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BY A WORKERS PRESS  
CORRESPONDENT

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The 'Daily Telegraph' poll, for example, having probed the 'fickleness' of British voters, has now come up with the sensational discovery that the Tories have taken a 24 per cent lead over Labour.

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Even more incongruous is the estimate of the Opinion-Research Centre for the European Movement (this movement does exist!) which claims that half the voters in Britain are in favour of the Common Market because they believe wages would rise.

They state this because the Tories are in favour of entry without any reservations. Was the ORCEM interviewing people or goats?

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This is what military strategists call psychological warfare, or the art of demoralizing the enemy's will by propaganda and rumours.

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Tory leader Edward Heath, speaking at his party's Smith Square central office, re-emphasized that there were three main prongs to its attack on the unions.

## Deterrent

'We aim to strengthen the unions and their official leadership by providing some deterrent against irresponsible action by unofficial minorities,' proclaims the high-sounding prose of the Tories' manifesto.

What does this actually mean? 'Well,' said Heath, this will be done within the whole range of our proposals.

But how? The Tory leader explained that the framework of his party's proposals would be compulsory registration of union rules, provision for contracts between unions and employers to be made legally binding and removal of trade union funds' immunity from civil action for damages.

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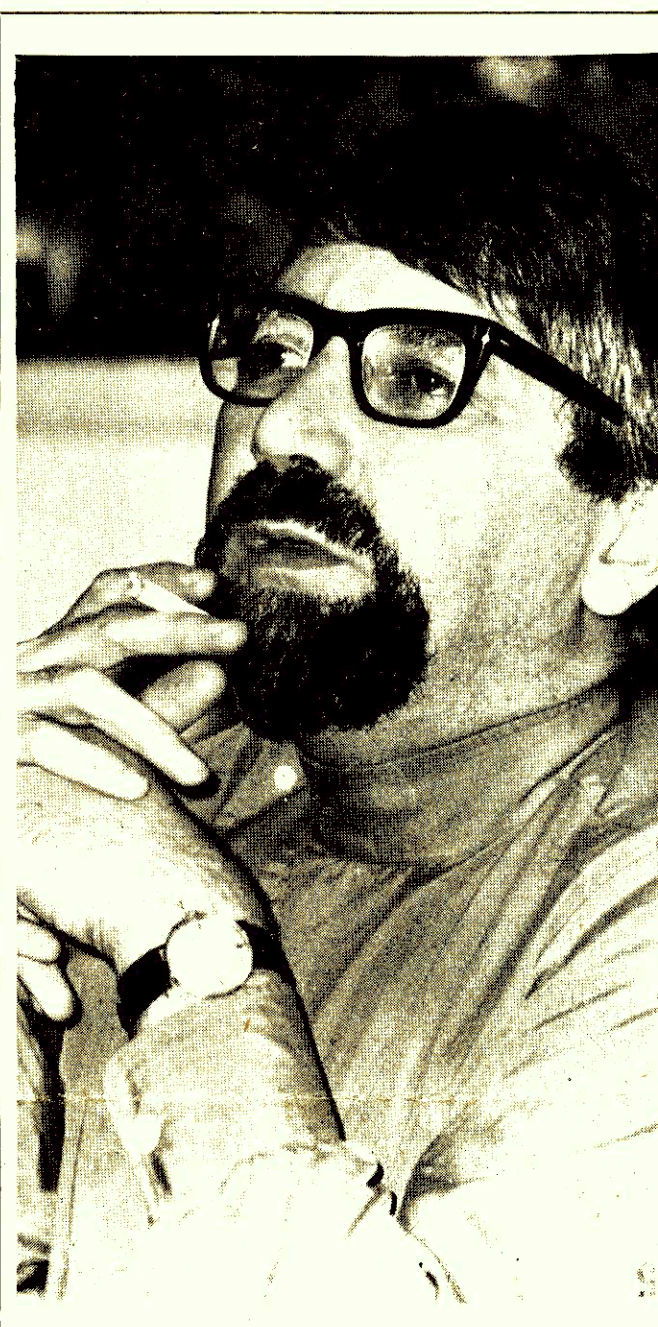
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The announcement—which came on the eve of a second meeting between union chiefs and the leaders of the recent strike—was described as 'a big shock' by the St Helens rank-and-file committee.

So far, neither Feather nor the General and Municipal Workers' Union has taken action against the threatened sackings, which the workers naturally regard as victimization.

The 22 men are members of the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers which gave them official support when they joined the G&MWU members on strike at Pilkington's last month.

At a meeting between Feather, the G&MWU leaders and the strike committee ten days ago it was agreed that there would be 'no victimization of any kind of any individual or group of individuals'.

While the regime cracks

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'We want in this way to help committed [sic] journalists and workers of radio and television to master their responsible work in the generally complicated conditions in which they are working at present.'

In other words, the Husak regime is out to corrupt a new team of publicists which it hopes will replace those sacked after the recent series of purges in the mass media.

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Otter Mills management are reported to be willing to open negotiations on the demands and arrangements are being made for them to meet strikers' representatives and Department of Employment and Productivity officials in Bristol on Friday.

## GUARANTEES

There is little doubt that at his pep talk to finance leaders last week, President Nixon gave guarantees of government help to these financial institutions.

This was the key feature in temporarily halting Wall St's catastrophic slide.

With net redemptions—demands from customers for cash—now running at \$3 million a day, and some of IOS' branches—notably Fund of Funds—facing a rapidly deteriorating cash position, only concerted efforts by a number of governments hold out any possibility of a successful salvage operation.

## OBSTACLE

The original IOS underwriters—led by Drexell, Hariman Ripley in New York and including the Paris branch

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Name .....

Address .....

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This meeting has been given the blessing of the port employers who are giving the men time off work in order to attend.

## LENIN Centenary Lectures

## HULL

Wednesday, June 3, 8 p.m.  
ASW Hall,  
Speaker: Tom Kemp  
53, Beverley Rd  
Admission 1s

## SWINDON

Sunday, June 7, 7.30 p.m.  
'Lenin and the coming English revolution'

## OXFORD HOTEL

Corner of Groundwell Rd  
Speaker: Gerry Healy,  
national secretary, Socialist Labour League  
Admission 2s

## POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION Two public meetings

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St Pancras Town Hall  
Speakers: Frank Willis (ATUA)  
SLL national secretary G. Healy will speak at both meetings

SWINDON  
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Co-op Hall  
Speakers: A. Thornett (ATUA)  
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## B'ham students must join fight to 'keep Tories out'

BIRMINGHAM student leaders are uncertain about the next stage of their campaign against the Tory city council's proposals for an elitist system of further education.

This follows the agreement of the City Corporation in the High Court last Friday to lift the 75 injunctions taken out against members of the Joint Guild of Students, Gosta Green.

The injunctions were to prevent the students from entering the Corporation's education offices following their May 7 sit-in at Margaret St.

In an affidavit Guild president Charles Pugh sub-

sisted at Perry Barr, five miles away.

These proposals cannot be defeated by student occupations.

Immediate steps must be taken to canvass for support throughout the labour and trade union movement.

