zionism with anti-semitism is indeed racist. See Where We Stand on page 12.

## Miners: we're with the 24

COMRIE branch of the National Union of Miners (Fife) have passed the following resolutions.

A resolution supporting the Shrewsbury 24 and calling for industrial action should any of the

24 be imprisoned. Comrie branch donated £20 and pledged that a pit head collection would be held. This resolution was passed to the Scottish National executive who noted the resolution and donated £100.

A resolution condemning the banning of the Ligue Communiste and a motion of support for the Glasgow firemen. This was passed to the branch committee that a pit-head collection should be held.—T M MCGUINNESS, Fife.

## The money's better in jug...

I'M ANSWERING Mr F Ford's query 'who will help my struggle?' (Socialist Worker, 27 October).

I too am a war disabled man who has had six years' unemployment, but I no longer complain about it. I make those who won't employ me pay for their stupidity.

The Social Security pay out £9.50 a week, yet it costs over £30 to keep a man in jail. If people like you are sheep then officialdom will spit in your faces.

I say that if the people of this country won't force the Tory and Labour governments to give us work, then the public must pay for what they allow—and I make them pay, each and every day. Even if I am charged how can I lose when it will cost the tax-payers £30 odd per week and not just the social security pittance?

If this country acts unsocially by putting people on the scrap-heap, then this bloody country can only expect blind anti-social destruction from those it denies work.

While this country denies me a fair deal I make them pay. Only when Mr Ford and the other 500,000 realise that they can make the public squeal and squeal loudly, will they get anywhere.—JPREEN, London SW18.

tells me that poultry farmers are at this moment killing young chickens and throwing them away. Apparently there is a 'glut' of them and they are frightened the price will drop. I might add the price has risen sharply recently.—JOHN BIRKS, Hillingdon.

'ORDINARY WORKERS' . . . very often phrases like 'ordinary working class people' are used in the paper. Is there then a superior class of people? The ruling class are forever telling us we are 'ordinary' and many workers feel in their minds inferior . . . language plays a very important part socially and psychologically and words or phrases which undermine working people's confidence have no place in Socialist Worker.—IAIN BROWN, Luton.

UNITED ACTION . . . has given us a 40-hour working week and much improved economic and welfare conditions . . . If we value past efforts and the future existence of trade unionism we should call shop-floor meetings at every factory to let our

leaders know we insist on united action.—S SMITH, West Bromwich.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS . . . potentially have enormous power because the false prosperity of capitalism cannot, in 'booming' conditions continue without placid immigrant workers who in depressed economies of Western Europe are blamed for unemployment. At present immigrant workers are at the mercy of capitalist governments only because they are not organised to defend themselves.—SHAILESH ADALJA, London WC1.

CHRISTIANITY . . . As a Christian I feel able, to a large extent to square socialism with Christian social teaching. I believe it would be helpful if the International Socialists could put forward some views concerning the relationship between socialism and Christianity.—P J CAMPBELL, Manchester.

(We have, get hold of Chris Harman's article in Socialist Worker, 25 August.)

# WILL EXPRESS DEMAND 'FREE SIR MAX'?

THE DAILY EXPRESS glasshouse in Fleet Street is crawling with strange little men in navy blue suits and rolled umbrellas. For the newspaper which has become so adept at throwing stones at anyone who might commit the awful sin of breaking the Tory government's laws, is one of 50 firms chosen by the Pay Board for scrutiny.

There is an air of expectancy at the Express and the surrounding pubs echo the one question that everyone is asking: 'have the books been well enough cooked?'

If they haven't, then Sir Max Aitken who is fond of boasting that he is in touch with everything that happens in his empire, might have to exchange the pleasures of sailing for a spell in Her Majesty's prisons.

But he should be in good company. For if the Pay Board's enquiry at the Express reveals anything amiss, the beady little eyes of Pay Board spies might turn in the direction of all the other managements.

And if the spies do their job well, they will discover that while the right hand of Fleet Street has been praising the 'fairness' of the Pay laws, its left hand has been dishing out a little extra to printers and journalists alike, since the birth of Phase Two.

While the press millionaires were not prepared to rock the capitalist boat in their papers, they have all been doing deals behind the scenes with their own employees. To cover up these illegal activities, they have made the occasional statutory visit to the Pay Board with some scheme or the other.

## TRAP

And when the Board has turned down their request to be allowed to pay merit money, or to honour threshold agreements, the employers have returned to their offices to work out elaborate schemes for extra payments.

The unions, of course, have fallen into the trap, and accepted these payments which have been 'justified' on paper as increases through regrading, extra overtime essential to the running of the newspaper or anything else that any bright boy might think up.

In doing so, the unions have, in effect, condoned the Pay laws.

But they have also diddled themselves out of pay rises which should have been due to them.

