WANTED

-by the Tories for the ‘crime’ of cheap rents

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BIG FREEZE "FIDDLE FOR PROFITERS"

Workers vs. Tories: round-up back page

by CHRIS HARMAN

ALL THE SIGNS are that the ‘freeze’ on profits in Heath’s phase two policy will be a massive fraud.

At the beginning of the week the value of company shares on the London Stock Exchange fell by one or two per cent. The press screamed about a ‘great share slide’—the same papers that did not yell about a ‘great wages cut’ when the Tories slashed the purchasing power of pay by much more than one or two per cent.

But if the government gets away with the present freeze measures, the Stock Exchange will quickly get over its jitters and a few well-placed men will make enormous fortunes over night.

MANOEUVRE

The Heath package is designed to help big business avoid a freeze on profits. Officially, profits as a percentage of sales are restricted to the average of previous years. But that average leaves a great deal of room for manoeuvre. It is calculated not on the profits of last year or the year before but on the average of the best two years from the last five.

As the bosses’ bible, the Financial Times, has pointed out: “This is of major significance, given the trend of UK profit margins over the last few years... The ability to include the high profit margins of 1968 and 1969 saves a sizeable number of companies from the prospect of having to reduce their profit margins from the high 1972 levels.”

Having used high prices to push up profits to record levels last year, big business will be able to keep then ‘frozen’ at that level.

Fourteen of the 20 biggest companies in Britain will be able to increase the profit margins on the level of 1971, including such giants as British American Tobacco, ICI, Unilever, Courtauld’s, Marks and Spencer, Rio Tinto-Zinc and Allied Breweries.

British Leyland, for example, could boost its profits by 40 per cent without breaking the government’s rules. Fixed profit margins automatically mean an increase in money profits to take account of inflation. If prices rise by 10 per cent in the next year company profits will be allowed to rise by that amount. Meanwhile wages are held to 8 per cent at present—though threats of more severe restrictions when ‘phase three’ comes in later this year.

Even companies that officially should not be able to boost their profits can easily find ways around the legislation.

POTTING

The freeze does not affect any profits declared before 31 March. So many firms will artificially boost their profits over the next eight weeks—for example by cutting to the bone their expenditure on new stocks of materials and goods. By doing so they will also raise the average profit for two of the last five years and as a result the profits they can make in future.

Other firms will use a different tactic. Companies that operate inter

Turn to page 3

Remember Derry dead

Sunday 28 January
Assemble St Paul’s, 2.30pm
March to rally in Camden Town Hall
Speakers: James Wray, Mike Cooley, Paul Foot and Gary Lawless.
All 16 branches to support
BRIEFING

The Czechoslovakian Ministry of Culture has launched an operation to seize books that are considered illegal. The ministry has confiscated over 2,000 copies of books, including works by prominent authors, on November 15th. This action has sparked protests and demonstrations across the country, with many people calling for the government to rescind its decision.

The operation was initiated after the ministry received complaints from various cultural organizations about the proliferation of unauthorized reproductions of books. The authorities argue that such copies undermine the financial stability of legal publishers and authors. However, critics argue that the operation is an attempt to silence dissent and suppress freedom of expression.

The operation has raised concerns about the government's commitment to protecting intellectual property rights. Many fear that this could lead to further restrictions on freedom of speech and access to information in the country. The Czechoslovakian government has defended its actions, stating that it is protecting the interests of legitimate publishers and authors.

BRIEFING

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Watergate scandal, which exposed the corruption of President Richard Nixon and his administration, is a major focus of recent books and articles. Nixon, who resigned in 1974 over the scandal, is now the subject of a new book by a former White House aide.

The book, "The Last Days of Nixon," details the events leading up to Nixon's resignation, including the Watergate break-in and the ensuing cover-up. The author, who worked for Nixon during the scandal, provides an insider's view of the events.

The Watergate scandal, which involved a break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, D.C., has become a symbol of political corruption in the United States. The scandal led to the resignation of several top officials and ultimately to Nixon's departure from office.

RENTAL

Watergate trial exposes White House corruption

by Norah Carlin

IN WASHINGTON, the extraordinary Watergate trials are exposing the corruption of Nixon's administration. The trials have revealed a pattern of burglary, spying and illegally planting recording devices in the offices of key political opponents. The trials have attracted the world's attention, and the Nixon administration is being subjected to unprecedented scrutiny.

Some of the defendants are openly working for the Committee to Defend the President, Nixon's campaign organization, but they recanted their previous testimony after pleading guilty to perjury charges. In the trial on this occasion, Macfarlane, who had been a CIA operative, and two of his Volunteers for Publicity, pleaded not guilty to perjury.

Four have pleaded guilty, and another two, a former Watergate postman and a private investigator, pleaded guilty to perjury as ordinary burglars. The former Watergate postman, known as a key participant in the break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters, was sentenced to two years in prison.

The Watergate trial is a major development in the Watergate scandal, which has had a profound impact on American politics and the legal profession. The trials have drawn attention to the extent of the corruption and the failure of the legal system to hold those responsible accountable.

Fantasy

The remaining two, both White House aides, are seeking to defend themselves against charges that they were involved in the cover-up of the Watergate scandal. The second witnesses, who have been testifying for the prosecution, are expected to testify later in the trial.

The general air of fantasy and overwrought imagination was reflected in the case when the former Watergate postman, who had been the subject of widespread derision, appeared on the witness stand. The former Watergate postman, who had been the subject of widespread derision, appeared on the witness stand. The former Watergate postman, who had been the subject of widespread derision, appeared on the witness stand. The former Watergate postman, who had been the subject of widespread derision, appeared on the witness stand.
Big drive to boost sales

SOCIALIST WORKER is launching a determined drive to increase the weekly print order to 30,000 copies by May 1. This is a small push from the 25,000 printed now, but nevertheless is an important one for us.

We do not have the facilities of the capitalist press and are at a particular disadvantage through not having a commercial distributor, which could at least get the paper into those areas where we don't have International Socialist branches. We have to rely totally on our members, and especially the building sites, in your factory combine. A paper which takes up the fight against the freeze, for equal pay, against closures and against rent increases.

This kind of paper will not arrive out of the blue. It has to be built on the experience of the people who read the paper. We have to get International Socialist workers and workplaces all over the country.

In one factory in Oxford, more than 100 papers are sold each week. Socialist Worker discussion groups are being built in factories all round the country and providing a new source of discussion and organization around the country. Several thousand readers read it every week.

We are now asking everyone who reads

Socialist Worker to send it as well. If you have difficulty in obtaining a copy, then take one out of your subscription. If you think you could sell more, rather than share round your copy, then let us know and we will get papers delivered directly to you.

In the year to come we must get Socialist Worker into every new area that we can, into factories, offices, schools and estates, into the towns where we have not yet branches. The capitalist press is so easily obtainable that we must change this directly in the production and distribution of our own paper.

We well have the Journalist of the Year, but he can't substitute for the potential combined effort of 30,000 readers.

Please ring me on 01-739 2639 for any help, suggestions or advice in expanding our sales.

Raw truth on those 'inevitable' price rises

MANUFACTURERS throughout the country are being allowed by the government to raise their prices on the basis of costs which have yet to occur. The truth behind the 'inevitable' price increases is the government is showering industry with a license to profiteer on escalating world commodity prices.

Yet this great fraud has been carefully obscured by the tame-hand of the government in the newspapers and television. Time and again, it is the government which takes a 'hard line' with its 'partners' in the treatment.

This myth has been reinforced with stories of how industries have been forced to absorb as much as 50 per cent of increased costs. In many cases however those firms are at present raising the prices. They have not paid any extra for raw materials. But will they wait for many months to come.

The price fiddle is quite straightforward. Big manufacturers can produce raw materials for many months ahead. The market is dominated by shortage in the 'wages market', whereby wages, raw materials and foodstuffs are bought today for delivery in three, six or nine months.

Rapid increase

So most of the raw materials are being processed in Britain's wage to rise before the government's 10 day period. And the rapid increases in the price of most world commodi-

ities should not be felt before the summer.

But big business has other ideas. It has planned on the basis of 'replacement costs'. Raw materials in the wage rise are not valued as what they are, but what they are selling at the moment.

So the increase in raw materials prices has sent accountants scurrying to their books to mark up the value of their stocks. And naturally they will make sure the increase is reflected in the price of the finished goods.

