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REPORT

OF THE SIXTYSEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE

LABOUR PARTY

BLACKPOOL

1968

SEPTEMBER 30—OCTOBER 4

Price Eight Shillings

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1968-69

Chairman :

Mrs. EIRENE WHITE, M.P. (East Flintshire C.L.P.)

Vice-Chairman :

Mrs. E. M. BRADDOCK, M.P. (Liverpool Exchange C.L.P.)

Treasurer :

Rt. Hon. JAMES CALLAGHAN, M.P. (Cardiff South-East C.L.P.)

Leader of the Parliamentary Party :

Rt. Hon. HAROLD WILSON, M.P.

Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party :

Rt. Hon. GEORGE BROWN, M.P.

DIVISION I—TRADE UNIONS' SECTION

Mr. T. G. BRADLEY, M.P. (Transport Salaried Staffs Association)

Mr. J. CHALMERS (Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers)

Mr. F. CHAPPLE (Electrical Trades Union)

Mr. A. CUNNINGHAM (National Union of General and Municipal Workers)

Mr. J. DIAMOND (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association)

Mr. L. FORDEN (Transport and General Workers' Union)

Mr. J. GORMLEY (National Union of Mineworkers)

Mr. A. KITSON (Scottish Commercial Motormen's Union)

Mr. F. LANE (National Union of Railwaymen)

Rt. Hon. F. W. MULLEY, M.P. (Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union)

Mr. W. E. PADLEY, M.P. (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers)

Mr. W. SIMPSON (Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers)

DIVISION II—SOCIALIST, CO-OPERATIVE AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS' SECTION

Mr. A. M. SKEFFINGTON, M.P. (Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society—Political Purposes Committee)

DIVISION III—CONSTITUENCY ORGANISATIONS' SECTION

Mr. F. ALLAUN, M.P. (Salford East C.L.P.)

Rt. Hon. A. W. BENN, M.P. (Bristol South-East C.L.P.)

Rt. Hon. BARBARA CASTLE, M.P. (Blackburn T.C. and L.P.)

Mr. T. DRIBERG, M.P. (Barking C.L.P.)

Rt. Hon. A. GREENWOOD, M.P. (Rossendale C.L.P.)

Miss J. LESTOR, M.P. (Eton and Slough C.L.P.)

Mr. I. MIKARDO, M.P. (St. Marylebone C.L.P.)

DIVISION IV—WOMEN MEMBERS

Rt. Hon. ALICE BACON, C.B.E., M.P. (Leeds South-East C.L.P.)

Mrs. E. BRADDOCK, M.P. (Liverpool Exchange C.L.P.)

Mrs. L. JEGER, M.P. (Holborn and St. Pancras South C.L.P.)

Rt. Hon. JENNIE LEE, M.P. (Cannock C.L.P.)