The students' fight must be part of a massive campaign to defeat Toryism at the General Election (see advert page 4) and to fight for socialist policies, including the full implementation of a comprehensive education programme.

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The May 7 occupation was organized in protest against the Corporation's high-handed attitude to the Guild's proposal to site the new Birmingham Polytechnic on the Gosta Green campus.

The city wishes to abolish amenities which students from the colleges of Commerce, Art and Music share with the Aston university, by incorporating these institutions in a Polytechnic



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BY PETER JEFFRIES

of Rothschilds and Hill Samuel and Guinness Mahon of London—still seem reluctant to get involved.

One obstacle is the IOS accounts.

These have yet to appear, and there are reports from Washington that they are in such chaotic condition that

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20th Century Fox presents  
 'M\*A\*S\*H'  
 Produced by Otto Preminger  
 Directed by Robert Altman  
 Showing at the Rialto Cinema, London

The shrewdness of the two central characters - brilliantly played by Elliot Gould (right), and Donald Sutherland - provides most of the humour of the film and the sheer incompetence of the army provides the rest

**CINEMA** By Brian Moore

'HOW COME a degenerate like that ends up in a position of responsibility?' fumes a regular US Army nurse about Captain 'Hawkeye' Pearce.

'He was drafted,' comes the laconic reply.

And that really is the essence of 'M\*A\*S\*H' now showing at the Rialto.

It's the story of a medical unit four miles behind the front line during the Korean war. They are nearly all doctors and surgeons who have been drafted.

By the hour the war casualties are flown in by helicopter, bleeding, dying, wounded. They have no names, no numbers, they never speak, are seldom referred to; they are merely bloody carcasses that the surgeons sew up, and yet a constant reminder of the reason why they are all there.

Iconoclasts  
 And it is precisely that reality that every one is in retreat from.

No one wants to be there, no one asked to be there. What dominates is a sense of self-preservation.

The two central characters, brilliantly played by Elliot Gould and Donald Sutherland, are good humoured iconoclasts, with contempt for military formality, Christianity, rules and regulations.

What gives them the upper hand, what chills their martinis, what keeps them in women and out of the brig is their own cunning and a sense of their own professionalism. They know that they are experts at their job and that to the army they are indispensable, and the army will just have to put up with them.

Standard  
 Their shrewdness provides most of the humour in the film and the sheer incompetence of the Army provides the rest. The situations are pretty standard Army comedy, but what the film is most determined about is to debunk any idea of heroics and glory in war, and not only war itself, but the whole myth-making apparatus of Hollywood itself.

The Tanny that blares out information to the camp announces also the showing of movies, glorious stories of ordinary GIs in battle.

No one pays the slightest attention to either the movies or the information.

Fatigue  
 What comes out in 'M\*A\*S\*H' is a sense of the growing fatigue at the clatter about war and glory, of the imperialist role of America, a mood that several Hollywood films have lately captured, like 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid'.

And we're back to the old frontier illusions.

And the heroes are adaptations in a new form of the old Western prototype. They are resourceful, they drink, they gamble, they 'get laid'.

**Taboos**

So that all the taboos they break are, in essence, an affirmation of the old individualism. It comes full circle, the old form with a different content.

The virility cult dominates, women are merely sexual objects, men are defined by the size of the penis ('The best equipped dentist in the American army'), straight jackets are funny; this is the vein of humour confirmed by the film and played on that level.

It's a kind of traditional student comedy, a harder, more sophisticated kind of 'Doctor in the House' with blood.

If you compare it with the novel 'Catch 22', which there are obvious echoes of in 'M\*A\*S\*H', the striking qualitative difference is the former's sense of a collective madness, the bureaucratic machinery of war, the capricious decisions of High Command, the ever-present fear of death—for Yossarian, Dunbar and the others the war is an ever-conscious nightmare.

**Back cloth**

They seek brief releases from it in the whore houses of Rome, but its only a brief release. The war defines their actions, behaviour, everything.

In 'M\*A\*S\*H' the war is a back cloth, an inconvenience, but an attitude to it is never consciously expressed. What predominates is a determination to push it from their minds, to make themselves as comfortable as possible, to pretend its not happening, and, however many bodies they operate on, that's merely an expression of their professional work.

They get on with the job in a way that is not very different from a civilian casualty theatre.

The only time they feel emotion is right at the end when they learn that some of them are going home.

And going home and getting out of it is the 'resolution' of the film. But going home to what? That's really the question, because the war is directly connected with home. Imperialism makes that connection.

**Impasse**

That's the impasse that the peace movement is in.

So what we are seeing then is a return to the old isolationism. But it isn't nostalgic longings that determine the course of history. It's precisely a break from them, a break from the old individualism, to understand revolutionary class questions. That's the only future.

Otherwise when the jokes stop, the martinis run out and the nurses get up and unwilling, we are left merely with the mangled bodies.

But this is an interesting and very funny film and should be seen, because all those contradictions that face

FOR BEATLES' fans there's 'Let It Be', pedestrianly made and shot with a few banal comments by Paul, some jokes by John and some variable music.

There must be an interesting film to be made about the phenomenon of the Beatles, the whole commercial apparatus that surrounds them, their own special talents, their curious position that they are in and occupy.

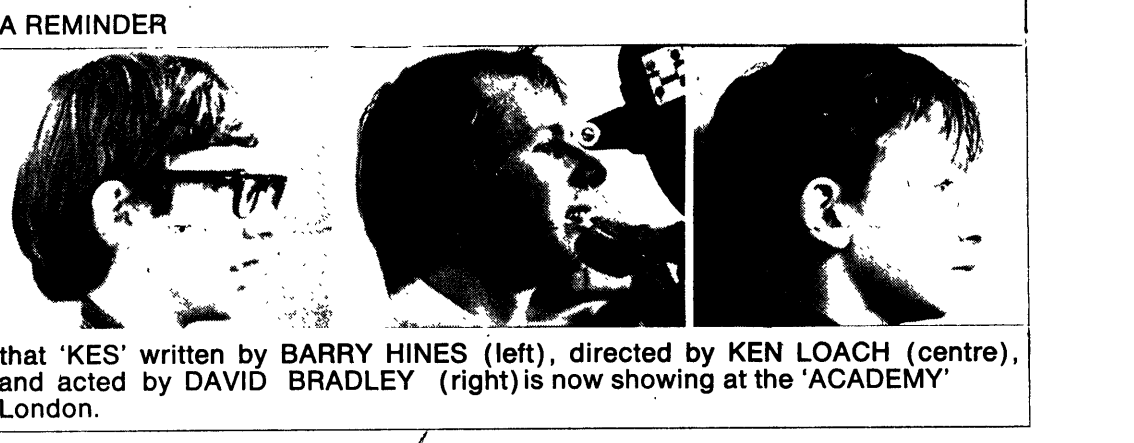
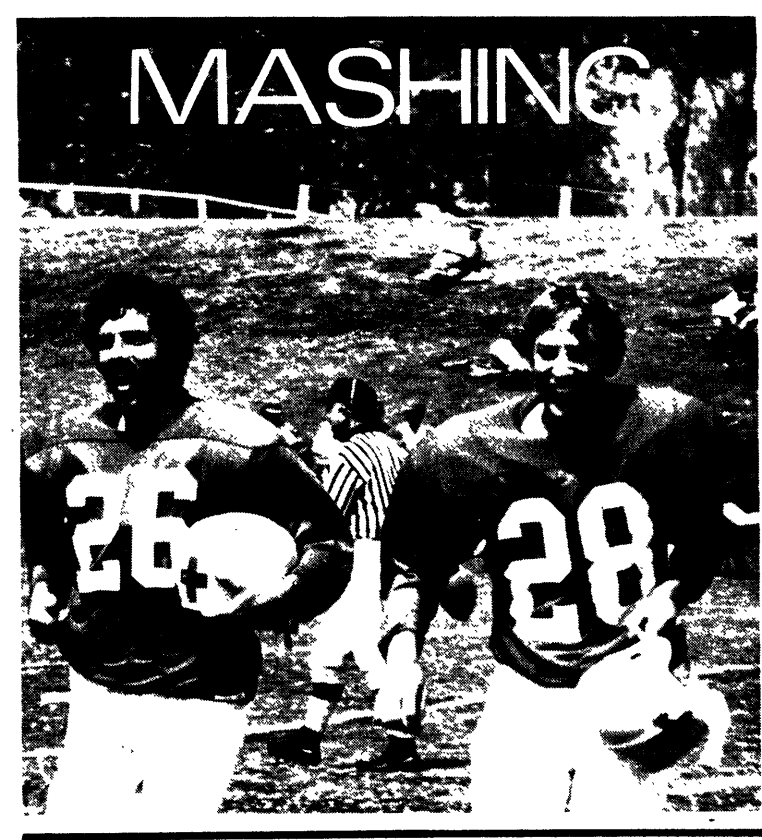
It's not by accident that they characterized a whole period of the 1960s.

