OFFICIAL WEEKLY PAPER OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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FIVE YOUNG WORKERS SAY WEMBLEY PAGEANT A MUST!

AM going to Empire Pool, Wembley on Sunday March 11 because I think that we can learn something from the struggles of the past and

how the working class fought for our rights.

The Pageant is going to show how we got some of our basic rights, and I think as many workers as possible should attend because what we are fighting for now is not just for wages, but the defence of basic rights won over 100 years ago.

In the present struggle for wages and improved standards of living, union officials are leaving politics in the background. We have to have a rise just to keep our standard of living on the same level, let alone raise it.

The Tories are effectively cutting wages every day of the week by allowing prices to go up by leaps and bounds.

We all deserve a pay rise—Fords made a profit of about £60m last year-but because of the government pay-control laws, getting a rise means fighting a political battle against the government.

In a battle of this kind politics must be in the forefront, not in the background. Any wages struggle today is a political fight against the government to bring it down and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The Wembley pageant will also begin the building of a revolutionary party which is needed because the Labour Party has proved that it is not capable of defending our democratic rights.

This must be a revolutionary leadership that can bring socialism to Britain so that it benefits the working class.

Gary Carey, 21, Fords Engine Plant



tal workers as possible should try to come to the Pageant. Most people realize that we are one of the lowest paid workers in the country. But what many people don't realize is that the Tory government is our main enemy. They are the ones stopping our wage increase. And they are the ones whom we have to mobilize against at Empire Pool, Wembley.

> Mary Moriarty. Hospital worker.

THE GOVERNMENT'S intervention to block pay rises is the beginnings of a dictatorship. The only solution now is workers' control-under a Labour government—of the gas industry. The most urgent thing is getting the Tories out of office. This is why I will be at Wembley.

Alan Baker, 17, Apprentice gas fitter.

AM COMING to the Pageant because students have to learn their rights were won through struggle over hundreds of years by the working class: we must learn 2 from them how to struggle in the building of a revolutionary party.

This means exposing the elements that pretend to fight and yet try to destroy the fight.

Students must get the support of trade unionists to get the government out.

> Simon Vevers. Exeter University.

AM coming to the Pageant because I want to get rid of the Tories and I want to see if the Young Socialists can put forward an alternative. I don't think one-day strikes, like the ones that are being organized now, can do anything.

Paul Selwyn. Wembley Civil Servant.

Book your ticket now. Details on page three. See 'The struggle for basic rights'-centre pages

TREACHERY OF PROTEST

FIVE MAJOR strikes last week brought thousands of workers all over the country into open battle against the Tory government.

London teachers and civil servants held one-day stoppages.
Gas workers continued their strike in many parts of the country.
Car workers and railway drivers followed the next day with further stoppages.

These actions—which revealed widespread militancy and anger against the Tory government's pay control laws—were political strikes.

They came into direct conflict with the Tory Phase Two, published last week. The wage control legislation once again made it absolutely clear that there will be no 'special cases' or compromises. No group of workers will be allowed to get anything more than £1 a week plus 4 per cent.

The Tories have no intention of bowing to 'pressure' from one-day strikes and token stoppages. These protest actions are being organized by trade union leaders who want to keep the working class away from reaching the obvious political conclusions. The union bureaucrats want to head off the huge movement of the working class.

They want to do this in order to prepare to recognize the Pay Board to be set up under Phase Two legislation and to begin active collaboration with state control of wages.

Such a step would be the worst kind of treachery and it would leave the working class in a very dangerous position.

If the Tories are allowed to isolate sections of workers and defeat them one by one, it will be a huge set back for the

working class.

The only way forward is to unite and create the industrial and political conditions in which the Tories can be forced out of office.

This is a demand which Young Socialist members will put before the special TUC on Monday March 5, when they lobby the meeting.

MURDER OVER SINAI DESERT

THE shooting down on Wednesday February 21 of a Libyan airliner in which 106 passengers and crew were killed was no accidental, hot-headed action by a couple of trigger-happy Israeli fighter jet pilots.

It was cold-blooded murder. The culmination of the Israeli government's confrontation policy towards the Arab nations and in particular towards the heroic Palestinian guerrilla fighters, engaged in a bitter battle to regain their homeland.

No one should be fooled by the liberal protestations of horror which followed this callous act. The imperialist powers are fully aware of what the Israeli state and Zionism stand for.

As policeman for the oil monopolists in the Middle East, Israel has had the fullest backing for its aggression from both the US and Britain, ever since the Palestinians were turfed out of the country to make way for the Israeli state immediately after World War II.

Zionism cannot be seen as something separate from the murder of 106 innocent passengers in the Libyan Boeing, blasted out of the sky over the Sinai desert.

The Israeli jet pilots acted on orders from their high command, 'after careful consideration' was made amongst the air force top brass.

Earlier in the day Israeli commando forces had carried out raids on seven Arab guerrilla bases in North Lebanon.

Later last week whilst Arabs demonstrated in Cairo against

Later last week whilst Arabs demonstrated in Cairo against this barbaric murder the United States was completing its diplomatic 'peace' manoeuvres with Egypt's Hafez Ismail special adviser on national security and Israel's premier Golda Meir.

In the face of redoubled aggression from Israel the Arab bourgeois nationalists can agree to no other alternative but a further round of talks with the US and Israel.

And whilst Arab government leaders from Sadat of Egypt to Gaddafi of Libya sit back and do nothing Israeli War Minister General Moshe Dayan makes a cynical offer of 'blood money' as recompense for the mass murder.

What has emerged clearly from these latest events in the Middle East is the desperate nature of the Israeli government which must attempt to provoke the pretext for a wide-scale attack on the Arabs.

Golda Meir and company, mortally afraid of unrest among sections of their own working class, are bent on diverting attention away from domestic problems through stepping up aggression against the Arab states.

Most of all they and the United States government fear the possible unity of the Jewish and Arab working class in a final accounting with Zionism.

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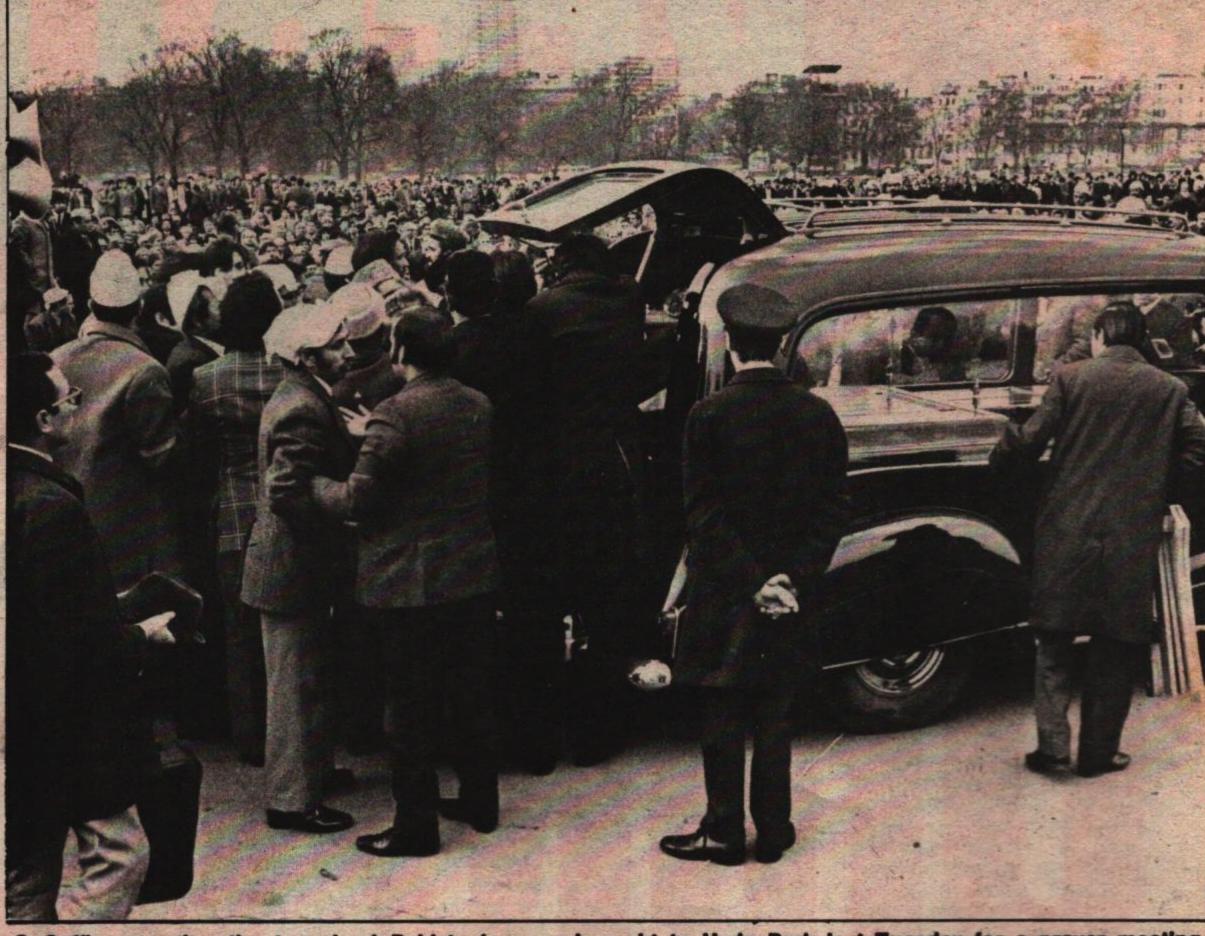
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• Coffins carrying the two dead Pakistanis were brought to Hyde Park last Tuesday for a prayer meeting.