For the sums paid out are considerably smaller than they would have been if the employers had been forced to honour agreements made before Phase Two.

Much more important, they have

Another important aspect of the forecast of how water will be used in the next year is the consolidated net profits for the merged company to buy up UK profit. Only £4.7 millions is expected to be available out of a pre-tax profit of £15.2 millions and while this includes an unknown amount for minority interests, the ruling UK tax rate is 40 per cent.

So expect an important UK acquisition before the end of this year. No one is giving any clues as to what sectors and company will diversify into on index which is expected to rise in the future. But should be only this.

Final document gives details of the document which is spread across several pages. Among the items which are accounted for differently in the two countries.

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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.

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Leonard Hill





## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST NEWS

## WHAT'S ON

# CON-MECH STEWARDS SPEAK AT MEETING

A WELL-ATTENDED meeting of Chertsey International Socialists last Thursday heard guest speakers Ron Connor and Lindsay Greig outline the case of the Con-Mech strikers.

Ron and Lindsay are AUEW stewards at Con-Mech, the Woking factory of Robert Dilley, the slavemaster who has been backed to the hilt by the Industrial Relations Court.

Ron Connor explained how when the two stewards asked for union recognition, Dilley 'accused us of being either communist trouble-makers or Sunderland Football Club supporters or

both. Then he gave us the sack.'

Shortly afterwards, said Ron, he sacked all the strikers and then came the £100,000 sequestration by the NIRC.

'Then there were lots of reporters and TV men rushing down to Woking and asking us what we thought about this and that. We told them. But what we thought never appeared in any papers.'

Turning to the one-day strike against the £75,000 fine imposed on the AUEW by the NIRC, Ron said: 'The one-day strike is good. But it's not good enough. What's going to happen after Monday? And what's going to happen to us?'

'The AUEW leaders are putting up a fight, but only a defensive one. Anyone who's seen a

defensive boxer knows that he can take an awful lot of punches, but he doesn't really fight back.'

Lindsay Greig told the meeting that the strikers had just learned that the Commission on Industrial Relations had just come out in favour of recognition at Con-Mech.

'If we've won then it's a temporary victory,' he said. 'What it means is that employers don't want a big fight on the Industrial Relations Act at this moment. They may well have done this to head off the anti-NIRC strike movement.'

'But there will be other attacks. For that is their job—to take on the working class. I came from university to Con-Mech and I have learned a great deal.

'You work and you see other people work, clocking on, getting orders, working, working. In the 25 years the company has been going, the company has done very well out of it. The boss has got two Rolls-Royces, two Jaguars and an aeroplane. And while we have no canteen, he has a cook in to make him lunchtime specialities.

'But what have the workers got? A few quid a week until retirement, long hours of work and a good dose of industrial disease. We've no say, no nothing.

'When I was at university, I prided myself on liberal views, listening to the other person's point of view. But on strike there's no academic discussion. What emerges on strike is a basic feeling of hate—hate for the employers, at a life destroyed.

'I've seen how the employers work and also the union. You do all the work and they give you a bit of praise. They're a little bit like employers too.

'The way I see it is that we and all the others like us are fighting for the right to live, to decide how we live and what to do. The right not to waste your life in order to enrich another man.

'In this strike we've learned another thing: every time the police come down our picket line—and they come a lot—they say they're impartial. I followed one of the strike-breaking lorries. We ended up outside the driver's house. Seven squad cars arrived immediately.

'Too many people believe in the impartiality of the police. Just let people pause and think when they last saw a squad of motorised factory inspectors scream to a halt outside a factory and insist on turning it over from top to bottom.'

### MEETINGS

**HOUNSLOW IS open meeting** on Ireland. Speaker Jimmy Grealy. Thursday 15 November, 8pm, Isleworth Public Hall, South Street, Isleworth.

**BATH IS public meeting:** The unacceptable face of capitalism. Speaker Paul Foot. Tuesday 13 November, 8pm, Trades and Labour Institute, Green Park, Bath.

**SALFORD IS public meeting:** The Middle East Crisis. Speaker Stephen Marks. Friday 16 November, 8pm, Ya Olde Nelson, Chapel Street. All welcome.

**CHINGARI meetings** during Socialist Worker Industrial Conference, Belle Vue, Manchester, Sunday 11 November: 1pm Mota Singh (Leamington Ford IS) will give a synopsis of the conference in Punjabi. 4pm: Meeting on anti-racism and the building of a rank-and-file movement.

**HALF-DAY SCHOOL for all black members of IS:** Imperialism and racism. Sessions on the struggle in India, Pakistan, Africa, the West Indies, etc. Saturday 24 November, 2.15-6pm, The Clarion, Brixton South London. Details from Europe Singh, 12a Upper Tooting Road, London SW17. Phone 01-767 0796.