Take one example. Three weeks ago, the price of raw wool on the American market rose by 30 per cent in a matter of days. British wool is now selling by 30 per cent. And at this increase on the prices of their own finished goods, even though the wool they are now using, was bought many months ago at the lower, lower price.

Inflation travelled 12,000 miles from Adelaide to the 3rd as fast as the teleprinter wires could carry it. There is free choice again, but the government has been trying to per

made woolen manufacturers—and other industries—not to be so greedy. They talk about industry absorbing increased costs. What they mean is that industry should be forced to sell their goods. Their paper, can be passed off in full.

The 'free choice' given by the government has been the most fitting comment on the Tories' plans. Three years ago the government and unions were not against workers have begun to exploit these relatively profiteers since for big business.

THE BIG FREEZE FIDDLE

From page one

nationally will fiddle their figures by moving some profits from British and foreign operations by charging some of the cost of their improvements to British offices. In either case, their real profits will fall despite public speaking about their plight.

But probably the most popular way for companies to dodge controls will be to invest increased profits in overseas investments, where they will not be subject to controls. Shareholders will suffer a little for a period as they will not get the profits to spend themselves.

But the value of the company will rise, and with it the value of the shares. The shareholders will more than recoup their short-term losses, unlike a frozen wage increase, which is lost for ever.

And frozen wage increases will not mean lower prices but simply more money in company coffers. This money will then be used to buy up shares and the value of the shares. That is why the most powerful sectors of big business have welcomed the government's plans.

What can be predicted with certainty is that few goods will be cut in price as a result and that most prices will continue to go up because of rising raw material costs. Value Added Tax and the Common Market system of deliberately fixing food prices above the world market level.

The truth about the freeze must be made known and food prices in order to mobilize united action to smash phase two and the government behind it.

W. Enda

Telephone 01-739 9043

THE BIG FREEZE FIDDLE FOR PROFITEERS

Demonstrators at the Portuguese embassy in London on Monday night in protest at Cabral's murder. Picture MIKE COHEN

Next week

Rank and file miners in America score victory over corrupt union bosses. Don't miss this important article.

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Smash the Freeze
Kick out the Tories
Build International Socialists

Statement by the Executive Committee of the International Socialists

THE GOVERNMENT's freeze on wages was—and is—a fraud. Certainly wages have been frozen but prices, as everybody knows, have not. The result is that every working man and woman in the country is worse off today than they were in November 1972. The freeze has meant increased and will continue to increase. Price increases without corresponding wage increases mean employers' profits at the expense of the real mean increased income for the producers—the workers. And that is the real object of the operation.

The government's intentions, now as in 1970, are to cut back real wages, slash social services and increase profits. The government that introduced massive tax changes in favour of the rich and changed the school meals and milk, the government that rammed through the VAT increases, has not been converted to 'social justice'. What has changed is the extent of working-class resistance.

Heath and company were opposed to 'incomes policy' as long as they thought their confrontation policy of smashing major strikes and demoralising the workers' movement could succeed. The miners put paid to that. Thousands of workers' builders and dockers followed them. Only when 'confrontation' had led to success did the employers and their government did Heath re-discover the virtues of 'fairness' and incomes policy.

Frittered away

Throughout the confrontation period, the so-called left wing, including its 'left wing', did little more than express verbal support for the incomes policy. When militant action against the jailing of the five dockers last summer brought the government to the edge of defeat, it allowed the dockers' evidence conference to be held on them by the dockers and rank and file workers in other industries to be frittered away in the tripartite talks with Heath and company.

Because of the mood of rank and file militancy the TUC was unable to accept the government package but pressed on with the movement to victory. Phase one and phase two are a direct reflection of TUC spinelessness. Even now, protest action against phase two is to be left to the rank and file, unendorsed and unsupported by the trade union leaders.

The Labour Party response is, if anything, even worse than that of the TUC. In spite of Wilson's rhetoric about the 'soulless society', 'multinational megacorporations' and so on, he and the party are determined to put through a 'reformed' version of the Tory Bill. And Wilson talks of being able to create a 'suitably amended Tory legislation when he is back in office'.

The particular viciousness of phase one and two has been their effect on public sector workers in the civil service, local government, the gas industry, etc. The idea of a 'public sector alliance' takes on added relevance today.

To make such a combination a fighting alliance needs initially a drive for local alliances of all workers in this field.

The £10 Ford claim presents the employers and government with a real test. To break the freeze at Dagenham, Halewood and Swanside will open the gate through which the movement can effectively challenge the Labour-Tory Alliance. All will have to be supported by maximum solidarity. The government can be and must be beaten.

This paper has uncompromisingly fought with the government and its policies must go down in history as an independent socialist organisation, supported by a revolution.

Labour has been tried and failed, disastrously, dismally, left-wing, right-wing. Labour capitalism, can provide no answer to the problems of the working class. It must be smashed.

22 January 1973
And the greatest of these is profit... Quakers at work

THE NAME RoweTree has come to mean generations of the Mackintosh family, the big sweet company. What is more, the company has a distinguished record in its drive to join the ranks of those international companies that are market leaders in any country, in search of low costs, prosperous operations and high profits.

In 1970 RowTree Mackintosh plowed back £10 million, paying its shareholders substantial dividends, one of Europe's largest annual dividend payments.

This position is strengthened by aggressive advertising. The company in the industry is somewhat shy about admitting how much they spend each year, but in 1967 it was companies working in the same market.

Such moves and mergers within the industry have strengthened the company's dominant position in the market. But this does not mean that the company is not in a dominant market position and is thus more powerful than it was in the past. It is in a dominant market position and is thus more powerful than it was in the past.

The company claims that wages have risen by 40 per cent over the past seven years. This is exactly what the company claims that wages have risen by 40 per cent over the past seven years. This is exactly...

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MAC THE RIGHT

EVERYONE knows Ross McWhirter for an ordinary, non-political who was killed by a terrorist bomb. Records and appears from time to time in the news, children or reporting athletics. His decision to take on the major role of the in profile on television was,促进了... and nothing else.

In some ways, apparently, drove Mr McWhirter to the High Court. The newly formed Borough Council forming comprehensively, Mr McWhirter's public spirit was demonstrated on that occasion by the fact that he intended to educate both his sons in schools and neither boy was at any of the schools affected by the strike and was issued by the Enfield Parents Committee.

Like Mr Ralph Harris, who led the Enfield Parents campaign, Mr McWhirter was a Labour candidate (Edmonton 1964) but his recent political contributions have been largely more right-wing than that.

For instance an appeal for support for British troops in Northern Ireland to provoke former anti-apartheid campaigner was launched last year from Mr McWhirter's home address to the public.

Mr Gerald Howarth, who moved out of his home to the offices of the Society for Individual Freedom at 5 Park Lane.

FRONT

Mr Howarth is the son of Mary Howarth, whose work in all sorts of anti-immigration activities, including with the Anti-Nazi League, of which she was secretary, Mary Howarth, too, has always claimed to be left-wing and non-political—until an anonymous pamphlet accusing him of being a fascist was distributed among his supporters.

In the same week as Mr McWhirter succeeded Mr Howarth in Enfield, Enoch Powell met the youngsters who were circulating round Enoch Powell in the hope that he would break and form a new party to lead Britain ever further to the right.

It is in the meantime, while Powell dithers (and he has promised that he will reach a decision in the next three months) that the right-wing parties are securing their bases in such bastions as the National Front, the Popular Movement, the Anti-Communist League, the Freedom Under Law, the National Front Club, or some or all of them.

They are no longer a laughing matter.

Brake even

BRITISH JUSTICE is permanently displayed at Haverhill magistrates court, West Suffolk, as becomes clear from the following two cases.

On 15 August last year, farm labourer George Bennett, 57, was driving down the road in a tractor belonging to wealthy farmer Robert Harron, who has farms in Cambridgeshire, Essex and Portugal. A lorry came round a corner towards the tractor, and George Bennett braked. The tractor came to rest in the road, and the driver was thrown off, crashing to death.

At the inquest on 2 October, the government vehicle examiner, Mr William More, gave evidence that the brakes had failed in tests that the tractor's near-side wheel 'had a tendency to lock before the front of the vehicle was applied'.

Mr Morris went on: This would have the effect of forcing the tractor to skid, and it would be the duty of the driver that this was what may have happened.