THE ALDWYCH SHOOTING;

ARMED POLICE ROAM THE STREETS

ARMED POLICEMEN, with the authority to 'shoot and kill at discretion' are taking over from the traditional, quiet bobbies on the beat.

They are organized into special units and are completely mobile. They can arrive at a 'trouble spot' within minutes.

Armed police units now operate in most major cities in the country. About 1,000 police in London and around 2,000 in other parts of the country have been trained to use firearms.

These are some of the facts to emerge into the open after the shooting of two young Pakistanis at India House in London.

Central London is of course one of the main patrolling grounds for the Special Patrol Group, who have been ostensibly organized to protect foreign embassies and other such 'vulnerable' targets.

On Tuesday February 20 two members of the SPG were rushed to India House to deal with 'an armed raid'. They arrived within four minutes.

Pc Stanley Conley and Pc George Burrows entered the building through a side entrance. A few minutes later they had shot and killed two young Pakistanis armed with toy plastic guns.

Basharat Hussain, a 19-yearold factory worker from Watford, died from a bullet through his heart. Mohammed Hanif Hussain was shot by Pc Burrows in the head and another 15-year-old was arrested and later charged with attempted murder and conspiracy to abduct eight people.

The bodies of the two youth were carried to Hyde Park last Tuesday for a funeral ceremony.

One of the most serious aspects of this shooting is the fact that arms for police are no

longer simply a matter for Sunday afternoon debate. It is a reality which has proved to be deadly on a number of instances over the past few months.

And the Tories have encouraged this step in line with the political crisis. They know that in order to be able to face the fury and strength of the working class—and particularly of young people—they need something much more than the conventional blue-uniformed boys.

Only a few hours after the two Pakistani youth were shot, Robert Carr, Home Secretary, said the speed with which the police call had been answered 'was astounding'.

'What is necessary in exceptional circumstances is that police should be available quickly and that if necessary one or two of them should be armed. That we will see is achieved.'

Behind the scenes there is a conspiracy afoot. Armed police and the secret service are now directly involved, more than ever before, in political activity.

This fact is also given weight by a recent publication to emerge from the Conservative Political Centre which recommends the use of 'sufficient unsophisticated' equipment and 'more effective, non-lethal deterrents to deal with internal security situations.'

The publication called 'In Defence of Peace' says: 'The lack of formal training has been offset by the commonsense and wide experience of our regular soldiers, but inevitably a study of counter-terrorism is going to involve the armed forces in a closer study of current politics.'

The two Pakistanis had been carrying toy guns, although the police described them as replicas. Robert Carr told the Commons that the replicas would have to be seen 'pretty closely before one

realizes that they are replicas and not the real thing'.

The facts are that replica guns cost around £13 each.

Mohammed Hanif and Basharat were carrying plastic toys called 'Super Bang S' sold for 58p at Woolworths and other toy shops. And they weren't imported from overseas as suggested by Labour MPs, but manufactured in Wales.

All three of the Pakistani youth involved in the 'raid' were protesting against the detention of 80,000 Pakistani prisoners-of-war in India. They were angry about the prisoners issue but had not been active in politics at all.

Their death has left large sections of the immigrant community in a state of shock and disbelief. At the funeral ceremony in Hyde Park about 2,500 young and old Pakistanis held a prayer meeting. The bodies of the two youth were flown to Pakistan last Thursday.

Abdul Hanif, an 18-year-old student from London said he was shocked when he first heard the news of the shootings.

'There wasn't any need to kill them. I did not expect this from British police.'

THE Special Patrol Group has also started to roam the streets of Brixton, South East London, where conflict between police and black youth has been widespread. Last week the SPG were installed in the area for a two-week 'assignment on crime detection'.

At a public meeting called by Lambeth's Council for Community Relations SPG men were described as 'hooligans and legalized thugs' harassing and intimidating young blacks on the streets.

Sat 9 a.m.-5 p.m.



BOOKS PERIODICALS NEWSPAPERS

EMPIRE POOL PAGEANT All out for the biggest ever anti-Tory rally

REHEARSALS for the Pageant of workers' history have involved young people in Middleton, Jarrow, Merthyr Tydfil and London. They will form the main body of 'actors' who will dramatize the history at Empire Pool, Wembley, on Sunday, March 11.

Here in special interviews with Keep Left three youth from Midleton explain their interest in the Peterloo massacre and its relevance to today's fight against the Tory government.

Charles Young, 20, said he decided to take part in the Pageant when he heard the organizers talking about defence of basic democratic rights today.

The main lesson of Chartism, he said, was the need for a true leadership.

'The Chartists were thousands of working men who were betrayed by their leaders who would not fight.

'Things are like that today.

Anyone can see that leaders of

the trade union movement are traitors.

'The Pageant will work this way. People will look at the present and then back at the past. They will say it happened then to the working class and it will happen now. We are fighting now for the working class but if we make one slip we will pay a big price. The Tories will come in and cut us up. We will have failed and the working class will have failed.

'The Pageant means change. I am prepared to give a lead. I am taking part in the Pageant to show that at Peterloo lads like me got slashed. If we don't get new leaders we will be slashed again.'

At school the real history of the working class is kept secret. It would be dangerous for the bosses to allow the education system to show young people just how their ancestors were exploited and murdered for profit.

And how, since there were bosses and Tories, the working class have fought—sometimes led



• 'People will look at the past and at the present . . . It happened then, it can happen now.' Rehearsals in progress.

The Road to Workers' Power

by honest men and sometimes by traitors.

Peter Price, 15, was born and bred in the city that gave birth to Chartism—one of the most significant mass movements in the history of the working class.

'But we did not learn very much about it. The Pageant has shown me what we did learn was wrong and disorientated. We learned about the Reformers

Bamford and Orator Hunt, the man of Peterloo but you were given very little on what these men were politically.

'We have done 100 years of history but that told us nothing, it was the history of kings and the wealthy.

'The man I like was Harney, the Chartist leader. He was a real revolutionary; he never gave in and always spoke against those who wanted to compromise. He said "Don't give in", while the others did give in. Harney was prepared while the others were not.

