Workers bress

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

PHASE TWO BOARD DETAILS REVEALED PAY GODE LAW 5 CORPORATE STATE

By Royston Bull

OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

DETAILS of the corporatist pay code under which the Tories will decide all future wage settlements in Britain were revealed yesterday. The Pay Board is now only a couple of steps away from becoming the law of the land under the Phase Two 'anti-inflation' legislation. Nothing that can happen in parliament will stop it.

The guidelines for the Pay Board were already known. Under Phase Two, which lasts until the autumn, no group of workers can get anything more than £1 plus 4 per cent. This is what the government has decided workers shall have, regardless of increases in food prices and rents.

New guidelines will be set in the Autumn for Phase Three, and they will be even

more stringent, probably only half the level of Phase Two.

Further concessions have been made to business in-terests by pushing back the date for allowable cost increases to September 30, 1972.

Cost increases incurred before that may be allowed to go onto prices by the Price Commission if 'there are exceptional circumstances to justify this'.

Two slight concessions are made on pay as part of the government's propaganda offensive against the trade unions.

The 12-month interval between settlements will run from the date when in-creases should have been paid during the standstill for those workers thus affected.

And increases already agreed for 1973 as part of long-term deals will, in gen-eral, be allowed in full. But any subsequent pay rise will not be allowed before a fur-ther 12 months have elapsed if the increment is on or above the Phase Two pay norm.

Changes in piecework rates will also be counted against the pay limit as will other productivity and restructuring pay schemes.

Increased overtime rates will also be offset, although actual hours of overtime worked will be unaffected. Dividends will be allowed to increase by 5 per cent.

As soon as it is set up, the Pay Board will begin its detailed police work exam-ining the wage structures of all sectors of workers.

Using the strictest meanstest principles, it will decide just how low Phase Three guidelines can be set.

Last week's House Commons Expenditure Committee report unanimously IN PARLIAMENT yesterday afternoon, Mr Joseph Godber, the Tory Food and Agriculture Minister, said he had allowed the meat price rises—the largest since the 'stand-till' heren he was the barren. still' began—because he was satisfied the firms concerned

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The Cadbury - Schweppes group, Heinz, and United Biscuits are about to seek all-round increases of a further 5 per cent and the bread monopolies will ask for a 1p increase on all large loaves next week.

With the recent further devaluation of sterling these price rises will get steeper in the coming weeks. Then, in April, Value-Added Tax (VAT) will send the cost of living through the roof.

recommended that if government spending continues at its current rate, it will become 'essential to con-strain the growth of real personal disposable income and consumption to a rate significantly below that of output'.

In simple terms this means productivity will go up faster than wages; or that the rate for the job will be cut.

In short, organized wage-cutting will become the main aim of the Pay Board under Phase Three.

This will come on top of the effective cuts in living standards resulting from Phase Two under which Phase Two under which wages are rigidly controlled but prices soar freely.

Details of the Price Commission continue the theme of January's White Paper. Fresh food; all imported products and goods and services subject to international agreements will all be exempt from price control.

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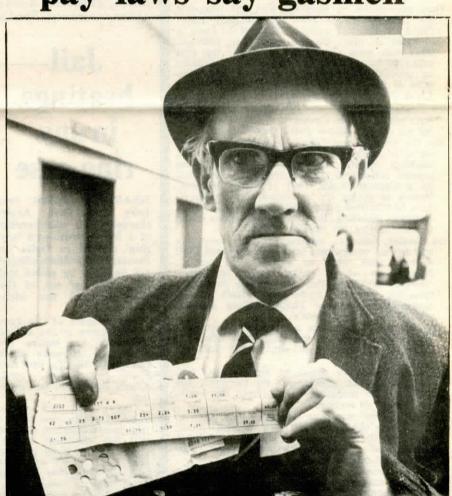
The farcical nature of these 'controls' has already been exposed. During the so-called 'standstill' period virtually 100 per cent of applications have been given the go-ahead.

During the 'standstill' food prices have been rising at the rate of 15 per cent a year. And last weekend another round of meat price rises was announced.

Yet it will be a 'criminal' act to strike for more pay. The Phase Two proposals

- All pay settlements must run for at least 12 months and it will be a criminal offence to take industrial action to try to get more than the state-regulated norm or any interim costof-living increases.
- The Pay Board will act as policeman for the state pay controls. Except for small groups of employees, all wage increases will have to be reported to the Board. Refusal to do so, or wrong information, will be a criminal offence.
- The consent of the Pay Board will have to be ob-tained before any wage rises can be paid. It will be a criminal offence to go ahead without their approval.
- The Pay Board itself will refuse permission for a wage rise if the application does not meet the stringent test of the latest guidelines. Anyone trying to contravene this Code will be taken to the criminal court.
- The fines will be up to £400 on summary conviction and limitless fines if the state wishes to make a real example of a group of workers or a trade union and indict them before a jury.

Step up fight against pay laws say gasmen



LONDON gasworkers sald yesterday that the fight against the Tory pay laws must be 'stepped up'. Westminster depot G&MWU convenor Mr Joe Bennett held up his pay slip (above) showing his last week's wage as £21.79, while he explained why

the gasmen were determined to win.

Yesterday, at Hendon, shop stewards and convenors from North Thames gas plants in areas as scattered as central London and Southend were meeting to discuss steps to speed up the effect of their rolling strikes and work to rule.

PETERLOO

See pages 4, 5, 6 and 7 for an historical article on the massacre in St Peter's Field, Manchester in 1819 — One of the episodes of history to be seen at Wembley on March 11.

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EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY SUNDAY MARCH 11

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WHAT WE THINK

TREACHERY

THE WORKING class is in danger of being knifed in the back on the eve of an all-out confrontation with the Tory government.

The main source of this danger is the 'lefts' and Stalinists in key positions in the labour and trade union movement. At a point where the issues facing the class could not be more sharply posed, these people and their revisionist allies are seeking to sow maximum confusion about the tasks ahead.

Take their reaction to the statement of Joe Gormley, right-wing leader of the miners' union, that the trade union movement must either unite in a General Strike against the government or fall in line with its state pay laws.

Every faker in the business began rushing around like a startled chicken when this statement appeared in the newspapers. 'He shouldn't have put it quite like that,' clucked the Stalinists. 'He's trying to divert attention away from those who are fighting for more pay now,' the revisionists whined.

So in the gasworks, in the hospitals and at Ford's, workers were told: don't listen to Gormley, just get on with your claim, maybe build a few rank-and-file committees at local level—but for Christ's sake don't think about politics. Meanwhile the 'lefts', Stalinists and revisionists get on with their treacherous work.

Perhaps the clearest expression of what this means in practice can be seen at Ford's.

Last December Ford stewards at Dagenham met ast December Ford stewards at Dagenham met to call on their union officials to pursue their £10 claim 'regardless' of the pay laws. Similar motions were later carried at other factories. But nowhere was there serious preparation for the kind of struggle this would involve.

Then at a series of meetings with the company, the officials argued that the company could afford to pay, but made no attempt to force it to make an offer. On the shop floor, although there was great feeling for a strike, the idea began to be peddled that perhaps a deal based on productivity might be possible if the time-scale of the agreement spanned Phases Two and Three of the Tories' pay laws.

On February 18, shop stewards from all 21 British Ford plants met in Coventry and decided to call for an all-out, official strike from March 1.

But the Stalinist and Labour 'left' platform of the stewards' conference, at which hospital workers, teachers, miners and other carworkers were present, refused to allow a demand on the TUC for a General Strike. They restricted the conference to asking for 'a national day of action'. This fainthearted policy encouraged a number of sections, including the Dagenham engine shop, to vote against the March 1 action.

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On Sunday, following meetings of Ford convenors and works' committees last week, Swansea Ford workers were asked to 'change their tactics'.

Because an all-out strike would be illegal, stewards explained, they were asking only for a three-day 'guerrilla' strike from March 1. The government, convenor Hugh Wallace claimed, was 'hiding behind Ford's'.

This 'change of tactics' is a considerable retreet.

This 'change of tactics' is a considerable retreatbut it is entirely in line with the 'lefts' and Stalinists' refusal to all workers to call for a General Strike.

Under cover of the argument that 'one section can't defeat the government on its own', the Stalinists are preparing to run from the Tories and betray all sections.

The revisionists' attack on Gormley—they claim he deliberately chose 'two extremes to divert attention from the necessity to build on the present foundations'—dovetails perfectly with this treacherous strategy.

Of course Gormley's intention was to frighten his fake left colleagues into accepting the pay laws. But the only answer to that challenge is the building of a leadership which is not frightened by that prospect. That is why the struggle against the pay laws is inseparable from the struggle to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party which will meet the challenge.

Strike weakened

POST OFFICE members of the Civil and Public Services Association will day's one-day civil ser-

vice strike.

The decision to pull them out of the stoppage was made after other Post Office unions refused to take part.

The Union of Post Office Workers, by far the biggest union in the corporation, had given members detailed in-structions for avoiding

Alistair Graham, head of the CPSA's Post and Telecommunications group, said yes-terday that the main factor in the no-strike decision was lack of

support from the membership.

But he admitted that the branch meetings where feeling had been tested were influenced by the UPW's attitude. 'Undoubtedly the fact

that we were the only one of about a dozen Post Office unions to be contemplating strike weighed heavily with our members', he said.
The CPSA executive

requested the backing of its 35,000 post and telecommunications members on February 12, two days before the Post Office unions' own £5.50 claim was turned down by Employment Secretary Maurice Mac-

Chinese eager peace delegates

THE INTERNATIONAL conference on Indo-China began in Paris yesterday with a 2½-hour meeting of the 13 parties who are supposed to guarantee the Vietnam ceasefire agreement, North Vietnamese and United States

delegates were meeting in private yesterday afternoon to try and draft a joint resolution to put before the conference embodying the terms of the

China, the first of the participants to do so publicly, has formally pledged to respect the agreement and said it will work all parties at the conference

to keep the peace. Chinese delegate Chi Peng-sei hailed

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

the Vietnam ceasefire treaty as 'a major event in international life'.

Observers noted his generally conciliatory tone, despite an oblique reference to the fact that 'certain people' had violated the treaty already.

The Chinese Stalinists desperately

want the imposition of international controls in Vietnam in order to facilitate their own growing ties with US imperialism. Hence the welcome for the

However it is already clear that the ceasefire agreement in South Vietnam will not put an end to the fighting or of international observers are far too small to undertake any effective 'policing' of the deal.

The Paris conference differs very markedly from the Geneva Conference of 1954 which divided Vietnam and prepared the way for the second Indo-China war. It follows the ignominious pull-out of US troops who found it impossible to defeat the NLF and North Vietnam.

This conference is nothing more than means by which the Soviet and Chinese leaders can come closer to US imperialism, by giving guarantees of future good behaviour in Indo-China.

Washington and Moscow receive leaders

Mid-East talks ignore plane murder

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

THE ROUND of diplomatic moves to bring 'peace' in the Middle East continues despite the Israeli murder of 106 passengers in the Air Libya airliner brought down over Sinai.

Following the visit to Washington of Hafez Ismail, President Anwar Sadat's special adviser on national security, President Nixon is due to receive

Jail----

beatings

in spy

ring case

HEARINGS against two Jews and four Arabs

charged with membership

of a Syrian-sponsored 'spy

ring' opened in Haifa on

Sunday. Defendants alleged

fail beatings by police and

the lawyer of one of the chief accused has with-

The presence of two Jews at the centre of the alleged

conspiracy has shaken the Zionist establishment which

fears that its grip over the

Jewish population, parti-cularly the youth, is loosen-

One of the four Arabs, Subhi Na'if Na'arani (28), a television technician, charged that his statement to in-vestigators in prison had not been given of his own free will, but only after beatings

Asked to produce them as

But police admitted that

several of the names he mentioned were of policemen

or secret service operators.