**CHELMSFORD IS public meeting:** The Engineering pay claim and the AUEW. Speaker Alan Watts (AUEW). Civic Centre, Chelmsford, Tuesday 20 November, 8pm.

**LUTON IS public meeting:** Workers against racism. Speaker George Peake (former political prisoner in South Africa and victim of apartheid). Wednesday 21 November, 8pm, Old Bedford Road Community Centre.

**CAMBRIDGE IS public meeting:** Racism in Britain. Speaker George Peake (former political prisoner in South Africa). Friday 16 November, 8pm, Fisher House (near Guildhall).

**EDINBURGH IS public meeting:** Chile—the lessons we must learn. Speaker Duncan Hallas. Sunday 18 November, 7.30pm, Trade Union Centre, 14 Picardy Place.

**ADVANCE NOTICE National IS teachers' aggregate meeting** Saturday 12 January in Birmingham. Further details will be circulated later.

**IS BUSMEN:** A national meeting of all IS busworkers will be held at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference in Manchester on Sunday 11 November. Details will be announced at the start of the conference.

### NOTICES

**COVENTRY CHRYSLER IS pamphlet:** Crisis at Chrysler. 20 printed pages full of ammunition, analysis, facts and arguments—4p a copy. Orders—for not less than 10 copies—to 12 Barras Court, Heath Road, Coventry.

**NEW WAYS FOR PARTY TRAINING**  
A one-day meeting will be held in London in early December for IS members interested in visual aids, film, tape, theatre groups and design. Attention will be given to the practical, technical and creative aspects of these. Those interested should contact the Training Committee, Chris Davison, 23 Whitley Road, London N17. Phone 01-808 3200.

**CAST Revolutionary Theatre** for socials, meetings, conferences, etc. Booking from 11c Cabell Street, London NW1. Phone 01-402 6087. Also wanted: recruits for new theatre workshop starting soon.

**SITUATIONS VACANT**  
Full-time job at IS head office for labourer. Driving licence useful. Apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

## SW sales highest ever

NOTHING can stop the rise of Socialist Worker. The freeze and squeeze on workers' pay packets, the refusal of capitalist wholesalers and distributors to touch Socialist Worker, and the rise in postal and freight charges had no impact on the rise in the paper's circulation.

The print order for last week was the highest ever—31,800. In the same week last year, we printed 25,200 copies—that's an increase of 26 per cent in a year.

What's more, the paid sale is slightly UP—nearly 70 per cent of all copies printed.

The rise in paper sales is a striking sign of the growth in confidence and strength of the International Socialists. We are well on our way to building a mass-circulation workers' paper.

Keep up the sales! Let's hit the 35,000 mark by Christmas!

## Standing room only at meeting

**NORTH LONDON:** It was standing room only at the Willesden Junction Hotel where Paul Foot and Bob Light spoke to 160 people at a meeting organised by the North West London District of IS.

Bob Light, a London docks shop steward, spoke of the power of the working class expressed in the Pentonville Five strike, of the betrayal of the trade union leaders, and the need to politicise and generalise this power in a revolutionary organisation. 'Just because a part-time yachtsman can drag 300 sodden Tory MPs out of the Commons bar into the lobbies to vote for him, that is no reason why we should do what they say.'

Paul Foot took up this theme of the attitude of the trade union and Labour left. As an example he told how Jim Sillars, noted left MP and outgoing chairman of the Tribune group, had been given space in the Tory Scottish Daily Express to attack the striking Glasgow firemen—members of his own union.

The Fire Brigades Union leaders were very fine at passing paper resolutions against the H-bomb and Vietnam but when it came to real class struggle their response was to remove from office the Glasgow firemen's local leaders.

In the discussion several trade unionists spoke of their similar experiences in industrial disputes. The collection raised £15 for the Con-Mech strikers.

During the past two months IS membership in the district has increased by a third, including many manual workers. The district will be sending more than 100 supporters to the industrial conference.

### 2500 pamphlets sold

**DONCASTER:** More than 2500 copies of the IS pamphlet on the Miners' Pay Claim have been sold to miners in the Yorkshire coalfield. Sales campaigns by IS groups in South Yorkshire have covered all pits in the area. 400 copies have been sold in the Doncaster area, 500 in the Pontefract-Wakefield area and more than 1000 in the pits around Barnsley. The pamphlet has been well received by miners.

## Striking fireman praises IS

**RONNIE ROBERTSON**, leading member of the firemen's union Glasgow area committee which led the recent strike against the freeze, chaired a 'Support the Firemen' meeting in Iona House, Clyde Street, Glasgow, last Tuesday. More than 100 people heard him congratulate IS on calling the meeting and on organising support for firemen throughout the city.