'We need a movement along the lines of Harney—but with Marxism today.

'The Pageant is mainly about rights, and how workers won their rights. Now these rights are being taken away so it's time to take up the fight again.

'Now a lot of workers are sceptical. They have been let down time and time again by the leadership. But when we take this to London we can show the lessons from Chartism—how you need a revolutionary leadership and a revolutionary party to take the power.'

All over Britain there are lads like Steve Humphries. He has

been on the dole for two years. He would like to have a good job—but there are none; only the army offers the prospect of escape.

To change this intolerable situation he has become part of the Pageant—the Road to Workers' Power.

'I feel proud to be doing the Pageant because no one else is doing it—bringing out the struggles of the past and showing how your grandfather and great-grandfather fought. We show how they fought then and how we have to struggle now.

'When I am unemployed I feel demoralized. You don't know what to do, you have no money. We are fighting against that in the Pageant. We are fighting to keep the cost of living down and double the pensions to keep the old people from starving. We are fighting to change the whole system like the Chartists did.

'Some lads come up in the town and say we are mad. I feel like smashing them in the face. How are they going to fight. They think they are clever but they are on their knees to Heath really. We should show them how to fight the proper way. That's why I'm in the Pageant.'





Charles Young



Peter Price



Steve Humphries

THE DOLE AGAIN

UNEMPLOYED youth in Liverpool who were given jobs as part of the government's experimental community industry scheme, now face the sack because the money is running out.

The scheme provides work for the young unemployed—helping with painting or decorating, helping in schools and play groups and helping old people. About 65 youth are employed at the moment.

But the government grant towards the scheme runs out at the end of this month. And if no new grant is forthcoming, then it will be back to the dreary round of the dole queue for the youth who managed to escape for a time.

At the moment the future looks bleak.

Councillor William Lafferty, chairman of the Liverpool Youth Employment Committee, has said that although many organizations had recommended that the scheme be continued and expanded, there has been no word from the Tories.

And he warned that unless an announcement was made very soon, the youth and scheme organizers will be given the sack.

BOOK YOUR TICKET FOR EMPIRE POOL NOW

DEFEND ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

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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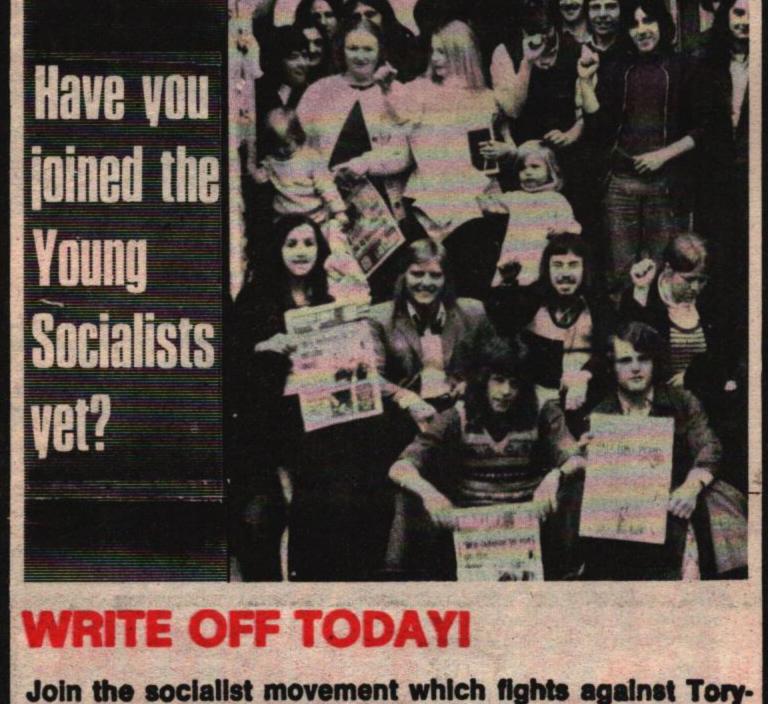
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ism, anti-union laws, unemployment and low wages. For details fill in form and send to YS National Secretary, 186A Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

The fight for

FOUR major episodes in world-class history will be presented at the Pageant of History on Sunday March 11, at Empire Pool, Wembley.

Dramatized versions of history will each last about half an hour and will deal with the fight for free trade unions, the right to vote, the Taff Vale railway strike (and the formation of the Labour Party) and the founding of the First International in 1864.

The background to two of these periods is examined here in special articles by JANE BROWN.

Both of these two episodes marked a major unions in any other way except throuse development in the political consciousness of ing of a workers' political party. In 1906, the Labour Party had a

The right to vote and Parliamentary repre-

sentation was won only through bitter struggle involving thousands of workers. The Peterloo massacre of 1819 was followed by renewed campaigns for the charter. By 1939 the Chartists had collected one million signatures for the right to a decent standard of living. For them the right to vote was essential to achieve these aims.

The Taff Vale judgement of 1901 had far deeper implications. Railway workers at Taff Vale had struck against the victimization of a workmate. Their union was fined a total of £42,000.

It was clearly impossible to defend trade unions in any other way except through the building of a workers' political party.

In 1906, the Labour Party had a 'spectacular success'

Chartism and the right to vote

CHARTISM was the first political movement built by the British working class to defend it against capitalism.

The inventions of the Industrial Revolution had made it possible for rich men to mass-produce goods in factories employing hundreds of workers at a weekly wage. So by 1840 big industrial cities had developed, covering areas which 50 years earlier were open countryside.

Men who had been farmworkers or craftsmen, spining and weaving cloth in their own cottages, found themselves under the power of factory owners who were interested only in making as much money as fast as possible.

In his book 'The Condition of the Working Class in England', Engels tells us about workers' conditions in cities such as Manchester.

If trade was good, they worked a 15-hour day, six day a week. But whenever trade slackened off, workers were sacked and remained out of work for months on end.

FACTORIES

The cut-throat competition between manufacturers meant that wages were kept down to a few shillings a week. There were no safety precautions in the factories, and young children (who worked as hard as their parents) were often forced to clean moving machinery.

If workers managed to escape injury, they were still condemned to constant ill health because of terrible living conditions. Landlords rushed up jerry-built houses to keep pace with the expanding town population, and divided old houses into smaller and smaller units, so that sometimes several families shared each room.

All the landlord cared about was collecting as much rent as possible. It did not worry him if over-crowding and lack of sanitation caused epidemics of

typhoid fever, cholera and other diseases.

Engels shows us the enormous variation in average age of death, according to which social class you belonged. In Manchester, 54 per cent of workers' children died before they reached the age of five. In Liverpool, the average age of death for 'labourers, mechanics and servants' was only 15 years, compared to 35 years for 'gentry and professional persons'.

WORKERS

Of course, workers were not prepared to accept such a miserable life. As soon as they found themselves crowded together in cities and factories, they began to realize that the only way to improve conditions, and defend themselves against wage-cuts and unemployment, was to unite against the employers. Laws had been passed to prevent this, such as the Combination Laws of 1799, and the Six Acts which followed the Peterloo massacre in 1819.

It did not take long for workers to realize that the government was their main enemy. At every stage, its laws helped the employers. Workers saw that the government represented only only the rich, and began to demand 'Universal Suffrage'—the right for every worker to vote.

Universal suffrage was the first of six political demands included in the Peoples Charter, written in 1838 by William Lovett of the London Working Mens Association.

The other five demands were safeguards to make sure that workers would be able to vote freely for working class candidates, without being intimidated by their employers. These demands included election by secret ballot; equal electoral districts; abolition of the property qualification for MPs; payment for MPs; and annual parliaments.

Lovett and his friends were skilled craftsmen, comparatively well educated and well off. They thought the right to vote was mainly a moral question, and that it had to be achieved by peaceful, constitutional means, such as persuading middle class Radical MPs to put forward their case in the House of Commons.

Such 'moral force' supporters of the Charter soon came into conflict with a larger section of Chartists, who believed that 'physical force' would be necessary to make the Charter law.