The six accused, who sang loudly in Arabic when they arrived in court handcuffed

in pairs, face possible life

sentences on a variety of

charges connected with security offences.

Lawyer Ya'acov Hagler, acting for the ring's alleged leader Daoud Osman Turki

(45), asked leave to with-draw because of a 'conflict of conscience' regarding the

political manner in which

Turki wishes to be defended.

Turki wishes to be defended.
Turki and Na'arani are on
trial with Ehud Adiv (26),
the main Jewish defendant;
schoolteacher Dan Vered
(28), another Jew; Simeon
Hadad (34), a teacher; and
Anis Arad Karawi (23), a

mechanic.
Some 30 Arabs and four Jews, all detained last

December, are due to go on

trial in batches shortly on

charges connected with the

alleged ring.

witnesses, he said he did not

by at least six men.

know who they were.

drawn.

visit on from Mrs Golda Meir. the Israeli premier.

Mrs Meir, who left Tel Aviv for the United States yesterday, said she thought the shooting down of the Libyan plane would 'abso-lutely not' affect the talks.

US hopes for 'proximity talks' between Israel and Egypt and the re-opening of the Suez Canal are likely to be high on the agenda at the talks.

Meanwhile, Egyptian War Minister Ahmed Ismail has arrived in Moscow for talks expected to centre on the future of Soviet military aid to Egypt. The US 'peace' offensive, however, is certain to figure at the talks.

The Soviet Union has



DAYAN . . . 'Blood money' offered.

placed a high premium on the achievement of a settlement between the Arab states and Israel, which would enable the further development of US-Soviet relations and put paid to the threat of revolution in the Middle East.

However, the Egyptian envoy Ismail, though extremely willing to talk with the leaders of world imperialism, was unwilling to show much optimism about the outcome

Sadat and his government cannot afford to appear too enthusiastic for peace with

In Benghazi yesterday

there were emotional demonstrations at the funeral of the airliner victims.

A crowd of some 15,000, led by a relative of one of the victims, rushed towards Libyan president Muammar Gaddafi shouting 'Revenge, Gaddafi! Revenge, Gaddafi!'

Gaddafi, surrounded by machine-gun toting guards, beat a hasty retreat from the scene.

Meanwhile in Tel Aviv, the arrogant Israeli War Minister, General Moshe Dayan, was giving details to the Knesset of the Israeli plan to pay 'blood-money' compensation to the airliner victims.

Staggered 'General Strike' in Italy

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE ITALIAN trade union federations—the CGIL, CISL and UIL—have called a 'General Strike' today in support of workers demanding new wage contracts and economic reforms.

This is a conscious attempt by the trade union leaders to break up the militancy of the Italian working class and to ensure that parliamentary manoeuvres by the Communist Party and Socialist Party are not disturbed.

The 14 million strikers have been urged to follow this 'plan of action':

Council. hospital office workers on the railways, government workers

will strike for one hour; engineering workers for four hours; train drivers for a quarter of an hour (11.00-11.15 a.m.); agricultural workers, restaurant and shopworkers for 24 hours.

The Minister of Labour, oppo, praised 'top-class Coppo, praised 'top union representatives'.

In a week-end speech to trade union and political leaders in Reggio Emilia he urged them to assume their responsibilties to defend the general interests of the country torn by general economic stagnation.

Coppo spoke after a week

of negotiations with engineering workers' leaders who have been pursuing a claim since last October.

Their main demand has now become a reduction of the working-week to 38

As union secretaries Trentin, Carniti, and Benvenuto described it:

'A reduction of hours create more jobs and would maintain the present utilization of plant.'

While the CP-guided trade union leadership defended the national economy, neofascist Georgio Almirante of the National Right was calling for a national campaign for elections.

He wants a government which would put an end to 'public disorder and immorality'.

Yards and pits stop in Spain

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

SOME 1,300 shipyard workers in Bilbao have been locked out for two months by Astilleros Españoles after a 15-day strike at the end of January.

The first lock-out of 900 workers started on January 30 and lasted for three days. But the workers struck immediately on returning to the yards.

The men are dissatisfied with a proposed wage increase of £3 a month, a 10per-cent increase on their monthly basic of £30.

The remaining 3,000 workers in the shipyard are

The strike movement against the Franco regime is also gathering momentum in the Asturias.

Over 2,000 miners are on strike in the mining valley of Nalon. The Hunosa company has locked out 1,713

The action began when pay was stopped out of wages for time that miners were absent from the pits when attending the funeral of a workmate killed in a pit accident.

Byelection special



CHESTER LE STREET

CHESTER LE STREET is one of the safest Labour seats in the country. In Thursday's by-election the Party is standing Giles Radice. Confidence is high. Radice's old job as research chief for the General and Municipal Workers' Union has already been advertised as vacant. STEPHEN JOHNS spent an afternoon with the candidate as he canvassed and reports on some unusual aspects of this northeast campaign.

candidate



Emma Russell, housewife: 'The main thing is prices. We are going on a pension soon and at the rate prices are increasing now I don't know how we will manage. I voted Labour last time, but I have not made up my mind yet.'

George Godding, labourer: 'What we want out of this election is someone to guarantee us a decent standard of living. This Heath is only interested in the rich man, so I will be voting Labour. But when they were in last time they made a lot of promises to the working man and did nothing.'



Sheila Bell, housewife: 'I think if people would just make the sacrifice and keep wages down it might work. But it does not seemed to have worked so far. Prices have gone up a lot, especially food prices I know—there I've just talked myself out of my argument.'

Wary welcome for G&M's

GILES RADICE of Winchester and Oxford trails his family round the ex-mining villages in the Chester le Street constituency. In one week he is almost certain to be the new Labour MP—the latest of a line which stretches back to the birth of the Party in 1906.

The accents are plummy. The happy band would be better off in Hampstead High Street on a Saturday afternoon than in the raw north east, where unemployment is 6 per cent and 15 men are chasing every job.

Mr Radice confronts a supporter: 'I'm going to hold surgeries,' he announces. The man, in his overalls, welcomes the idea. 'We need more of them. You can never get a doctor out on this estate when you want them.'

Radice breaks into wan smile and explains he is going to hold surgeries. The bemused Labour voter is left wondering whether he's just met his next MP or the new doctor.

The incident illustrates one of Giles Radice's problems—the social gap between him, a middle-class Londoner from the trendy part of Camden, and the Chester le Street workers. The suspicion is deepened within the ranks of the labour movement by Mr Radice's credentials for office—issued by the General and Municipal Workers' Union, a new power in the \$13,000-strong constituency.

All previous Labour members have been miners' candidates (the first was a Lib-Lab who defected to Labour in 1909). But pit closures have caused a decline in the influence of the National Union of Mineworkers. The new factories recruited workers—often ex-colliers, and they joined the right-wing G&MWU.

Of the five possible Labour contestants, all bar Mr Radice were local men. But G&MWU support was enough to get him adopted. At local level, unions affiliated to the Labour Party have delegates at the key General Management Committee of the local Party in direct proportion to their members in the constituency. The GMC selects the candidate and within Chester le Street's 192 committee, the union commands the most powerful faction.

Of course, there is nothing irregular in this kind of influence. There is nothing wrong either in standing a candidate outside the area—the Labour Party represents the working men and women on a class basis not by locality. But naturally the Liberal, George Sugget, has launched a campaign to divert the voters' attention from his own Party's extreme right-wing and anti-working class attitudes by exploiting these issues.

But they are not decisive. There is, for example, a healthy cynicism in some quarters over the last two candidates—both local men to the core.

Mistrust of the outsider is deceptive. At base, the problem is not Mr Radice's accent or geographical origins, but his politics and policies.

In Chester le Street and Washington new town there is a great desire to fight to get rid of the Tory government. But where Labour is concerned, and particularly the Labour leadership, there is a big vacuum. No one feels their Party is fighting and speaking hard enough for them



Labour candidate Giles Radice (left) on his doorstep campaign

Labour voters do not identify Radice as a fighting figure and so the problems of manner and

origins are magnified.

The issues people feel most about in the election can be summed up in three words—prices, wages and jobs. Housewives talk prices and men talk pay and employment.

On these issues Mr Radice is

On these issues Mr Radice is vague. He is in favour of the Common Market 'in principle' but he is standing on Labour's policy of better terms. One suspects he would have been in the Jenkins lobby when Labour kept the Tories in power by splitting over entry into Europe. But his prospective constituents are

'Like Winston Churchill said, this is a bad system but the rest are a lot worse,' he told me.

are a lot worse,' he told me.
This attitude sums up Radice's
politics—he is a right-wing
social democrat ('some call me
left-wing' he protests) flung into
a constituency which will bear
the brunt of the Tory attacks and
will resist it. The methods of
resistance will undoubtedly be
ones of which the future Labour

MP will disapprove.
Radice is sitting on a fat
20,000 majority and it would be
a political sensation if he lost
Thursday's contest.

The Liberals do claim victory is possible. Their campaign is characterized by an arrogance

have even outdone the Tories with their savage and deliberately misinformed attacks on workers fighting laws that make 'individuals' criminals for demanding higher wages.

They were also keen supporters of the Industrial Relations Act that led to five trade unionist being jailed and two major unions robbed of thousands of pounds. Mr Sugget does not like mentioning these aspects of Liberalism and the so-called Liberal revival.

Mr Radice's only other rival is Tory Nigel Balfour, who, despite his Yugoslavian princess wife, should not be too much of a threat.

which rocked the country and shook the north-east to its foundations.

It was alleged at bankruptcy hearings that Poulson paid for two holidays for Cunningham and his wife Freda—one to Portugal—and employed Freda either as an interior decoration consultant or a caretaker for a salary of £1,500 a year. At the time this was alleged to have taken place, Mrs Cunningham was a qualified teacher.

While he was chairman of the police authority the court heard that contracts were awarded to Poulson's firm of architects, Poulson also designed buildings for the union in the north and got large contract from Felling council while Cunningham was chair-

This tie-up has led to several calls for Cunningham's resignation from the police authority. But so far he has refused to move.

The Poulson case has spread cynicism among the ranks of the working class in the north-east.

working class in the north-east.

Whether any of this feeling will rub off on Mr Radice, is hard to tell. He is, of course, entirely unconnected with the Poulson scandal.

The issue anyway is secondary. Radice stands or falls on his policies and these are totally lacking and unable to meet the situation that confronts the working class today.

irg class today.

The voters of Chester le Street should, and almost certainly will, return Labour once more. But they must do it without illusion.

Giles Radice will not be the man to lead a mass industrial and political campaign to force the Tories to resign. It is also extremely unlikely that he will take part in the nationalization of industry under workers' control, even when the working class hand him and his colleagues the power to construct the socialist order.

The fight against Giles Radice and the right-wing element in the Labour Party must go side by side with the fight to force the Tories out of office.

Benson and Elizabeth Turnbull, married, three

Mr Turnbull: 'I work at Dunlop's in Washington and my main concern is wages. We are not getting enough to keep up our standards and the prices rise all the time. Personally I think there will be a General Election before long anyway. Soon everyone will be on strike for more money, but so far the unions and the TUC are not fighting enough. I will vote Labour because it's the Party of the working man. But I have never been happy with the leadership.'