But this is banal and perfunctory and mindless—every pop cliché in the book is there.

If you like the music buy the record. If you can afford it.

There's obviously a lot to be said and assessed about the Beatles but I reserve that for a later date.

HOLLYWOOD WAR MYTH TAKES A



A REMINDER that 'KES' written by BARRY HINES (left), directed by KEN LOACH (centre), and acted by DAVID BRADLEY (right) is now showing at the 'ACADEMY' London.

**BBC 1**  
 9.15 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.00 p.m. Dyna wall. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Shazzan. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Abbott and Costello. 5.30 London. 5.50 News and weather.  
 6.00 **WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND**. Direct from Mexico. England v Rumania.  
 6.30 **ACROSS THE TOP OF THE WORLD**. A trek of 3,260 miles across the North Pole.  
 7.05 **Z CARS**. 'Couldn't Happen to a Nicer Girl', part two.  
 7.30 **LAUGH PARADE**. 'Only Arsed'. With Bernard Bresslaw, Michael Medwin and Alfie Bass. Comedy in which a threatened revolution in a Middle Eastern state prompts Whitehall to send a group of Army misfits to restore law and order.  
 8.50 **NEWS and weather**.  
 9.10 **LONGEST DRIVE IN THE WORLD**. 'Daily Mirror' World Cup Rally through 25 countries and two continents.  
 10.00 **ELECTION BROADCAST**. Conservative Party. 10.10 **24 HOURS**.  
 10.40 **WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND**. 10.50 England v Rumania. 12.45 a.m. Peru v Bulgaria and Uruguay v Israel.

**BBC 2**  
 11.00-11.20 a.m. **PLAY SCHOOL**.  
 7.05 p.m. **MAKING OUT**. 7.30 **NEWS and weather**.  
 8.00 **'THE GREAT INIMITABLE MR DICKENS'**. Biography of Charles Dickens based on scenes from his novels.  
 9.30 **SHADOW OF PROGRESS**. A dark cloud across the sun of civilization.  
 10.00 **ELECTION BROADCAST**. Conservative Party.  
 10.10 **CODENAME**. 'Have a Word with Greco'. 11.00 **NEWS and weather**.  
 11.15 **LINE-UP**.

**REGIONAL BBC**  
 All regions as BBC-1 except:  
 Midlands and E Anglia: 5.30-5.50 Midlands today. Look-East, weather.  
 North of England: 5.30-5.50 Look North, weather.  
 Wales: 4.55-5.25 Teletext. 5.30-5.50 Wales today. 7.30 Heddidi. 7.50 Ryan and Ronnie. 8.20-8.50 Alun School Singers.  
 Scotland: 5.30-5.50 Reporting Scotland. N Ireland: 5.30-5.50 Scenes around six, weather.  
 South and West: 5.30-5.50 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather.

**ITV**  
 11.00 a.m. Schools. 2.55 p.m. Racing from Salisbury. 3.55 Enchanted house. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 Sooty show. 5.00 Maggie. 5.30 Lone Ranger. 5.45 News.  
 5.55 **WORLD CUP 1970**.  
 6.30 **NANNY AND THE PROFESSOR**. 7.00 **BUGS BUNNY**.  
 7.10 **TUESDAY FILM: 'Foreign Exchange'**. With Robert Horton, Sebastian Cabot and Jill St. John. A spy thriller set in London.  
 8.30 **FATHER, DEAR FATHER: 'Nobody's Indispensable'**.  
 9.00 **A FAMILY AT WAR**.  
 10.00 **ELECTION BROADCAST**. Conservative Party. 10.10 **NEWS**.  
 10.30 **WORLD CUP 1970**.

**REGIONAL ITV**  
 CHANNEL: 11.00-3.40 London. 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Look-around. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Ring of Fire' with David Janssen. 8.30 London. 10.00 Pour vous madame. 10.10 London. 10.40 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 11.30 Gazette. 11.35 Commentaries et provisions meteorologiques (weather).  
 SOUTHERN: 11.00-3.50 London. 3.55 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 6.30 Day by day. 7.00 Father, Dear Father. 7.30 Film: 'Drive a Crooked Road' with Mickey Rooney, Kevin McCarthy, Dianne Foster and Jack Kelly. Crime drama with a motor-racing background. 9.00 London. 1.10 Weather. 'Concern and controversy'.  
 HARLECH: 11.00-3.50 London. 4.05 Floris. 4.35 London. 5.30 Report. 5.45 London. 6.30 Report extra. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 1.00 Weather.  
 GRAMPAN: 10.58-3.50 London. 4.05 High living. 4.35 London. 5.30 News and farming news. 5.45 London. 5.55 London. 6.35 Crossroads. '00 Western: 'Along The Great Divide'. 8.30 London.

Mexico 1970—

Still the land of the repressed

'CONFIDENT that Moore would be back among them within the next 24 hours, the players set off to train in the Olympic Stadium accompanied by a police escort worthy of gold bullion. The team coach, four motorcycle outriders and a riot van with three policemen clinging to its rear, coasted the journey of eight miles at a steady 50 miles per hour.'

This spake 'The Guardian' last Thursday, just a few hours before the arrival of the England football team, Bobby Moore, was granted his 'provisional liberty' and hopped on a plane to join his team mates in Mexico City.

The plight of Mr Moore since the alleged theft of a £600 brace-let in Bogota on May 18 has been the subject of acres of print. For Fleet Street it at once became an issue of national importance—hardly rivalled by the announcement of the June General Election.