The ruling class could never be persuaded by rational argument to surrender its power and privileges. Factory workers had learnt this from bitter experience. For them, the right to vote meant the right to decent living and working conditions.

In September, 1838, an enormous mass meeting was held on Kersal Moor, near Manchester. About 100,000 textile workers heard Joseph Stephens explain the purpose of the Charter:

'This question of universal suffrage was a knife and fork question, after all. It was a bread and cheese question . . . and if any man asked him what he meant by universal suffrage, he would answer that every working man in the land had the right to have a good coat to his back, a comfortable abode in which to shelter himself and his family, a good dinner upon his table, and no more work than was necessary for keeping him in health, and as much wages for that work as would keep him in plenty . . .'

By 1839 the Chartists had gathered over a million signatures in support of their political programme. Before they presented their petition to Parliament, they organized a Convention of delegates from all over the country to discuss future tactics.

VIOLENCE

If the petition failed, the 'physical force' men wanted to mobilize the strength of the working class to make the government give way. Some were in favour of a General Strike, while others believed only an armed revolution could win the day. Another group, led by Feargus O'Connor, owner of the Chartist 'Northern Star' newspaper, hoped that the threat of violence would be enough.

'Peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must' was their slogan. It succeeded in frightening the 'moral force' Chartists, many of whom walked out of the meeting

There were so many disagreements that when Parliament eventually voted against even debating the petition, the Chartist leaders could not decide what action to take. Many workers, however, were so angry at parliament's arrogant refusal to hear their case that they were ready to fight.

In South Wales, ironworkers and coalminers organized the Newport Uprising. Armed with a few guns, home-made pikes, staves and pitchforks, they marched to Newport on November 3, hoping to spark off a nationwide revolution.

UPRISING

The Mayor took refuge in the Westgate Hotel at the centre of the town, and ordered soldiers to fire on the crowd. Nine Chartists died. The three leaders of the uprising were tried and sentenced to death for high treason.

The uprising provided a good excuse for mass arrests of Chartists up and down the country. Soon O'Connor, Lovett and many others were safely behind bars.

But the Chartist movement could not be stamped out so easily. Though Lovett gave up politics in 1841, O'Connor helped launch the National Charter Association from his prison cell. Economic conditions were worse than ever. When O'Connor was released in September 1841, he found himself the hero of millions of workers.

He immediately set about launching another great petition for the Charter.

1842 was the make-or-break year for Chartism. If the petition was rejected again, with its 3 million signatures, there could be no escaping an all-out confrontation between the working class and the government. The outcome of this struggle would largely depend on the effectiveness of Chartist leadership.

The petition was rejected in July 1842. Opposition from the ruling class was strengthened by fear of revolution, rather than weakened, as O'Connor had hoped it would be. One MP stated that universal suffrage was 'utterly incompatible with the very existence of civilization', since 'civilization rests upon the security of property'.

The response from the work-

General Strike, extending from the Midlands through the industrial north, and up into Scotland. Workers marched from one town to the next, calling new factories out, and removing the plugs from the great steam boilers, so that the bosses would not be able to restart their machinery.

The strike had already lasted for a week before the Chartist leaders met to decide their tactics. Delegates arriving in Manchester found that not a single textile mill was working, and the strikers had already voted to turn their strike into a strike for the Charter. Local Chartists were at the head of the strike movement in many places.

But O'Connor showed a fatal hesitancy. He had never been a revolutionary. He saw clearly that a General Strike would lead to clashes with the soldiers and ultimately civil war.

Although the majority of the Chartists voted to support the strike, the 'Northern Star' came out in an open denunciation of it as a middle class conspiracy. The intiative had been lost. Within a few days the Chartist leaders were in prison, and the strikers were left to be slowly starved back to work.

RETREAT

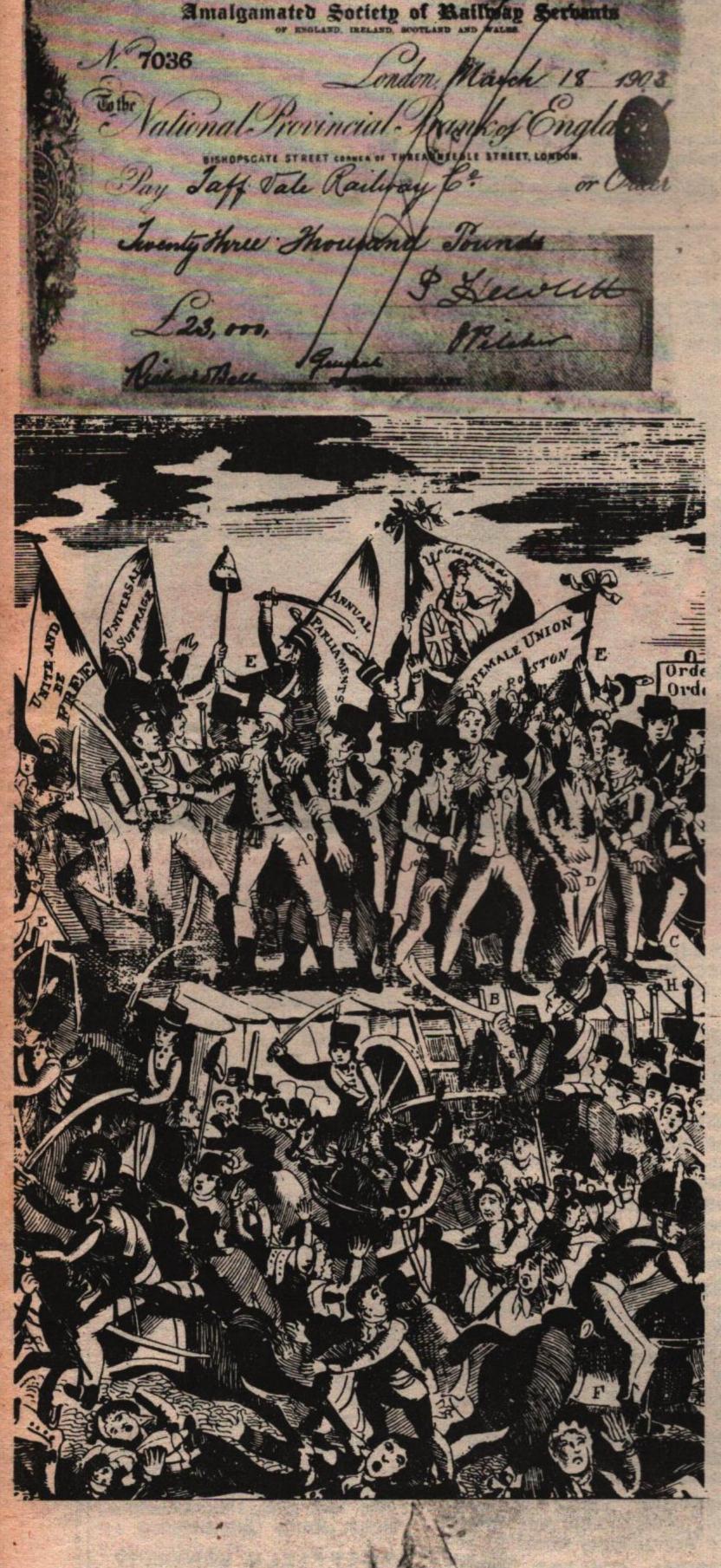
As a mass movement, Chartism never recovered from this political retreat. But in its later years some of its leaders carried forward the lessons of 1838-1842.

After coming in contact with Marx and Engels, George Harney and Ernest Jones succeeded in getting the National Charter Association to adopt a socialist programme. Workers had shown their willingness to fight.

The fight could only be won if an independent working class party was built, aimed at taking the power rather than persuading the ruling class to make concessions.