The evidence was disputed by a local policeman who said he had tested the vehicle and found that it stopped straight when the brakes were applied.

The West Suffolk coroner, Mr Justice Verdict of death 'by misadventure'.

Three months later, on 10 January, the farmer, Robert Harron, was up before Haverhill magistrates charged with having faulty brakes on his tractor. It is alleged that the fault was discovered after an accident in which Harron was not injured but was not mentioned that the accident had been fatal.

Through his solicitor, Mr Harron pleaded guilty. This was, said the magistrate, a minor case and he asked the magistrates not to endorse the licence, which already has one endorsement.

The magistrates agreed not to endorse. They then pronounced sentence Harron was fined £5.

A week earlier, the same magistrates had dealt with a man who had 15 years ago who were found guilty of poaching nine pheasants from the Earl of Wivenhoe's estate at Wivenhoe. They were fined £32.

THERE is a tip to all workers who are nursing about in boats.

If you buy a big boat, a very big boat—that is, a boat of more than £100,000 cost—you can set the cost of the boat against corporation tax. The boat is then not a boat. It is a ship.

National Car Parks, or rather the two or three millionaires who have made fortunes in the company, have been enjoying the benefits of a tax break by using them at paying cars parks, have already bought one. So have the huge motor companies.

The advantage is this. You save 40 per cent of the cost immediately (which would otherwise have gone in corporation tax), and at least half the rest on the income tax that would have been paid out if the money you had spent (or have done) in dividends. So you get a huge yacht for the company (for next to nothing).

Everyone's doing it. Why not you?

Tax block

GOOD RIDDLE to Mr George Ellis, a property speculator in Ealing whose firm, Paramount Realty Holdings, built up an enormous fortune for him through the buying, selling and building of office blocks in the Ealing/Uskbridge area. Mr Ellis bitterly disappointed because he has had to pay corporation tax and profits tax on his fortune and so is losing for Jersey.

He bought numbers 57 and 59 Uskbridge Road, for £75000, shortly after the last war, and when he sold the company last year they were valued at about £1 million.

In the meantime, he built other ugly office blocks in Ealing.

The block in Ealing's Caspian Hotel by the Ealing Chamber of Commerce to bid farewell to Mr Ellis, the chairman, said:

"The face of Ealing has worsened in the past 20 years. To you and your company, we owe office blocks in Uskbridge Road, an outstanding feature of your time in Ealing."

With T H Rogmorton

matches the rise in productivity: the 28 per cent rise in the cost of living hasn't been met at all.

For the Mackintosh family, who largely run the company from their family home in Norfolk (with visiting visitor Vic Feather) things look rather different. Mr Ian Mackintosh's shareholding in the company is at present worth £750,000, which is roughly two and a half times as much as it was worth in 1970.

RESERVES

Not that he can spend too much money attending to the job of running RowTree Mackintosh, as he is lucky enough to have 10 other directorships. And his fellow board members and family are pretty busy elsewhere. Eric Mackintosh has nine directorships and J A Homfield 10.

But if that is the case, the company has a generous profligate scheme: first they pay the shareholders their dividends. Then they transfer money to their reserves. Then they invest in other companies. And half of what is left is paid to the workers. But this company isn't quite that generous.

But this is of course is all that is expected of a company of its size. It is the reality of the benevolent paternalist Quaker employers.

The information for this article was supplied through the International Socialists Information Service.

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WHY has the TUC failed?

WHAT HAPPENED to the Tories? Three years ago they came to power, pledged to a ‘silent revolution’ to restore capitalism. They meant it. An all out assault on living standards and the power of working class unions.

The Industrial Relations Bill was a first priority. ‘Lame ducks’—unemployed workers, pensioners, school children, immigrants, anyone on low pay or social security—could go to the wall.

Law and order was made more permissive than poverty. The tax and welfare system would be transformed to give the rich more and make the poor pay over the odds for everything.

In exchange for policy, the government proclaimed that competition and the quality of the money supply were the neglected needs to keep the economy healthy. They would balance the books, cut welfare and so drive up unemployment until you kick out of work and cannot get wage increases.

During the last two years denouncing the idea that incomes policy and collaboration with the unions could help curb inflation. ‘I believe,’ he repeated, ‘in a free enterprise economy in which people take their own decisions and run their own lives’ (18 June 1971).

Yet now he is planning the permanent control of the state. He has spent nine months trying to get TUC support for an incomes policy. It failed. George Brown now considers a delegate to the party conference for the TUC.

Far from allowing bankrupt businesses to close, he has opened a pork barrel for business. He has guaranteed profits to the bosses of the nationalised industries and shut down the rest—he has just promised another 10-year deal for coal, steel and a host of others.

Defeat

The government is even grumbling about that symbol of the age, Centre Point. Proposals are already in place to plan the city for the 19th century.

BLAME

With the extra tax on that too, you need 24 cents. Not to get out of debt but still.

Remember too, that the eight per cent rise in the cost of living expected outside the control of workers or trade unions.

The Tory plan to pay us six per cent plus £1 extra (maximum) in 1971 Social Worker at work—without any standard of living, Heath and the rest will still pull the stops out to try and blame the unions for anything that goes wrong, but they cannot avoid the fact that they are setting out to make work pay and win.

It will be much more difficult for the Tories to control wages, however, than it was for Wilson. Within days of the start of Heath’s freeze, food prices were rocketing. British capitalism is shaker now than under Wilson.

BITTERLY

The freeze will be easier to break that spent time, in one sense, for the injustice and irrationality of it will be much harder for workers. At the same time, the bosses will be much more bitter about the freeze. (The Tories couldn’t even do it for a few days of the ‘freeze’)

BOOM OR BUST?

The crisis in the aircraft industry

The huge sums of money being spent on Concorde will only serve to create a more dependent boardroom than ever on pleasing a tiny handful of privileged people. We have to ask what sort of society refuses to spend even a small amount of money providing a reliable and efficient bus service for ordinary people while at the same time wasting millions on Concorde.

15p per copy plus 3p postage, six copies or more post free.

6 SOCIALIST WORKER 27 January 1973

Colin Barker

British big business preferred to take over European companies than invest in a dodgy British capitalism.

What was worse, inflation fuelled a powerful worker reaction. The tide of militancy reached a pitch where it seemed to be a major political threat to the state.

The miners’ strike blazed a hole right through the government’s entire position. Through it rode the railwaymen, the dockers, the building workers and many more.

At the moment when the Prestonville Five were jailed last summer, it seemed as if the government might fall and the system itself come under threat. Heath called on the TUC and the employers to close ranks and defend the state. An incomes policy was to be the heart of the bargain.

Heath broke not good principles of Conservatism. He repeated what many earlier Tory leaders had done in a tighter corner.

In 1945, the Tories were absolutely opposed to planning, nationalisation and the Welfare State. By 1947, they were in favour of them. By 1950, they were absolutely in favour of them. Harold Macmillan had returned the Tories to planning and an incomes policy once.

The government also moved from a lot of anger in the labour movement which surprised the government.

The snarl and roar of an unscrapped control of the money supply. He tried to do the same with the old, the miserable, the scabbing boom that would prompt punishment.

At the 1971 party conference he boasted that Britain was ‘now on the threshold of a period of growth and prosperity unparalleled since the war.’ What he had achieved was a rip-roaring inflation. Not investment, but house and share prices soared.

For Conservatism is all about economics: how to make ruling-class

WHERE IS IT ALL...
Heath turned a somersault?

Heath's 'free for all' did not include workers: the state's forces were mobilised to smash the postal strike

 policies look as though they are really in the interests of all. The Tories change their make up depending on the light and the audience. But whatever the appearance, the essence is the same.

Now business needs to seem to have a 'human face', UCS, thalidomide children, and Oxfam are useful aids to exhibiting its humanity.

In the 1950s, Anthony Crosland of the Labour Party-to the pleasure of the Tories-argued that capitalism had already 'localised' itself: business was socially responsible, so there was no need to nationalise it.

by Nigel Harris

let Churchill drone on about free competition.

Once the economy was in trouble again and the unions growing restive in the late 1950s, he returned to the same tack. In practice, he had always tried to keep the government in alliance with the TUC.

Bill was the hammer that drove the nail in. Of course, there are always disputes in the ruling class between the hard liners and the soft. Some long for a frank demonstration of power. Others know that capitalism has to survive most of the time by trickery and lies. Too much of the 'smack of firm government' will set off the explosion you fear most.

