NIXON STEPS UP AIRBORNE TERRORISM

WITH the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, airborne terrorism against the people of Vietnam reached new depths of horror this week.

Nixon has made it clear that there is no limit to the amount of suffering he is prepared to cause in order to defend American domination of south east Asia. Yet his actions are not a sign of strength, but of weakness. Reports indicate that the forces of National Liberation Front and North Vietnam are gaining ground in the South.

The bombing cannot affect the present fighting—military experts reckon it would take six weeks before its effects would be felt even near the border, and six months before they affected developments in Saigon. Nor can Nixon seriously hope to deter the North Vietnamese. Conventional terror bombing from 1965 to 1968 did not break their fighting spirit, and there is no indication they are any more likely to be discouraged now.

Above all the bombing cannot transform the corrupt politicians of South Vietnam into a workable and stable government, or make the demoralised South Vietnamese troops into a presentable army.

Yet Nixon has no choice. To send in ground troops would cause massive outrage at home and lose him the elections.

All Nixon can do is go on bombing, aided by a massive array of electronic equipment. He cannot win the war; but he can destroy the economy of North Vietnam painfully reconstructed since 1968. Above all he can go on killing in North and South alike, almost indefinitely.

Doubtless Nixon is scrambling around for a “political solution”, it is not our job to predict. Imperialism will continue to kill blindly and pointlessly—until it is disarmed.

Our duty is to make it quite clear that there is only one real solution to Vietnam’s problem—the kicking out of the Americans and their puppet government in Saigon.

LAST week’s issue of Socialist Worker was incorrectly numbered 269 instead of 267. We apologise for any confusion this may have caused.

THE TORIES have issued a challenge to the whole trade union movement by invoking their new Industrial Relations Act in the railway dispute. It is a challenge which must be taken up and thrown back in their faces.

What is involved is legalised blackmail by the government. Unions are being told that if they do not abandon the fight for the living standards of their members, then their funds will be seized. And this is in the case of a work-to-rule that cannot mean a breach of contracts of employment, but rather an ambiguous keeping to their terms. It seems that in Tory Britain even overtime working is regarded as compulsory under the law.

Massive propaganda has been used to back up the government. Ministers have made scarcely veiled calls for mob action against individual railway workers by stressing that the “public” should make its feelings felt—as if 10 million trade unionists and their families were not part of the public.

The four or five millionaires who own the press have been only too happy to chip in and lend a hand to their friends in Downing Street. They have been putting about the story that while the miners might have had a case, the railmen have none since the offer is a “fair” one.

Yet under the offer the average railman will be worse off than 12 months ago. The 12 per cent increase headlined in the papers will never actually find its way into anyone’s wage packet. To start with, 35p in every pound of it will be taken straight back by the government in increased tax and national insurance deductions, so that it will be worth only 7.8 per cent. That is rather less than the rise of nine per cent in the cost of living over the last year.

THOUSANDS

If the government has its way, the 90,000 railwaymen at present living on wages below the official poverty line will hardly see a massive improvement in their conditions.

British Rail has spent several thousand pounds on advertisements trying to prove that such workers are not “low paid”. But even its distorted picture cannot conceal all the facts.

It argues, for instance, that average weekly earnings will be £23, but then goes on to admit that this is for a 48 hour week. In other words, with- out overtime, rail pay will be under £24—three pounds less than the national average.

Ministers try to create the impression that any concession to the railmen would mean increased fares. They do not mention the tens of millions of pounds paid out by the railways every year in interest charges to money-lenders.

What the propaganda smokescreen hides is the real aim of the Tory operation. Two years of rising unemployment, welfare cuts, rent increases and onslaughts against the unions have not been sufficient to solve the problems of the government’s paymasters, the two per cent of the population who own 65 per cent of the industrial wealth. This was graphically brought home by a record trade deficit of £600m last month.

FAILED

The Tories are desperately manoeuvring to make the rest of us bear the burden that results. They are trying to shift the blame for their fallings on to the organised trade union movement.

Their last attempt to do so failed miserably. Through determination, solidarity and militancy the miners’ strike gave Heath a bloody nose. Now he is attempting to exact a harsh revenge.

The trade unions have the strength to break right through the Industrial Relations Act. Massive industrial action by a single strong section such as the railmen can force ministers to eat their own words and compel laws to look the other way.

For neither can run the railways if the workers refuse with full backing from the trade union movement. And if Heath is forced into another humiliating retreat so soon after the miners’ victory, it will be the beginning of the end both for his government and his anti-union laws.

All that is needed is that the trade unions stand up and fight, explain the real issues at stake to all their members, and refuse to be intimidated by a law which the working class movement cannot and will not accept.

by Chris Harman

London railwaymen: their action hit the bosses where it hurt—in the City

BEER: THE BITTER TRUTH

There’s more water in Britain’s beer today than ever before. Report: centre pages.

May Day Rally

Bring The Tories Down
Why Labour Does Not Fight

Monday 1 May, 7.30pm
Islington Town Hall
Upper Street, N1
(nearest tube—Highbury and Islington)

SPAKERS
Bernadette Devlin MP
Paul Foot, Tony Cliff
Wally Preston
plus international speakers
Organised by International Socialists
ARGENTINA: END OF THE HONEYMOON

by Vic Richards

ARGENTINA is in a serious crisis. The economy has been declining for the last 16 months. Inflation has reached more than 150 percent per month. The government is supporting the military dictatorship, is alarmed and is trying to cut down its defense spending and the International Monetary Fund are knocking at the door, asking for their money.

They want the government to step up the attack against the living standards of the middle class. By doing so the government could raise profits and invest in the country and so stop foreign capital from leaving once again to go to Brazil instead.

The situation that has induced the bankruptcy of the military regime. The military seized power in 1946 in a bid to stop popular uprisings and to quell unrest from rising to the surface.

But then their main aim has been to smash the organized power of the trade unions and of the leading labor leaders during the post-war boom. He deceived workers for 11 years by a sham offensive against the big labor unions. But he never carried out any strikes, but rather reduced the number of people working, acting as exercise. But he did not want to upset the powers that be.

Pressure eventually mounted from below. The workers' movement in 1955 is a great victory and a last concession, by arming a militia of his support. This alarmed the business community and led to the overthrow of Peron. He left for Spain with his family and about 50 million dollars.