British embassy officials were mobilized and Mr Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, sent a message to the Colombian government, indicating the concern over the case of Mr Moore and expressing the hope that everything would be done to settle the matter as soon as possible.

Britain was in danger! There was a conspiracy afoot to deprive her of the crown of the world as world champions at kicking an inflated leather sphere around a field!

That the 1970 World Cup takes place in Mexico, a country ruled by the military dictatorship of President Diaz Ordaz, which uses every means of terror and repression against its opponents, was, for Fleet Street, neither here nor there. Except to

behind THE NEWS

provide a spot of 'local colour' perhaps.

Back in 1968 while the Mexican workers and peasants lived in degradation and poverty, the sumptuous Olympic Stadium took shape in their midst in preparation for the Olympic Games.

The hovels and shanties were crushed and destroyed to make way for this massive symbol of

It is only a few months since the brutal beatings took place when Brigadier-General Andres Puentes Vigas openly incited criminal prisoners to attack political detainees. They were beaten with pipes and iron bars and some stabbed.

Eighty went on hunger strike in protest against this treatment and against the refusal of the government to either release them on bail or bring their cases into open court.

Then, as the British team were arriving in S America, the Guatemalan revolutionary and guerrilla leader Marco Antonio Yon Sosa was killed in a border battle with Mexican soldiers.

This is Mexico — and Latin America—today.

The Mexican people do not view the World Cup simply in terms of football, but sense the huge contradiction between their oppression and the wealth that is flaunted before their eyes.

Little wonder that some of those who will be 'privileged' to see Bobby Moore and his colleagues and (from afar) hear of the VIP treatment accorded to them—as 'The Guardian' described—will see them as indirect supporters of the Diaz Ordaz regime.

Ever had that feeling you've been there before?

THE PHENOMENON of *deja vu* is not uncommon. It refers to the feeling of having been in a place before, when you're almost certain you haven't.

A strong attack of the same was suffered last Wednesday when reading the current edition of the 'Morning Star' which we trust had not been previously published.

Prominently labelled 'STAR EXCLUSIVE', the lead article was headlined 'Tory Military Secrets Revealed' and went on: 'Tory plans to use British forces to suppress liberation movements in SE Asia, Angola and S Africa are spelled out in detail in a secret document obtained by the "Morning Star" yesterday.'

The report goes on in some detail about the contents of the document, prepared for the Conservative Commonwealth and Overseas Council and released for private circulation in February of this year.

A little better rang. A quick look through the files will sufficient to reveal that the 'Star Exclusive' was inclusive of a number of papers, including 'Workers Press'!

The main details of the document had in fact appeared in 'The Guardian' (April 29), 'Workers Press' (April 30), 'The Sunday Times' (May 17), 'Sun' (May 19) and possibly elsewhere also.

Of course, it is important that every detail of the Tories' reactionary proposals should be made as widely available as possible in the working-class movement, but it's a strange use of the word 'exclusive' to describe information, the essence of which had appeared in at least three other papers up to a month previously.



BOBBY MOORE

prestige and those that remained standing at the stadium's periphery were painted so as not to upset the tourists' delicate stomachs. (They haven't bothered with the paint this year.) The rich and the famous were already arriving from all parts of the globe when the Mexican students were beaten up and massacred in the streets as they

# [3] Reform and Revolution in Britain

IN OUR LAST article we discussed the attempts of Place and other radicals to tie the Chartist movement to the coat-tails of the middle class.

But it was an attempt which was increasingly understood by the more class-conscious Chartists, as we shall now see.

'Base, hypocritical and assassin-like, they [Place and Company] will join the movement only to divide it,' declared the 'London Democrat' (1839).

'Whatever the middle classes have ever taken into hand has turned out to the people's cost to be delusive and fraudulent; therefore as the producing classes intend to regenerate their country, they must rely on themselves and themselves alone.'

It was this political subordination to the politics of the middle class that Chartism was to sweep away.

Ironically enough it was a small circle of highly-skilled workers, led by William Lovett and centred around Place who originally drew up the Charter with its famous Six Points.

No doubt Place intended to head off any more dangerous development in the working class.

Before consenting to help draw up the Charter in 1837, Place insisted that the Working Men's Association promise to prevent all speeches against the New Poor Law (which we shall deal with in the next article) and all those in favour of socialism.



WILLIAM LOVETT: A self-taught Cornish carpenter, he became secretary of the first Chartist Convention.

Some pages from the history of the British working class

BY PETER JEFFRIES

have declared their adherence to what is called the People's Charter, but few care for Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot or Annual Parliaments.

'The greater part feel the hardship of their social condition; they complain of their hard toil and insufficient wages, and imagine that Mr Oastler or Mr Fielden (two prominent Tory Chartists) will lead them to a happy valley, where their labour will be light and their wages high.'

## Grim picture

Lord Macaulay also painted a grim picture of the England of the future when property rights would no longer be safeguarded by a parliament monopolized by those who had property of their own to protect:

'... A great community of human beings—a vast people would be called into existence in a new position; there would be a depression, if not an utter stoppage of trade, and of all those vast engagements of the country by which our people were supported, and how is it possible to doubt that famine and pestilence would come before long to wind up the effects of such a system. The best thing which I can expect and which I think everyone must see as a result, is, that in some of the desperate struggles which must take place in such a state of things, some strong military despot must arise, and give some sort of protection—some security to the property which may remain.'

The basic force driving the working class to fight independently of the middle classes

session? The New Poor Law for England. Why did that base Parliament pass both these acts? To place the labouring classes of both countries at the feet of the rich assassins, who rob, brutalize, and enslave the populations of both. It is in the nature of things that the middle classes must be worse than any other part of the community.

'The Reform Act admitted the middle classes to a share of that power which was formerly engrossed by the aristocracy... but what is the consequence of the Reform Act to us, the people?

'Why, that the number of our opponents, of those interested to uphold the monopoly of legislative abuse, is more than doubled; and, instead of having the middle classes on our side, making common cause with us against the aristocracy, we have to contend against a combination of the aristocracy and the middle order.' (Chartist Publication, n.d.)

In addition, the reformed House, reflecting the now dominant interests of the Manchester manufacturing class, steadfastly refused to introduce any Factory Act which would have limited the hours of labour in the Lancashire textile industry.

The great advance which Chartism represents in the history of the working class can be seen in the sharp hostility which existed between the Anti-Corn Law League, a capitalist body established in 1839 to fight to abolish all duties on imported corn.

Despite periodic efforts on the part of Richard Cobden and other leaders of the League to use Chartism as a weapon to force repeal they were unsuccessful.

## Motives

Writing to a friend in 1841 Cobden made clear the cynical motives of those in the middle class who wanted some alliance between the League and the Chartists:

'All present... were of opinion that it would be desirable to keep the League distinct from the question — At the same time there was an impression that it would be desirable to get as many individuals prominently engaged in Corn Law agitation as possible to sign in order to conciliate the people... I am not sorry to see Sturge (a supporter of repeal and also a Chartist) taking up this question. It will be something in our rear to frighten the Aristocracy. And it will take the masses out of the hands of their present rascally leaders.'