Mrs Turnbull: 'My main concern is prices. The government broke its promises over this. There is just no control at all. Food prices especially have gone up. I don't blame the unions—I support the gasmen. They are low paid and they deserve a better living standard.'



overwhemingly against Europe they know it means a higher cost of living.

cost of living.

On wages Mr Radice seems to have swallowed the corporatist philosophy expounded by his own right-wing union. He 'does not like' the idea of pay boards under the Tories. But he does not appear to be against them in principle. He would like to see a 'social contract' with control of prices first before wages were regulated.

He believes industrial rela-

He believes industrial relations will grow worse, but he is 'not a General Strike man'. His solution to Tory attempts to destroy trade unions and the working class is the ballot box.

and hypocrisy that only the most bankrupt and degenerate section of the middle class can muster.

Sugget is a local boy made good who celebrated his fortune by getting out of the depressed north-east. Now he boasts his local origins. In fact he is an antique dealer from Newbury.

Like his leader Jeremy Thorpe, Sugget believes in the 'freedom of the individual'. But, like Thorpe, he never gets round to defining which individuals he wants to champion. This is

wants to champion. This is understandable.

They could hardly be the working class of Chester le Street. Thorpe and the Liberals

The Labour man seems therefore set for victory. There is, however, one rogue element which is likely to drive up abstentions and hit the Labour vote. The X factor is Alderman Andrew Cunningham, chairman of the Durham County Police Authority and regional G&MWU organizer.

Cunningham is called the 'big man' in Chester le Street where he lives in a ranch-style bungalow. Radice is widely considered 'his man'

Cunningham has been subjected recently to a lot of bad publicity after he was mentioned in the Poulson bankruptcy case

THE FUTURE OF THE GAS INDUSTRY

Final article in this series by Bernard Franks on struggles of the gasworkers.

Tory policy for the gas industry is to supply massive amounts of cheap power for industry while de-nationalizing and selling off servicing sectors which are profitable.

On principle the government is opposed to direct labour and aims to close down departments and put more and more work out to contract.

Said Sir John Eden, when introducing the Bill to set up the British Gas Corporation last year: 'The government has decided to take positive steps to encourage a flourishing private sector throughout the gas industry's range of appliance retailing and contracting activities.'

Under the new legislation 'excess' profits made by the industry were to be transferred to the Treasury.

The indecent haste with which natural gas conversion has been rushed through shows that as far as the government is concerned, the domestic consumer and the gas worker count for very little.

Here again, the Labour government bears the responsibility for handing out hundreds of licences to private North Sea prospectors—virtual local monopolies—and promising there would be no nationalization.

At the same time, long-term fixed contracts for natural gas at low prices were given to companies like ICI and Shell-star while the domestic consumers' gas bills soared.

INDUSTRIAL SUPPLIES

The Gas Council set out in 1960 to expand sales to industry by at least 700 per cent by the mid-1970s and swing the entire emphasis of the industry away from domestic supply and towards industrial sales.

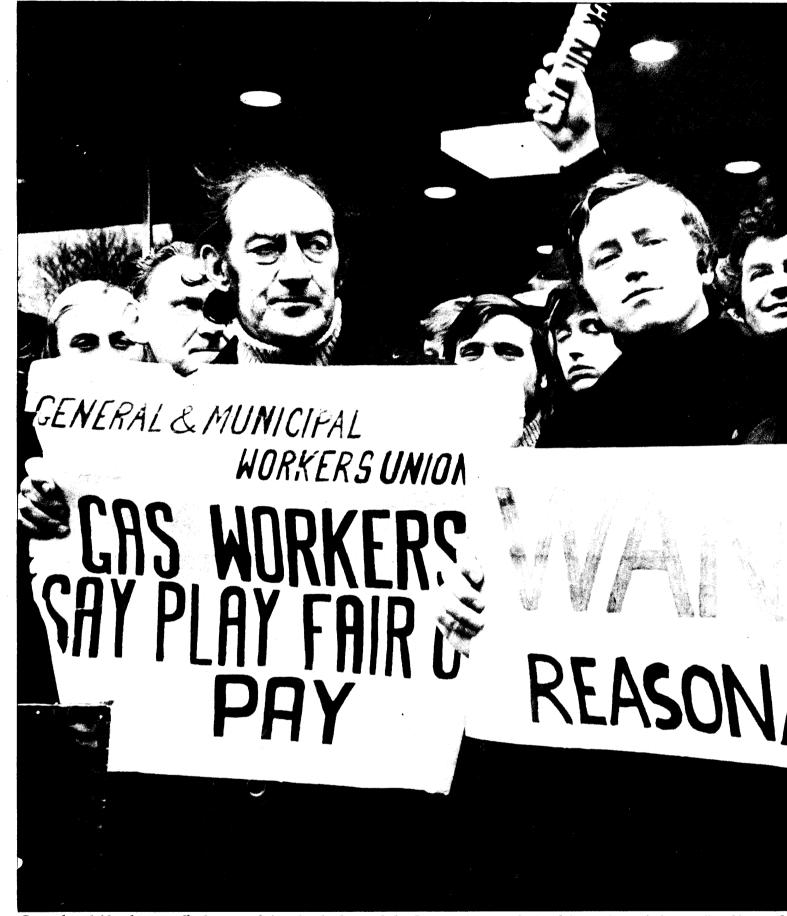
The employers who could not find the few million pounds required to pay the workers a reasonable wage could quickly raise £1.212m for the modernization which would destroy thousands of iobs

Meanwhile, millions of pounds worth of new town gas equipment has been ditched. It took eight years for the Midlands Gas Board to get permission for an £11m Lurgi gas-making plant to be built in Birmingham's Green Belt. Only seven years later, in 1969 this was closed down as 'uneconomic'.

Socialist nationalization is a step forward to clear the private owners out of industry, but under capitalism the 'nationalization' of industry, with government ownership and control, is a fraud.

Massive compensation is paid to the previous owners and usually continues being paid for years. Huge profits are made for the benefit of the new investors—the moneylenders who draw the interest on loans. At the same time a supply of cheap services and products is made to other industrialists while the domestic consumer pays more and more. Also, the centralization involved is used to simplify the modernization of equipment and the destruction of

bs. With continuous rationali-



Gasworkers lobby the pay talks between their union leaders and the Gas Board before the breakdown of negotiations earlier this month.

zation on one side of the coin and recession on the other, there is no end in sight to this run-down.

Only workers' ownership and control of the entire industry and socialist nationalization—without compensation—of all related industries can stop the wholesale destruction of jobs and protect the interests of the domestic consumer.

Faced now with an intense crisis in currency, markets, trade and production, similar plans for 'rationalization' and more intensive exploitation in every industry are what the Tories aim to enforce by driving down the workers' standard of living and destroying hard-won rights.

The Industrial Relations
Act and its labour courts, the
smashing of collective-bargaining and its replacement with
pay control agencies and laws,
the proposed tougher action
against strikes and pickets
and the proposed changes in
the laws of arrest confirm a

definite progression towards the methods of the corporate state and fascism.

Realizing the dangers, workers are demanding a General Strike of the entire labour movement.

However, the dangers are continually being added to by the Communist Party and its newspaper the 'Morning Star', which gives credence to the union leaders who have patently no intention of fighting anyone.

On February 7, the 'Morning Star's' front-page headline was 'Gasmen Get Strike Goahead' and 'Union to Turn Heat on Tories Phase Two Bill. when it was clear that the union leaders were trying to head off strikes with their feeble 'non-co-operation' and overtime ban. This was the union's policy which was answered by chants of 'sell-out' and 'load-of-rubbish' by the lobbyers and the General and Municipal Workers' Union's industrial officer John Edmonds had to have police

protection from his own

Two days later the 'Morning Star' announced: "32 Unions Link Up Against the Freeze'. This was about a meeting of leaders from 32 public sector unions which generated nothing but hot air.

Every day now the reluctance and vacillation of the majority of trade union leaders is more clearly revealed and their total subservience to capitalism and its needs confirmed.

NEW LEADERSHIP

The view of David Basnett, G&MWU general secretary, given by himself in the 'Morning Star' of February 16 is: 'It is now up to the government to introduce badlyneeded flexibility into their legislation.'

The fact is, only with the construction of a new, revolutionary socialist leadership

can the great strength of the working class be fully united to defend rights and conditions and forcefully pursue policies of socialist nationalization and operation of the industries which capitalism can now only de-populate, bankrupt and destroy.

In an article discussing the need for political action by trade unions, Frederick Engels wrote in 1881 of the need for a political organization of the working class as a whole, and concluded: 'There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organized as a body.'

It is vital for thousands of workers to participate in the campaign for the mass Pagent of working-class history at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 11.

This anti-Tory rally is an important step forward in the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party of the working class of Britain in the coming weeks.

BY JANE BROWN

On August 16, 1819, more than 60,000 worgathered on St kers Peter's Field, Manchester. They had come to hear the Radical orator, Henry Hunt.

Radicals had been advocating reform of the British parliamentary system as a cure for social ills throughout the previous 30 years. But never before had the Manchester factory workers provided so vast and attentive an audience.

Many of those present knew little about politics. Most would not hear one word of what 'Orator' Hunt had to tell them in these days before the invention of amplifiers. But they nevertheless flocked to St Peter's Field, some organized by local Radical societies, some marching in from outlying towns, some bringing their families with them.

Such a meeting was unprecedented. Not only was it the 'largest' ever held. It was also the most peaceful and discip-

Textile manufacturers had built factories and amassed huge fortunes in Manchester. Now it was becoming apparent that the machines and factories had also produced a new class the industrial working class. In their struggle against capitalist exploitation, workers were learning how to organize. The first mass political movement of the working class was on the move.

One of the most impressive contingents to arrive in Manchester on August 16 came from the upland weaving town of Middleton. At its head marched Samuel Bamford, a local weaver who was also a poet and historian.

The men of Middleton had been 'drilling' (practising orderly marching) for weeks beforehand. Bamford explains

'It was deemed expedient that this meeting should be as morally effective as possible and that it should exhibit a spectacle such as had never before been witnessed in England. We had frequently been taunted by the Press with our ragged, dirty appearance at these assemblages, with the confusion of our proceedings, and the mob-like crowds in which our numbers were mustered. We were determined that for once at least these reflections should not be deserved-that we would disarm the bitterness of our political opponents by a display of cleanliness, sobriety and decorum such as we never before had exhibited. In short. would deserve their respect by showing that we respected ourselves, and knew how to exercise our rights of meeting as it were well Englishmen always should do.'

Bamford was in favour of taking 'a score or two of cudgels' to the meeting, just in case 'political opponents' had less peaceful intentions than the reformers. But Mr Hunt advised against such measures.

'Were not the laws of the country to protect us? And then was it likely at all that the magistrates would permit a peaceful and legal assemblage to be interfered with? If we were in the right, were they not our guardians?'

At last the great day arrived. 'By 8 o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 16th of August, 1819, the whole town of Middleton might be said to be on the alert: some to go to the meeting, and others to see the procession, the like of which,



for such a purpose, had never before taken place in that neighbourhood.' Under Bamford's direction, the procession assembled on the outskirts of Middleton

'First were selected 12 of the most comely and decent-looking youths, who were placed in two rows of six each, with each a branch of laurel held presented in his hand, as a token of amity and peace. Then followed the men of several districts in fives; then the band of music, an excellent one; then the colours: a blue one of silk with inscriptions in gold letters, 'Unity and Strength, Liberty and Fraternity'; a green one of silk with golden letters, 'Parliaments Annual' and 'Suffrage Univer-

sal'; betwixt them on a staff a handsome cap of crimson velvet. with the word 'Libertas' in front. Next were placed the remainder of the men of the districts in fives . . .