Answering a question about the possibility of a 'breakaway' union after the union's recent sell-out, Ronnie replied that such a move would isolate the Glasgow men from the militant trade unionists all over the country who had supported the strike.

'What we need is a reform committee inside the union to fight for trade union democracy and to kick out Humphries and Parry,' he said.

The main speaker at the meeting was Jimmy McCallum, IS National Committee member and TASS shop stewards' convenor at John Brown Engineering. Jimmy said the firemen's dispute had exposed the government's hypocrisy about low pay, and underlined the importance of 'having a go' at the freeze.

The meeting collected £18.50 for the firemen. During the week of the strike, IS members distributed more than 15,000 leaflets putting the firemen's case to factory workers.

## How to get to the industrial conference

**THE special train from London to the Socialist Worker Conference at Belle Vue, Manchester, on Sunday will leave from ST PANCRAS station (NOT Euston) at 7.15am. Please be on time. It will leave Manchester immediately after the conference, reaching St Pancras at 9.45pm. There will be a buffet car both ways.**

Coaches will be going to the conference from the following areas. Contact the addresses given for details:  
**BRADFORD:** 12 Heath Road, Bradford 3.  
**EAST ANGLIA:** 15 Bury Street, Norwich.  
**PONTEFRAC:** 39 Windermere Drive, Knottingley, Yorkshire.  
**DONCASTER:** 7 Rosehill, Cantley, Doncaster.  
**TEESSIDE:** 28 Glenfield Drive, Tolleysby, Middlesbrough. Phone: 87616.  
**GRIMSBY:** 29 Durban Road, Grimsby. Phone 0472-56269.  
**BARNSELY, GOLDTHORPE** and neighbouring villages: 18 Station Road, Barnsley.  
**YORK:** 25 Swinerton Avenue, Leeman  
**HALIFAX:** 57 Crag Court, Mixenden,

Halifax.  
**CAMBRIDGE:** Coach leaves from outside Great St Mary's at 6.45am. Further details from 46 Greens Road, Cambridge.  
**LEEDS:** Coaches leave Infirmary Street (off City Square) at 9.15am. Further details from 3 Granby Grove, Leeds 3.  
**LEICESTER:** Coach to the Industrial Conference will leave London Road Station at 7.30 am sharp, Sunday 11 November.  
**NE ESSEX:** 61 New Park St, Colchester, phone 49621.  
**PORTSMOUTH:** Basement flat, 32 Ashburton Road, Southsea.  
**SOUTHAMPTON:** 21 Cambridge Road, Southampton, tel: 31743.  
**OXFORD:** Coaches leave Cowley Swan 7am and Broad Street 7.10am. Contact: 32 Garsington Road, Cowley, Oxford 085 773883.  
**HUMBERSIDE:** Jan Brooker, 31 Shaftesbury Avenue, Holderness Road, Hull (or phone 0482 213810).  
**EDINBURGH:** 2 Murano Place, (off Leith Walk), Edinburgh, Phone 554 6310.  
**WOLVERHAMPTON:** 1 The Hayes, Willenhall, Staffordshire.  
**SHEFFIELD:** 98 Malton Street, Sheffield 10. Phone Sheffield 381417.  
**BIRMINGHAM:** 25 Selbourne Road, Birmingham 20. Phone 021-554 1193.  
**NEWCASTLE-upon-TYNE:** 7 Knivestone

Court, Killingworth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE12 OST.  
**BRISTOL and the South West:** 31 Eldon Terrace, Bedminster, Bristol 3.  
**MERSEYSIDE:** 64 Kenmare Road, Liverpool 15.  
**PAISLEY, CLYDEBANK, CUMBERNAULD, EAST KILBRIDE and GLASGOW:** IS Books, 64 Queens Street, Glasgow C1.  
**COVENTRY:** 42 Hamilton Road, Coventry.  
**WARLEY:** 99 Barclay Road, Warley. Phone 021-429 4166.  
**SOUTH WALES:** 5 St Albans Road, Brynmill, Swansea, SA2 0BP.  
**NORTH LONDON:** 46 Manor Road, N16.  
**NORTH WEST LONDON:** 15 Staverton Road, NW2.  
**SOUTH WEST LONDON:** 8 Beverstone Road, SW2.  
**SOUTH EAST LONDON:** 87 Speenwell House, Comet Street, Deptford, SE8.  
**EAST LONDON:** 16 Madras Road, Ilford.  
**CENTRAL LONDON:** 79 Bayham Street, NW1.  
**WEST LONDON:** 18 Sutherland Road, Southall, Middlesex.  
**LEAMINGTON SPA:** 11 Dale Street, Leamington Spa. Phone 35991.  
**LEEDS:** 3 Granby Grove, Leeds 6.