## Brickbat

C. P. Villiers, prominent League member, writing to J. B. Smith, who was the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in 1840, made this position very clear:

'We had a meeting of the London association on the night of the Chartist meeting, and I thought it not inappropriate to state as strongly as I could my thorough conviction that the working classes are those most interested in the repeal of the corn laws... My great object in getting them (the working class) to speak out is that I am convinced that until they do the Aristocracy will never yield. I grieve to say that the brickbat argument is the only one that our nobles heed.'

But these tactics — which had been successful in 1832 — could not be repeated.

With its constant jeers at the 'respectables' the Shop-crats and the 'millicrats' the 'Northern Star', with repeated appeals to 'fustian jackets, blistered hands and unshorn chins' did much to foster a

was the economic interests which increasingly separated it from the rest of society.

The 1832 Reform Act bitterly disappointed all those who had hoped that it would soon lead to an extension of the vote to the working class.

The government elected after 1832 immediately introduced a series of measures which further worsened the dreadful conditions which the working class had to endure.

## Poor Law

Most notorious among these was the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which established in all areas workhouses — or 'Bastilles' as they were nicknamed — which from then on were the only sources of relief during times of unemployment.

The violent struggle against the Poor Law which followed rapidly merged with the demands for the Charter.

'What was the first act of that Reformed Parliament?' asked Bronterre O'Brien. 'The Coercion Bill for Ireland. What was the last Act of the first

ties, the same magazine outlined some of the expected measures which could be expected to follow the triumph of the movement:

## Knife-and-fork

'Repudiation of state engagements... confiscation of property under the name of graded income tax; the abolition of primogeniture in order to ruin the landed interest; the issue of assignats, in order to sustain the state under the shock to credit which such measures would necessarily occasion, might with confidence be looked for.'

'The question of universal suffrage was,' declared the Tory-Chartist the Rev. J. R. Stevens, 'a knife-and-fork question.'

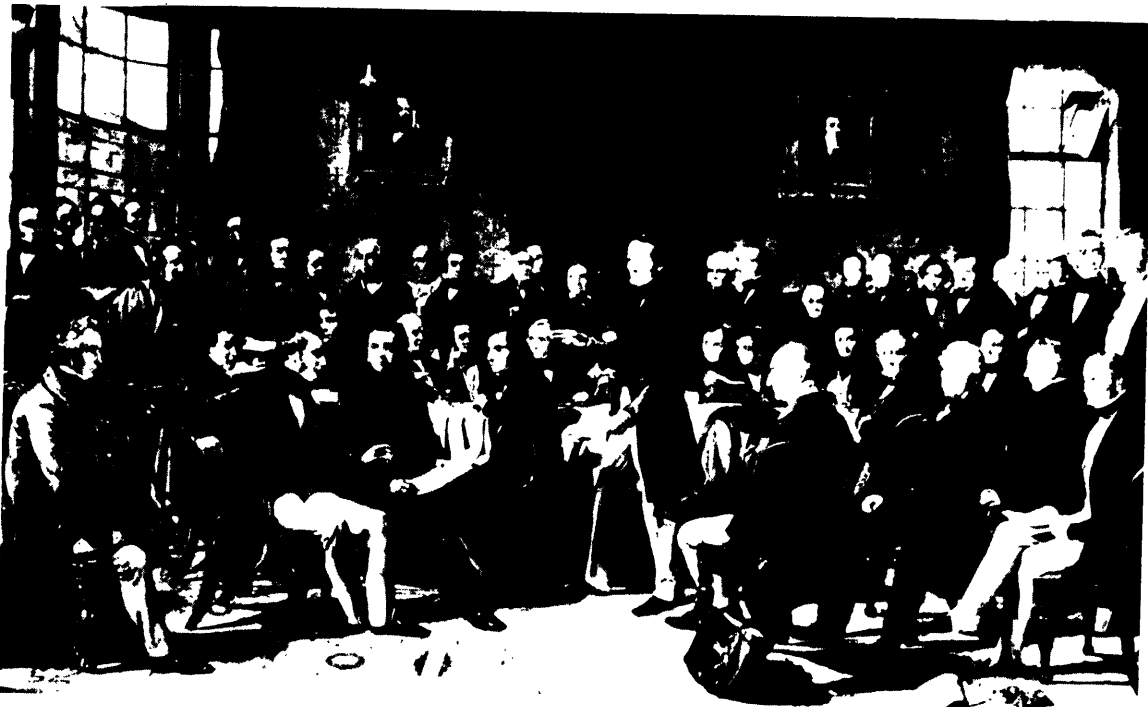
funded property, under the showy pretence of remitting to the people that annual 30 millions of taxes requisite for meeting the interests. The second step would be what already they parade as an "equitable distribution" of property.'

## Property

Underlining the narrow base on which the defence of property rested, 'Blackwood's Magazine' in one of its many articles directed against the franchise estimated:

'Out of the 19 million heads in this island not 300,000 are connected with property sufficient to ensure the conservative instincts and sympathies of properties.'

And in 1848, during the next great peak in Chartist activi-



RICHARD COBDEN, standing in the centre, addressing members of the anti-Corn Law League.

## Enemies

He declared at the time that they must be determined 'to cease using opprobrious terms and epithets, and to receive everyone as a friend who will take the Charter as his guide, and to work on steadily with every such person for the accomplishment of their purpose.'

'The Working-Men's Association' retorted Harney, 'are as an engine in the hands of some designing enemies... of the working millions, whose endeavour is to concentrate, by the establishment of this and such other light delusions, the abilities and energies of the people, and then to vilify their effects.'

But the limited aims of Lovett and Place were superseded as the campaign was taken up by thousands of workers in the towns and villages of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