The 1960s were increasingly difficult for the tricksters. For as economic conditions worsened-with Labour in office-the man of the middle-class rank and file of the Tory Party increasingly wanted the firm show of force to cow the workers.

They cheered Wilson when he beat the scab. But it offered only temporary solace to their jobs. Insolvent immune to the rigours of the middle-class day-to-day lives of the middle-class.

They cheered Heath the hatchet man. A few of them are now Powell's friends. But they have no alternative strategy for the ruling class, only complaints and explosions of impotent rage.

As a result, the mass of Tories stick to Heath. For they are more frightened of a return by Wilson to government than they resent Heath's somersaults.

Even on the Common Market where there is a mass of discontent, the overwhelming majority stay loyal. Powell isolated himself on the margins.

For the Tory leadership, the swing to the 'centre' may be merely tactical. But for the newspapers it seemed like a revolutionary. So

frightened had 'liberal opinion' been of Heath the Rightwinger, they were now suddenly overwhelmed with gratitude as soon as he began to succeed.

Workers are not immune to feeling some relief as well, particularly when the Labour leadership and the TUC simply got the gander in the common sense.

It is a dangerous mistake. Between the miners' strike and the building strike, many of the workers now feel that the government reached their lowest point. Heath seemed drunk, desperate.

It was the struggle of workers-not Wilson or the TUC-that achieved this result. The same workers have gone on to smash the Industrial Relations Act and force the government to the polls.

Who saved the Tories? The TUC.

When Heath changed his colours, the trade union leadership followed him. The leopard had changed his spots. Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon agreed to a 'conciliation Board' with the employers and the TUC to campaign on an incomes policy by which their members would be permanently tied down.

Blocking

Yet what had changed? The Tories withdrew the Housing Finance Act and the rent increases. Did they agree not to enter into the European Common Agricultural Policy or introduce Value Added Tax, both of which will push up food prices massively?

They promise not to introduce the personal tax changes which next April will add substantial amounts to upper-class incomes. Did Heath agree to subsidise key food prices to protect workers' living standards against inflation?

Half a million jobs were lost permanently in 1970. In the coming years, 500,000 miners and 79,000 steel workers are to be sacked. Is this the part of the cost?

It worked. Men like Bill Carron running the engineers and mass indifference among union members, the TUC could work hand in hand with the Tory government.

Harold Wilson broke that. The Labour government pushed its party alliance with the unions to the point where it broke. Wilson was trying to prove to the ruling class that only Labour could control the unions.

But Labour's In Place of Strife was the last nail in the coffin of Macmillan's 'Social Democratic State'. The Tory Industrial Relations Act strengthened had 'liberal opinion' been of Heath the Rightwinger, they were now suddenly overwhelmed with gratitude as soon as he began to succeed.

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It was the struggle of workers—not Wilson or the TUC—that achieved this result. The same workers have gone on to smash the Industrial Relations Act and force the government to the polls.

Who saved the Tories? The TUC.

When Heath changed his colours, the trade union leadership followed him. The leopard had changed his spots. Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon agreed to a 'conciliation Board' with the employers and the TUC to campaign on an incomes policy by which their members would be permanently tied down.

Blocking

Yet what had changed? The Tories withdrew the Housing Finance Act and the rent increases. Did they agree not to enter into the European Common Agricultural Policy or introduce Value Added Tax, both of which will push up food prices massively?

They promise not to introduce the personal tax changes which next April will add substantial amounts to upper-class incomes. Did Heath agree to subsidise key food prices to protect workers' living standards against inflation?

Half a million jobs were lost permanently in 1970. In the coming years, 500,000 miners and 79,000 steel workers are to be sacked. Is this the part of the cost?

It worked. Men like Bill Carron running the engineers and mass indifference among union members, the TUC could work hand in hand with the Tory government.

Harold Wilson broke that. The Labour government pushed its party alliance with the unions to the point where it broke. Wilson was trying to prove to the ruling class that only Labour could control the unions.

But Labour's In Place of Strife was the last nail in the coffin of Macmillan's 'Social Democratic State'. The Tory Industrial Relations Act

The TUC's strategy didn't bleed for the low paid. But it was Heath who modified the pay increases of the agricultural and hospital workers.

They struck and he simply cut their sick pay, or for Heath, smiles or not. The basic objective of the TUC's—to cut the living standards of working people and increase profits—remains the same.

Yet the TUC's union leadership is so little acquainted with the problems of its members, particularly Heath's new government, it agrees to put the stick on him.

But Heath's strategy cannot work. The TUC or not. There is no way back to Macmillan's 1950s. That needs mass indifference and massive economic growth.

Disturbs

Last year, 23.6 million days were lost in strikes—the highest total since 1926. Mass indifference no longer allows the union leadership to do as it pleases. Mass militancy constantly disturbs the sleep of the union leaders.

Economically, it is no better. Heath has the triple distinction of having achieved the highest unemployment of the post-war period, the lowest rate of economic growth outside the dependent territories, and the highest rate of external trade deficit ever recorded, and both in the same year. The net result was that the public sector deficit fell by 10 per cent in real terms in 1971—72.

Nothing at all has worked for Heath except the TUC. At each strike the workers have beaten him. They have the power now to destroy him.
Sack for thousands from bosses who milked the public purse

There are few social evils to rival unemployment. It puts worry and hunger, and hopelessness, into the homes of millions. It is a great inconvenience to the nation and must therefore be regarded as the highest penalty.

But there are no jail sentences for those who get rich at the expense of the people's livelihood. They are great businessmen or responsible trade unionists. They do not have to be tried by a jury. They are not subject to all the rigors of the law. They are not subject to the law of the land. They are subject to the law of the land. The law of the land.

So it was with Dai Davies, general secretary of the biggest steel union in Britain, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, this year. He was the only trade union official to be sent to prison for a breach of the Corporation of the Borough of Birmingham.

The fighting spirit is there. River Don giant occupied last year against redundancies and ariam steel workers marching against jobs massacre.

BY LAURIE FLYNN

Steelmasters at the knives out

In 1986, the steel industry faced a crisis. The steelmasters, who had long dominated the industry, began to cut costs and modernise. This led to job losses and redundancies. The steel workers fought back, leading to a series of strikes that lasted for years.

On capital employed £175 million, United Steel made a loss of £4.7 million in the financial year 1966-67. But in that same year, record amounts were paid out to shareholders, the equivalent of £6.6 million before tax, 50 per cent more than the profits for the year.

John Summers made £33.1 million in profits that year and handed out £42.1 million in dividends. The Steel Company of Wales maintained its dividends at 10 per cent in spite of the fact that profits were down on the previous year.

Dorman Long (Steel) got in a year earlier. In 1965-66 it made a loss of £1.9 million, and paid out record dividends of £2.5 million. Every single one of the companies was at the same game.

The idea behind this was not just to give off as much as possible for the shareholders in the shape of inflated dividends. If the share prices could be artificially pushed up then compensation from public funds would be lavish instead of merely generous.

In the mid 1960s both John Summers and United Steel were headed for bankruptcy. Just before publication of the nationalisation White Paper their shares on the stock market rose in anticipation of the terms to 293 3d and 276 6d respectively.

But speculators could scarcely credit the Labour Government's generosity when the terms to be paid were announced. John Summers stockholders would be compensated at 383 3d a share and United Steel at 264, not bad for £1 shares that were unlikely ever again to yield a dividend.

The price tag the 14 major steel companies put on themselves for nationalisation was £14,000 million. When it came to compensation they were knocked down some 40 per cent to £8,500 million. Even so this was a fantastically handsome figure.

Within two years the Labour government was forced to write off £130 million of this public investment as totally worthless. Not the least significant of factors in this was the life expectancy of private firms put on plant and equipment.

The combined budget was about 100,000 pounds a day in nationalisation of steel. In 1966 the budget was £20 million.

Late in 1967 the government arranged to nationalise all the steel companies in the United Kingdom. The steelworkers were not pleased, but the government was determined to get the job done.

The steelworkers had fought hard to keep their jobs, but the government had other ideas. The steelworkers were forced to accept the nationalisation of their industry.

The steelmasters had been living high on the hog, living off the backs of the workers. It was time for them to face the music and pay the workers for their sweat and toil.