**LEICESTER:** 10 Edward Road, Leicester.  
**DERBY:** 43 Stafford Street, Derby. Phone Derby 23127.  
**RUGBY:** 29 Caldecott Street, Rugby.  
**NORTH HERTS (STEVENAGE, HITCHIN and district):** 16 York Road, Hitchin. Phone Hitchin 52975.  
**ST HELENS and EARLESTOWN:** Coach leaves St Helens (opposite town hall) 9.45am, and Earlestown (Market Square) 10.10am. Price 40p return. Further details from 48 Thackeray House, Worsley Mesnes, Wigan.  
**WIGAN and LEIGH:** Coach leaves Wigan (opposite Wheatsheaf pub) 9.45am, and Leigh (opposite Leigh Library) 10.10am. Price 40p return. Further details from 58 Thackeray House, Worsley Mesnes, Wigan.  
**HARLOW, HERTFORD, HATFIELD, ST ALBANS and HEMEL HEMPSTEAD:** 113 Little Grove Field, Harlow (phone Harlow 37205) or 5 The Graylings, Abbots Langley (phone Kings Langley 66035).  
**PRESTON:** 8 Rawstorne Road, Penwortham, Preston. Tel: 45914.  
**WALTHAM FOREST:** Coach for St Pancras—meet at junction of Church Hill Road and Hoe Street (opposite High Street) at 6.15am.



# MINERS' BAN ON OVERTIME SPREADS

MINERS at Lea Hall Colliery in Staffordshire are operating an overtime ban in support of the full pay claim, following a stormy meeting on Sunday.

Feeling has been growing that the National Union of Mineworkers have been shilly-shallying over the 1973 claim. Last Thursday Joe Gormley, NUM president, spoke at the Lea Hall Lodge meeting and pleaded against any unilateral action.

He told the meeting there was still no date for a national overtime ban and indicated that the NUM leadership was still waiting to see if the Tories would make any amendments to Phase Three.

At Sunday's meeting two motions were on the agenda, one from the Midlands Area Committee asking the branch to support the executive's proposals and another from the pit level seeking an immediate overtime ban.

But the top table, supposedly out of loyalty to the national union, refused to allow the two motions to be taken separately. This forced miners who wanted an immediate overtime ban locally into a situation where they had to vote against the executive recommendation if they wanted to vote for immediate local action as well.

## INFORMED

Lea Hall miners voted by 89 to 47 to reject the executive position so that they could impose an immediate overtime ban. This they voted to do next, also instructing the lodge committee to picket the gates.

When lodge officials got there the police had been called by some miraculous means and management had been informed.

In Warwickshire too, traditionally a non-militant area, miners are on the move in support of the full pay claim. White-collar workers have been in dispute over a demand for a travel allowance. Coal Board management announced two weeks ago that, in retaliation, they would not be paying full wages.

Miners at all five Warwickshire pits immediately slapped on an overtime ban which has now been in force for two weeks. At Daw Mill pit the men were forced to go on strike for two days last week to make sure that they

were paid for their week's work. Their action gained immediate results as management had to climb down.

The men have kept the overtime ban on since. They are linking it to the national claim and do not intend to lift it.

In Yorkshire too militants are pushing hard for an area level ban to force the hand of the national executive. At Houghton Main Colliery, near Barnsley, the rank and file miners imposed the ban on 1 November.

## ACTION

Two Houghton miners, Tommy Delemere and Alan Parker, told Socialist Worker why: 'We think the union is backpeddling on our claim. As it is, with the cost of living rocketing we're not asking for anywhere near enough.'

'It is up to the rank and file to take action. We've started a complete overtime ban at our pit because we want to push the union into action. We hope to get a lot of support.'

Support has not been coming from Yorkshire's left-wing leaders. Arthur Scargill has attacked the move as 'a tragic mistake' on the grounds that the union must go forward united. It is barely a month since Scargill himself was threatening to lead Yorkshire into a unilateral overtime ban unless the executive imposed one from 1 November.

## STEWARDS ALLOW RENT INQUIRY TO GO ON

CLYDEBANK:-About 200 shop stewards turned up at the court of inquiry in Clydebank Town Hall—into why the council had not increased rents a second time under the Housing Finance Act—to continue the fight taken on by the workers of John Brown Engineering at the court's attempted hearing the previous Monday.

Unfortunately the stewards were less resolute than the workers had been when they forced the government-appointed QC to abandon the hearing by taking over the hall and holding a sit-in. The stewards allowed their protest to be represented in a letter given to the court by Marathon shop steward Jimmy Reid.

The statement claimed that the stewards had no wish to halt the proceedings but only to protest against the use



SOME of the 10,000 people who marched in London last Sunday in solidarity with the workers of Chile against the military junta that overthrew President Salvador Allende.

His widow, Mrs Hortensia Allende (right), addressed the rally in Trafalgar Square, telling how the US government, the big multi-national companies and the Chilean right-wing had waged a three-year campaign of economic sabotage against the Popular Unity government.