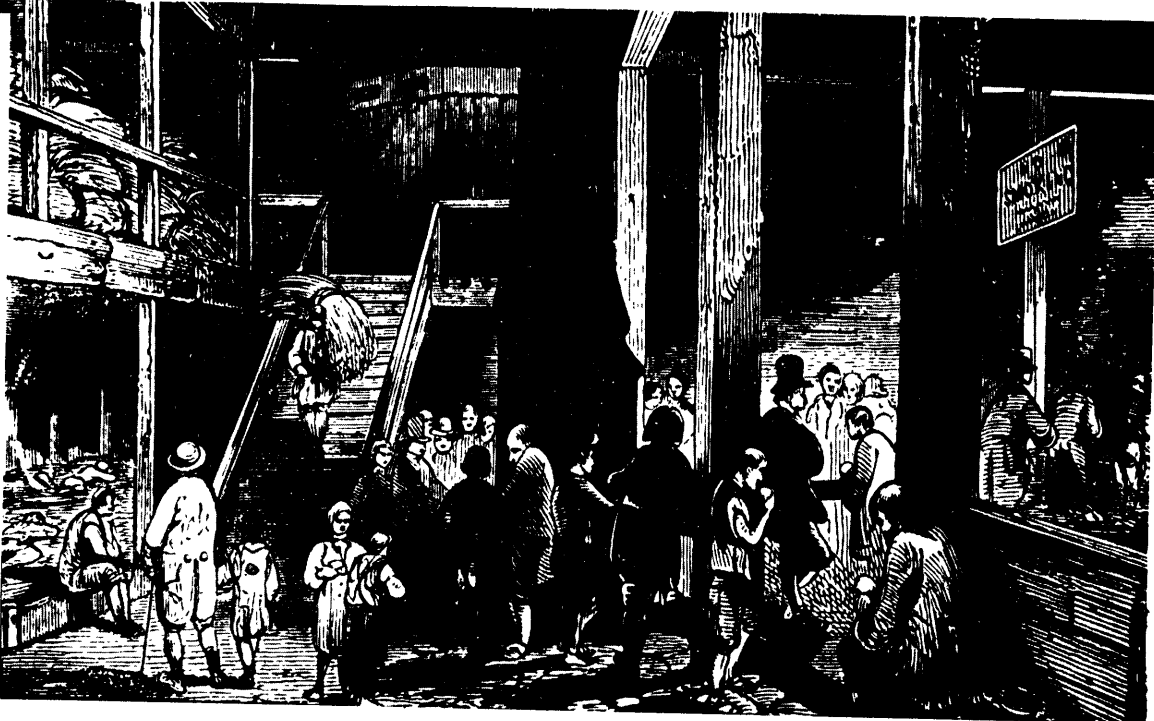
## Social

And it was a movement which rapidly assumed a social character.

To win the Charter was to overthrow the system of private property, a conclusion which became clear to both sections of the ruling class as well as the most advanced Chartists.

The ultra-conservative 'Blackwood's Magazine' expressed this fear that the victory of Chartism implied the expropriation of private property.

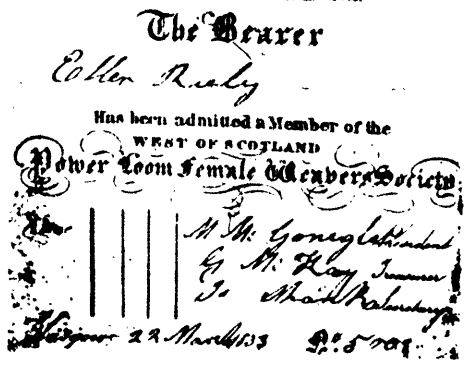
'Within three weeks,' it declared in 1842, 'were it merely to earn their wages, the new house of legislators would have abolished all



An artist's impression of the inside of a workhouse.

# CHARTISM AND ITS LESSONS

2



Trade union card 1833

120 to 200 men, many of them youths. They go from place to place where Anti-Corn Law lectures are given; they make a disgraceful broil, which is reported in the "Northern Star" as a "glorious victory". These 150 men call themselves the people and their impudence and tyranny is without example...

'I have a letter before me from the editor of the "Glasgow Argus" in which he says "Nothing is done here in public. The Chartists have put down public speaking".'

'I have seen many uproarious meetings,' wrote Place to John Collins, the Birmingham 'mortal force' Chartist who had been imprisoned with Lovett in 1841, 'but I never saw anything which would bear even a distant comparison with what I saw last night. I was very much vexed at and very much ashamed of the people before me. There I sat thinking of the terrible evils of the French Revolution in its earlier periods, and sure I am that if the men who composed by far the greater portion of the audience were not restrained by their fellow subjects', the policeman and the soldiers, all the horrors and the worst scenes in the French Revolution, all its monstrous cruelties and enormous evils of every kind would be outdone by the men whose hands would speedily commit them.'

## Gain

Whatever its actual course, this was the great gain of Chartism and hence Lenin's description of Chartism as the 'first broad and politically-organized proletarian-revolutionary movement of the masses'.

'Six or seven years ago' declared James Williams addressing a Chartist meeting in Sunderland in 1838 'they had met on that ground for the attainment of what they thought would be freedom. They joined the middle class that were then struggling for their rights. They obtained for them political freedom, and they trusted to their gratitude for assisting to secure the rights of the great masses of the community—they had been deceived, but they now stood forward together again in their own right and majesty and again they would triumph.'

● In our next article we shall examine the reasons why Chartism was unable, in the conditions of the 1840s, to effect this triumph which many of its leaders hoped for and expected.

'go the whole hog' with the people has been hinted at if the Chartists will only change — not their principles, but their name. It is said they wish coalition and a committee of individuals selected from both parties has been appointed to confer together. The middle classes feel that the landed aristocracy is too powerful for them when united by the working men... The Chartists are quite alive to the move and determined not to be jockeyed.'

## Disrupted

In fact the 1840s were to see the campaign of the League constantly disrupted by the activities of the Chartists.

'In London,' complained Place writing to Colonel Thompson, 'the interruption is made and sustained from about

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

These books and articles were found useful in preparing this series of articles. It is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good starting point for anybody wishing to undertake some further study of the matters raised in the series.

**Marx and Engels 'On Britain', Lenin, 'On Britain'.**

Both these items are indispensable. They provide a selection of the more important articles, speeches and letters by the founders of Marxism on the problems of the British working class in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

**Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?'** A classical study of the traditions in the British labour movement, written on the eve of the General Strike, but retaining all its freshness and relevance.

**Brian Pearce 'Some Past Rank-and-File Movements'** A very useful study of the lessons of past rank and file movements.

**M. Woodhouse 'Marxism and Stalinism in Britain 1920-1926'** A series of articles appearing in 'Fourth International', theoretical organ of the International Committee of the Fourth International, dealing with this crucial period in the history of the British working class. The

first two parts are of particular value for the subjects discussed in these articles.

**S&B Webb 'A History of Trade Unionism':** A classical study of the emergence and development of trade unionism. Although openly Fabian in its approach, still the basic work from which all other studies must still start.

**A. Briggs (ed) 'Chartist Studies':** A series of articles dealing with the regional background to Chartism. Useful material on the relationship of Chartism to the Anti-Corn Law League.

**M. Hovell, 'The Chartist Movement':** Despite its distortions, still a useful book for the basic facts of the Chartist movement, especially in its earlier period.

**A. R. Schoyen, 'The Chartist Challenge':** A lively study of George Julian Harney, one of the prominent 'physical force' Chartists.

**G. Wallace 'The Life of Francis Place':** An old work, written by a prominent early Fabian. Provides a good insight into the role of radicalism in the early working-class movement.

**R. J. Harrison 'Before the Socialists':** A series of specialist studies in working-class politics, 1860-1880. Useful work which tries to overcome some of the distortions of Stalinist historians.

**A. Saville, 'Ernest Jones':** A brief account of Jones's life and its relationship to Marx. Also includes a selection of Jones's articles, letters and speeches.

**G. Dangerfield, 'The Strange Death of Liberal England'**

\* These books and pamphlets available from New Park Publications Limited, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

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In his 'Letter to the Electors of Stroud' he said:

'Of the working classes who

# Martial law in Cambodia

### MARTIAL LAW was proclaimed yesterday in Cambodia by the pro-US Lon Nol regime.

## Complacency

FROM PAGE ONE  
worthless leadership—if we lose it will be a serious setback.

We warn all Labour supporters that the greatest weapon of the Tories is complacency in Labour's ranks; a complacency that is being sedulously fed by the 'opinion' polls and the Tory press.

Wars are not decided by histrionic gestures and elections are not won by promises and speeches.