Ever since, the bureaucracy of the Peronist regime, the TUC has been fostering illusions about Peron. Most workers now look to him, and his dictatorial role at the age of 87, and all governments since 1956 have lacked political will.

But a growing minority now realizes that the Peronist bureaucracy has deflected the unions for the sake of their own power, but want to avoid confrontations with the government over their members' living standards. As the crisis deepens this may develop into a powerful movement to challenge union leaders and government policies.

To forestall this—or a possible coup by the right-wing of the Army—General Lanusse and the CGT are attempting to bring Peron back. If they can steal the steam out of this crisis, they will obtain the support of big business and a new order. They can then set about cutting workers' standards of living.

THE DECISION of a South African airport court to order the British to return the dead bodies of two Polish farmers was predictable. The survivors and their sons have already served its purpose—to warn liberals and democrats of the long-term effects of military involvement in even mild hostility to the South African regime.

At the same time the South African government is publishing the vapid world of capitalism, and would have found it embarrassing to keep someone as obviously harmless as the Dead in prison for so long. The 13 Africans, Indians and coloured people sentenced recently under the Terrorism Act, whose case has had little publicity—will not get such gentle treatment.

THOSE who denounce the "excessive" wage demands made by British workers and at the same time the virtues of the Common Market should look at a report of the European Communist Commission last week. It shows that in almost all European countries workers' lunches have rose more rapidly than in Britain.

The rise was greatest in Italy (145%), followed by Belgium (9.5% per cent), West Germany (4.9% per cent), France (1.1% per cent), Italy (1.1% per cent), and Holland (5% per cent). Only France (1.1% per cent) came below Britain's six and a half per cent.

AN ITALIAN insurance company is offering a special policy for Members of Parliament seeking re-election in next month's general elections. The premium of between £170 and £1300 and the total will be shared among free travel on rural buses, free entry to cinemas and sporting events, free 'thank you' letters and exemption from all taxes.

SIXTY-SIX Cairo textile workers are reported to be still in prison following the savage repression against strikers at the end of March. The trade unions are demanding immediate and unconditional release for all the prisoners.

The strike broke out when workers demanded a seven-day day and the extension to the private sector of gains won in previous rounds. The employers replies with a lock-out.

When workers demonstrated at the factory gates, they were attacked by a troop of some 9000 security forces and openly dispersed with clubs. About 200 workers were taken to hospital.

REPORTS suggest that Albania's friendship with China may be warming. The Albanian critic Ch icon's relations with Nixon and China's "soft" attitude toward the common market.

Changing partners would be nothing for the Albanian. From 1946 to 1948 Albania was virtually ignored by the West, and when the Communist Information Bureau was formed in 1947 the Yugoslavs persuaded Russia that Albania must be kept out.

But in 1968, when Russia split with Yugoslavia, Albania became the most loyal of the pro-Russians.

Then, in 1961, Khronshchev made Albania the agent for his attacks on China. Now Albania is making new friends—Yugoslavia, and China is a good measure, the Greek dictators.

ITALY: jobless over a million

UNEMPLOYMENT in Italy is, as in Britain, a very serious problem. Apart from the huge temporary unemployment in the coal mines and the entire industrial north and south are now being severely hit.

Long published in the Italian revolutionary 16th International Communist party, the British economy has in the last few years, as in the rest of the world, been hit by a worldwide depression. But the Italian unemployment has been accompanied by a steady increase in the number of people out of work. In the last five years, the number of unemployed has increased from 300,000 to 1,400,000.

Some workers in the major industries have been laid off, such as in the textile industry, where 100,000 workers have been laid off, and in the shoe industry, where 20,000 workers have been laid off.

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The situation is not just a result of the worldwide depression, but is also a product of the Italian economy. The Italian economy is characterized by a high rate of unemployment and a low rate of investment. This has led to a slow growth of the economy and a high rate of unemployment. The Italian government has been unable to deal with the problem of unemployment, and has instead relied on the free market to solve the problem. This has led to a situation where the unemployed are forced to work for low wages, and where the working class is forced to accept wage cuts and job losses.

The situation is not just a result of the worldwide depression, but is also a product of the Italian economy. The Italian economy is characterized by a high rate of unemployment and a low rate of investment. This has led to a slow growth of the economy and a high rate of unemployment. The Italian government has been unable to deal with the problem of unemployment, and has instead relied on the free market to solve the problem. This has led to a situation where the unemployed are forced to work for low wages, and where the working class is forced to accept wage cuts and job losses. The solution to the problem of unemployment is not in the hands of the Italian government, but in the hands of the working class. The working class must organize and fight for its rights, and must demand that the government take action to solve the problem of unemployment.
Brown and Mac

STRONG FEELINGS of ‘deja vu’ – the unnerving sensation that you have experienced an identical situation before – came with the intervention of the New Employment Minister, Macmillan in the railway dispute last week.

When old man Macmillan was prime minister in those long un-dreamt-of days of yesteryear, the railway workers had the tenacity to want to add a few shillings to the miserable pitance that passed for a wage. Superman called the union leaders to Downing Street, ordered a few crates of brown ale and, in the course of appealing to their better natures to defend the ‘national interest’, let it be known that his sympathy for their case stemmed from the fact that his grandson had been a ‘railwayman’. He even produced an old newsprint watch presented to granddad for his services to the industry. Whether or not this shawmied swayed the railmen is lost in the mists of time but today’s union men should take note of the example of Tony honesty.

Macmillan’s relative was no Victorian wheelbarrow or shunter but was one of the original Great Western, a firm not known for its favourable treatment of workers or easy trade unions. Macmillan’s casual approach to the truth was typical of his ability to appeal as a father down-at-heel, baggy-pulled man of the people. The fact that he was a millionaire publisher was not much known to the general public. Times pass. Maxine Minnac is a member of a Tory regime that doesn’t believe in papering over class differences but in rigorously widening them. Which could be some sort of improvement if workers draw the necessary conclusions.