The Chartists began to learn this is the 1840s. They stood at the beginning of Britain's 'truly proletarian revolutionary tradition'. As Trotsky wrote in 1925, 'The British proletariat may and must see in Chartism not only its past, but also its future.'

basic Hights





1906: The Labour Party

THE TAFF Vale Judgement threatened the very existence of trade unions, by making it illegal to organize effective strike action. The House of Lords upheld a court decision stating that unions could be sued for damages (e.g. loss of profits) by the company concerned.

Taff Vale was the culmination of a prolonged campaign by the employers to undermine trade unionism. Britain's trading position was no longer as strong as it had been.

By 1900 both America and Germany were overtaking Britain in the production of coal and iron and in technological development. In an effort to keep up their profits, British businessmen helped extend the Empire in Africa and the Far East. In Britain, they accused the trade unions of sabotaging the economy.

The 1890s saw the establishment of a National Free Labour Association (of professional scabs), and the setting up of an Employers' Parliamentary Committee. This body advised its members on how to prosecute strikers so as to take best advantage of the loopholes in the existing laws.

In 1898 a considerable success was achieved in the Lyons v Wilkins case, where the judgement made most picketing illegal. It was obvious whose side the judges were on when it came to a confrontation between capital and labour.

Support

The strike on the Taff Vale Railway began in August 1900. A signalman had been victimized, so the rest of the men came out in his support, encouraged by the local union official.

The General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Richard Bell, was reluctant to make the strike official. He regarded the local official (who was a socialist) as a trouble-maker. But he was overruled by his executive and sent down to Wales to supervise the strike.

Eleven days later the dispute was settled by arbitration. But the company had been very busy during that time. The General Manager, Beasley, was a vicious anti-unionist. He was determined, with the help of the Employers' Parliamentary Council to do as much as he could to destroy the railwaymen's union.

First he refused to meet union representatives. Then he published advertisements for scab labour, applying also to the National Free Labour Association.

Unemployed workers began to arrive in Cardiff from all over the country. Many were persuaded to return home, when the union explained the issues of the strike to them and bought their return tickets. Others were bribed into staying by Beasley's offers of free food and drink, and homes in the cottages from which ASRS members had been evicted.

On the legal front, the Company began by offering £100 reward for information leading to convictions for damaging railway property. Two men, who had been trying to make life difficult for the blacklegs, went to prison on this score. Then Beasley got 400 summonses issued against those men who had not given proper strike notice. Sixty men had been fined £4 by the time the strike ended.

But his major weapon was an injunction against the union for unlawful picketing, and a claim for damages for unlawful picketing. The unions believed the 1876 Act made them immune from such action. But the injunction was granted.

The Court of appeal reversed the decision, then the House of Lords reaffirmed it, in July 1901. Damages amounted to £23,000.

With costs added, the railway union found itself £42,000 out of pocket. Still more serious were the implications for the trade union movement as a whole. Within a few weeks similar claims for damages were showering in from employers up and down the country.

Many unionists realized immediately that unless the Taff Vale judgement was reversed in law, the unions would be reduced to bankruptcy, and finished as fighting organizations. But the TUC leaders were almost as complacent as they are today. They thought they could carry on quite comfortably. Some of them were even pleased with the judgement. They hoped it might limit unofficial strikes and the activities of socialists in the unions.

'The decision on the Taff Vale Case will be a blessing in disguise, and will tend to minimize, if not entirely kill, irresponsible action in the localities,' wrote James Sexton, Secretary of the National Union of Dock Labourers. Bell, the ASRS Secretary, also welcomed the judgement as 'a useful influence in solidifying the forces of trade unionism and in subjecting them to a wholesome discipline'.

But other workers were not prepared to stand back and watch the trade union movement cutting its own throat. Many of the new unions of unskilled workers were determined to fight off the employers' attack by political means.

Reverse

Only a change in the law could reverse the Taff Vale judgement. Since this was the last thing the Tory government wanted to do, the government would have to be changed.

Socialists were in the forefront on this matter. A number of small socialist groups existed, independent of the main Tory and Liberal parties.

Socialists had played a large part in unionizing unskilled workers, during the dockers and gasworkers strikes of 1889-1890. Throughout the 1890s they had been fighting a running battle with the union bureaucracy to get such demands as the legal eight-hour day and nationalization of industry adopted as TUC policy.

In 1900, the TUC had at last been persuaded, by a small majority, to sanction the setting up of a Labour Representation Committee, aimed at organizing the election of workers' representatives to parliament.

The socialist groups were strongly represented in the LRC. But trade union affiliations were slow to come in. Many of the trade unions which did affiliate saw the LRC just as a pressure group, and refused to abandon their traditional support for the Liberal party.

The Taff Vale judgement transformed the situation. The LRC took a principled stand for the reversal of the judgement and the restoration of the right to organize.

Contrasting this to the TUC's complacency and the Liberal Party's lack of concern, trade unionists began to understand that the political reply to Taff Vale must consist of the development of an independent working class party.

Abstain

Trade union affiliations to the LRC nearly trebled, from 353,000 in 1901 to 847,000 by the beginning of 1903. Equally important, the 1903 annual conference of the LRC decided to raise money to pay its MPs, by a trade union levy, and declared that in future LRC election candidates must 'strictly abstain from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties'. The Labour Party stems from these decisions.

At the 1903 TUC, the policy of the LRC for reversing the Taff Vale judgement was passed by a big majority. The right wing were routed.

Three years later, the Tories proposed new trade union legislation. They wanted strike funds to be separated from general funds, the former still being liable for damages.

The Liberal Party was prepared to accept this compromise.

But in the 1906 election, the Labour Party had a spectacular success. 29 of its members were elected, together with 24 Liberal trade unionists who supported much of Labour's policy.

In framing the 1906 Trades Disputes Bill, the new Liberal government was obliged to accept Labour amendments. The Act which went on the statute books did amount to a reversal of Taff Vale.

Hope was high in the working class that the Labour Party would fight all the way in the future. The right to vote had been used successfully to defend the right to organize in trade unions.

If a Labour government could be returned, then all the basic rights of the working class would be secured. But such hopes were to be bitterly frust-rated in years to come by the reformism of the Labour Party leadership.

Today, the basic rights of the working class can only be defended by destroying this reformist leadership and going forward to build the revolutionary party.

GRANTS STRIKE: STUDENTS DEMAND FIGHT AGAINST TORIES

THE NATIONAL Union of Students has claimed a big success for its eight regional demonstrations on Wednesday February 21 in support of higher grants.

Over 65,000 students took part. In London a huge body of 15,000 marched past the Department of Education and Science to a rally addressed by union president Digby Jacks.

There were similar militant scenes in Birmingham, Southampton, Oxford, Exeter, Cardiff, Sheffield, Newcastle and Edinburgh. Rallies were also held at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Teeside and Coleraine.

After this huge turn-out the NUS has plans for only one more event in its grants campaign. This is the 'national day of action' on March 14 which will be the end as far as NUS leaders are concerned. But not for the student.

In opposition to the halfhearted and mild slogans of the NUS chiefs, students on the demonstrations were demanding a fight against the Tories.

They demanded an immediate increase in grants, abolition of discretionary awards, financial equality for married women students and an annual review of grants related to a cost-of-living index.

But how do students achieve these aims? The NHS leaders did not bother to

By a student correspondent

answer the question. Thousands of students however showed their awareness of the fact that the Tory government had decided to confront every wage demand and use its legal powers against strikes.

Stories of widespread hardship caused by the fantastic increases in the cost of living were common. Gwen Mason, a 20-year-old student from Liverpool Polytechnic said all he had left from his grant was £30. This was expected to last for the next six weeks.

'I can't buy clothes. I don't

drink or smoke and can't go home at weekends.'

Pauline, 20, a student at a teacher training college said she got only £25 a year. 'My parents have to subsidise my expensives. If they couldn't I would be out of college.'

David Kerr, 19, a sociology student from Preston said it was important to have a mass demonstration. 'We must smash this wages and grants freeze. That means getting the Tories out and having a General Election to put back a Labour government.