If the Tories are to be beaten—forever—then the

working class must arm itself with the heavy weapons of socialist policy now so that it can not only conquer the class enemy, but it can also frustrate the betrayals and retreats of its cowardly and treacherous Fabian general staff.

### Replace

Today we will defeat the enemy, tomorrow we will replace the 'generals' with a new leadership which will not betray the trust of its ranks.

Make June 18 a day to remember by smashing the Tories!

Build the revolutionary alternative to Fabianism and Stalinism.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

NOTTINGHAM  
'Beat the Tories'  
Thursday, June 4, 7.30 p.m.  
People's Hall  
Heathcote St

BIRMINGHAM  
'The General Election and the Economic Crisis'  
Thursday, June 4, 8 p.m.  
The Wellington  
Cnr of  
Bristol St/Bromsgrove St

COVENTRY  
'Beat the Tories'  
Thursday, June 4, 7.30 p.m.  
Shakespeare Inn  
Spoon St

## Pilkington 22 to go

FROM PAGE ONE

and that every endeavour would be made to remove present tensions...

The fact that neither Feather nor the G&MWU has made any effort to take decisive action against the redundancy threat should dispel any lingering illusions the committee may have when they meet Feather tomorrow.

Another pertinent question is whether the AEF proposes to act against the sackings, which it can only do effectively by mobilizing its support in other factories in the area.

Kent eye-witness says

# Workers' action can end Indo-China war

NINE HUNDRED universities and colleges in the United States are still on strike—a month after the invasion of Cambodia and the cold-blooded shooting of students on the campuses of Kent State and Atlanta Universities.

BY JOHN SPENCER

## THE PERSIAN GULF



Sheik Zayad, ruler of the oil-rich Trucial State of Abu Dhabi (foreground). Behind him, to the right, sits the power behind the scenes, the British Military Adviser.

The decree provides for death by firing squad for any act 'aiding and abetting the enemy', the 'enemy' being not the Nixon and Saigon invading forces, but the Cambodian liberation fighters.

The decree also listed severe penalties for listening to Peking, Hanoi and National Liberation Front radio broadcasts—a sure sign

THE Thailand government is to send 'volunteers' to Cambodia for the defence of Phnom Penh, it was announced in Bangkok yesterday. Thailand's Prime Minister Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, said that this would allow the Lon Nol regime to deploy its hard-pressed troops elsewhere.

that the regime fears the impact of anti-government propaganda on the mass of the Cambodian people.

From San Clemente, California, it is reported that Nixon will make an 'interim report' on the Cambodian invasion—probably on Wednesday—in a television broadcast to the nation.

## Israelis retaliate

ISRAELI jets attacked Egyptian positions along the Suez Canal yesterday after last weekend's series of successful Egyptian commando raids, in which 13 Israeli soldiers were killed and two taken prisoner.

## WEATHER

London area, SE, central southern and SW England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands, central northern England: Dry. Sunny periods. Wind light variable. Very warm. Maximum 24C (75C).

NW England, N Ireland, Edinburgh, Glasgow area: Dry. Sunny periods. Wind SW, light or moderate. Very warm. Maximum 20C (68F).

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Mostly dry and very warm with sunny periods.

# British guns police oil squabble

A BRITISH NAVY frigate, supported by RAF aircraft, took up its position in the Persian Gulf at the weekend off the tiny sheikdom of Umm al Quaywayn, one of the seven Trucial States whose feudal rulers survive as puppets of the British government and the oil monopolies.

The immediate reason for this display of force was a dispute between the California-based Occidental Oil Co., with concessions to drill in the offshore waters of Umm al Quaywayn and the sheikdom of Ajman, and another American company, Buttes Gas and Oil.

Buttes claims the right to drill in the same areas as part of the territorial waters of Sharjah, yet another feudal territory.

### Confusion

Buttes' team of lawyers, acting in the name of the State of Sharjah, recently claimed sovereignty up to 12 miles around the island of

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Abu Musa, right in the middle of this narrow section of the Gulf.

This claim throws into some confusion the legal niceties through which the oil barons of Europe and America pump out billions of dollars worth of oil every year, throwing a few crumbs to keep the feudal sheiks and their relatives in luxury, and supervise their interests with 'mutual defence treaties, and British Political Residents to supervise the areas in practice.

With the withdrawal of British forces from the Persian Gulf proper, presently planned by the Wilson government for 1971, the oil companies hope to maintain their control through the powers of the Federation of Arab Emirates, consisting of the Trucial States (Ajman, Dubai, Fujairah, Ras al Khaimah, Sharjah, Kalma and Umm al Quaywayn) together with Bahrain and Qatar.

The absolute rulers of these territories will hold the Presidency of the Federation in turn, and supervise the policing of the area with native forces trained and led by British 'contracted' officers.

### Daily action

British forces and 'advisers', including RAF Canberra bombers, will remain in the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, immediately South of the Trucial states, where they are in daily action against the forces of the Popular Front.

The biggest threat to the oil monopolies within the Federation comes in Bahrain, where thousands of refinery and dock workers struck during Israel's 'six-day war' on the Arab peoples in 1967.

Rivalries between the various powers involved—Britain, America, Iran and Saudi Arabia—come second to the determination of imperialism not to be driven out by the people of the Arabian peninsula.

When British forces were driven out of Aden by Yemeni liberation fighters the alarm was sounded. No methods are too brutal for the British forces in Muscat and Oman, who bomb villages, crops and herds in an attempt to destroy the resistance of the population.

These forces and the Royal Navy in the Gulf are being held ready to 'protect' the rest of SE Arabia at the first sign of 'trouble'.

The British labour movement must demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from the Middle East, including the 'unofficial' officer corps recruited by the native rulers.



Fred Kirsch from Kent State University, Ohio, who was speaking in London last weekend.

# Colombian communists threatened

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

COLOMBIAN forces of 'law-and-order' have other responsibilities at least as weighty as investigating allegations against visiting footballers.

While the British press concentrated its attention on the misfortunes of Bobby Moore, a vast witch-hunt got under way last week against left-wing political organisations, and in particular the Colombian Communist Party.

Leading the pack are the extreme reactionaries among the senior army officers. They have used a series of 'confessions' extracted from Oscar Reyes, a captured guerrilla fighter, in which the CP leadership is accused of direct responsibility for the outlawed guerrilla movements.

### 'Orders'

Reyes is alleged to have said he obeyed the orders of Gilberto Vieira, CP general secretary arrested in 1967, but released when no evidence matured.

Military leaders are demanding the CP be banned, that its leaders be tried for 'subversion' and that all books of Marxist inspiration be prohibited.

Reasons for the witch-hunt are not far to seek. Popular opposition to the regime of President Lleros, and the military thugs which stand behind it, is rising.

It was expressed in sizeable CP gains in the April 19 elections, the full results of which have still not been published.

In this situation the employers are moving to dispense with the facade of 'democratic rights' and to ban workers' representatives from parliament and local government.

## I.O.S. fears

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their publication will only further undermine confidence. Rothschilds of London refused any help at the onset of the crisis when Cornfield would not allow them to look at the books.