ANOTHER new Tory bigwig after Throttle Ted reshuffles is a Minister for Industry Tom Boardman. His suitability for the job can best be judged by the fact that he once had to apologize to the Commons for speaking in the debate on the CEC-AEC English electric takeover without realizing he had shared in the com-

Foreman doctor

GKN bores in the Midlands are getting tough on absenteeism caused by illness. Management clearly thinks

Hanging party

MUCH postulating last week from BBC boss Lord Charlie Hill on how the corporation never succumbs to political pressure from any quarters. The BBC grapevine says otherwise. Viewers who saw the recent re-enactment of the Cran-Gibby murder trial will recall that it ended with Derek Bentley being hanged in front of our eyes in a gruesome but necessarily realistic fashion.

The producer’s original plan was to superimpose on that grim scene a straight news recording of the last ‘party’ on television,-hyping police and bloodhounds as they vied in favour of the return of capital punishment. This was vetoed at top level by TV overlords David Attenborough on the grounds that it would offend Tony viewers.

Evil times

FIRE and stonebroke were pointed forth on the heads of lack-lustre Bessemer Steel strikers at the Rev Malcolm Sutton of St Michael’s church delivered his weekly sermon. Printed by local scribes, the vicar denounced IS as ‘the blackest day of the twentieth century’. Curious to know what placed them in the international pantheon of barbarism above Hitler and Stalin, the congregation was saved vantage and reverence and asked for his reasons. ‘In smacks of conclusion to come and that means imprisonment with out trial,’ was the dog-collared reply. Yes, and as Comrade Heath was saying only the other day –

HEATON’S TRANSPORT, the St Helens firm that took the Transport Workers to court under the Industrial Relations Act, had better put its own house in order. It hardly pays musher as a ‘law-abiding’ company. The firm failed to file an annual return in 1971 and is violating the 1969 Companies Act. We understand the government has no immediate plans to sue the company.

Call the lift

AFTER the spy in the cab, the spy in the closet. This lift service engi-

er in Glasgow has just been issued with a six-month notice to quit and a £100 fine for stealing. The judge ruled that developing this aim has a clear, though-cut strategy for achieving it.

The official leadership of the working-class movement is divided, lacks any consistent strategy and, in many cases, does not express, in any circumstance. No confidence whatever can be placed on the trade union leadership left to themselves.

The living need is for an organised rank and file movement with the will to win, a movement that operates both unofficially and inside the official structures, to win a living wage, to put an end of claims, to resist the Industrial Relations and the leadership to make these things possible.

We are living in a highly unstable situation. Unless the employers’ offensive is decisively beaten the British working class faces a whole series of defeats. And the offensive will not be beaten unless a powerful grass roots organisation of militants can be created.
I DOUBT whether most of us who spoke in the debate on women at the two IAs were aware that the two IAs were mere dog-bodie. We didn't write the speeches and we didn't make the speeches and we didn't run the branch or lead the branch or sit on the branch or write any of the papers concerning the branch.

In 1970 the ideas of Women's Liberation hit us like a ton of bricks, but, rhetoric aside, it proved necessary for us to move outside IS——into WIL and the independent women's groups and the organisations before we could convince our own membership. Our own struggle and before we could persuade IS to take work seriously was a condition.

It is a measure of the success, not the failure, of our Cage Conference that we will now integrate our work and policies on women into union activity and propagates of IS. The discussion at the Conference was lively and largely thanks to that ‘middle-class' and 'apolitical' Women's Liberation Movement, we are now ready and eager to get our teeth into them.

Certainly, the movement has problems, it has stopped growing, and it won't always have the enthusiasm of the new and politically committed.

The record of Socialist Worker in supporting the Irish struggle to free its own people is so low as to be almost ignominious. The editorials are filled with racism against the rest of the world and the racism becomes part of the Irish politics which in turn is the result of the IRA war.

We hope this letter will contribute to the continuing discussion of the question of our 'unconditional but critical support for the IRA' of the two IAs, fighting imperialism in Northern Ireland.

What prompted us to write the essay was the experience of going to two different areas where there are very few Irish and where Red一只手 was largely hostile to the IRA.

To many working class people the word ‘unconditional but critical' can seem more equivocation than answer to the question; what do we mean?

Much of this is a question of emphasis on one side or the other. The IRA have to face the defence of the Irish Catholic working class and the defence of the Irish Protestant working class against a growing tide of terrorism——not because of any musty moralism. But because it is necessary to build a realistic political consciousness of the mass of the IRA warriors and the real enemy is British imperialism and capitalism which is international.

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The real need today is not for slogans that are popular with workers but the basic argument needed to convince a majority of workers to support trade unions in their struggle for better working conditions and to support the trade unions in their fight to end this war.

It is a great pity that the Trades Union Congress is not the body in which this struggle could be fought. The TUC is the body of the working classes and it could be used to support the trade union movement.

The TUC has an important role to play in the fight against the war in Northern Ireland. It could use its influence to support the trade union movement and to support the workers in their fight for better conditions.

A district committee has also had a policy of keeping secret the individual factory settlements. Many right-wing officials and shop stewards are now exploiting this in an order to mislead and confuse many workers.

And because nobody knows what size settlements have been reached and the district is not insisting upon agreements not less than the full amount of the national pay claim, it is impossible for some workers to know whether or not any offer is good or bad.

One of the most vital needs of the trade union movement is to have meetings of all the shop stewards. These have not been held. If they were held it would be possible for the claims to be properly directed, extended, and defended. Right-wing officials and the right-wing controlled unions of the right-wing controlled company would use these meetings and would avoid any talk of the company in the district.

If these were done, not only would it be better for the conditions of workers in Manchester but would also encourage workers to take part in the same spirit.

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SATIN IN BATTLE

What to fight for

Throughout the present battle, the Manchester district commit-
tee of the International Socialists have been issuing a twice-weekly
news bulletin, 10,000 copies of each issue have been circulated in
many of the major factories. This bulletin is giving vital news and
information about the struggle and is campaigning for a pro-
gramme of victory. This is: 1. No retreat on the full pay
claim. 2. Weekly meetings of all the shop stewards. 3. No secret agreements and no
settlements less than the full claim. 4. No redundancies or product-
ivity deals. 5. Weekly one-day strikes and mass demonstrations. 6. Immediate official support for
all sit-ins and strikes. 7. Rolling district action across the
country in support of the claim. 8. A national levy to support the
fight. 9. Resistance to and non-co-
coperation with the Industrial Relations Act.