'We are trying to get together with trade unions in the area. We can't win by ourselves.'

This is a general and growing feeling among students.

If the Tories have refused

to give in to national strikes—gasmen, teachers and civil servants—then it is obviously impossible to change the government's mind through more pressure.

And if the militancy among students is to have any meaningful effect then it must be directed against the Tory government.

The NUS has no plans after the day of action on March 14. But students should refuse to accept this capitulation.

Young Socialist Student Society branches are campaigning to make March 14 into a day for a national demonstration—an all-out action against the Tories.

We call on all students to join the YSSS and take up this fight now.

Brum: NUS leaders avoid political issues

OVER 8,000 students took part in the Birmingham demonstration in support of the National Union of Students grants campaign on Wednesday, February 21.

They came from as far away as Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Warwick and North Staffordshire. As they marched through Birmingham City centre from the Aston University Joint Union, students chanted 'Heath Out', 'Thatcher Out' and 'Tories Out!'.

Speakers at the meeting which followed were John Randall, NUS deputy president, Gerry Kelly from the builders' union UCATT and a member of the television technicians' union, ATTI.

Randall said that students had a 'just case' and that demonstrations such as to-day's would 'put pressure' on the Tory government and help the NUS executive when they go to see the government next week.

He said that students should continue with the NUS grants campaign, building up pressure and preparing for another big turn-out on March 14, the NUS's 'Day of Action'.

Much was said by all three speakers about the nature of the Tory government but they said nothing about making it resign or to discuss what sort of Labour government should take their place. Both trade union speakers said that students should seek support from the trade unions in pleading the justice of their case to the government, but what form this support should take was left vague.

The meeting was not opened to speakers from the floor and was finished very quickly.

The political issues may not have been raised from the platform but there was much discussion and argument among the students before and after the meeting.

Many students are beginning to have a clearer idea of the fact that they are involved in a political struggle and to see the dangers and limitations of protest politics.

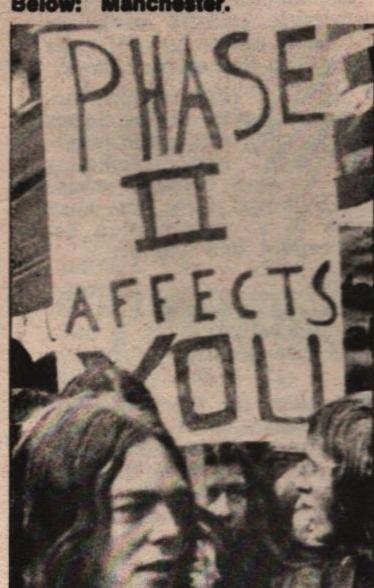
There is a growing body of students who are beginning to understand that the only way to defend students' rights is to join the campaign to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

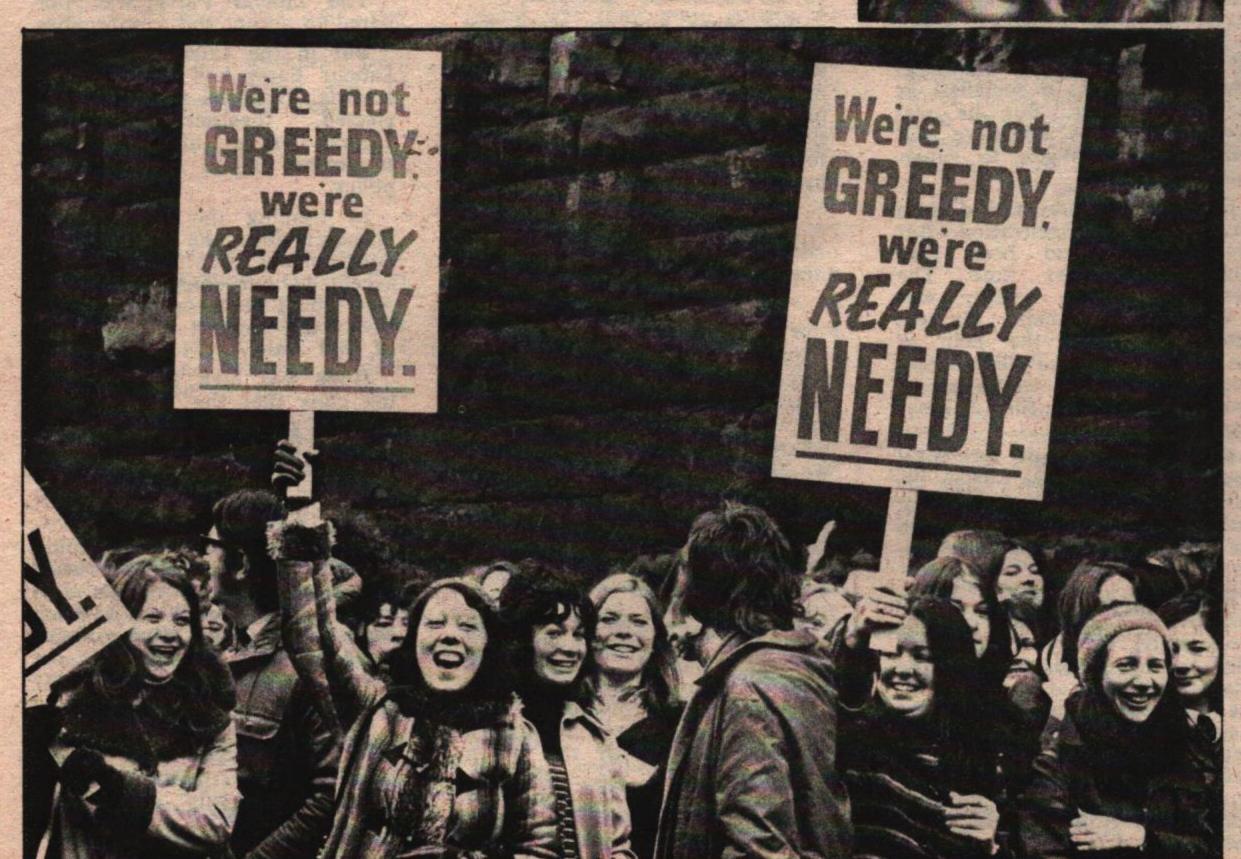
The role of students in the situation today must be to fight to build the revolutionary party, to fight for Marxism and a revolutionary consciousness in the working class.

Wolverhampton Polytechnic YSSS



Students on grants demonstrations. Above: London. Below: Manchester.





WHERE YOUR YSSS MEETS

BRADFORD UNIVERSITY
YSSS: Branch meetings every
Thursday, 1.00 p.m., Room
E22.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY YSSS: Meets every Monday, 8.00 p.m., Jesus College, Seminar Room 'A' (New building).

EXETER UNIVERSITY YSSS:
Meetings every Thursday, 1.15
p.m., Room C&D, Devonshire
House.

Meets every Wednesday, 2.00 p.m., Ladbrooke House, Room

Marxist classes every Wednesday, 8.00 p.m.

day March 7, 8.00 p.m. Trinity College Junior Parlour. 'Who are the extreme Right?'

POULTON-LE-FYLDE COL-LEGE YSSS: Meets every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m., Room 16. BRADFORD YSSS: Meets every Friday, 2.30 p.m. Bradford Art College, Room II.

IMPERIAL COLLEGE YSSS: Meets every Friday, 1.00 p.m. Mechanical Engineering Dept. Room 320.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECO-NOMICS YSSS: Meets every Monday, 1.00 p.m., Room S400.

YSSS: Meets every Wednesday, 1.00 p.m., Clubs and Societies Room.

PORTSMOUTH POLY YSSS: Meets every Monday, 7.30 p.m., Union Council Room.

PRESTON YSSS: Meets every Thursday, 4.30 p.m., Sixth Form College, Winkley Square, Preston.