RACIALISM IN BRITAIN

PHONEY

The Bournemouth, published in July 1966, was a phoney attempt to reply to the nationalisation White Paper which Labour brought out immediately after the 1966 election victory. The report painted a grim picture of the industry and laid down guidelines for the nationalisation needed and the seeking that should accompany them. It is interesting to note that the extent of jobs distortions which the BSC is now determined to carry out is almost exactly as laid down in the Bournemouth report.

But it was clear that the private firms had not the faintest hope of raising the capital necessary to finance the huge programme of reconstruction needed. The chairman of the group of experts looked rather export about how unfortunate Labour’s nationalisation policy.

To many blacks in our cities, police harassment has become a way of life. The police are viewed as the enemy of the army, the enemy of the people, the enemy of the state. They are seen as the instruments of the state, the instruments of the state, the instruments of the state.

The lord and the knight

The steelworkers of the north have been fighting for their lives for years. They have fought for better wages, better working conditions, and an end to the exploitation of their labor. They have fought for their families, for their communities, for their future.

But the government has been indifferent to their struggles. They have been allowed to suffer, to be ignored, to be neglected. The government has been more concerned with the interests of the steelmasters, with the interests of the rich, than with the interests of the workers.

The steelworkers have been forced to accept the nationalisation of their industry. They have been forced to accept the government’s terms. They have been forced to accept the loss of their jobs.

But they have not been forced to accept the government’s policy. They have not been forced to accept the government’s treatment of them. They have not been forced to accept the government’s disregard for them.

They have fought back. They have fought back with all their strength. They have fought back with all their might. They have fought back with all their heart.

And they will continue to fight. They will continue to fight until they have won their rights. They will continue to fight until they have their way.

The steelworkers have been fighting for their lives. They will continue to fight for their lives. They will continue to fight for their rights. They will continue to fight for their future.

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BLOODY SUNDAY upset people in the Bogside considerably. A few weeks after Bloody Sunday, the Catholic community there was still on high alert. The government's actions and the media's coverage had done little to alleviate the tension. The government's attempts to calm the situation were perceived as insincere and manipulative.

Not that the people of the area were bloodthirsty. On the contrary, they had just faced a tragedy that left them in the same state as the rest of the country. The government's response was to introduce a special Criminal Court to try those involved. A journalist who refused to identify him got three months in jail.

On 1 December, while the Irish parliament was debating O'Malley's new Bill, two bombs went off in Dublin killing two people. Opposition deputes stormed out in protest against the government's handling of the situation.

On 31 December Martin McGuinness, a leading member of the IRA, was arrested for aiding the South. After Bloody Sunday the British government changed tack. But what did not change was the repression of those who opposed British plans. Rather was repressive stepped up. It is still being stepped up.

In the past year Ireland, North and South, has seen a massive co-ordinated series of attacks on civil liberties with little more than a cheep of protest from those 'liberal' figures who were eloquent about South Africa and Greece and with an entirely inadequate response from the British Left.

The government's response has been to work in the past. It has worked, the Tory government will have succeeded in imposing a new order on Ireland, an order which will guarantee the continued economic domination of the island by the British ruling class and its allies.

Whether it works or not will depend in some measure on the extent to which British socialists rally to support those still holding the line against imperialist designs.

A few days after Bloody Sunday the Starry Plough, a Derry republican newspaper, commented: 'Let it be said of them that they died on their knees. Let it be said of us that they did not die in vain.'
'The overall average wage is 113 roubles so the top government minister is getting more than 30 times the average.'

Duncan Hallas on socialist ideas and capitalist myths

WHY IS IT that in spite of an apparently very democratic constitution all important decisions in the USSR are effectively taken by a handful of top leaders and then 'unanimously' endorsed by the supposedly representative soviets?

Why are there never contexts in the elections for the Supreme Soviet? Why does the press never contain criticisms of the current party line? (It does make criticisms of the role of every man and woman in the party and officials, but that is another matter.)

Because in this case the constitution, free political activity is supposed to be afforded to the working class and the collective farm peasants from any real control, or any real threats. If they live in the, the mass in the constitution about 'All power in the USSR is vested in the workers of the town and country' notwithstanding.

Now dictachments do not exist for nothing. They exist to prevent definite interests. Once a privileged bureaucracy has grown up in the USSR, its importance and privilege had to be defended against working-class encroachments. They do still.

Here are some 1968-69, the most recent from official sources that are readily available in English.

**Subsidised**

The minimum wage, established by decree, is 60 roubles a month—-it increased from 45 roubles in 1968. As a result of this, the average wage is going to be about 30 times the average and 60 times the minimum. Quite a different comment. For example, Edward Heath gets 10 times the British average wage, though of course his income from shares adds considerably to this.

No one point is often made that the well-paid Russian bureaucrat will not make a success of his job, and that is also true of his income.

To control of the membership, well, even Britain's General and Municipal Workers Union has contented elections for its top job, the general secretaryship. The election may not mean much but it is a model of the electoral system as compared to any Russian union.

The result of socialism and, too, often, the left wants (for different reasons) for them to be the only way of change, to set up a new political system and to change the way in which they are organized, the way in which they are socialized. The social security schemes—sickness, maternity, industrial injury, family allowances and other social benefits and social services are not the only way of change, it is a model of the electoral system as compared to any Russian union.

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FOOTBALL ON THE SPOT

'So what's wrong with football?' After prices, its the major topic of discussion these days.

Even Arsenal's Pat Rice, a man who prefers kicking tame ducks to leather spheres, has his views on the shrinking size of Manchester United and the press is full of a welter of confusing schemes to right the wrongs.

It used to be violence—on the pitch, off it, in the stands. But this week the major headline was the financial crisis facing all the few super-rich clubs.

The only small amount of nonsense was talk about declining support for football. So much attention on the catastrophic falling away of support to the game which the BBC headline of the game, one seems to have noticed that football has been bleeding quietly all the way.

In the 1930s crowds of 50,000 were commonplace at division games. Now some teams in the first division have only 30,000 and attendances in the lower divisions have dropped to the third and fourth division coups. Even the third FA Cup ties, once the magnet for millions, drew disappointing support.

Simple answers to the problem are not hard to find—unless you are a sports writer on a tabloid concerned only with his short-term deadline and the after-hours activities of soccer stars.

Spectator sport in general has been on the decline for years. The main reasons are a shift in attitudes to family life have diverted much support away from the terraces. And the mass media has brought top international games into the living rooms. Fans has become tired of the second-rate boot and barge of their local team.

DRASTIC

But the administrators of football, most of whom would be hard pressed passing the entrance exam for the Wolf Cubs, have set their faces against all the evidence and introduced a rash of new competitions and fixtures in a desperate and futile attempt to grab more support. The predictable result has been to spoiled the available crowds even more thin.

This week the Football League clubs met in private and voted down a suggestion to reduce the number of clubs in the League to 160, that financial reality will inevitably take its toll, supports wants quality not quantity and it is certain that by the end of the 70s there will be a drastic reduction in clubs and fixtures.

The major audience for football will be the 70s. Theﮕcwen grants from the League clubs against the inevitable success of soccer is further evidence of the lack of intelligence of the game's administrators.

It is ludicrous and killjoy to wish to destroy viewers' chance to see the best games. If the top match of any Saturday happens to be played in Liverpool then, as a Londoner, that's the game I want to see rather than the Red Cloggers of Highbury physically destroying their opposition.

Much of the moaning about small crowds is the nearness of the next game. A victory of 1-0 in December is not immediately translated into a Saturday scene of thousands.

ROGER PROTZ ON THE CRISIS ON THE TERRACES

Roger Protz on the crisis on the terraces

crowds are the shickest hypocrisy from immensely wealthy clubs like Arsenal and Tottenham. I have stood at both ends of the ground in conditions that would cause a public outcry if repeated at a cattle auction. Presumably only the threat of a mass boycott will force them to dip into their profits—from our revered loyalty—to provide half-decent seated accommodation.

Which takes us to the question of violence, for one easy way to reduce punch-ups would be to put the fans in seats.

But that is just a fringe solution to a deep-rooted problem. It is now fashionable to pin the blame to those who trace the violence of young fans to their social background. The nadir was reached last year by Michael Parkinson in the Sunday Times, comparing the 'jack-jawed, vacant-eyed louts' of the football terraces to the incredible behaviour of cricket spectators, I look forward with some malicious pleasure to the first Gillie Cup riot.