Before this magnificent procession moved off, Bamford once again addressed the men on the importance of 'steadiness and seriousness'. They were going to attend 'the most important meeting that had ever been held for parliamentary reform', and must live up to the occasion. Everyone must keep to his place in the march; there was to be no straggling and no drinking. The men must obey the orders of the stewards, and neither 'offer any insult nor provocation', nor respond to any pro-

vocations which might be directed against them. Even walking sticks, Bamford insisted. should be left at home by the marchers, in case anyone should accuse them of planning to make illegal use of such 'weapons'.

'My address was received with cheers. It was heartily and unanimously assented to. We opened into column, the music struck up, the banners flashed in the sunlight. Other music was heard. It was that of the Rochdale party coming to join us. We met, and a shout from 10,000 startled the echoes of the woods and dingles. Then all was quiet save the breath of music, and with intent seriousness we went

Meanwhile, in Manchester, the forces of law and order were preparing for the day's events. Responsibility for the preparations had been delegated from the Tory government to the magistrates. This body of local Tories enrolled 400 special constables for the day. They had regular troops at their disposal, whom they stationed in the streets around St Peter's Field. They were also in charge of the Salford and Manchester Yeomanry, a body of mounted volunteers who could be trusted to act with all the zeal of political prejudice.

At 11 o'clock, their arrangements completed, the magistrates gathered in the upstairs

Peterloo Massacre continued on page 6



Peterloo Massacre continued from page 5

room of a house overlooking St Peter's Field. Mounted messengers stood by to carry their instructions to the waiting soldiers. For the time being, however, no instructions were sent. They watched the vast

meeting gradually assemble. Who were the many thousands of people converging on the Manchester meeting place that day? Why were they coming, and what did they hope

to achieve? Those who marched behind the Middleton banners were typical of the majority of the workers present. They came from weaving families, and were suffering from acute economic distress. Only 20 years earlier, the Industrial Revolution had brought prosperity

and expansion to the weavers. Their hand-looms could scarcely keep pace with the amounts of yarn produced by newly-invented spinning machines, such as Hargreaves' 'Spinning Jenny', Arkwright's Water Frame' and Crompton's 'Spinning Mule'. For centuries, the whole

process of manufacturing textiles had been carried out in the home. But the last two of these spinning machines were too large to be installed in spinners' cottages and too expensive for spinners to buy for themselves.

A new class of capitalist employers sprang up to make the most out of mechanized spinning. They invested their money in machines and factories where hundreds of spinners were gathered together working for a weekly wage. By 1815, there were 60 factories in the Manchester area, employing over 24,000 workers.

Although the spinners were accustomed to hard work, they were also accustomed to organizing their own working week. In the factories they found themselves totally dependent upon their new em-

Their work consisted of endlessly repeating some small monotonous process. Their wages fluctuated more widely. in accordance with the state of trade, than their old profit margins had done. No effective trade unions existed to maintain or im, ove wages

(they had been made illegal by the Combinations Act of 1799). Similarly, working conditions were designed to make profit for the mill-owner, not to preserve the health and safety of his employees.

The normal working day was about 14 hours and the workforce included large numbers of women and very small children.

The yarn produced in the mills continued to be woven by hand. Around 1800, a temporary shortage of weavers pushed their weekly income up to between £2 to £3 and tales were told of weavers who strolled the streets of Manchester with pound notes pinned to their hats.

By 1819, the situation had drastically changed. Edmund Cartwright invented a 'power loom' which was eventually to turn weaving, like spinning, into a factory occupation.

But the capitalists were slow to take up this machine. They found it cheaper to exploit the surplus of hand-loom weavers which had come into existence after 1815. At the end of the French wars in that year, 300,000 soldiers and sailors were turned loose on the labour market. At the same time, poverty-stricken Irish peasants were streaming into Liverpool in search of work.

easy to learn and required little investment, so within a few years the number of weavers leapt to over 40,000.

The weavers' income plummeted downwards, to around 12s a week in 1815 and still less by 1819. The spinning employers took full advantage of their lack of organization to squeeze still greater profits by using false weights. levving enormous fines for faults in the cloth, and encouraging the weavers of one village to try

and undercut those elsewhere. The weavers of Middleton and other towns nevertheless strongly resisted the idea of moving down to the Manchester mills to find work. They preferred to work 16 hours a day at their own looms rather than to submit

to factory discipline. A contemporary song depicts the plight of weavers: 'So, come all you cotton weavers, you must rise up very

For you must work in factories from morning until noon. You mustn't walk in your garden for two or three hours a dau.

For you must stand at their command, and keep your shuttles in play.'

Or, as a witness graphically told a government committee on weaving in 1834: 'I am determined that for my part, they will invent machines to supersede manual labour. they must find iron boys to mind them.'

Such 'independence'. of course, was an illusion, since economically the hand-loom weavers were quite as dependent on the big employers as the factory workers. But it was a powerful illusion. It played an important part in uniting thousands of workers at St Peter's Field in 1819.

Though the nature of the hand-loom industry tended to disunite those involved in it, they marched into Manchester on August 16 seeking a common political solution to a

common economic problem. Weavers provided the majority of Mr Hunt's audience that day. But many other trades were represented, including large numbers of millhands. 'Peterloo' resulted from a movement of the whole working class, not just of one section. For the whole working class suffered a cut in its living standards as a result of the post-war trade recession. It was a period of high unemwage - cuts and ployment,

rocketing food prices. The Tory government flatly refused to alleviate distress. In fact, it actively intervened to help the rich at the expense of the poor-despite its faith in the 'free play of market forces'.

Income tax was abolished in 1816, being replaced by indirect taxes on articles of everyday necessity. In the same year, the notorious Corn Law was passed. This legislation was a blatant example of the power of the landed gentry in government. It laid down that no corn was to be imported into the country until the price of British corn had risen above 80s a quarter. In other words, bread prices were to be maintained at the high levels they had reached during the war.

So much for the manufacturers' frequent assurances that the war alone was to blame for poverty! Napoleon Bonaparte was certainly not the main enemy of the Lancashire weaver who wrote a 'Lament', around 1819:

'You pull down our wages, shamefully to tell. You go into the markets and say you cannot sell.

And when that we do ask you when these bad times will

mend.You quickly give an answer, "When the wars are at an

end".

'You say that Bonyparty he's been the spoil of all, And that we have got reason to pray for his downfall. Now Bonyparty's dead and gone, and it is plainly seen That we have bigger tyrants in Bonys of our own.

How were the 'bigger tyrants' to be overcome? number of methods had been tried since the passing of the Combination Acts in 1799. Despite the illegality of trade unionism, a number of strikes occurred. In 1808, for example, Manchester spinners went on strike demanding a

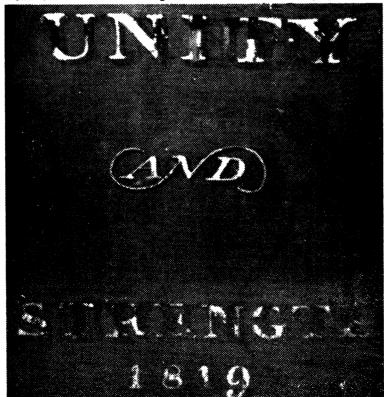
Minimum Wage Act. In the years 1812-1817 more

violent protests occurred, in the form of machine-breaking expeditions by the followers of 'Ned Ludd'. The Luddite movement aimed at destroy ing modern technology before it destroyed the workers.

It began among the frame work knitters of the Midlands. but also spread to the north Arkwright saw his new factory at Cromford wrecked by cotton workers. John Kay's inventions provoked riots when they were introduced in Manchester and several mills were burned to the ground.

In 1812, machine-breaking became punishable by death. Many workers began to turn towards political protest. The government was obviously where the real power lay. Despite all legal obstacles, the framework knitters managed to form a network of com-

mittees. The Nottingham Committee drew up a Bill for Preventing Frauds and Abuses and collected 10,000 signatures in support of it. Representatives went to London to press the



The only banner which survived the massacre at Peterloo-it was carried by Middleton workers to the demonstration.

gifts of fine work to sympathetic MPs, and prided themselves that 'the Prince Regent is also favourable'.

It was a considerable blow when the Bill failed to get a Third Reading—'There not being forty members present; they ran out of the House when our business came on like wildfire.' (Henson to the Nottingham Committee, 1812.)

Nevertheless, faith in constitutional methods of reform continued to run strong in the working-class movement.

In 1817, Lancashire weavers organized the most famous petition of the addressed to the Prince Regent himself. It was to be carried to London by the weavers themselves, who intended holding meetings in the towns they passed through. Since would not be able to afford accommodation, every marcher carried a blanket with him, and they became known as the 'Blanketeers'.

Parliamentary reform was an essential first step towards improvement. The petition winds up with a stern warning to the Prince Regent:

'If you procure the adoption of measures calculated to relieve us, you may then safely rely upon our support and gratitude-without this we can neither support you nor ourselves.' But the march of the

'Blanketeers' was never allowed to get under way. The marchers were swiftly arrested and only one man managed to slip through and reach London, instead of the 100,000, whom the organizers had hoped would rally to their support and make the petition irresistible.

Persuasion was clearly not working. In the industrial areas the need for a new political perspective and better organization was becoming apparent. The years 1817-1819 were packed with political activity, culminating in 'Peter-

1817 saw the founding of Hampden Clubs (named after a hero of the English Revolution) over a wide area. They were suppressed within a year. but not before Samuel Bamford of Middleton had gained important political experience . and his first jail sentence. The inexperience of the reformers, and disagreements among them, made it all too easy for government spies and provocateurs to infiltrate the clubs. The activities of the spy Oliver helped to launch the Pentridge Rising in Derbyshire, a movement for violent revolution against the government. In its aftermath, workers' leaders were hanged, and the development of Radical clubs

1818 nevertheless produced a far more numerous, better organized, and very determined reform movement. In the summer, both weavers and spinners in Lancashire held prolonged strikes in an attempt to stop the deterioration of their living standards.

temporarily halted.

Both groups of workers were starved into submission. But once back at work their anger and misery found a new outlet in the formation of Union Societies to promote political reform. These societies were mainly responsible for organizing the mass turn-out at 'Peterloo' the following year.

The Stockport Union provided a model for many others. With its clearly-expressed political programme and lengthy, detailed rules, it was designed to last. Its function was to train workers for participation in national politics. Already that spirit of class solidarity and self-respect was developwhich Bamford later described in the preparations for the 'Peterloo' meeting.

In Manchester, similar societies were founded after the intervention of the Radical leaders, Saxton and Walker, at a weavers' meeting originally called to discuss assisted emigration to north America. The Radicals urged the meeting to 'give up the language of despair and to join hand and heart in the restoration of their rights'.

A large gathering in Manchester on January 18, 1819, voted in support of a declaration which was really a manifesto of Radicalism. Once again, the theme of men's rights is at the heart of the document

'. . resistance to earthly tyranny is not only a right inherent in the people, and an acknowledged principle of the English Constitution, but a sacred duty enjoined by the

laws of God and Man. . the conditions of that great Charter of our liberties, commonly called Magna Charter, was neither a boon extorted from the Monarch, nor a concession of the Royal prerogative to popular violence, but a recognition of positive rights, antecedently existing and inherent in the people; of Rights which no King or Government can lawfully give or

take away.' The 'Rights of Man' had, of course, been a favourite theme of 18th-century French philosophers and of the bourgeois French Revolution. But, taken up by thousands of industrial workers, the whole content of such claims was transformed.