NOTTINGHAM YSSS: Meets every Monday, 8.00 p.m., Room C21, Portland Building.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LON-

DON: Meetings every Friday, Digby Room.

TRENT POLY YSSS: Meets every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m.,

Sports and Societies Room, Byron building.

LEICESTER UNIVERSITY YSSS: Meetings every Thursday, 1.00 p.m., Union Lecture

Room, Percy Gee Building.

YSSS: Meetings every Tuesday, 1.00 p.m., TV Room: Bookstall every lunchtime, 1.00 p.m. in foyer. Classes on Marxism every Tuesday, 8.00 p.m., Committee Room 2.

JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS STUDENT SOCIETY

NAME

ADDRES

Fill in this form and post to:

YSSS 186a, Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

FOST BAG







It is expensive

being a businessman

THE ROLLS-ROYCE factory at Willesden, West London, is building a Rolls for a Japanese businessman. The car, a Phantom 6, is bullet proof and weighs about four tons.

The passenger compartment is surrounded by heavy steel plate. This little extra alone costs £8,000.

The car is fitted with glass which is 2in thick. The driver however has to be content with the ordinary in variety.

The total cost of this tanklike vehicle is a mere £40,000, which proves how precarious and expensive an employer is becoming today.

Other customers have been General Franco and the Pope, whose windscreen sprinklers were rumoured to spray holy water!

A Reader

A criticism of YS conference resolution

THE great problem for the working class today is perhaps not really the Tory government — indeed, one might well argue that it is useful, since by its actions, policy and now, overt philosophy, the situation of class antagonism is clarified in a way not seen since the 1930s.

Gone are the days of Supermac and 'You've never had it so good'. This government is making it clear that any compromise between capital and labour can only be on the terms dictated by capital.

The big problem is the divided left—so much energy is being expounded by in-fighting within the proletarian movement. Competitive slandering is the order of the day.

On this point one could criticize the Draft Resolution of the Young Socialists programme and perspectives.

Its description of the situation is admirable and its attempts at analysing the means to solution is adequate as far as it goes. But on the reunification of the left it is inadequate.

Our test for today should be to unite, not on compromise terms, since this would be meaningless, but to unite on terms of Marxist truth.

Marxists have far more in common than the disuniting faction. And, in this time of struggle, we are playing into the hands of the ruling élite if our strength is being wasted on internal conflict.

Now is the time to bury our differences and remember that our aims are the same, i.e. in the words of Engels:

state power and turns the means of production into state property to begin with . . . The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the conduct of processes of production, the state is not abolished, it withers away.'

YS member

Reply to criticism

THE comrade suggests in his letter that the greatest problem facing the working class today is not the Tory government but the 'divided left'.

To argue in this way covers up the real class antagonisms that now divide society in this period of revolutionary struggles, because the main opposing forces in society to-day are the Tory government backed by the big employers, financiers and bankers—and the working class.

The ruling class are driven by the extreme severity of the crisis of capitalism to set out to destroy all the rights and conditions workers have won over the past hundreds of years of struggle.

This is the meaning of the Industrial Relations Act, the state pay laws and all the other offensives Heath and Co have launched.

Workers, of course have shown their determination to fight back against the Tory government but they are held back and betrayed at every stage by their rotten reformist leadership.

They are confused at each turn by the Stalinists and revisionists who refuse consistently to turn their attention against the main enemy—the Tory government.

The Young Socialists' policy for the 1973 Annual Conference is based on a Marxist analysis of the crisis and the raging contradictions inherent in world capitalism. It is on the basis of this analysis that the Conference draft resolution examines the situation and puts forward a programme.

But the central question of building a Marxist revolutionary party as the only preparation towards solving the problems now facing workers cannot be separated from our analysis of the situation and our perspectives for the way forward.

If, as we say, it is now a life and death struggle to build an alternative leadership inside the working class and sections of the middle class, then we must carry that understanding into practice.

The comrade says we should re-unite the left on 'terms of Marxist truth'.

But what else does Marxist 'truth' mean today but the building and training of revolutionary cadres and a party dedicated to take the power?

And this party will only be built through waging the most uncompromising struggle against all those people in the labour movement who sow confusion and prepare betrayal.

How then can we 'unite' with groups like the Stalinists who internationally have opened the door for the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution and who welcomed Nixon while he rained bombs over Hanoi and Haiphong?

In Britain the CP turn completely away from a fight against the Tories—in fact they would rather have Heath in power than mobilize a fight against him!

How can we 'unite' with the revisionists like International Socialism who designate the Soviet Union as 'state capitalist' and refuse to defend the gains made in the Russian Revolution of 1917; or with the International Marxist Group who wrote off the industrial working class in Europe and America saying they wouldn't fight back because they all 'had it so good'?

We oppose these groups precisely because they do not start from a Marxist analysis of the crisis now facing the capitalist system.

We consider that their policies can only lead to the defeat and betrayal of workers at a time when the ruling class must rapidly make preparations for dictatorial measures if they are to defend their system.

Once again, comrade, we do not consider it 'useful' that the Tory government now exercises power which it uses every day to attack the lives and rights of thousands upon thousands of workers.

They must be kicked out immediately! By mobilizing to carry that policy through, workers and youth can begin to understand their own strength. From there they will be in a much strengthened position to deal with the 'servants' of capital—the reformists in the trade union and Labour movement.

Sarah Hannigan Keep Left Editorial Board

Lessons of

a sit-in

IF students are to learn anything from the recent Cambridge University sit-in, then it must be the dangers of a protest approach to the problems now facing them.

But the sit-in also showed the way in which sections of students—even in such hallowed institutions of learning as Cambridge—are beginning to move in defence of their basic rights.

The rapid breakdown of capitalism which is driving the Tory government to make such an onslaught on the rights and conditions of the working class also pushes university authorities into a position of seeking to keep students under their thumb. So students are being forced to fight back to defend their rights.

Students today face not only starvation and poverty as prices rapidly rise, while their grants remain fixed, but the Tory government's White Paper which threatens the whole future of higher education.

This year's sit-in—in opposition to the report by Lord Devlin on the 1972 occupation—brought forward renewed demands for recognition of the Cambridge Students Union as well as a reform of the examina-

Cambridge students have learnt that without independent representation they are in no position to fight against the university authorities.

One section of Devlin's report which they bitterly opposed was that dealing with representation:

'I do not recommend that at present the University formally recognize the Cambridge Students Union by a Council of

And his report went on to recommend that the authorities should resort to criminal law—'calling in the police to deal with the situation and, secondly, individual prosecutions'.

State minute or otherwise.'

In the face of these legal threats, students are powerless unless they are organized—not only in a students union—but alongside the powerful movement of the working class now coming forward to do battle with the Tories.

It is for this reason that students at Cambridge and all over the country must now stand up in a determined fight to defend their rights.

We urge all students to attend the Pageant of History in defence of democratic rights at the Empire Pool, Wembley on Sunday March 11.

Martin Booth

How the police 'got nasty' with squatter Olive Morris



By a Keep Left reporter

OLIVE MORRIS, 20, and Liz Turnbull, 18, two black girls, were squatting in their flat in South East London last week. They were expecting an eviction order to come any time from the law courts.

A few weeks ago they refused to move from the flat in Herne Hill even though police had forcibly removed their furniture.

Olive Morris, a student at the London College of Printing and her friend Liz, officially rented the flat until the shop downstairs was taken over by a laundry equipment firm.

Mr. N. Defries, acting for the new leaseholders arrived. He was backed by a squad of police. Liz was taken away by the police and charged with having a pick-axe as an offensive weapon.

Olive was dragged, screaming and struggling from the flat. She climbed on to the roof and stayed there for three hours until the police and the agent had gone away.

Both girls then re-occupied the flat. A few days later Mr. Defries arrived again with removal men and a van. About two dozen police stood by as the removal men took all the furniture on to the van.

Before they could drive off Olive Morris climbed on to the van and started throwing the furniture back onto the street.