More sense was written in one short piece in this paper last year than in the ocean of guff in the mass circulation press. Commenting on the riot by Glasgow Rangers fans in Spain, Ian Bailey said: 'For Glasgow football fans, the worst has been seen as getting their own back on the rest of the week.' Anybody who has walked around those endless, grey-stencilled terraces with their total lack of social amenities will know what he means.

People—especially young workers—condemned by a society to routine, mind-destruction jobs or the indignity of the doodle game seem to be the occasion of such a burst of colour in an otherwise drab, characterless week. Is it any wonder that pent-up frustration and latent abilities occasionally ignite or that the bow or Social Security bureaucrats are transformed into the opposing team?

PUNCH-UPS

Far from bewailing soccer violence, capitalism should welcome it. Better that young people should off their frustrations within the walls of a football ground than that they should be forced to channel their in the direction of social change.

If socialists are slow to grasp the opportunities by the growing, if yet minor, militancy of younger workers, our opponents are not. The Fascists pulloved out a few weeks ago that if football has become a training ground for working-class violence, then it was time the middle class got in on the act.

PUNDITS

Small-scale soccer punch-ups have grown in step with both the local and international varieties of legalized, state violence, much of it turned into our homes in nightly instalments. Of course, the connection is not as clear, direct or articulated as that: but many young soccer fans must have stored away the images of their Derby and Belfast counterparts engaging in the defence of their communities.

One additional cause of crowd behaviour that is largely ignored by the press is the growing alienation which fans feel to the 'doodle' on the pitch. Twenty years ago, after you'd cheered yourself hoarse at the exploits of Matthews, Mortenson, Finney and company, you might find yourself in the same bus queue with them.

And that has changed dramatically. Hunter Davies' book on Spurs last year showed how the players, without exception from orthodox working-class backgrounds, had been spring-axed into the Rover 2000, jetset elite. Young fans complained that Martin Chivers was 'knuck up' and wanted nothing to do with any of them.

The soccer stars are everything the fans aspire to be but can never hope to become. At Hillsborough a few weeks ago I was astonished by the often vicious bickering of the supporters' own players. '£200,000 ponce' was the jeering call all the time Alan Ball fumbled a pass. The money sticks in their crowd.

'Socialist solutions?' Clearly in a society designed to entrap the enormous potential of working people, participatory sport must have priority over spectator sport, with a massive expansion of free facilities in every area to replace the dingy 'root' that most of us recall from our schooldays.

But for the present it is not our job whether to condemn or condone the violence of modern soccer but to understand it and offer horizons and perspectives to its practitioners.

Which means making our politics is exciting and heady in the sight of Liverpool in full flood, as unanswerable in Rodney Mumb humbugging a goggy defence, as decisive as Bobbo Moore moving inexorably forward. It is an attractive proposition.

Dad's Army under camouflage

SPIKE MILLIGAN recently wrote a very funny book titled Adolf Hitler My Part in His Downfall, now available in Pengin paperback. It has just been made into a film.

Milligan's brand of humour is quite unique, and the Goons and their modern counterparts Monty Python represent the best of British humour. Most other people don't find it funny at all—that's why it's British.

'It was a pround day for the Milligan family as I was taken from the house. "I'm too young to go", I screamed at the Policemen dragged me from my room, clutching a dummy,' writes Milligan.

At Victoria Station the RTO gave me a travel warrant, a white feather and a picture of Hitler marked "This is your enemy". I searched every compartment but he wasn't on the train.

At 4.30, June 2nd 1940, on a summer's day all make's tails and blue sky we arrived at Bexhill-on-Sea where I got off. It wasn't easy, the train didn't stop there.

Now, in glorious technicolour, brought to you by the Transworld Corporation (directed by Norman Cohen, Screenplay by Johnny Byrne in collaboration with Norman Cohen, A Norman Cohen Film) comes a film of the same name, with Jim Dale as Spike, passing in between Brixton to Kent into 'It's gonna be a good war' (words and music by Ed Welch) and Arthur Love as gjoy (gloom).

Flat

And it's a real disaster.

First of all Milligan's humour isn't very funny but written and spoken as (with the Goons as a whole.) It works in the imagination: An apostle pain shot down and back and into my groin, down my leg and across the road to a boot stop.

Also his style of delivery is so polished that it makes his lines tend to fall flat. This is especially true with Jim Dale, who manages to transform loveable idiot Spike into a warwearying smart Alec, with a touch of the Eddie Calvert as he picks up his golden trumpet.

There are some new gaps, and if you find funny such routines as RSM and Spike chauvin by a bull that is called as a cow, or Scotsman looking his kilt and plugging into mettles, then you might not be disappointed.

Worse is to come, with some swarmingly warlike sequences, full frontal tears and lines like God I feel so helpless' as our lad stands there with a rifle against the blitz-illuminated sky. What satire or 'black comedy' there was in the book has been watered down into a vague and generalised undercurrent of social conscience.

You'll have to look pretty hard to find any criticism of authority it's all one happy family except the laboured suggestion of sedition in (Scottish RSL), let alone any examination of the 'war capitalism' which made 'Catch 22' a masterpiece.

The presence of Arthur Love is a giveaway, showing how the film grew from the idea of catching in on the success of Dad's Army (perhaps using the same prop) and the present manufactured nostalgia for the war-time years.

As has been pointed out on these pages before, the United States has the Wild West, we have the last war. This isn't Milligan, it's Dad's Army in disguise.

The tradition of past generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living,' wrote Marx. In this case it seems to be the 1940s. Alec deep in Brixton, the cracked 78 grinding away, if the old Pongo's music don't get you, the old gang feeling will.

Dave Wild
FIFTY THOUSAND Ford workers pour in the forefront of the battle against a government wage freeze policy.

It is certain that the outcome of the Ford workers' wages-and-conditions claim will be decisive in affecting the course of events in Britain industry during 1973. The present, state-of-the-art legal status of the trade union's submission to the company for a collective agreement is such that both the company's policies and strategy and the official trade union agreements can both be possible to sketch out a plan of a strategy for the Ford strike.

1973 was a very good year for Ford. The company's then Managing Director, Batty, Ford of Britain's chairman, has said so.

The union announced on 21 December that Ford had produced 750,000 vehicles in 1972, and that 18 million earned in export markets. Ford, vehicle exports topped a quarter of a million.

According to the trade union, the output for Ford of Britain in 1972 will top £60 million. But when we turn to the Ford strike, we create all this wealth the picture changes.

Agreement

The average Ford worker earns £316.40 a 40-hour week after completing four years' service. The trade union's five-week strike of December 1971 saw a reduction in working hours of 12 per cent. The strike was aimed at reducing the 44-hour working week to 40 hours a week. The Ford wage negotiations for 1973 are critical.

The strike that ended in March 1973 saw that Ford was prepared to look for another pay increase.

And although the trade unions are in favour of the five-week strike agreement, in the present political climate many trade union officials and the NUPE leaders' refusal to push for a 25p rise instead of the 50p strike will need to be respected by the workers.

The Ford strike has been both a victory and a defeat. Those who have been defeated are those who have not agreed to the strike.

The union's proposals for re-election of the membership and keep their workplace a 'union shop' will result in the signature of a new Ford workers' agreement.

The union's proposals for re-election of the membership and keep their workplace a 'union shop' will result in the signature of a new Ford workers' agreement.

To reject means that due unions are not longer paid through the shop stewards, who lose the support of the workplace. There are difficulties in maintaining the unions' members, unions are not only to work on a wage scale.

The union's council claims that the old 'type of branch meeting, which all union members can attend, is no longer viable. It is useless. They see the new role of the branch as being to organise the union's 'stewards' committees' where the stewards will be given a legal branch activity.

The union's council is considering how to organise the 'old type of branch meeting, which all union members can attend, is no longer viable. It is useless. They see the new role of the branch as being to organise the union's 'stewards' committees' where the stewards will be given a legal branch activity.

The union's proposals for re-election of the membership and keep their workplace a 'union shop' will result in the signature of a new Ford workers' agreement. The union's proposals for re-election of the membership and keep their workplace a 'union shop' will result in the signature of a new Ford workers' agreement.
Wrong way to fight the freeze

In his front page article on 13 January, Duncan Hallas states, quite correctly, that the idea of a "fair" prices and incomes policy under capitalism is a pipe dream. But then he continues with a dangerously misleading argument: There is one answer and one answer only—to raise prices under the system of private profit making. It is fight for compensating wage rises with automatic cost of living increases built into the agreements. Hallas claims that this must be the strategy for the future, the key to forcing the Tories to back down. Unfortunately he ignores the reality of the present economic situation in which to get any cost of living increases—"a sliding scale of wages"—is hopeless.