Prophets of doom are on the side of the rich nations

LAST CENTURY the middle classes could avoid the environmental hell-
holes created by capitalism by buying away from the industrial town
center.

Today the environmental effects of capitalism are less easily avoided and
with the growth of the middle class there is more complicity for unoccupied living
space. This has led to the development of the environmental movement.

The movement's theoretical backbones is the science of ecology. Ecology depends
upon thinking of the biological world as a whole, whose parts are all inter-
dependent. It therefore harmonises with the theories of the environmental

Yet its practitioners tend to develop an ideology totally based on ecology,
going social and economic forces and strengthening assumptions from their class
background.

Consider the increasing prophesies of ecological doom. The standard argument
is illustrated by the outcry used by Hardin in the influential American
journal Science.

Overgrazing

The world is compared to a common pasture where the best strategy for each
farmer if he wants to maximize his personal gain is to increase the size of his
herd as rapidly as possible. This leads to overgrazing and the ruination of
the pasture.

The argument has a point, as the fate of the world's wool and wheat industries
shows. Where overproduction has driven farmers to overgrazing as a solution to
the problem, they might think, would be to cut the size of the herds. But Hardin argues that each
person contributes to the overgrazing—a single cow factor is population.

To a free market driver, the allocation of the rights based on territory must be
defended if a free breeding race is to be avoided. For whatever number is acting as
the resource of a nation, he says, does ecology justify imperialism.

Ecologists have proposed a population explosion as the cause of world
doom. But this ignores the fact that the average American pollutes the world roughly 25
times more than the average Indian. The imbalance will almost certainly
continue to become more extreme under the present world economic system.

Damaged

There is no good evidence that ecological damage is imminent. Some
ecologists claim that Lake Erie, between the US and Canada, has been irreversibly
damaged by pollution from the industries of Detroit. But Lake Erie is not the Pacific Ocean.

Population pressure is somewhat prove to sensationalism. A few months ago we
were being told about the rising level of mercury in tuna fish. Yet the world
annual amount of mercury pollution is so small it could put one part in 40,000 of the total mercury
in the sea.

Of course to go to the other extreme and assume we have an ecological
disaster would be shortsighted. But the fact is that the greatest dangers to the world eco-
system are not from population but from the continued uncontrolled use of science by capitalism.

This has been clearly bought out in the best popular book on the environ-
ment The Cleansing Circle, by Barry Commoner, who points out that of the
massive increases in pollutants in the US since World War II: 'Two only five per cent
have been due to increases in population or to an overall rise in the
standard of living. The rest is due to the introduction of new technology.'

Skimped

In a rational run society a new technology should be introduced for large scale production only when its side
effects have been vetted. In a society based on production for profit and not social benefit this does not happen.

If a new chemical product, for example, promises a big profit for the
first four or five years of its manufacture, it must be put on the market as soon
as possible and the side effects skimped and binned.

By contrast, the normal scientific approach to complex problems depends
upon open publication of ideas and results.

Outside periods of capitalist boom, the struggle for profits becomes farcr and super profits are even more jealously
guarded. So capitalist governments will certainly fail to ensure adequate control of pollutants. Just as they assure
the misuse of the world's resources.

Capitlism, like the Serenta's Argument, is has produced a science of no power it cannot control. The power must

TIM SHALICKE will be writing a regular column on scientific
affairs for Socialist Worker

The language of the
civilised nations has
dearly marked off two
epochs in the develop-
ment of Russia. Where
the aristocratic culture
introduced into world
parlance such barbar-
ties as czar, programme
knot, October has
internationalised such
words as Bolshevik,
soviets... This same
justifies the proletarian
revolution, if you imagine it needs justifi-
cation."—Trotsky

TROTSKY'S HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

YORHURK

Three volumes, 50p each, post and packing 7p per volume, 1p the three
15 BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN
'BASS CHARRINGTON has no plans to put up beer prices in the near future,' Alan Walker, the company's chairman, announced on 1 January this year.

Some six weeks later, Bass Charrington, Whitbread and Allied Breweries chose the same day to put up 1p a pint on draught beers. The other national brewers quickly followed suit.

Walker's notion of 'the near future' was damped with the same speed as the brewers' endorse- ment of the Confederation of British Industry pledge to keep price rises below 5 per cent until June.

Brewery shares on the Stock Exchange rose immediately. Working class people sighed and paid up. Most people will pay the going rate for frosty their joys or drowning their sorrows.

**Boost**

A similar sized price rise in November 1970 had hastened the brewers' profits by some 40 per cent and had no impact whatsoever on the fast growing drink market.

But the brewing companies did at least make some pretence of justifying that increase. They had just been freed from the iniquitous price controls imposed by the last Labour government. Wage and other costs were rising rapidly, they contended.

This time they have not been deaf to the excuses. They rely on the ideas that have been so rhetorically drummed into people's heads over the past decade—that increased wages equals national disaster.

In the brewing industry the middle-aged folk, slightly abashed by the press and consecutive Labour and Tory governments.

**Relief**

When the Tories were returned in June 1970, Colonel Whitbread stated that the country was breathing a sigh of relief. What he meant was that life would be even better under the Conservatives, for him and his kind of course.

In 1966 the employers' federation, the Brewers' Society, made an application to the Press and Income Board for permission to increase beer prices on the grounds that the industry was suffering from two fronts to carry out its pub rebuilding and modernisation programme.

This was refused, though the

**Labour government did instead suggest that** the brewers could pick up an extra 5p by increasing productivity and actually reducing production and distribution (cutting half the breweries and bottling plants, but not the wages). The brewers were outraged. They wanted to do both at the same time. And do it if they could.

Since the big seven firm own up to 70 per cent of all liquor outlets in the UK, they have enormous possibilities for getting round a price freeze. Inspection is impossible.

In any case the Labour government only froze prices in the public bar. The beer firms were free to vary at will the salaries bar mark-up during the so-called freeze of 1966-67.

By increasing the differential on saloon charges, the brewers were able to match up to 15 to 18 per cent price increases on average. Some of them even managed 35 per cent. And when the peg on public bar prices came off in 1969, they did not increase public bar prices alone.