A Chile solidarity rally in Glasgow drew 450 people and 250 marched in Liverpool.



Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

## Sit-in workers keep bosses on move

by Pete Robinson

BOLTON:-The 250 workers at Hick Hargreaves, one of the town's oldest engineering works, have been occupying the factory for two weeks.

The management had to set up in a local hotel. But a few peaceful pickets, demanding their outstanding wages, soon scared the hotel proprietor, who evicted the management—who then moved to the exclusive Crest Motel.

Not for long. The pickets came . . .

the motel owners gave the management some time to get rid of 'those nasty noisy men of yours' and immediately management paid £10 of the 'week-in-hand' money.

Headlines in the Bolton Evening News were 'Management gift of £10 for strikers'. Since then management have been evicted from the motel.

The Friday before the occupation started, the bosses refused to pay any wages backdated to the Wednesday because of a two-week work to rule. The bosses had gone back on their word to review the four-year-old pay claim for parity in each section of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

The men demand 'full parity irrespective of outside influences'—that is, the Pay Board. This in effect means they are demanding a pay rise of up to £2.45 for men in each section.

From the beginning the occupation has been well organised. Only manual workers were allowed in. As AUEW convenor Brian Barnes said: 'We have as much right as anybody else to be inside here.'

Management started redirecting orders from the beginning. Confirmation came through on the telex in the occupied works, so men were able to direct the blacking on the basis of management's information.

Shift duty has been set up and regular fire and safety inspections held.

The strike is vitally important because it is showing many other people how an occupation can be done, and it is ignoring the freeze.

Messages of support and donations to the Works Convenor, Hick Hargreaves, c/o AUEW House, 77 St George's Road, Bolton, Lancashire.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY** aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

**NAMIBIA public meeting, exhibition and film:** Friday 16 November, 7pm, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1. Speakers include Canon Collins, Bishop of Damaraland in Exile, Peter Katjavivi (SWAPO), Alex Lyon MP and Peter Jones. Demand the withdrawal of British support for South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Further information c/o Satish Kumar, 39 Alma Street, London NW5. Phone 01-267 0878.

**AN EVENING OF MUSIC AND THEATRE FOR JOHN MACLEAN:** Friday 16 November, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Peggy Seeger, Ewan MacColl, Kartoon Klowns Revolution Theatre, The Exiles, Bobby Campbell and others. Tickets 40p at the door or 43p by post from A Renwick, 28 Lammas Park Road, London W5. Proceeds to publicising John MacLean and his work.

**SOCIALIST MEDICAL ASSOCIATION Meeting:** Pharmacy Group's USSR visit—Report back by delegation. Wednesday 14 November, 7.15pm, House of Commons (room booked by Eric Ogden MP).

**HOSPITAL WORKER no 5 now out.** Articles on pay claim, Phase Three and canteen prices. Orders to 86 Mountgrove Road, London N5. 3p per copy plus postage.

**HELP WANTED in selling 1964 Big Red Diaries** on college campuses, etc. Ideal Christmas gifts. Make about £5 on every 20 diaries sold. Contact Pluto Press, Unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH. Phone 01-722 0141.

**RED STAR FOLK CLUB:** Every Friday, 8.30pm, at The Spreadagle Hotel, Doncaster. Singers include The Hogshead folk trio, Dave Douglass (traditional Geordie songs) and Paul Barrowcliff (contemporary folk music). In our songs and our singing we see folk music as the expression of the people in the struggle for a better life. Club secretary: Dave Douglass, 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunscroft, Doncaster.

## British justice at work

BIRMINGHAM:-Mr Justice Ashworth, a wartime British intelligence officer, did a good job for his class last week. He was winding up the trial of the Coventry Seven at Birmingham Crown Court. Last Thursday he got round to handing out the sentences.

After a four-week trial composed mainly of a barrage of innuendo, lies, character assassination and distortion from police and prosecution, Father Pat Fell was jailed for 12 years on conviction of 'conspiracy to commit arson and criminal damage to buildings and for management of a Coventry unit of the Irish Republican Army whose purpose was to use violence for a political object.'

Frank Stagg got 10 years on similar charges plus a conviction for possession of explosives (a doctored alarm clock). Anthony Lynch got 10 years for conspiracy to commit arson and criminal damage and possession of explosives, and Gerry Rush got seven years for conspiracy

to commit arson and criminal damage.

Pat Burke, Tony McCormick and Frank Kelly were all found not guilty of the conspiracy charges against them. The bulk of the convictions were by majority verdict.

All the defendants contested the statements which they had 'made' after they were arrested last April. They insisted that they had been unaware of their legal rights, had not been given access to a solicitor, had been worn down by repeated cross-examination and some had been threatened. They all claimed that the statements were a product of police fabrication and distortion.