Rousseau's famous saving 'All men are born free' had a new meaning on the lips of Manchester weavers suffering appalling economic misery. It posed a threat to the existing economic and political structure of society, and was thus a revolutionary statement. The essential political mess-

age of 1819, which the magistrates at 'Peterloo' sensed in their bones, and which made the question of whether or not that particular gathering was armed virtually irrelevant, is captured in a resolution passed at Oldham, June 7, 1819: . this meeting is con-

vinced that the labouring part of the people of this country cannot long preserve their existence; and if they must die either by starvation or in defence of their rights, they cannot hesitate to prefer the latter . . .'

August 16, 1819, was a day of perfect summer weather, with hot sunshine and a cloudless sky. The cheerfulness and excitement of a 'gala day' was in the air, according to one eye-witness.

All the factories were shut and the bright banners and gay music of the marchers from outlying towns attracted thousands of spectators to St Peter's Field—some sympathetic to the reformers' cause, some merely curious. By 12 noon, some 60,000 men, women and children stood squeezed together on the 14,000 square yards of the field, eagerly awaiting the arrival of the celebrated Mr Hunt.

Bamford records that the

arrival of the splendid Middleton march, at about 12 o'clock, was greeted by 'an immense multitude, which opened and received us with loud cheers. We walked into that chasm of human beings and took our station from the hustings across the causeway of Peter Street, and so remained, undistinguishable from without, but still forming an almost unbroken line, with our colours at the centre'.

At last Hunt and the other speakers appeared, in an open carriage.

'They threaded their way slowly past us, and through the crowd, which Hunt eyed. I thought, with as much of astonishment as satisfaction.'

Even for such a veteran Radical campaigner, this meeting was something new. Bands played 'See the Conquering Hero Comes', 'God save the King' and 'Rule Britannia', and soon Hunt was installed on the raised speakers' platform in the midst of the crowd. He took off his white top hat. At this signal, the crowd fell silent,

and Hunt began his speech. Bamford was no great admirer of the 'Orator' (whom he suspected of personal vanity). He therefore proposed slipping away for a drink with a friend while the speeches were going on. After all, they would be able to read what Hunt had said in the next day's newspapers. Accordingly, the two men worked their way back towards the perimeter of

the crowd. What happened next can hardly be described more effectively than by the Middleton historian Bamford had nearly reached the edge of the crowd when 'a noise and strange murmur arose towards the church Some people said that it was the Blackburn people coming, and I stood on tip-toe and looked in the direction whence the noise proceeded. I saw a party of cavalry come trotting, sword in hand, round the corner of a garden wall, and to the front of a row of new houses, where they reined up in a line . .

'On the cavalry drawing up they were received with a shout of goodwill, as I understood it. They shouted again, waving their sabres over their heads. And then, slackening rein and striking spur into their steeds, they dashed forward and began cutting the people . .

'The cavalry were in confusion: they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings. Their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked, held-up hands and defenceless heads: and then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen: and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion.

'For a moment the crowd held back, as in a pause. Then was a rush, heavy and resistless as a headlong sea, and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers and imprecations from the crowd-moiled and sabre-doomed who could

not escape . . . 'In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc the field was an open and almost deserted space. The sun looked down through the sultry and motionless air. The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewn flag staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two drooping. Over the whole field were strewed caps, bonnets, hats, shawls and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress, torn and bloody.

'The yeomanry had dismounted—some were easing their horses' girths, other adjusting their accoutrements, and some were wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these still groaning, others with staring eyes were gasping for breath, and others would never breathe more. All was silent save for those low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds . .

In the space of ten minutes, St Peter's Field had become a battle ground. Eleven died there. Over 400 were wounded. The place had earned its name of 'Peterloo', a savage piece of sarcasm alluding to the British victory at Waterloo four years earlier. Among the dead was at least one man who had served in the British army on that

Peterloo Massacre continued

on page 8

occasion.

Peterloo Massacre continued from page 7

WHO HAD BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS?

The Peterloo massacre was a deliberate political act. This is proved by the authorities' preparations before August 16, by the events of the day itself, and by the elaborate cover-up operation carried out afterwards. The Tory government, local magistrates and army were jointly responsible for the bloody attack by the Manchester Yeoman Cavalry on thousands of unarmed workers.

Academic historians have gone to extraordinary lengths to demonstrate that the massacre was somehow a 'mistake'. They argue that such an atrocity could not have been premeditated. It was the result of a moment's panic by the magistrates, who ordered that Hunt should be arrested after the meeting had begun.

The numbers present made

The numbers present made it impossible to carry out such an operation peacefully. Special constables were unable to open up a route from the magistrates' house to the hustings, therefore troops had to be sent in to carry out the task.

The Yeoman Cavalry hap-

The Yeoman Cavairy nappened to be the first troops to arrive on the scene. They had difficulty in managing their untrained horses in the crowd. Their attempts to extricate themselves caused some deaths and injuries. The rest were caused by panic . . . (so the argument runs).

All this is so much liberal whitewash. It tries to obscure the political importance of 'Peterloo'. The size and disciplined nature of the meeting aroused intense fear and hatred in the British ruling class. They were determined to repress the developing political conscious-ness of the working class. Peterloo presented a greater threat to their power and privileges than previous isolated acts of violence against the employers, such as Luddism, because it marked a step towards working-class unity in defence of the right to a decent standard of living.

The Tory government was at the centre of the plot to destroy working-class Radicalism. Lord Liverpool's Cabinet consisted of landed aristocrats, such as Lord Sidmouth, Lord Eldon and Lord Castlereagh, who saw Radicalism as a prelude to a revolutionary attack on the wealthy property owners who monopolized political power.

These men had been responsible for the Corn Law of 1815. They were determined that no government relief should be granted to alleviate economic distress. Private charity might be a Christian duty, but it was equally the duty of governments not to 'interfere'.

As a Manchester Tory, the Reverend J. Gatcliffe, explained in 1819, the starving poor would just have to 'wait patiently until the tide turns...'

Those who refused to 'wait patiently' must be controlled

By 1817 the government already had a huge network of spies in the working-class movement. As we have seen, they were responsible for the Pentridge Rising and the executions which followed, as well

as for the breaking up of the 'Blanketeers' march.

The massacre could never have taken place without government support. At every stage contact between the magistrates and the Home Office was extremely close.

From this source, on July 17, came the legal advice which justified the magistrates' actions at 'Peterloo':

'If the meeting is not convened for an illegal purpose, the illegality will not commence until the purpose is developed, and of course after the crowd is collected, when it must be a question of prudence and expediency, to be decided by the magistrates on the spot, whether they should proceed to disperse the persons assembled.'

In other words, it was quite in order for the magistrates to allow the crowd to gather, and then, after the meeting had begun, to declare it illegal and forcibly break it up!

The government leaders were also responsible for the role of the army at 'Peterloo'. They not only made troops available, but also agreed to the magistrates' request that the Commander of the Northern District, General Byng, should not be present in Manchester on August 16.

Some of the reasoning behind this decision can be seen in a letter written by the Duke of Wellington to General Byng, shortly after 'Peterloo'. The Duke warned that the fairly small regular army had to be undertake a reserved to national military campaign against what would probably be a national uprising to overthrow the government. If too much prestige was invested in the defence of Manchester alone, a defeat there might have disastrous consequences.

'It is impossible to see how far it will go if the mob should in any instance get the better of the troops.'

Byng wrote back, agreeing that individual towns must rely principally on their local defence forces (in this case the Manchester Yeoman Cavalry), so that the army would be left free to conduct a civil war, when the need arose.

Government decisions deliberately shifted the immediate responsibility for 'Peterloo' onto the shoulders of the magistrates. Obviously these men could be trusted to carry out Tory policy. All 18 magistrates were staunch upper-crust Tories—barristers, clergy, landowners and businessmen.

Two organized bodies of local 'loyalists', who shared their political prejudices, came under their control.



Lord Castlereagh

The Committee in Aid of the Civil Power had been formed in July 1819 for the purpose of protecting 'life and property' against Radical attacks. Its first request was for arms for 1,000 men to be supplied by the government.

The other body was the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, founded in 1817, also for the purpose of stamping out Radicalism in the area. Its members were cotton manufacturers and merchants, pub-

licans and shopkeepers.

The line up of class forces at 'Peterloo' is clear. On the one side stood the employers—uniformed as yeoman cavalry, 'armed to the teeth, and commanded by Tory mag-

istrates. On the other side stood the working class.

All the evidence proves that weeks before the meeting the magistrates had planned a massacre. Even their own spies reported that the intentions of the reformers were peaceful ('They are enjoined not to bring any weapons of any kind whatever'). But the magistrates were not mainly interested in whether or not this particular gathering would be armed. The threat to their position was a political one.

Six weeks before 'Peterloo', Norris, the leading magistrate, set out his position clearly to the government:

'The remedy for the present state of things must be (in the first instance) more violent than informations or indictments.' It is not surprising that, by August 15, he had succeeded in convincing himself, against all the evidence, that '... very many of them, I have little doubt, will come secretly armed'.

Desperate measures would be required the following day, he warned the Home Office.

'All accounts tend to show that the worst possible spirit pervades the country . . . I hope that the peace may be preserved, but under all the circumstances it is scarcely possible to expect it.'

If the magistrates had a shred of evidence (or even a suspicion that the August 16 meeting was intended to spark off a violent uprising, they were, of course, entitled to declare it illegal and arrest its leaders before any crowds assembled.

But this would have defeated their scheme. It would have been against the advice of the Home Office. On Saturday, August 14, 'Orator' Hunt offered himself for arrest, in order to forestall any 'pretence for interrupting the proceedings' at St Peter's Field. His offer was bluntly rejected.

Two days later, it took the magistrates only a few minutes of his speech to decide that Hunt was a dangerous agitator who must be instantly clapped behind bars! They produced a warrant which justified sending in troops to make an immediate arrest, and thus causing the maximum possible injury to the crowd.

Why were the Yeoman Cavalry used to make the arrests? The magistrates must have been aware of their inexperience, and regular troops were only a short distance away from the field.

The answer can only be that the yeomanry had better qualifications for the task in hand than more expert professional soldiers. They proceeded, as a witness later described, 'with a zeal and ardour which might naturally be expected from men acting with delegated power against a foe by whom they had long been insulted with taunts of cowardice, continued their course, seeming to vie individually with each other which should be first . . .'.



Lord Sidmouth

Other members of the crowd provided more evidence of the yeomen cavalry's keenness. The swift arrest of Hunt was only the beginning. The soldiers proceeded to cut down the reform banners around the hustings, then to ride in hot pursuit of banners elsewhere in

Meanwhile the yeomanry were taking vengeance on their political enemies. As local Tories they were personally acquainted with the leading Radicals. 'Damn you, I'll reform you!' they shouted, as they slashed about them with their sabres. 'Spare your lives? Damn your bloody lives.'

Not only the Manchester Yeoman Cavalry, but the ruling class as a whole, were determined to 'stick like wax' to profits and political power. In the days which followed 'Peterloo', they rallied to the support of the Manchester magistrates' actions.