Saloon prices were also jacked up.

Since the end of the period of restraint they have managed to add on another 23 per cent to the price of the pint.

And consumption of traditional bitter and mild beers was being abandoned. In 1970, for instance, 'Greeched down', the confectionary content of 41c in total. The consumption cost of a pint has been decreased by very big amounts, say brewers, mainly by government enforced labour time and output times.

Whitbread's example of the quality comes: brewery workers redundant in many of them up meagre wage. Whitbread's Chiswell Street, City of London, priced the ruck up, less than 10p against an expected rise of 70p to 4/6d to 5/6d in the property. 1970.

The firm's already proved that it has a vast amount of million pound development round the corners.

**Shots**

But the brewers wanted to combine incidences on their labour force with increasing exploitation of an expanding market. They made all the fashionable noises about the dangers of increasing cost inflation, the necessity for higher productivity and argued quite dishonestly that they were in trouble.

A private report for the stockbrokers Simon Cottons explains the situation as follows: 'Although Wattle and Grimshaw have expressed reservation about the dangers of cost inflation this should not be taken as more than the first shots of the essentially political campaign for the next price rise.'
IN THE affluent London area of Twickenham, you can have the pleasure of going for a pint at Watney’s Bird’s Nest—a ‘pub of the future’, as the Watneys pubs are called. It’s a relatively unpretentious place, with no sleek interiors, but a warm, inviting feel. It’s the only one of Watney’s Red pubs from 1860.

The menu is extensive, with a wide range of beers available, such as the ‘English Ale’, ‘London Pride’ and ‘Bitter’. The staff are friendly and knowledgeable, making it a perfect place to unwind after a long day at work.

The pub is located in the heart of Twickenham, near the famous rugby stadium, making it a popular spot for both fans and locals alike. It’s a great place to grab a pint after a match or enjoy a meal with friends.

Watney’s Bird’s Nest is a true icon of British brewing, and is sure to charm any visitor looking to experience a taste of London’s rich beer history.

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GEOFF WOOLFE

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**Counterculture by red-keg men**

The character of the pub has been changed to suit the needs of the local community. From the 1980s, the pub started to gain popularity with the local rock and punk scene, attracting a large number of young, rebellious patrons.

The new local clientele brought a fresh energy to the pub, and the atmosphere was one of rebellion and non-conformity. The old-fashioned décor was replaced with a more modern, edgy style, with punk music playing in the background and a large discotheque on the top floor.

The bar was decorated with posters and flyers from local bands, and the walls were covered with graffiti. The atmosphere was electric, with a constant buzz of energy and excitement.

Despite the changes, the pub remained true to its roots, with a strong emphasis on community and local spirit. It became a meeting place for local artists, musicians, and activists, who would gather to discuss the issues of the day and plan protests.

Watney’s Bird’s Nest became a symbol of the counterculture movement, and its red-keg design became synonymous with the spirit of rebellion and non-conformity.

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**SECRECY**

Keg and bottle beer, backed by a massive advertising campaign, is taking an even higher section of the market, which is nice for the brewers as the profit margins are twice to three times.

Last year, CGF (Cooper Union), a leading figure of the brewing industry, said that while sales of strong beers, prices, were in fact ‘weak bases’. They should be labelled ‘beers of great profitability’, he suggested. It was promptly rounded on by both EPL (English Pubs Licensing) and the Lager, who described those remarks as ‘unhelpful’.

But once you get behind the secrecy of the bar, you find that ‘bottle’ is a more demystified beer, and that’s where the customer comes into the picture. The idea is to provide a wider range of choice and to bring the customer closer to the product.

Many of the pints are now hung on tap, and are made up of a selection of styles, from light and refreshing to rich and robust. There’s a real sense of community at the bar, with regulars often chatting and catching up over a drink.

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**SILENCE**

Dairyman pyracantha—extensively used in a scientific experiment—has been linked to break down in ethanols, but in the presence of certain enzymes is transformed into diacetyl, methanoic acid.

The scientists, who are part of the research team, have found that this chemical compound appears to be the cause of the symptoms experienced by the patients.

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**International Socialism 51 (Juliet)**

**JOHN PALMER**

The significance of this is that it is significant to the Southern region of the country, and is integrated into the wider socialist movement.

**GERARD MCCANN**

Protestant Lisburn, the UNification side of the city, traditionally supports the SDLP.

**McCANN**

The SDLP is a political party in Northern Ireland, formed in 1969 as a split from the Ulster Unionist Party. The party is based on a devolutionist platform, aiming to devolve power to the Northern Ireland Assembly.

20cp per copy, subscription £1 per year, from: IS Journal, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DR

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**GEORGE WOOLFE**

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**Cocaine trees**

It is not surprising that John Amery encourages the cult of cocaine use in society. His influence has been seen in the way that many young people are drawn to the drug, finding it both exciting and easy to obtain. It is a dangerous and addictive substance, and it is important that society works to prevent its use and promote alternatives.

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**How to Launch a New Beer**

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SHOP STEWARDS IN WORLD WAR ONE: Part two

TOWARDS SOCIALISM! SABBY SAGALL ON:

IN 1917 the 'Home Front' was in a state of growing revolt. The tremendous strike movements of that year against the ruling class' wholesale attacks on trade union conditions was led by the newly-created national shop stewards' organisation.

The official union leadership had totally abdicated the defence of workers' wages in the interests of assisting the imperialist war. The Cabinet was becoming increasingly alarmed with what was threat not only to the war effort but potentially to British capitalism itself. The main strike leaders were arrested.

The others remained unaware of the strength and potential of the movement they were leading. A delegation of shop stewards received by the Minister of Munitions agreed to call for a return to work in exchange for the release of the arrested leaders. They also agreed that further negotiations would take place between official trade union leaders and the government.

ABANDON

The agreement was therefore virtually a surrender by the stewards. The only concession made by the government, in the face of the growing industrial unrest, was to abandon their policy to extend dilution of labour—the practice of giving men's jobs to women, skilled jobs to the unskilled, and so on—into private work.

Although the shop stewards' movement developed tremendous power in its rejection of the pink-and-white upsurge, it failed to develop the movement politically, confusing the struggle to narrow trade union demands.