## Verdict

After the verdicts of the jury, the judge ignored all defence appeals for light sentences. He said: 'For some time now the rule of law and order in this country has been endangered by the criminal activities of the IRA, and it is important that those who engage in them realise that the

penalties for such activities are likely to be severe.' He said the sentences were intended as deterrents.

The following day at the Old Bailey in London Judge Peck, another wartime army officer, found that no deterrent sentence was needed in the case of 34-year-old Alexander Ramsey Gay, who pleaded guilty to depositing a home-made bomb, a revolver and ammunition in a left-luggage locker at London's Victoria Station in 1971. Gay is a British secret service agent and was formerly a mercenary killer in the Congo and Biafra.

No massive police raids were organised to catch Gay after the bomb and correspondence connecting him to it was found two years ago. In court last week the judge accepted a most interesting defence plea of mitigation.

On hearing that Gay's bomb was 'not intended for criminal purposes in Britain,' Judge Peck decided against sending Gay to prison and gave him an 18-month suspended sentence instead.



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# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# OUT OVER FINE

**Pickets  
cleared  
—no case  
to answer**

## Police threaten Con-Mech strikers

by Laurie Flynn

THE latest group of workers to be threatened with the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act are the strikers at Con-Mech Engineers in Woking, Surrey. Twice last week the pickets were threatened with prosecution.

One of the two AUEW stewards, Lindsay Greig, was doing an evening picket at the factory. When a lorry pulled out Lindsay followed it. The driver drove to Old Woking and then stopped outside a house. Lindsay parked 30 yards away to see if the driver was going to resume his journey.

But three minutes later the driver was suddenly joined by a squad of police cars. The seven police immediately dashed over to Lindsay.

The policeman who did all the talking was none other than the Chief Superintendent of the Woking police, Maurice Jackman, a big man for what at first seems a small mission.

But the Chief Superintendent's job, it turned out, was to threaten Lindsay with prosecution for conspiring to intimidate someone to abstain from work. He also suggested an individual charge under the Industrial Relations Act for picketing someone's house.

Lindsay Greig naturally feels that the speed with which the police arrived, the

### Failed

very senior officers involved and the later massive local press coverage of how intimidated the driver and his wife felt suggests that something strange is afoot. Could it be that Con-Mech management, having failed to smash the strike with the Industrial Relations Act, are hoping to set up the pickets on conspiracy charges?

Events later in the same week, which I witnessed myself, suggest that this is exactly what Con-Mech are up to.

Late last Thursday evening the pickets and their supporters were again stopped by police and warned of a similar prosecution for following the lorry which again went straight to the drivers' house where police were waiting. The two policemen weren't too sure about the name of the Act. But then the Woking police, like all other forces in the country, now have a specially-trained 'industrial relations copper' on call.

Throughout both incidents, the police repeatedly stressed their impartiality.

THREE HUNDRED and fifty thousand engineering workers struck work for the day on Monday in protest at the latest savage fine on the AUEW by the National Industrial Relations Court.

The rank and file response in most areas was magnificent and was in greater numbers than the strike over Superscab James Goad last winter.

The engineers were striking and marching in solidarity with their union which, despite its refusal to call clearly for strike action on Monday, is the only major union still putting up a principled opposition to the NIRC and the Industrial Relations Act.

Where the local AUEW district or the Confederation of Engineering Unions gave a clear lead the workers responded.

In Bristol 15,000 workers were out. Rolls-Royce, BAC and the Avonmouth factories were solid and the strike call was backed by TASS and the TGWU. In Hull the workers also responded magnificently, 8500 on strike, with 1000 attending a mass meeting where they unanimously passed a resolution congratulating the executive on their stand against the Act but demanding, in the event of future fines, an all-out strike.

### RESPONSE

In Oxford and at Longbridge British Leyland were brought to a halt bringing anguished cries from the management that the day had lost Leyland £3.4 million—a reverse fine that cannot have endeared the NIRC to Leyland boss Lord Stokes.

In Liverpool some 40,000 struck and despite exceptionally bad weather 2000 marched on the demonstration. In Manchester hail and rain reduced the size of the demonstration but some 70,000 were estimated to be on strike. In Stockport, Mirrlees, Simon Engineering and Hawkers were out but response in the rest of the district was poor, although Stockport has a well merited reputation for militancy.

In London the North London District was out, stopping the national papers, but the London demonstration was disappointingly thin.

Yorkshire presented another mixed picture although in Sheffield the vast majority of the 30,000 engineering workers were out, and 2500 marched to a meeting at the City Hall. The Parkgate construction site, in Rotherham, and the Lyon's Bakery site in Barnsley came out. In Doncaster 4000 of the 4500 engineering force struck.