The Prince Regent sent a personal message congratulating them on 'their prompt, decisive and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity'.

The Tory Prime Minister followed this up with the comment: 'The property of the country must be taught to protect itself. The majority go with the tide, and if they see all the zeal and activity on one side, and only apathy on the other, their choice cannot be expected to be doubtful.'

With 'zeal and activity', the government proceeded to pass the Six Acts, aimed at the total suppression of working-class Radical organizations. All drilling was made illegal; so was the carrying of arms. More serious, from the Radicals' point of view, were the Seditious Meetings Prevention Bill and the Libels and Newspaper Stamp Duty Bills.

The former prohibited public meetings of more than 50 people, except in the parish inhabited by all those attending the meeting. In other words it banned any kind of national demonstration or even united demonstrations by workers in one area, such as Manchester.

The latter two Bills attempted to stamp out the influence of the Radical Press, firstly by censoring material which might be published, and secondly by raising the price of all newspapers and pamphlets so that they would be beyond the financial reach of workers.

Yet another side of the ruling-class conspiracy to crush working-class political organization can be seen in the legal aftermath to 'Peterloo'. The Radical leaders who had been arrested were convicted, after much delay, on the charge of assembling with unlawful banners at an unlawful meeting for the purpose of inciting discontent.

Their prison sentences (from one to two and a half years) were plainly intended to give the government a breathing space to put the Six Acts into effect and disband the Union Societies.

Bamford's comments on the York trial reveal the extent to which its result was a foregone

conclusion.
 'During the whole of the ten days' investigation I did not observe that any one of the jury took a single note of the evidence, or that they indicated by the action of a single muscle of the countenance that any impression was made on their minds. They sat motionless, and like men who were

asleep with their eyes open...'
'Peterloo' produced other court cases, in the form of inquests on its victims. At first, inquests were rushed through as a mere formality, recording verdicts which cleared the soldiers and the magistrates from all blame. For example, the cause of death of a two-year-old child whose mother was knocked down by the yeoman cavalry, was found to be 'fell from his mother's

But a serious threat was presented to the authorities by the inquest on John Lees, who died on September 6. By this time, Radical lawyers had managed to collect dozens of witness to prove that John Lees had been managed by a cayalyman

murdered by a cavalryman.

The case was adjourned, in the hope that interest would

die down. The Coroner ordered that journalists should report none of the evidence until the inquest had been concluded, and reporters from 'The Times' and the 'Morning Chronicle' were expelled from the court room for taking notes on what witnesses said.

In desperation, the Coroner transferred the case from Oldham to Manchester, then adjourned it yet again for six weeks.

The Radical lawyers argued in vain against the adjournment. For the King's Bench managed to discover a loophole which enabled them to declare the whole inquest 'null and void' and close it down.



Samuel Bramford, a Middleton weaver, poet and historian who headed the Middleton contingent to Peterloo and later recorded the events of August 16, 1819.

Even in the horror of the days immediately after the massacre, there is evidence that 'Peterloo' was to prove ultimately a step along the road to workers' power, and not just a disaster causing death and despair.

The Middleton contingent had been situated right in the path of the yeoman cavalry. Many of its members suffered injury. The green silk banner had been chopped down and torn up to make a sash for one of the soldiers. Even the band had lost their much-prized bass drum, splintered to fragments by horses' hooves.

But they did not straggle home in total disorder. Bamford tells us that, after a frantic search for his wife: 'I rejoined my comrades, and forming about 1,000 of them into file, we set off to the sound of fife and drum, with our only banner waving. And in that form we re-entered the town of Middleton.'

During the next few days 'all the working population were athirst for revenge', and the preparation of weapons got under way.

'Some had been grinding scythes, others old hatchets, others screw drivers, rusty swords, pikels and mop-nails—anything which could cut and stab was pronounced fit for service.'

Lack of any central plan or organization, and the swift arrest of most of the Radical leaders (including Bamford) made an insurrection impossible at that date. The Middleton men did not discard their weapons, however. Bamford tells us that they were 'reserved for any event that might occur'.

Despite the brutal intentions and actions of the British ruling class at 'Peterloo', they had not succeeded in their main purpose.

They could not turn back the tide of working-class strength by the use of spies, soldiers and rigged juries.

Even the Six Acts could not prevent more powerful organizations of the working class emerging within a few years. The traditions of 'Peterloo'

were to be embodied in these organizations. Twenty years later, the Chartists saw 'Peterloo' for what it was: a concerted attempt by the ruling class to deny workers their most basic right—the right to fight politically for food, shelter and work.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

ERROR

Please, sir!

'The Guardian' reported: 'The governors of Brooklands Technical College in Weybridge, Surrey, yesterday admonished Mr Guido Casale, a lecturer who stripped naked before teenage students during a liberal studies lecture.

'Two young women lecturers who were present-Miss Valerie Hey and Miss Margaret Wadeson-were also admonished. The governors allowed all three to keep their jobs, and accepted that the lecturers "acted in good faith, although guilty of a gross error of judgement"."

PROSPEROUS

What, you might ask, does property millionaire Keen get up to in his spare time (which is apparently considerable)? Answer: As soon as a strike starts he organizes a campaign against

Keen is the founder of the More Prosperous Britain
Society, whose title seems appropriate, at least as far as he is concerned. 'By 1974,' said the property developer recently, 'I expect to be worth £2,000,000.' Which worth £2,00 can't be bad.

His main aim in life, for which he uses his wealth, is to intervene in strikes, trying to get a return to work. This month he announced he was prepared to pay British Road Services workers £2,500 to go back to work.

For days on end Keen and his followers can be seen touring the country, shouting at pickets to go back—and undoubtedly help the More Prosperous Britain Society in the process.

London has been hit with fly-posters put up by Keen's organization, and the same outfit has turned up as tophatted mourners bearing a black coffin containing an effigy of the working class.

Keen's organization is Oldham-based and he has just announced plans to print a newspaper on a press he has just bought. Watch out for

The economic and political crisis visits itself even unto the men of God. It's a great

The Rev James Ayre, the rector of the parish at Cheadle, has issued a 'serious indictment of life in Britain

In the parish magazine he writes: 'It is becoming more and more difficult to claim that England is a Christian country.'

Many people are without faith, he said. 'There have been noticeable shifts in the manners and behaviour of the many. Many Christian landmarks have been removed. [Is this a reference to the removal of Malcolm Muggeridge from television?—Ed] The idea of chastity before marriage is irrelevant-even undesirable. Sin is out, sociology

'More serious still is the attitude to marriage itself. To frown upon infidelity is to be dubbed Victorian — "everybody does it"—and though everybody doesn't do it, everybody doesn't do it, Christian marriage and its ideals are under great pres-sure and there are many

'The rot has not only set in but has gone pretty deep.

gression.'

He continues: 'And religious broadcasting? What a sad mixture of heresy and wishy-washy woolly nonsense is put over in the name of the

are being driven ruthlessly to choose this day whom we shall serve. God or Mammon. Christ or the Colossus of Agnostic Materialism with its seductive pleasures.'

But, he says: 'Make no mistake. God is not mocked by the 20th century man, who is unable to order his own affairs aright, let alone the world he lives in.'

to clean up Cheadle launched.

confirmation of materialism.

today'.

is in.

Christian casualties.

'Television and stage openly flaunt their antipathy to Christian standards and sentiment with impurity and ag-

Apostolic Faith.
'The situation,' he says, 'is serious yet challenging. We

Thus the one-man campaign

Workers Press, Tuesday February 27, 1973 PAGE 9 Leonid Brezhnev the Soviet

Communist Party leader, visited Prague last week for the 25th anniversary of the overthrow of the Benes regime. The crisis in 1948 came

when the bourgeois ministers in the Benes coalition government resigned hoping to force an election which would see the defeat of the Communist Party. Klement Gottwald, the Czech Communist Party secretary at the time, called out the workers' militias and

Benes gave way.
On February 25, 1948, the Communist Party took over full power. In the next few years Gottwald carried out a series of purges which resulted in the execution of many leading CP members.

The last time Brezhnev attended the ceremonies to mark the take-over was five years ago when Alexander Dubcek was in power. He was deposed after the invasion of the country by the Warsaw Pact armies in August, 1968, and his supporters have been rooted out of the party, hounded from their jobs and, in some cases, put on trial.

Brezhnev must now believe that it is safe to go back.

EZHNEV VISITS THE LAND OF THE INVASION





Left: Benes, whose regime was overthrown in 1948. Right: Dubcek. who was ousted by the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops in 1968. Above: Russian tanks on the streets of Prague, 1968.

MARCHAIS **APPEALS TO** FREEDOM OF *'CONSCIENCE'* ND WORSH

In an election broadcast on French TV, Communist Party secretary Georges Marchais claimed that Alexandre Solzhenitsyn would be free to publish his writings if the CP

was in the government in France.

He uttered no word of criticism of the Soviet government for its persecution of the novelist whose three major novels have been banned in the Soviet Union.

Appealing particularly to left-wing intellectuals, but also to Catholics, Marchais said that the Party would uphold freedom of conscience and worship, and the right to freedom of expression.

He claimed that this was not an electoral tactic, but had been party policy back as far as 1968! He said that the application of the common programme would extend the freedom of culture by making it more accessible to all through educational reforms.

Replying to an interviewer criticized the French broadcasting system for not permitting adequate time for the opposition. He added: 'If tomorrow we win a majority in the elections, and the present majority becomes the minority, it will consequently benefit from advantages which today we do not have!'

Marchais concluded with an appeal for the union of men and women of all those sections of the population who had an interest in a change of regime and a change of policy to vote for the parties sup-porting the common programme.

ANOTHER BAD HARVEST IN THE

Soviet agriculture faces the danger of another bad harvest this year which could aggravate the country's economic difficulties. This was clear from a front-page article in a recent 'Pravda'.

It warned collective farms to improve the preparation and selection of seed grain for this year's crucial harvest. Work on many farms is already falling behind sche-dule in preparing for the spring sowing.

In some areas, inadequate snow cover means a danger of frost damage to wintersown crops. Last year losses from this source cost one-

Last year the Soviet Union imported £850m worth of grain from the capitalist countries and continued imports on this scale would prove ruinous.

TICAL PROFILES



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the first time published in an English edition. The translations were first commissioned by the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left' Their enormous success has led to the completion of the translation of the whole book, which is the first part of Volume of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.

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North Devon Council of Action fights on rents and prices programme

THE FIRST activities of the North Devon Council of Action will be to organize tenants, to recruit workers into trade unions and to form a housewives' prices action

The council was formed last week at a public meeting called by the Barnstaple and District Trades Council and attended by more than 70 people.

The meeting was called to decide what action should be taken to oppose the Tory government's legislation for state control of wages.

Chairman Barrie Evans said

that it was no accident that the trades council had called the public meeting at this particular

FRIH THAMES GAS BOARD

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WEDNESDAY

FRIDAY SATURDAY

OUR EMERGENCY SE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

'The trade union movement today faces its most serious situa-tion since the General Strike of 1926, he said. 'No one should underestimate the significance of the further devaluation of the dollar. We are careering head-long into an international trade war between the USA, western Europe and Japan.

'Fresh food prices have risen 13 per cent since the start of Phase One, that is a rate of 52 per cent a year. If we are to believe Heath and the national Press, the cause of price increases is higher wages, but the farm-workers, one of the lowest paid groups in the country, have had their wage increase frozen during the last three months and yet food prices rise at this rate. The

extra money certainly is not go-ing into the pockets of the farm workers, he said. 'Here in North Devon, we can

play our part in the fight to make the Tory government resign. That is why we are proposing the for-mation of a Council of Action, which can play a crucial role in organizing and co-ordinating action on specific issues,' he

action on specific issues,' he concluded.