The mass strikes during the First World War reflected not just discontent with immediate government policies but an increasing war weariness. Although most of the stewards were themselves socialists opposed to the war, they did not consistently raise it as an issue in the course of the battles they were leading. They never demanded an end to hostilities as the solution to the problems facing the working class.

General political questions such as the need for socialism were raised in the abstract, unrelated to the specific struggles being fought.

MOUTHPIECE

Instead of attempting to raise the level of demands as to raise the workers' level of political consciousness, the rank-and-file leaders saw themselves merely as the mouthpiece of the workers. Although they initiated massive movements, they raised only such demands as had spontaneously sprung up in the course of the developing struggle.

The result was that they merely echoed the most obvious of the workers' grievances, such as dilution, the conscription of skilled men and rising prices. They failed to penetrate to the deeper levels of the workers' frustrations, which would have meant launching a campaign against the war itself and ultimately against the capitalist system.

The mass strikes had deeper motives than those that appeared on the surface. But only a minority of the workers in struggle were conscious of the relationship between dilution and conscription on the one hand, and the war and the capitalist system on the other.

RAISED

The shop stewards had a chance to broaden the struggle by basing it on the consciousness of these more advanced sections. By doing so, they could have raised the level of the more backward workers to that of the advanced.

By refusing to tackle the general political questions that lay at the root of the mass strikes, the shop stewards ensured that the struggles remained at the level of those grievances which the mass of the workers could themselves react against.

Moreover, though individual militants might be sent to jail, the movement was generally in a strong position. There was a shortage of skilled labour, and the government's constant need for munitions meant that they could not afford to provoke strikes or delay settling them once they had broken out.

The key problem was the absence of any serious revolutionary socialist party capable of taking political leadership during this period of mass working class upheaval. There had been a real chance to build such an organisation with strong roots in the working class because of the workers' majority.

The most important figure on the party's international left-wing was John Maclean, a Glasgow teacher who constantly tried to broaden the industrial struggle on Clydeside into a revolutionary struggle against the war. For this he was imprisoned more than once by the authorities.

Maclean's revolutionary propaganda helped to spur the Clyde Workers' Committee to action, but it was dominated by members of the SLP, a highly sectarian organisation which did not believe it was possible to win reforms this side of socialism.

Their main aim was to build industrial unions which would unite all the workers in one industry into a single socialist union regardless of craft differences.

EMPHASIS

But they also believed in the need to achieve a parliamentary majority, after which power would be handed over to the industrial unions to reorganise society on a socialist basis. So neither the BSP nor the SLP was capable of building long-term influence in the trade union movement.

The leading shop stewards had developed political attitudes from their experiences in the pre-war strike movement that were influenced by syndicalist ideas.

According to these, capitalism was to be made unprofitable through continuous strikes by the industrial unions. Eventually, through such direct action, the workers would be able to take over the running of industry.

This notion led the stewards to place all the emphasis on building an industrial union, and to interpret the political struggle as an effort to win a narrow trade union terms. To introduce political issues into the industrial struggle was unnecessary, for they believed once the socialist industrial union was built, the capitalist state would automatically fall away.

BETRAYED

This syndicalism blended well with the 'anti-leadership' views of the stewards. They had consistently experienced betrayals at the hands of the Labour Party and trade union leaders. They knew well how such leaders bureaucratically manipulated the rank-and-file.

As J T Murphy, one of the leading shop stewards, the man in the workshop feels every change, the workshop atmosphere is his. But let the same man get into office, he meets a fresh class of people, and breathes a different atmosphere. He becomes buried in the constitution.

From the fact that union members tend to become corrupted once they are leaders, Murphy concluded that all leadership is bound to stifle the independent and initiative of the rank-and-file.

The constitution of the Shop Stewards' Movement laid down that the function of an elected committee should be confined to the conveying of information to the rank-and-file which then had to decide itself on all key policy matters. No initiatives must be taken by an executive independently of the rank-and-file.

REJECTED

And because of their suspicion of all leadership, the shop stewards rejected the idea of a revolutionary party.

For this reason, although the shop stewards' movement began massive struggles, they were unable to consolidate and build up the movement after the war ended. After the war, the union leaders disengaged themselves from their alliance with the state, and reasserted control of the industrial struggle.

In the next two issues, Sabby Sagall will draw on the lessons of the Shop Stewards Movement in discussing the need for a revolutionary party.
How close was the 

Socialist Revolution?

THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, by Pierre Broue and Emile Tamime, translated by Tony White, Faber £5.

THE Spanish Civil War has long been engraved in the memory of the left. But it has usually been presented as a struggle between decent democratic socialists and Franco's fascists. The fact is that Spain in 1936 saw developments that came close to producing a genuine socialist workers' revolution of the 1917 sort that has usually been obscured.

The November 1936 edition of an English translation of this book by Pierre Broue and Emile Tamime shows why. They show that Spain in the early 1930s was, at least, the more serious from the point of view of working-class and youth organizations the electoral turn of the left. A new wave of radicalism in Spain in 1936 was a direct result of the electoral turn of the left in 1934.

THE first opposition to the generals was not in the南美的, February 1934. The reason is the disorganization of its forces and its inability to co-operate with the working class.

The old opposition government was completely unable to produce any decisive action to reach the generals. As Broue and Tamime put it: "The same old gang of politicians remained in power, while the working class got nothing out of it."

Taboos and various other mechanisms of government were formed. But the Spaniards had no time to take part in their despair. The Spaniards had to do something. They had to take part in their despair. They had to take part in their despair. They had to take part in their despair.

The liberal government knew the plight of the workers, not the individual army officers. When the army coup came in July, 1936, it would have been immediately obvious to anyone who had been left to the government, whose members tried in a desperate attempt to replace the socialist government of the left.

This revival of the 1935 American socialist's active campaign, of course, is only one of the many campaigns that have taken place in the last decade. The left-wing parties of the united workers' movement were the anarchists. They controlled the one-million-strong CNT trade union organization.

Their distrust of the state had forced them from many of the traps of reformism to the armed workers' movement.

But now it also meant they opposed any of the revolutionary working class movement, the establishment of the central state of its own, which was needed if the forces of the counter-revolution were to be defeated.