Elsewhere the picture was not so bright. In Coventry and Birmingham the response was poor, reflecting the pathetic lead from AUEW headquarters. The Coventry District Committee did not meet to discuss the executive circular until the day after the strike. In Leeds the district will not meet until next Sunday. In Birmingham the district made no recommendations on action and none were generally put to the factory meetings. Although the votes were close the result was few decisions for strike action.

In every case where the workers were



Engineering workers on Monday's march in London with Bill McLoughlin (white coat), North London District AUEW secretary. PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report).

given a clear lead they responded. It is absolutely right for the AUEW to refuse to recognise the NIRC. But passive opposition is not enough—and will not stop the fines.

Where leadership is lacking and no clear directive given, the district committees are effectively isolated. The right wing in a number of areas acquired a false cover of militancy by rejecting the one-day strike call in favour of a false demand for an all-out strike.

The one-day strike can only be justified as part of a coherent strategy, which must inevitably develop politically. The decision to fine the employers and the government 100-fold whenever they venture to fine the unions is a real policy.

If that is what the AUEW leadership intend let them say so and let them also recognise that leadership involves the development of policy as well. Sir John Donaldson and his court are only front men. The major enemy is the Tories and their system. One-day strikes alone will not remove the Tories. A real strategy must develop mass support for an all-out offensive against the bosses and their government.

## FIGHTING FUND

£107 came into the Socialist Worker fighting fund this week—and the events of the past weeks show more than ever the need for the fund. The Glasgow firemen, under attack from their employers, the national press and television, and even their own union, got all the support that Socialist Worker and the International Socialists could muster.

Extra copies of the paper were sold outside the fire stations up and down the country, and special leaflets calling for support from other firemen were given out in London, Coventry and most major cities.

But to work as quickly as this Socialist Worker needs more and more resources—keep the money rolling in. Send to Jim Nichol, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

## Motorbike men occupy works

WOLVERHAMPTON: 1200 workers at Norton-Villiers-Triumph occupied the factory on Friday as part of the fight for a wage increase in defiance of Phase Three.

They are maintaining a picket and occupation to prevent the removal of goods.

Semi-skilled workers in C grade, who make up 75 per cent of the work force, had been negotiating a wage increase for several months without any offer. Then last week the auto-tool setters were offered a £5 a week increase.

The C grade workers immediately demanded a substantial wage increase by Friday lunchtime. When they were offered nothing, a vote for strike action was taken and received unanimous support, backed by a second suggestion to occupy the factory.

## Cafe strikers go back

LONDON:—The restaurant workers' strike, which paralysed Wimpy bars, Aberdeen Steak Houses and Texas Pancake Houses owned by the London Eating Houses Group, ended last week when management agreed to re-instate all 'sacked' workers, pay major wage increases and increase holidays. Negotiations are continuing on the question of shop stewards and other issues.

## Support for the 24

KIRKCALDY and Dunfermline Trades Councils have come out strongly in support of the Shrewsbury 24. They decided this week that a member of the Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committee would be invited to tour Fife in mid-December for pit head and factory gate meetings.

## Freeze causes black-outs

THE first pinch of cold weather has brought the inevitable power cuts and blackouts—caused by a combination of incompetence by the Central Electricity Board and the meanness of the government's freeze.

The Generating Board has completely mistimed its repair programme over the summer, and has not enough plant available to cope with the expected cold spell. At the same time about 16,000 engineers who work in power stations and in the area boards are working to rule in support of their claim for increased 'stand-by' allowances.

Said one militant engineer: 'I often go to work at nine in the morning and come home at ten the next morning—all for no extra payment. If I get called out to repair a cable over the weekend, I get paid a derisory £2.40.'

Last year the power engineers union—the EPEA—agreed a small increase in the 'call-out' and emergency work payments

with their employers, the Electricity Council. At once, however, the government announced Phase One of the freeze, and the payments were stopped.

They were stopped through Phase Two and are now being stopped in Phase Three. 16,000 engineers voted last month on industrial action—89.74 per cent were in favour.

### Anger

The mood in the union has changed substantially since the EPEA scabbed on the power station workers' work to rule in December 1970. Last year the entire executive was removed in union elections. In most cases militants replaced the former bosses' men.

A great wave of anger is building up among the engineers at the pussyfooting attitude of their union during the first week of the work to rule. Last weekend the union changed its instructions to

members urging them to work not only where human life was in danger but also where 'animal life was threatened'.

When the farmers got to hear of these changes, they were on the line at once demanding all sorts of repairs to cables.

The power engineers can keep up their action indefinitely. They were paid so little for emergency work before the action that they have nothing to lose by refusing it. The results will be much more catastrophic than the press has yet realised, and the engineers are confident that they will be second—after the Glasgow firemen—in breaking through Phase Three.

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