George Capel, former Barnstaple Labour councillor and a member of ASLEF felt Heath and the Tories were hell-bent on destroying the union. He criticized the leadership of the TUC, who, he said, had 'been afraid of the power the workers put in their hands' at the time of the huge demonstrations against the Industrial Relations Act two years ago.

years ago.
'If the last Labour government had carried out socialist policies, we would not have had the re-

turn of a Tory government.'

He explained the background to the locomen's dispute and said he 'felt sure that an appeal to ASLEF for support by other unions in conflict with the government would not go unbedded.'

ernment would not go unheeded.'
Dave Ferguson, member of the
AUEW and the Centrax Combined Shop Stewards' Committee,
outlined the activities which had
been carried on in the south Devon area since the successful five month strike at Centrax, Newton Abbot, in 1969. He brought greetings from the Newton Abbot Trades Council and explained how they had provided assistance to groups of workers involved in local disputes and in the setting up of tenants' as-

sociations.

Victory for any worker involved in a conflict with management was to be fought for. 'His victory is our victory,' he said

victory is our victory,' he said to applause.

John Brickwood of Barnstaple Trades Council, opened the discussion on the proposal for a Council of Action. He suggested areas of activity such as the organization of tenants, the coordination of trade union recruitment and the formation of a housewives' prices action group. He said the capitalist system was now in a serious crisis and that since the election of the Heath since the election of the Heath government the political situation had changed fundamentally.

The discussion, which followed the main speakers, showed that many members of the audience were looking for alternative

leadership.

One trade unionist demanded to know if the Labour Party and Harold Wilson would rescind the laws the Tories had passed. A Labour councillor replied that only a minority of the Labour Party NEC was in favour of removing the Phase Two legislation

from the statute book.

An attempt was made by a Labour Party member to divert the proposal for the formation of a Council of Action into a recommendation that trade union branches should affiliate to the local Labour Party.

when the final proposal that a North Devon Council of Action be formed was passed overwhelmingly, with only two voting against.

ALL TRADES

Fight rising rents and prices Defend basic democratic rights

Force the Tories to resign

CAMDEN: Tuesday February 27,

8 p.m. Prince Albert', Wharfe-

TODAY'S TV

BBC₁

9.38 Schools. 11.30 Ar y trywydd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45 Ask the family. 2.05 Schools. 2.50 Sixteen plus. 3.15 Gardeners' world. 3.40 French chef. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Viaduct. 5.10 John Craven's newsaround. 5.15 Vision on. 5.40 Wombles. 5.45 News. Weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE

6.00 NATIONWIDE

6.00 NATIONWIDE
6.45 LAUREL AND HARDY
7.05 FILM: 'MAN OF THE
MOMENT'. Norman Wisdom. British comedy.
8.30 WHATEVER HAPPENED
TO THE LIKELY LADS?
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.

Weather 9.25 DOCUMENTARY: 'THE SABOTEURS OF TELE-MARK'. The secret battle for heavy water. Nine Norwegian saboteurs destroyed the German heavy water supplies in 1940. 10.15 FILM 73. 10.45 MIDWEEK.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
11.35 VIEWPOINT. House of God. Church architec-

ture.
11.55 WEATHER.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 This Week (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Mr. Trimble. 12.25 Pinky and Perky. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Lunchtime with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 About Britain. 3.25 Kate. 4.25 Junior showtime. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 I dream of Jeannie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 WHICKER'S SOUTH SEAS. Poor people are

always unhappy.
7.30 COOL MILLION. James Farentino, Barbara Bouchet.

9.15 DOCUMENTARY: 'T H E CASE OF THE MISSING MUMMY'. A Tutankhamun mystery.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
10.30 PLAYHOUSE. 'Putting on the Agony.' By Tony Per-

11.30 PROFESSIONAL WREST-

LING.
IT'S WORTH READING.
Mary Craig talks to Lord
Chalfont about Proust and Trollope.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 1.15-1.40 Medicine today.

6.40 OFFICE. Co - ordination and control.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY. 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Wea-

7.35 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.

8.05 PLATFORM. Spare the Rod — Spoil Society? Liverpool people speak

about the possible abolition of the cane in their

9.00 POT BLACK.
9.25 PLAY: 'TRAITOR'. By
Dennis Potter. With John

Le Mesurier. 10.25 LEAP IN THE DARK.

Telepathy.

10.50 THE OLD
WHISTLE TEST. GREY

11.15 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.



Neil McCallum as Blake in 'Traitor' by Dennis Potter on BBC 2

UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15
News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women
today. 3.00 London. 5.20 Partridge
family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News.
6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.30
Curtain raiser. 7.35 Film: 'A Guide
for the Married Man'. 9.15 London.
12.15 Commentaires et previsions
meteorologiques, Gazette, weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05
London. 12.20 Gus Honeybun. 12.57
News. 6.00 Diary. 12.12 News. 12.15
Faith for Life.
SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.04 News.
12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00
London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day.
6.35 Junkin. 7.05 Doctor in charge.
7.35 McCloud. 9.15 London. 12.15
News. 12.25 Weather. Guidelines.
ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News.
12.05 London. 3.30 About Women.
3.00 London. 4.20 News. 4.25 London.
5.20 Cartoon. 5.35 Wind in the willows. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia.
6.35 London. 7.30 Columbo. 9.15
London. 12.15 Reflection.
ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.30
Woman today. 3.00 London. 5.20
Osmonds. 5.50 London. 7.30 Cartoon.
7.35 Banacek. 9.15 London. 12.15 Sue
Jay reports. Weather.
ULSTER: 11.00 London. 12.32 News.
1.40 Schools. 2.20 Romper room.

today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Banacek. 9.15 London. 12.15 Sue Jay reports. Weather. ULSTER: 11.00 London. 12.32 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.20 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.22 News. 4.25 London.

5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Partners. 7.25 McCloud. 8.45 Whicker. 9.15 London. 2.30 Cloud. 8.45 Whicker. 9.15 London. 5.20 Here's Lucy. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 London. 7.03 McMillan and wife. 9.15 London. 12.15 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.45 Weather. GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 2.55 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsday. Police file. 6.35 Smith family. 7.05 Whicker. 7.35 Film: Valley of Mystery'. 9.15 London. TYNE TEES: 9.25 Thoughts from the little read book. 9.30 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.35 London. 7.30 McMillan and wife. 9.15 London. 7.30 McMillan SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland today. 6.35 Adam Smith. 7.00 London. 7.30 McMillan and wife. 9.05 Dear green place. 9.15 London. 12.15 Late call. GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.35 Cartoon. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.30 News. 6.05 Country focus. 6.35 London. 7.30 Film: 'Man in the Moon'. 9.15 London. 12.10 Meditation.

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A .d.d				

ACTON: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'The Rocket', Churchfield Road, W3. 'The Pageant and The Road to Workers' Power'. CLAPHAM: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, S.W.4. 'Defend Democratic Rights'. PADDINGTON: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', corner of Harrow Road and Great Western Road. KIRKBY: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Southdene Community Centre, off Broad Lane. 'Crisis of capitalism and the future of the

trade unions'.

dale Road, Kings Cross. 'Lessons of fighting the Housing Finance Act'.

HARROW: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Wealdstone. 'All out for Wembley Pageant'.

TOOTING: Tuesday February 27, 8 p.m. 'Selkirk Hotel', Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'The rise of Italian Fascism'.

ABERDEEN: Wednesday, February 28, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi

COVENTRY: Wednesday, February 28, 7.30 p.m. Woodend Community Building, Hillmorton Road. EDINBURGH: Wednesday February 28, 7.30 p.m. Graphic Club, 15 Brunswick Street, 'Workers' rights and the fight against the Tory government.' **GLASGOW: Wednesday February**

28, 7.30 p.m. Woodside Hall, St George's Cross. DERBY: Thursday.

7.30 p.m. Metal Mechan Premises, Charnwood Street. CROYDON: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Support the gasmen'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road (near Finsbury Park Station). 'Marxism and the trade

unions'. KINGSTON: Thursday March 1, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool Arms', Cam-bridge Road. 'Support the gas-men and hospital workers'.

GLASGOW: Sunday, March 4, 3 p.m. Partick Burgh Hall, near Merkland Street Underground. 'Hospital workers and the Tory government.'

MERTHYR

A big step forward

THE Pageant campaign has taken a big step forward in South Wales. Organizers have met their target and nearly doubled the number of people taking part.

At rehearsals in the Dow-At renearsals in the Dow-lais Labour Club on Sunday, Roy Battersby told the 30 youth and workers who at-tended that they had trans-formed the situation.

'We now have a healthy num-ber of people for our section of the Pageant. But we still want more. We want people to play pickets, scabs, pickets' wives, 17 unions who formed the Labour Party and 29 Labour MPs who were elected in 1906.

Support is also coming for workers and unions in the surrounding area. Bedlinog miners, who work at the Trelewis Drift pit, have filled a 42-seater coach and are organizing a second for Empire Pool, Wembley, on March

Other pits are now being approached to send similar delegations.

There was a drive launched over the weekend to sell tickets for Empire Pool. The public meeting which attracted 120 last Thursday gave some idea of the large delegation which this valley

town could send.

Already a wide section of the Afready a wide section of the community has been involved in re-creating the railwaymen's struggle which took place along the very line which connects Merthyr, in 1901 a major mining centre, to Cardiff, where the coal was loaded for export abroad.

The cast includes steelworkers from Ebbw Vale, now involved in a fight against 4,600 redundancies, workers from Hoover's, the biggest employer in Merthyr college students and nurses. All approach their work very



seriously with a high degree of political commitment and under-

A comment from last Friday's rehearsals summed up the feeling in Merthyr and the surrounding valley towns which are Labour

to a core.

'The socialists have been here before,' said one young Hoover worker, 'and my mates say they went away and nothing lasted. But it is up to us to make sure it lasts and carry the messages of this Pageant to everyone in

He was speaking after rehearsing two very good scenes from the Taff Vale struggle.

The first showed the striking railwaymen waiting on the line in the dead of night for a train load of scabs, drafted in by the wealthy rail owners to break the

The railway workers are huddled in groups calling out a joke or a comment to keep up spirits.

This section is not scripted, the cast make up their own lines.

Eventually the scene is pared down to a few key remarks.

Then after one ironic line the

Then, after one ironic line, the pickets break into a slow and stirring Welsh song. This mixture of native wit and feeling, politi-cal perspective and firm direction is producing good results in South Wales.

After the picket scene perhaps the most loathsome character of the Taff Vale episode was intro-duced—Bill Collison, 'Prince of the Blacklegs, King of the Scabs', head of the 'Free Labour Society' (not entirely free—his services cost the directors of the Taff Vale Railway Society £100). He dances grotesquely round the hall snapping his fingers gathering recruits to break the railwaymen's union.

In all, the Pageant team has clearly had a big impact in Merthyr. They have already be-come the rallying point for the most political of the town's youth.

Many sections of workers have supported them, including the South Wales area of the National Union of Mineworkers, which has given £10 and sent a circular urging support to all their

Next week all the miners' lodges in the area will be approached over delegations and support.

But there is no room for com-placency. What has been gained already only opens up the vision of what could be gained in the immediate future.