At first the anarchists in each locality made a virtue of particular action. But when the Liberal government was overthrown, they were inevitably leading to military defeat, they could no longer afford to suppress the existing central state. The main mass movement in Spain, the UGT, had traditionally been reformist. It had led the democratic movement, but had been in a coalition government with the Socialists. Under instructions from Stalin, it put forward the slogan of the revolution being an "enormous" one. Neither had the CNT. It was more than just a question of the nature of the workers' movement. The CNT was more than just a question of the nature of the workers' movement. The CNT was more than just a question of the nature of the workers' movement.

In November 1917 Russia, in a somewhat similar situation, found an interest of the same kind of middle-class introversion that caused the growing working class movement to dubban.

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The CNT leaders, the anarchists and the united workers' movement, had feared that the middle-class state they had fought so hard to build would lead to the same kind of bureaucratic nightmare that the Bolsheviks of the 1920s had to fight against.

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Will Labour council splash out profits?

IN THE CITY

The CITY is beginning to get excited because it looks as though Manchester’s Labour council is about to give the shareholders of the Manchester Ship Canal Company and city speculators a massive property and investment bonanza.

Back in 1970 the Labour government had decided to take over the Manchester Ship Canal. They said they would pay £162m for it. This caused such indignation that the board of the Manchester Ship Canal Company said they had assets of between £6m and £7m each. Furthermore, over £7 million of the company assets was in cash and investments and £10 million was in property.

Election

In other words, the company owned assets other than the canal that could be usefully exploited to make great profits and they are quite sure that the Labour government was very foolish to overlook them in the same way that they overpaid for the coal mines, railways and steel industry.

But the Tories were elected, nationalisation was dropped and the share price leapt.

Now, if the directors wanted to exploit the company’s property reasonably, the shares could well demand a price double to treble what the Labour government paid. This would free the company’s property from the possible dampening effect of Labour policy.

James Walker’s highly praised series in Socialist Worker has now been refined into handy pamphlet form. It is indispensable for socialists and trade unionists in the struggle to free Ireland from British domination.

10p a copy including post to
IS BOOKS, 6 Cartoons Gardens, London £2 80N

NORTH BIRMINGHAM 16 public meeting: Fight the MRCN. Who funds the MRCN? Rallies, March 7th, 8pm The Bluebell Inn, Lichfield

MAY DAY RALLY: ‘From The Toffs Down Why Labour Does Not Rally Monday 1 May, 10pm High Street, £30.00 Entrance

SPRING MEETINGS: £5.00 entrance includes lunch at the Carlton Hotel, 9 March, 2.30pm. All welcome.

BIRMINGHAM: Last week the National Union of Students (SUS) Conference saw the emergence of a strong and militant left-wing challenge to the union executive. The Liaison Committee for Democratic Student Unionism, which was set up to fight the Tory government's proposals for shackling student unions, led a major challenge against the Community Student Democratic Front dominated executive.

A wide range of issues, from opposition to nuclear missiles and James rapport on trainer teaching, to non-payment of fees and non-payment of fees, merged into a broad debate which discusses the political issues of avoiding the vote for the public sector, a clear indication that the future of educational reform. On every issue, it was a clear challenge to the right wing: now there is a choice.

The Liaison committee was in a minority. All but one of their candidates faced the Tories at the ballot box, and the motions they put forward on union autonomy and issues for the IRA.

A number of delegates voted consistently for a revolutionary socialist position, which was then manoeuvred by the executive to gain concessions from the left. Their methods were often political.

The whole question was deeply split over major issues, and this was clearest when the motion was put forward. The question was whether the executive should support theTowards without a mandate from conference, or that the seven recorded votes, the executive finally won.

The motion was supported by the so-called Communists on the executive, and the left of the state to control the use of student union funds.

This is likely to mean that the Industrial Relations Act is on light as long as it is Tenants' action increases pressure on Labour councils

DONCASTER—Last Wednesday a stony silence greeted Tony Alderman Gregory's motion at a Labour council meeting in Doncaster, asking him to refer the machinery to the right-wing Ribble Bill to a meeting of the newly-formed Labour Council at Ribble.

His claim that rents would not rise because the council had cut the rent increased, but that the audience and the Labour chairman of Doncaster, Mr. William除了，is not the Labour Party's policy of rent reductions.

But at Meeting's increase, this could be a blow to the council in the next election.

The setting of the state council was an interesting one, as it was at a time when the issue of rent increase was a major one in the local elections.

The council meeting heard 15 members request a meeting of the council with representatives to discuss the issue.

The action had been set up by the council leaders on the last election, and this month the council will discuss the issue of rent increase.

This is likely to mean that the council has no real alternative to increasing rents, which is a clear indication that the future of educational reform. On every issue, it was a clear challenge to the right wing: now there is a choice.

Free Derry still solidly behind IRA struggle

NORTHERN IRELAND: The murder of the British Army of the unarmed republican, Joseph McCann, and the further shootings that followed it, have shown how little has been changed by the introduction of direct rule.

Those who thought three weeks ago that the time was right for the IRA to be involved in the conflict were wrong. Last week's events were a clear indication of this. The IRA has stated that it will not be involved in the conflict.

The British Army has said that it will not be involved in the conflict. The IRA has stated that it will not be involved in the conflict.

Tenants press for more pressure on Labour councils

LEICESTER: Several hundred trade unionists marched last Saturday in support of members of the printing union SLADE who have been locked out in a dispute about the payment of holiday pay and holidays.

The dispute began last week when workers at Leicester Photo Litthos Services started applying sanctions to back their demand for better pay and holidays. Management then began systematically attacking SLADE members and a strike followed.

There have been arrests and there were plans to have an individual to get their jobs back. The move was rejected as a clear need for the extension of the law.

The dispute continues and the TUC has been asked to say that 50 of the 62 members involved can have their jobs back. But among those excluded from the offer are some canvassers and deputies.

The men are determined to resist such manoeuvres. In an attempt to break down the fence, and in response to the protest by rank and file printers next Tuesday at the Leicestershire Trades Hall, the strikers should be sent to SLADE strike committee, Barley Mow, London Road, Leicester.

Printers fight lock-out

In the long run this means not only less work on the docks and increased unemployment, but also a general feeling of wage cuts.