For a start it is not at the present time a "traditional" demand in the sense that it was when Trotsky advocated it in 1938. It is not a demand that the workers can afford to demand. That Hallas recognizes this is clear from the article in the January issue of International Socialist journal. The way he concludes the article that revolutionary socialists should be raising at the present time. And his final paragraph of the article, "We are for the support, as our duty as revolutionary socialists, of any demands and movements that to improve the living and working conditions of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections of the population."

The introduction of a sliding scale of wages, as the claim suggests, has consistently argued over recent months a "transitional" demand. It would result in an either-or, either advance or defend the position of the confidence of the working class in 1937. But then he continues with a demand that will tend to improve the living and working conditions of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections of the population.

The introduction of a sliding scale of wages is, in the claim, a "transitional" demand that will tend to improve the living and working conditions of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections of the population.

Your week-by-week campaign against the Tory freeze is clear-cut and direct. But while it is correct to keep Heath in the centre of your sights, don't let Labour escape from criticism. Poor Harold Wilson is feeling the cold three days. He stands naked and malnourished, stripped of his political clothes by the Tories. But he continues to parade about "power to the people" and can't put forward any alternative proposals for fighting the Tories because the policies of both capitalist parties are virtually identical.

In fact we can be grateful to Heath for one thing. He has succeeded in getting the public to demand a better deal to the workers. The Working Party's plans to hold down wages in order to keep the job market open to more and more workers and more and more social intervention against workers and their organisations.

Labour's opposition to the "freezing" of prices is a "transitional" demand that will tend to improve the living and working conditions of workers and of other oppressed or exploited sections of the population. But while it is correct to keep Heath in the centre of your sights, don't let Labour escape from criticism.

Your week-by-week campaign against the Tory freeze is clear-cut and direct. But while it is correct to keep Heath in the centre of your sights, don't let Labour escape from criticism. Poor Harold Wilson is feeling the cold three days. He stands naked and malnourished, stripped of his political clothes by the Tories. But he continues to parade about "power to the people" and can't put forward any alternative proposals for fighting the Tories because the policies of both capitalist parties are virtually identical.

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CARDIFF: A protest lobby of more than 700 steelworkers jars and boos the Tory Minister for Trade and Industry outside Cardiff City Hall last Friday.

Tomatoes were thrown at millionaire Minister Peter Walker and his car was rocked and banged by angry workers demanding the scrapping of the steel workers agreement, which is to be axed in the government's proposals for the steel industry, leaving at least 4500 men redundant.

The demonstration also included delegations from the Llanwern steelworks and the neighbouring GKN steel rod mill.

Copy for Who's On must arrive by first post Monday morning. Charges are 5p per word, 50p per line, 90p per page. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Fines cannot be waived.

I S MEETINGS

INBRAIN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS against RACISM

Thursday 4 February, 8.45 p.m. Community Centre, Penarth

The meeting is free. All welcome.

LONDON SOCIAL WORKER DISCUSS Richard Atkinson's Living with our Children. All workers must attend and send a deputy.

LYNN LAW AND BRITISH ORDER in Treorchy.

Wednesday 10 January, 8 p.m. in the TUC Hall, 115a High St, Treforest, Pontypridd. All welcome.

UNIQUE GIFTS to friends (or just you) for Christmas. Hand-made cards, hand-made gifts. A layout of cards, gifts and some of the cards with information on how to make them, by Annabel Dwyer, 17 Sanddown Road, London N16.

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EALING Rush and Feltham: Nigel Wright on Democracy in Schools. Monday, 29th Jan, 7.30 p.m. Ealing Town Hall, 9 High St, Ealing, London W3.

JUMBLE WANTED URGENTLY (for Christmas in our shop). All proceeds to Business Fund. Please ring the Business Fund Office, 6 Cadogan Gardens, Chelsea, or ring 071-737 2247.

LONDON IS public meeting. History of the Labour and the return of the Labour MP. Speaker: Paul Biggar. Monday, 21 January, 8 p.m. TUC Hall, 115a High St, Treforest, Pontypridd. All welcome.

NOTICES

OLD TROTSKIVS Pamphlets for sale: see Socialist Worker issue 205 (13 January) for details.

WHEN writing to Socialist Worker please mark envelopes clearly either EDITORIAL or BUSINESS.

STEELWORKER MEETING in closed shop at Treforest. Speaker: John Haines. Tuesday 20th January, 7.30 p.m. Treforest Women's Club. All steel workers must attend and send a deputy.

HORNBY IS: The Need for a Revolution- ary Party. Speaker: Tony Goff. Tuesday 13 January, 8 p.m. Treforest Women's Club. All steel workers must attend and send a deputy.

Civil liberties: the rights of the individual against the state and the forces of reaction. Speaker: Dr. Ian Angus. Saturday 20th January, 5 p.m. Treforest Women's Club. All steel workers must attend and send a deputy.
CHARLIE BUNTING, unemployed, sacked two years ago for his leading part in a strike at Inghams, a local engineering firm, wrote to workless NUPE members: "I am a NUPE member and a member of the NUM; Graham Smith, unemployed; also sacking a working miner at Inghams; Terry Ashcroft, unemployed, local AMWU worker and ASTMS shop steward; Dave Percival, shop steward in the local Clay Cross foundry, offered a call for support to the striking NUPE coal worker and President of the local branch of NUPE, Arthur Welton, council worker, secretary of NUPE: Arthur Welton, planning engineer, Eileen Whalley, charge nurse, local NHS staff, school caretaker and shop steward—ten men and one woman who have each, in our view, been called to account by the people who elected them.

The eleven Labour councillors of Clay Cross in Derbyshire, where 1,000 miners are locked out, announced on 19 January: "A loss of £65,000 has been incurred by the national coal industry and this council will not countenance it. He declared the councillors could not countenance it.

If the councillors do not pay, and if they do not pay for the rent, the rent of 1,000 miners who have lost their faith in the people who elected them, the rent will continue to be liable for extra payment, the total of about £1,000 a week.

One thing becomes quickly clear to all who have any power on earth can make these councillors accountable under the Housing Finance Act.

SPONTANEOUS

Outside the small council offices last week, a group was holding a meeting, freezing, Violet Brooking, (Clerom) Boycott, (Sewerage) (Clerom) Boycott, had hung up a banner which declares: CLAY CROSS WILL NOT PAY. They stood there all day Friday and will be standing there all day this week, because the councillors are in a rent strike which started spon- taneously. When Violet Brooking, who had been outside the workers in the country," says Violet Brooking, which is广 of Clay Cross. (Clerom) Boycott's husband is also a miner, Anne Patricia Boycott, who said: "We want them to stay in Clay Cross. We want them to pay the rents elected to do. We want no rent increases of any kind. I'm not going on until we're both.

At the council meeting that evening, under the heading Tree-planting Year, it was proposed and carried with the six miners who are planting willow trees in the tree-planting project. It was taken up vitiating tactics of the Tory-controlled Derbyshire County Council.

At the end of the meeting, David Skinner, chairman of the Planning Committee, announced: 'I want you to know that I will not issue any notices to quit, letters or visits to anyone who refuses to pay their rent or rates."

The councillors of Clay Cross have for ten years used all of their powers to help the working people in the town. They have taken every decision, they have des- ominated the slums. They have bought up almost all the privately rented houses. They have kept council rents down to something near where they should be (the average council rent in Clay Cross is £1.50 a week).

TASK FORCE

As they have not lost a single seat since 1960. Polling at election times is always in the region of 65 to 75 per cent (more than twice the national average).

For a decade, the councillors have devoted themselves unswervingly to the Labour Party cause. Again and again active and consistent in their efforts, they have been dispatched at election times to re-elect the Labour Party. They have, in fact, been the driving force for organisation in surrounding areas.