On the shop window below the two girls had stuck a poster which said: 'This property has been occupied by squatters. We intend to stay here. If you evict us we will prosecute. You must deal with us through the courts.'

Miss Morris said the police had announced they were there to prevent a breach of the peace, 'but although landlords could push us around, as soon as we tried to defend ourselves the police jumped in and got nasty.'

She has been arrested before, once when picketing outside the Old Baily in sympathy with a Black Panther member on trial.

'I appreciate the police have a difficult job to do,' she told the 'South London Press'. 'But sometimes I wish I could take a TV camera or tape recorder into the police station and record what they say.

'They rough you up and really abuse you.'

The incidents at Railton Road, where the two girls live, led to a public meeting organized by Lambeth's Council for Community Relations where the police were accused of intimidating and harassing young blacks.

Courtney Laws, Director of the Brixton Neighbourhood Community Association said: 'At Railton Road I saw young people dragged, pushed and harassed by the police. Some were pulled from a private van and thrown to the ground. It was a ghastly, atrocious act.'

Rudy Narayan, a barrister and secretary of the South London West Indian Association said: 'There are criminals within the Brixton police force who should be locked up. There are patrol groups under Brixton's operation who are legalized thugs and hooligans.'

He added: 'Complaints at the Brixton Neighbourhood Community Association and other agencies indicate that these commando-type policemen, knowing no one in the community and owing no loyalties, descend into the community to intimidate and harass, by fair means or foul, black youth off the streets whether such youth are breaking the law or not.'

Olive Morris is dragged from a van.



LONDON AREA --- FINAL

Clapham victory after

a tense game

IT was a tense kick off at Battersea Park last Sunday when Balham met Clapham for the London Area Finals. The teams had previously drawn 5-5 the last time they played each other.

Both teams scored quick goals, but soon Balham took the lead and dominated the first half with good passing and very fast play.

Team work paid off with Balham soon drawing away to lead 4-1, a score which lasted most of the first half. Clapham definitely looked the losers. They were slow, not marking properly and their full back Norman Brown looked their only spark of hope.

Just before the first half closed Clapham broke through and scored. And after half time they began to pull themselves together.

Play was exciting and fast in the second half. Clapham scored early to bring it to 4-3. And



Above: Clapham on the attack. Below: Balham (left) and Clapham

from then on there was nothing to stop them. With some good forward play by Micky Gambles, John Foster, John Bubb, Micky Antonio, Dave Whitty and the defence held by Norman Bubb, Micky Moriarty and goalie Chris Warnes.

Together with the help of halves Dennis Lundie, Mazhar Hafeez and Roy Hart they really controlled the game.

It was really only brilliant goal work by Balham's young goalie Vincent Belizzer that stopped Clapham taking the match. The score was 5-5.

Then in extra time Clapham went on to score. Excitement was high as Balham tried to equalize but just could not get through. The game was really over when Clapham scored their seventh goal. Balham was a tired team. Clapham had won the finals.

Clapham captain Micky Gambles spoke to Keep Left: 'The first 45 minutes were absolute agony, but after a pep talk from our manager we began to come to life and in the second half we were the better team. We just had that little bit extra and with support from the YS members on the sidelines we knew we could do it.'

At a celebration discotheque the following night Clapham team members were confident of going on to take the national cup. But they were worried about one thing. As John Foster said 'I don't know where we'd get the money to play such faraway teams as Scotland and North West.'



Young civil servants 100p.c. behind strike

ALL over the country last Tuesday civil servants in every section of government work came out on strike in defence of their right to a wage increase.

Among a section of whitecollar workers who were staging their first national strike the response was magnificent.

In London last Tuesday were 200 civil servants who had travelled from Scotland to help with picketing the London offices.

Hughie (21), Brian (19), Harry (20) and Pat (19)—all from the Glasgow area—told Keep Left why they thought it was necessary to fight.

Said Hughie, 'We were 20 per cent behind the national average in wages already and then the Tory government slapped on the wage freeze and broke our pay agreement.

'We've waited from 1971 until 1973 to get this increase and we still haven't got it.'

Brian told us how they had travelled overnight from Scotland and then spent Tuesday morning on the London picket lines outside the Ministry of Defence.

His friend Pat explained that another thing which annoyed them was the extra qualifications needed to get into the civil service—but which left them worse off than the average worker.

'I am 19 and I get £14.05 a week clear—that's before tax—but you'd get more than that

labouring. We have to stay on at school and then we come out with wages like that.'

Added Hughie: 'A 24-year-old man in the civil service has already served a seven year apprenticeship yet he still has to claim state benefit to keep his family.'

Two staff from the London Immigration Office, Robbie (23) and Paul (21) said that civil service workers had seen so many broken pay agreements that whether they agreed with the government's pay laws or not—they felt the time had come to act in defence of their rights.

A young CPSA member from the Department of Health and Social Security in Lewisham, South East London, told Keep Left, '1971 wages don't pay 1973 prices—that's why we've come out. The government's pay laws are ridiculous. We are out to get what we are entitled to.

'We are opposed to the government's Phase Two pay laws we would be opposed to any government which introduced these laws.

'People in the civil service, for example a married man we know with two children takes home as little as £15 a week. He has to live on Family Income Supplement from his employer—the government—and that's one of the benefits he himself pays out.'

INTERVIEWS BY SARAH HANNIGAN





WHAT'S ON WHERE

'Unite in action to defend basic democratic rights' Tuesday March 6 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Hartshead, Sheffield 1.

Speaker: Cliff Slaughter.

meets every Thursday
Discotheque every
Saturday
Queen Victoria
(Near 'Leicester Mercury
offices)
7.30 pm to 10.30 pm
Adm: 10p

Hackenthorpe YS meets every Thursday, 8 pm

Parson's Cross YS meets every Tuesday, 8 pm

Mansell School

Frecheville Community Centre

Firth Park YS
meets every Thursday, 8 pm
Shiregreen Middle School

Central YS
meets every Wednesday, 8 pm
YS Premises, Portobello
(near Jessops Hospital)

Middleton YS
meets every Thursday,
7.30 pm
St Peter's Church
Belle Isle, L11

TOOTING YS

meets every Tuesday
Tooting Baths Club Room
Tooting Broadway
S.W.17

CAMBRIDGE YS

meets every Tuesday
'The Rose and Crown'
(Corner of Newmarket Rd/
East Rd)
8.00 p.m.

DURHAM

Murton YS
meets every Wednesday
7.30 pm
Miners Welfare Hall, Murton
Records and discussion

Youth Club
Every Friday
St Peter and Paul's
Park Avenue
7.30-10.00 p.m.
Adm: 5p Records

BILLINGHAM YS

Education classes, discussion, discotheques every Friday Billingham Tech 6.00 p.m.

DISCOTHEQUE
Thursday March 15, 8 p.m.
St. Mary's Centre
(opp. Craig Park Youth Club)
Lawrence Road, N.9
Adm.: YS members 10p
non-members 15p

BALHAM YS

meets every Thursday
Balham Baths Club Room
Elmfield Road
Balham
S.W.12

SOUTH SHIELDS YS

Discotheque every Wednesday TUC Hall Westhow 7.30 p.m.

BASINGSTOKE

Russell Howard Pavillion
Paddock Road,
South Ham Estate

Sanford YS
meets every Tuesday, 7.30 pm
Methodist Church Hall
Broad Lane, L13

Federation rally
Sunday March 4
4 p.m.

Glenburn Community Centre Glenburn, Paisley Discotheque in evening HERSHAM YS
meets every Thursday
7.30 p.m.
The Choir Vestry
The Congregation Church Hail
Queen's Road
Walton on Thames

13TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOURS SOCIALISTS

APRIL 14/15 1973

WINTER GARDENS BLACKPOOL

Coaches and trains leaving from all areas.

Cost approx. £4.75 includes conference,
dance, bed & breakfast, return fare.

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