Another factor deterring the merchant banks is the dominant position which Cornfield, former IOS boss, still holds within the empire. With a 12 per cent shareholding he still remains a key figure in any negotiations after the demise of Mr John M. King.

Whether the entry of the European and American governments can now succeed or not, IOS is unlikely to survive in its present form, with a central Geneva-based board controlling all operations.

Any government help will only be given in return for a break of the present structure with much more strict supervision of IOS activities in each country.

## SET-UP

'We regard this as a set-up,' he said. 'That crowd didn't represent the majority of working people. Wholesale Union president David Livingston called them hooligans. I think he was right.'

On his return to the United States, Kirsch faces drafting to Vietnam.

'I could be drafted any day now,' he told Workers Press. 'I don't want to fight an illegal genocidal war. Nixon can't win the war unless he has the support of the people. He's got troops over there who don't want to be there. You can't win a war unless you have dedication and his troops don't have it.'

# Few watch Franco parade

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

FRANCO'S 'victory parade', held every year to celebrate the defeat of the Spanish Republic in the Civil War, was watched by smaller crowds than ever last Sunday.

Observers noted that while the amount of military equipment on show was double that of last year, the attendance was about half.

Among those present were Sir John Russell, Wilson's Ambassador to Franco, and Robert Hill, US representative in Spain.

### Not known

The whereabouts during the parade of the Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian Ambassadors, whose governments have recently awarded diplomatic recognition to Franco's fascist regime, is not known.

## Machine-tool crisis behind £10m loan

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tool firms which are finding it hard to compete with overseas tool-makers. The British machine-tool industry still produces only £153 million-worth of products—W Germany produces £364 million-worth—every year.

It is severely affected by the cyclical year in which machine-tool orders are in.

# Troops move on Argentinian strikers

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

A MASSIVE police clamp-down in Argentina has followed the kidnapping of former dictator Pedro Aramburu, deposed at the 1958 elections.

At the same time troops were moved into the provinces of Cordoba, Santa Fe and Tucuman at the weekend in preparation for action against strikers.

Undoubtedly the kidnapping of Aramburu has been used by the military General Ongania's regime as the pretext for a general mobilization of state forces.

In Cordoba, where the government last week shut down all three universities for an indefinite period, the main trade union body (CGT) has been forced by rank-and-file pressure to call a 'week of resistance' to government oppression, and in commemoration of Maximo Mena and other workers killed by police in May 1969.

### Resistance

Cordoba, and particularly the Renault car plant there, is the centre of resistance to the political attacks on the working class and the incomes policy agreed between the government and right-wing trade union officials, whereby all wages must be negotiated with the state.

The government has responded with persecution of representatives of the labour movement in Cordoba, jailing Garzon Maceda, a trade union lawyer, and Jacobo Tieffenberg of the university teachers' union.

Strikers clashed with riot police at the weekend, and shops and cars were damaged in street fighting.

As Minister of the Interior Imaz ordered reinforcements into the city, barricades were erected in the working-class districts to repel attacks.

### Special conference

At the same time a special conference at Rosario brought together governors of the major provinces and senior officials of the police, armed forces and intelligence services to make plans for co-ordinating the forces against the working class.

The national CGT conference, scheduled for last Friday, has been postponed for at least a month.

As the Argentinian ruling

class prepare their attempt to break the working class, they are backed to the full by American and European capitalism, determined to protect and keep profitable their holdings in both industry and agriculture.

### Protege

Ongania himself is a protégé of the Americans, having first come into political prominence when he demanded that an Argentinian detachment support the CIA-organized suppression of the revolt against the dictatorship in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

# Heath

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and well-written' he had read. Of course the party didn't agree with it—particularly its insistence on uncontrolled immigration and workers' control—and had its own manifesto for the election.

Copies of the 'interesting and well-written' document were not distributed.

### Slip

Defending the late disclosures of his time-table of election meetings, Harold Wilson let slip the following: 'We shall give enough notice to people in the area to be able to get there, but not so much that they become the targets for busloads of people to come from all over the country to demonstrate.'

## Pound slips in Canada dollars scramble

The pound slipped back on the London foreign exchange markets yesterday in the wake of a hectic scramble for Canadian dollars.

For the first time since January 21, the pound dipped to below its parity with the US dollar.

The selling of sterling for Canadian dollars follows the Canadian government's decision at the weekend to let their currency 'float'.

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## LATE NEWS

### POLICE TO PATROL POLLS

Special police arrangements have been made to prevent disorder at election meetings of controversial figures like Enoch Powell.

When one of the more 'controversial' figures is canvassing, police will be alerted and will offer protection if needed. Other police will be standing by to prevent disturbances at all candidates' committee rooms.

### REYROLLE IN US LINK

Reyrolle Parsons, heavy electrical equipment makers, is

linking up with the North American Rockwell Corporation to market, manufacture and service turbines and generators in the US, the company announced yesterday.

### STORK UP

The prices of three margarine brands and two cooking fat brands were put up today by manufacturers Van Den Berghs.

They are Stork, Blue Band, Echo, Cookeen and White Cap.

### BRITAIN MAKES FEWER CARS

Britain's car industry produced and exported fewer cars in April.

Production in the four weeks to May 3 averaged 34,190 a week, compared with 35,616 a week in the same period last year.

Exports fell from a monthly total of 19,699 in last year's five-week period to 14,674 this year.

# Czech workers refuse to collaborate

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completed, which is only 11 per cent of the annual target... The number of flats newly started is lower than the figures for the same period of last year...

Like 'private-car ownership', housing will be allocated according to political criteria as well as those based on need.

These are the weapons the Stalinist bureaucracy has traditionally used to win the support of social layers standing between the top Party leaders and the working class.

### Tightening

Leaning on the occupying Soviet forces and the corrupted and most privileged layers of the middle class, the bureaucracy is at the same time tightening the screws on the working class.

'The government considers it very important to continue strengthening state discipline, economic and labour discipline, beginning with the highest organs of direction... In the field of public procurement and the courts changes have been carried out, as is known, in the senior and Party organs and a cadre consolidation is proceeding in all sectors.'

'In the Security Corps, far-reaching work is going on to raise political, expert and technical preparedness.'

'Bourgeois propaganda is continually trying to discredit our striving for law and order

by spreading lies about the preparation of trumped-up accusations and show trials in Czechoslovakia.

'These slanders and lies cannot divert us from the basic purpose of our policy. We shall protect the legal security of citizens, but at the same time we demand that everybody must respect the laws of our Republic and be guided by them.'

'We shall not hesitate to employ all means supplied by the law and against anybody who violates the interests of socialist society protected by law...' (Emphasis added.)

This statement coincides with the announcement by the Slovak Prosecutor General, Dr Michal Benčík, that 'the law on judicial rehabilitation [for those framed under previous Stalinist purges and 'trials'] was prepared as a result of intensive pressure of right-wing-opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces.'

### Admission

Strougal's speech is an open admission that his regime is rejected by the majority of the Czech people.

It survives only by bribing its allies and intimidating its working-class enemies.

Despite the claims of the Kremlin and its apologists within the international workers' movement, this regime has nothing to do with communism.

It is in fact a throw-back to the most degenerate forms of Stalinist counter-revolution.