In return, the Labour Party has returned the councillors' votes in the past, under the leadership of Council leader, who after Labour council gave up the battle against the rent rises on the advice of the Labour leadership. They were less surprised when Labour's left-wing national execu-

THE RENTS BATTLE

by Paul Foot

Journalist of the Year

1000 sit-in workers march through town

SUNDERLAND—More than 1,000 workers from Coates Cranes marched through the street last week to draw attention to their dispute. They have been occupying the factory for three weeks to try to get the company to honour an agreement with the workers. The cranes company is about this important dispute has appeared in the local press, the Sunderland Echo.

The march succeeded in drawing this pressure from the workers who are striking against the company and got support from councillors and local MPs for the Cossen workers. But the weakness of the dispute is that so far it has been largely confined to Sunderland.

A big combine like the Arceo group cannot be beaten this way. So long as work and orders can be transferred to other factories the Arceo at Shotton, Plessey Excavators and Adamson and Halliday, the Sunderland workers are fighting with one hand tied behind their back.

Would-be Goads rejoin union after go slow

THIE two would-be James Goads at Thom's radio and TV valve factory in Sunderland have now rejoined their union after being accepted back in the factory. They agreed to make a public apology and retraction for their anti-union behaviour in leaving the General and Municipal and engineering unions, and invoking the terms of the Industrial Relations Act.

They were suspended after the Thom workers started a go slow and insisted they be sacked. It is understood the GMDW has also hired them to be a double for behaviour and that he has paid.

The National Industrial Relations Court, sitting in Scotland last week, re- fused to grant an interim injunction restraining the GMDW secretary and the two shop stewards from Scotts-Liddows of the Clyde shipyard from committing colluding unfair industrial practices.

The injunction was sought by Stewart's, a small haulage firm, whose drivers con- sistently went through AEUW picket lines during the 16-week strike at the shipyard last year. Since then the SAUW has refused to return to the Clyde shipyard for the former firm.

The AEUW boycotted the hearing. Judge Griffiths was obviously more interested in the prospect of a big strike in the shipyard than the freedom of some petty employer.

The TUC leadership this week decided not to recommend the expulsion from Congress of unions registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

At the 1972 TUC Congress in Brighton the TUC leaders suggested that registered unions should not be expelled but only suspended and given time to comply. Those suspended have now had the six months and are still not to be expelled. They have again been given more time. The TUC has issued four on its own policy.

Borstar site workers defend closed shop

LEICESTER—Borstar workers, on Tarmac's new building site at Glen Park last week forced management not to employ workers who would not join the union.

Eight bricklayers from the worker-only outfitter SOF were welcomed by themselves at the site last Wednesday. The UCATT members on the site stopped work when five of the bricklayers refused point blank to join the union. On Thursday, the 16 union men staged a sit-in in the canteen.

Tarmac then told SOF that if its men did not join the union, they would not be employed.

GLASSWORKERS WALK OUT IN CANTERBURY

YORKSHIRE—All workers at the Yorkshire Glass New Works at Knottingley and Southgate announced a five-day strike over management's refusal to allow operators proper opportunities.

A meeting in the morning between Transport and General Workers Union representatives and management discussed the arbitration proposals. The TGWU's chairman was present.

Under the heading of "No gravy for operators", the bulletin said: "Avoid a repeat of the Knottingley situation when a glass-caster has just been opened. Management promised the meals would be laid on for those workers who are unable to attend the canteen. But right from the start that promise was broken.

The glass workers are still being refused any such facilities. The reasons given by management is that the factory committee would not approve of such action since the com- mittees in which the operators work are not involved.

"Presumably they reckon that it is all right to eat sandwiches with a side of meat but not proper meals with a knife and fork."

The strike is part of the growing significance in the proposed closure of the Greenford factory in London, which is being shut down for property speculation, and belief that the main reason for production there is to be switched to Knottingley.

The management has agreed to hold further talks but the operators said they would not agree to any new option unless they can be switched to Knottingley. The operators said they were walking out when they were refused can- descent facilities. All the workers and other workers in the plant followed them in sympathy. Last year both operators and workers were involved in strikes, but there was no similar sympathy action.

GLASSWORKERS WALK OUT IN CANTERBURY

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

Address

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN
GASWORKERS reacted angrily to the Gas Council's offer of a £2-a-week rise across the board last week.

Though the General and Municipal Workers' Union had called an industrial action, thousands of workers in Scotland and many parts of England staged a one-day strike in protest against the government's pay freeze.

In Scotland the shop stewards' unofficial committee estimated that 80 per cent of the men had supported the strike. They telegraphed the union's negotiations with London to warn them there would be further action.

At Airdrie and Craighead the strikes continued until the end of the week and the men only returned to work on Monday. Throughout Scotland an overtime ban followed the strike, coupled with a policy of non-co-operation with management—despite clear cooperation from this to the union.

Three depots in the Newtonhaugh area staged one-day token strikes, John Thomas, secretary of the No 1 Nottinghams branch of the union, described the E2 offer as "totally inadequate. During the strike pickets manned the gates of the three depots, turning away all vehicles.

Further one-day strikes were planned.

The gas workers' basic wage rate is £19. In the past five years the union has accepted modest increases in the gas industry's workforce, a third of whose jobs have been axed and productivity has tripled.

The Nottinghams pickets said that the way forward lay in the solidarity and co-operation among all sections against the Industrial Relations Act by groups of workers acting together.

In England gas workers have shown for the first time that with organization they can act effectively. Their next general meeting is to be held this week-end to consider further action to force the Gas Council to improve its miserable offer.

The question of how to get the two unions involved, the General and Municipal, and the Transport and General, to lead a real fight against the freeze will be considered.

The way forward lies in more co-ordinated unofficial action in Scotland and the building of links with gas workers in England to spread the scale of the action.

One-day strike called narrowly defeated

A CALL for industrial action against the freeze was narrowly rejected at a meeting of the national executive of the biggest civil service union, the CPSA, last Friday.

It turned down a call for an immediate one-day strike, extended selective strike action and a national strike levy by 5 votes to 11.

Instead the executive is asking 22 mass rallies throughout the country to back a plan which will evade direct conflict with the government. It is postponing any decision about further action until after the meeting with the other civil service unions and is calling for a special conference of the TUC to organize a united campaign against the freeze.

But rank-and-file activists are determined that the membership should not be fobbed off in this way.

The recently established rank-and-file journal, Politics, has produced 15,000 leaflets to be distributed at all rallies. It argues strongly that the strike call defines what the executive should be put into effect and points out that since phase three of the freeze is going to be even more vicious than phase two, if civil servants do not take action now, they will suffer their worst day ever.

At the London rally, which was held last Tuesday, 4,000 CPSA members voted unanimously for a resolution giving the executive the power to take "any action" to win the wage increase backdated to 1 January. The rally then marched to Downing Street, chanting "Heat Out!"

But although this reflected the militancy of the meeting, the vote did not put the executive on any concrete policy. In Glasgow 660 CPSA members heard a blandie in aid of the rally, held on the actual relief rally last weekend. John Roywood, the CPSA assistant secretary, put the executive line.

But this was not good enough for many members. Danny Costello, chairman of the Lanarkshire branch, tried to put a motion calling for immediate action on overtime. When the chairman ruled that Costello was out of order his calling was carried by a hundred of votes only.

IS FUND PASSES HALF-WAY MARK

A TOTAL of £7,195 in donations received last week for the Fight Fund pushed the grand total received so far to £15,284.

Grassroots branches have responded warmly, and include: Leicester £60; Hull £14:2; Nottingham £280; Dundee £250; Worthing £307;2; Peterborough £20; Glasgow North £30; Grimsby £50; Edinburgh £50; Ealing £100; Huddersfield £100; Scarborough £280; Gateshead £160; Leeds £140; Wigan £160; Warwick £20; Northampton £215.50.

We have received many individual donations including: 'A regular reader, Norvic,' £5, 'A reader' Manchester, £5; 'A group of students in Kilsarn Park, Rochdale £20. 4 A reader in Leeds sent the following letter: 'I enclosed £100 cheque. Sorry it is not 10 times bigger, but young hospital technicians only get £20 per week. Haigh's proposals were announced yesterday, and I was a bit shocked, even though I knew what to expect, I have no money to send you the money.'

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Good luck, to the regular and systematic collection of money at places of work, popular and, enthusiastic collection sheets.

They can be obtained from local IS branches or from the IS headquarters.

The support for the fund is growing, but we must not relax for a minute if we are to reach our £30,000 target.

Rush donations to: Tony Cliff, Acting National Treasurer, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.