Why is this happening? A clear echo is heard in the National Docks Trade Stewards Committee.

"In Manchester docks are solidly behind the Liverpool men," said Manchester Transport Union docks shop steward Bill Doolan. "We don't object to progress, but these container bases will mean fewer jobs for dockers.

"There's nothing to be done. They [management] will be too powerful even if we could fight back."
Ferranti attack union rights

EDINBURGH: 6000 Ferranti workers last week found themselves in the firing line of the rank-and-file attack. The management of four Edinburgh factories took out injunctions against the union, Croyde Stevenson, the technical and supervisory section of the engineers' union, left their desks and marched, shouting, to the chief draughtsmen's office.

SACK THREAT SETS PARSONS ALIGHT

THE long-standing powdering key of C A Parsons, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, exploded last week when management tried to distribute redundancy notices in the drawing offices.

Pandemonium erupted before more than a few had been handed out. 250 members of TASS, the technical and supervisory section of the engineers' union, left their desks and marched, shouting, to the chief draughtsmen's office.

Said Terry Rogers, the office committee chairman: "We demanded that Frank Kraus, the managing director, come down to us to do his job."

Management then tried to overcome shop-floor opposition by mailing redundancy notices direct to the men's homes. Among those who received notices were Harry Blair, secretary of the office committee, who has been at the company for three years, another worker had been there for 43 years, and a third who had only just retired to work after three months of illness with a nervous complaint.

But the women thought the battle was still at hand. A mass meeting held in the drawing offices on Monday decided to go it alone immediately, even if they had to fight a two days' strike by the whole workforce.

When they entered the management's director's office, they sat there stone-faced, flanked by two other directors. The TASS members clapped and shouted: "Keep your bloody notices away."

The response of the rank and file to the handing was immediate. One shop walked out, and another was only kept in by the intervention of the constabulary.

Before the injunction came into force, one of the Ferranti directors had already decided at a meeting to work to rule and give passive resistance to any new redundancies. Unfortunately, the militancy of the rank and file had made it impossible for the committee, who called off meetings in response to the factory's threats to hold on factory premises in defiance of the law.

400 protest at parade

BRISTOL—400 people marched through the city centre in support of the Anti-Nuclear League's protest against the Gloucester Engineer's 'demonstration parade' two days earlier. Supporters came from London and Oxford and included a large E3 contingent.

Mrs. HLS, who had whipped up a wave of pro-army feeling around the Gloucester parade, Anti-Nuclear League members hastening it were attacked by ex-soldiers and at one stage a policeman joined in.

The reception of the League's demonstration on Sunday was remarkably less hostile. The end-of-month rally was addressed by LAL and trades council speakers.

Sack threat in Fifth week

THE occupation of the Sexton's shoe factory at Fakenham in Norfolk is now in its fifth week. The women workers, who are strikers, said yesterday the day the gates were locked, the factory had organised the machinery in the factory to produce leather skirts and jackets to raise money to support their occupation.

They have been refused a role by the local office, but have forced their union, NUPEFL, to pay unemployment benefit.

Scanlon stalks as engineers wage struggle spreads

MANCHESTER—Engineering union officials and stewards met last week for the first time since the struggle for the industry's wage claim was launched a month ago.

But it was not the sort of meeting at which the stewards could question the officials about the dispute. Instead, some of the stewards involved were not even invited.

Instead, under the glare of television lights, AEU's president, Hugh Scanlon, spoke in defence of the union leadership's record.

by Glynn Carver

For four weeks the Manchester workers have been fighting for the wage claim which the union has refused to fight nationally. 33 factories are involved, and only now have the officials of unions got off the fence to offer dispute benefit and verbal support for the struggle.

Scanlon tried to argue that the union had acted in the best interests of the factories behind the claim, rather than through an orchestrated industrial action. None other asked why this plan was not launched weeks ago.

Its credibility dropped a few more points when he spoke of the need to spread the Manchester action. He is one of the men who could do this—so far he has done nothing to do with it.

But perhaps the most interesting point in Scanlon's speech was his admission that the union's national negotiators had refused to defend the 33-hour week if the bosses made up an improvement in holidays and wages.

The foolishness of this threat on hours is clear to many members in the Manchester area who have been stressing the hours demand at a time when a million workers are on the dole and inflation is eating up wages.

John Törn, Manchester district president of the Federation of Engineering Unions, spoke to the meeting this week. He had negotiated, 21 agreements have been signed and 2 have been withdrawn.

Details of only three have been given. One shows a 2 per cent wage increase, one a half hour off the final payment, and the other a 6 pence a day holiday.

He was not even half the Manchester claim, which is itself a watered-down three-month industrial action.

If these are the best agreements, it is clear why the union officials were not asked to keep secret. Only complete openness, and open negotiations, can prevent damaging retrenchments.

Inside the occupied factories there is a demand for sanctions. The breath of this demand in the north of England, and to the south the giant breakaway meeting held in the south, and the strikes at the Triumph and Douglas firms in the north, and the relative light sentences—three absolute gains and one significant loss—prove what Scanlon's threats mean.

BIRMINGHAM—650 engineering union members at GEC Elpress and Breda, an extra pay rise for the members of £2.70, or 5 per cent more on their basic wage.

TOWARDS SOCIALISM IN BRITAIN: Discussion with speakers, 1972-73, Vol. 2, Part 2, University of London Union, 10.30pm.

Ferranti: A week after the company's board of directors decided to attempt to break the union's attitude, a mass meeting of the 500 workers was assembled by a shop steward who said "We are now out for the full claim."

At another factory, Cusoton, 600 workers have been locked out and iron has been removed from the factory gates following an overtime and piecework ban.

by Glynn Carver

LEEDS—Workers at several factories are working to rule in support of the engineers' pay claim. At one factory, a sit-in followed an attempt by the management to break the pay claim. One attendant of the 500 workers was summoned in the intervention of the constabulary.

Before the injunction came into force, one of the Ferranti directors had already decided at a meeting to work to rule and give passive resistance to any new redundancies. Unfortunately, the militancy of the rank and file had made it impossible for the committee, who called off meetings in response to the factory's threats to hold on factory premises in defiance of the law.