'The NEC must demand that the TUC breaks off talks with the government and calls an indefinite General Strike to force the Tory government to a General Election.'

Above left: Margaret and Joan Cronin lead off a rehearsal of the 'Road to Workers' Power' song. Above: Bill Collison ('Prince of the Scand') shakes hands with Hammond, one of the railway bosses.

Vallev communities Merthyr are crying out for revolutionary leadership. They are steeped in the traditions of the labour movement, but this tradition has become dead and sterile in the hands of the resterile in the hands of the re-formists of the Labour Party and the Stalinists in the Communist

Into this situation comes the revolutionary organization. It could win mass support, first among younger workers, who are ready to fight politically against Tory attacks, and later older workers who will certainly respond to a strong lead.

But as the young Hoover worker said—the socialists have been here before and left little or nothing behind them. The Pageant campaign must be the beginning of a mass revolutionary party in Wales that will lead the fight to destroy capitalism for good. This is now the perspective in South Wales.

MI5 man changed his story

WHEN British MI5 agent John Wyman was arrested in Dublin, he told police he worked for Bateman Investigations of Marlborough Crescent, Long Hand-borough, Oxfordshire, Dublin Special Court was told yester-

He told the Special Branch he was in Ireland to obtain 'a character assessment' for a client whose name he would not dis-

close. Wyman, it was alleged, said wyman, it was alleged, said he had no interest in politics. Wyman and Sergeant Patrick Crinnion are charged under the Official Secrets Act with communicating official documents to a third person at the Burlington Hotel, Dublin, in December.

Detective Inspector of the Special Branch said in evidence that Wyman later changed his story about wor Bateman Investigations. working for

He said that Wyman considered the position overnight and realized that he was 'in the same line as ourselves'.

The case continues.

General Strike demands on special TUC

'We demand that the NEC

insists on our total claim and

makes no compromise whatso-ever and that this be dated to January 1, 1973, and not April 1, 1973.

MEMBERS of the NALGO Action Group in London will lobby next Monday's special congress of the TUC demanding a General Strike.

A group Press statement said the lobby would 'drive home our opposition to governmental strictures'.

The National Association of Local Government Officers national executive has voted not to make representations to the Tory Pay and Prices Board. An economic committee re-

An economic committee recommendation to participate
with the corporatist boards
was defeated by 40 to 19.

A resolution from the Metropolitan District Council calling
for a General Strike to force
a General Election was defeated

by 57 votes to two.

The General Strike resolution

was passed last week at a district council meeting which represents 64,000 London workers local government, health. electricity and gas.

A member of the council told Workers Press: 'At last the end political stance is in sight.' NALGO's

● The British Museum branch of the Civil and Public Services passed the Association has following resolution:

SLL

Public Meetings

capacity).

SOUTHAMPTON THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 8 p.m. Joiners Arms Hotel St Mary's Street Speaker: ALAN THORNETT (Deputy senior steward,

Morris Motors, in a personal

DAGENHAM THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8pm Manor Park Library Romford Rd/Rabbitts Road opp Rabbitts Pub speaker: G HEALY

(SLL National Sec)

THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m. 'Windmill Hotel' Witham Speaker: CLIFF SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Cttee)

WEST LONDON THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8 p.m. Lyndhurst Hall Grafton Road, NW3 (SLL Central Committee)

FRIDAY MARCH 2, 8 p.m. Assembly Hall Town Hall Speaker: M. BANDA

(SLL Central Committee) **TOTTENHAM** TUESDAY MARCH 6, 8 p.m. Lord Morrison Hall Chesnut Grove Speaker: G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)

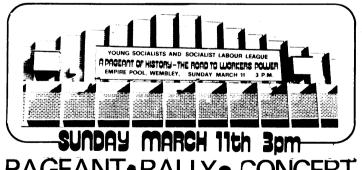
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Defend trade unionism and basic living standards

Unite in action to make this Tory government resign

The road to power is through the building of the revolutionary party



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Special ATUA meetings

ANCILLARY WORKERS and **CIVIL SERVANTS**

No state control of wages! Support the gasmen, hospital workers and Civil Servants! Make the Tories resign!

Tuesday February 27 7.30 p.m.

Norfolk Room Caxton Hall Caxton Street, SW1.

POSTAL WORKERS The crisis of capitalism and the future of the trade unions

Sunday March 4 10.30 a.m. Conway Small Hall Red Lion Square Holborn.

BUILDING WORKERS The crisis of capitalism and the future of the trade unions Tuesday March 6

7.30 p.m. Norfolk Room Caxton Hall Caxton Street, SW1

Workers

TWO DAYS LEFT TO **RAISE £629.61** FOR FEBRUARY

FOR THE first time ever it looks like we might not reach our £1,750 target. It is urgent we do everything possible immediately and turn the situation

We know we can do it. Even if it means an almost super-human effort, we are sure you, dear readers, will not let us

More than ever today, Workers Press is needed to provide a lead in this political situation. We must warn gasworkers, civil servants, teachers and carworkers of the dangers ahead. The trade union leaders are do-The trade union leaders are do-ing their best to restrict each struggle to their protest stop-pages or to try and keep each section of workers isolated from

Only united action can defeat the Tory government. Only our paper fights for this each day.

Make an all-out, last-minute fight for our Fund. We still have two days left. Let's show that once again we can complete our target in good time. Rush every donation immediately to:

Workers Press February Appeal Fund 186a Clapham High Street London, SW4 7UG

Key BRS decision today

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

BRITISH Road Services drivers at the key Swindon and Castle Bromwich depots yesterday decided to stay out pending the outcome of a mass meeting in Birmingham today.

Today's meeting is expected to hear a union recommendation to return to work.

The terms for a return are believed to be little different from those rejected on Sunday— £45 loss of earnings payment, plus a bonus review after the Tory pay standstill ends.

The dispute began when drivers claimed an immediate £2.50 for heavy-goods vehicle

Later thev across the board for all drivers.

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What next for the teachers' pay fight?

WITH NO SIGN of a Tory climb-down on the issue of the special London allowance and the second wave of their guerrilla strikes starting today, many teachers are asking 'What next?'

On the eve of today's walk-out by 2,900 teachers in 207 London schools, the message from the Department of Education and Science was: 'The strikes will have no effect on government thinking.

A spokesman said: 'There is no prospect of a change in government thinking. Mrs Margaret Thatcher has met teachers and the management panel of Burnham several times and has

ASSESSMENT BY IAN YEATS

made it clear that the London allowance would have to come out of the global sum set aside for teachers' pay.'

What worries rank-and-file members of the profession most, especially young men and women on 'poverty pay', is that many of their leaders consider that even if they fail in getting the allowance excluded from Phase Two, at least they will have put up a fight.

up a fight.

As one teacher put it to me:
'A three-day strike is useless.
We've got to smack and hurt
the public really hard so that the
public will hurt Heath.'

Commenting on what further
action teachers will take if their

present selective strike campaign fails, NUT president-elect and Communist Party member Mr Max Morris said his executive had not discussed future policy. But asked if the union would recommend more strikes in open defiance of Phase Two Mr Morris said that was a matter on which the executive would have to be 'advised by solicitors'.

He refused to say whether he believed the first two waves of guerrilla strikes could win the teacher's case.

One of the factors teachers claim mitigates against the executive calling all-out strike action to force the Tories to exclude the London allowance from Phase Two of the state pay plan is the union's own rules.

Striking teachers are eligible for full pay from the NUT and local association officials say that to call an indefinite stoppage could break the union's finances. But teachers' unrest with their

official leadership is plainly shown in the fact that some borough association's have exceeded union instructions for selective action and called out all their members

on half-day or one-day strikes.

The NUT has sent a circular to all members asking them not

to participate in these strikes.

Spokesmen at NUT headquarters were more candid about further action than Mr Morris.
It was freely admitted that

strikes after Phase Two became law would depend firmly on the legal position and the possibility

of such penalties as fines.

The NUT's strategy is based on a month of protests convincing a sufficient number of MPs to vote for an amendment to the Counter Inflation Bill excluding the London allowance.

The allowance is at present fixed at £118 and teachers want it raised to £300. They have been



Surveillance of McAlpine's Aldwych site. . . Yesterday morning two men continued sitting in a car opposite, taking notes, and two photographers (above) turned up to take pictures of everyone on the picket line.

Builders want all-London support

BUILDERS on the strike-hit McAlpine site in the Aldwych have called on all London sites to come out in support of their fight against the lump.

Delegates from McAlpine's will press for all-out strike action by all London building workers at a meeting of the Joint Sites Committee (JSC) on Thursday

A meeting of McAlpine's men vesterday morning heard Tony Crilly, federation steward, tell them the fight against labouronly sub-contracting had to be extended.

Backed by the government, the building employers were trying to undermine the basis of trade

unionism in the industry. Lump labour was spreading, he said.

BY PHILIP WADE

The fight at McAlpine's needed the support of all building workers and the working class as a whole. The meeting endorsed a motion to be put to the JSC meeting calling for solidarity strike action in London.

Another proposal carried was that the site lobby the TUC Special Congress on Monday.

They would demand a General Strike to bring down the Tories and put back a Labour govern-ment pledged to nationalize the building industry under workers' control and without compensaThis afternoon the men—who came out on strike last Wednesday—will march on the conciliation panel meeting in central London where employers and union officials will try and reach a settlement of the dispute.

They will demand that the panel find that McAlpine's are letting out work to labour only sub-contractors, contrary to the Working Rule Agreement, which says all men must be directly employed.

It is hoped to from other sites for today's

All-out strike at hospital

WHITTINGTON Hospital workers in north London voted unanimously yesterday to stage an all-out indefinite strike from March 5.

The 120-strong meeting critical of the present selective industrial action which is being proposed by the unions involved

in the claim.

A speaker from the National Union of Teachers also addressed

the meeting.

A Whittington worker said later: 'We're all in it this time. This has got to be an all-out fight against the government.'

Last night stewards from seven

central London hospitals—Royal Free, north London group, University College, Moorefields, Bart's, the east London group and the hospitals for diseases of the chest—met to discuss the

industrial campaign.

In Coventry Barry Gleadow,
Gulson Road hospital porter, told Workers Press:

'The gasworkers are the test case for all lower-paid workers.

'Surely something must be done. The cost of living is shooting up. I voted Labour but I can't see them doing much better. I just can't cope with my rate increases. I pay £1 a week now and with the revaluation it must double. I earn £19.08 and I just can't manage.'

CORRECTION:
In yesterday's 'What We Think' (col 3, para 4), owing to a typographical error, it was stated that the Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions 'is the Stalinist body which has fought at every stage against the Tory government and its pernicious anti-union legislation'. This should have read sought at every stage to undermine the growing struggle against the Tory government and its pernicious antiunion legislation?.

Unite in action to defend basic rights

SLL **PUBLIC** MEETINGS

OXFORD

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27 8 p.m. Clarendon Institute Walton
Speaker: G. HEALY
(SLL National Secretary)

MEDWAY

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27 8 p.m. Aurora Hotel Brompton Road Gillingham
Speaker: MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Committee)

SLOUGH

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 28 8 p.m. Britwell Community Centre Long Furlong Drive Britwell Estate Speaker: G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)

TUC must call a General Strike to make the Tory government resign

LOBBY THE TUC MONDAY MARCH 5

9 a.m. Central Halls, Westminster (opposite Houses of Parliament)

Report back meeting: 2 p.m. Friars Halls, Sheetmetal Workers Union, Blackfriars Bridge (nearest tube Blackfriars).