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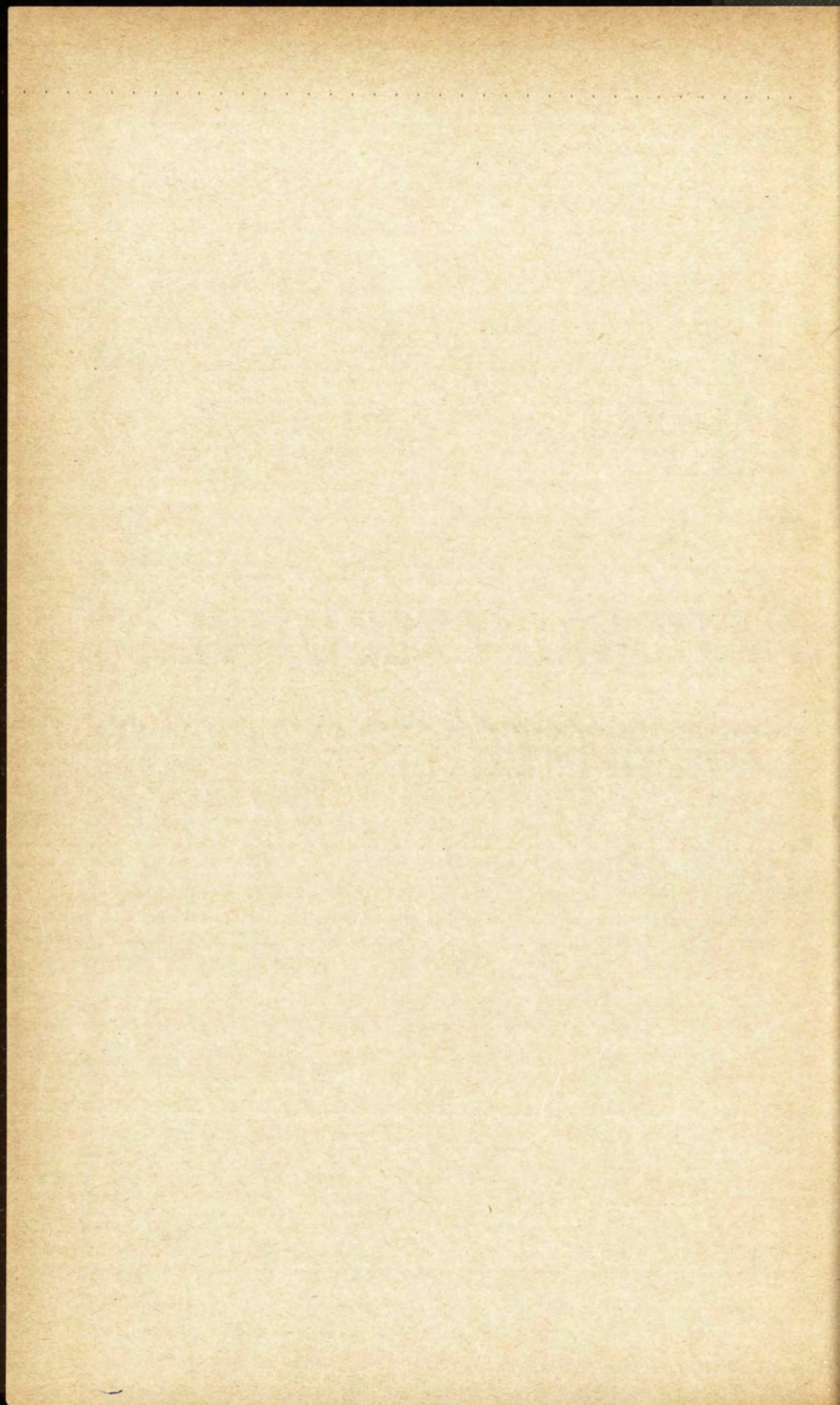
REPORT

OF THE

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE

1967-68



SECRETARIAL

GENERAL SECRETARY

At its meeting in March, 1968 the National Executive Committee was informed by Mr. A. L. Williams that he and the National Agent would reach retiring age early in 1969. It was agreed that the Party Officers should consider the procedure for filling their places and that the timetable should be arranged to allow for the election of the new General Secretary at the Annual Conference in 1968. The Party Officers met on 2 April and their recommendations were presented to the National Executive Committee at its April meeting.

Meanwhile it was considered necessary for the General Secretary to relinquish his post on 18 April, following the public announcement of his pending appointment as Governor General of Mauritius. At its next meeting the National Executive Committee recorded its deep appreciation of the work which Mr. Williams had done in the Labour Party as General Secretary and previously as Regional Organiser, Assistant National Agent, National Agent and in acting as General Secretary for two years during the illness of Mr. Phillips, as well as during his six years as Chief Agent in Leeds, his earlier two parliamentary candidatures and his many years as a tutor-organiser for the National Council of Labour Colleges.

The General Secretary's post was advertised in the Press and to all affiliated organisations, and 37 applications were received. The National Executive Committee appointed a special sub-committee of the Party Officers and four other members of the Committee to examine the applications and to present a shortlist to the National Executive Committee at its June meeting. After considering all the applications at that meeting, the National Executive Committee asked the special sub-committee to approach suitably experienced persons and to report back in July. At a special meeting on 24 July, the National Executive Committee, after considering and voting upon two names, decided unanimously to recommend Annual Conference to elect Mr. H. R. Nicholas as General Secretary.

COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO PARTY ORGANISATION

The Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation was set up by the National Executive Committee in October, 1966. The members appointed to serve on the Committee were Miss A. Bacon, Messrs. R. H. S. Crossman, J. Gormley, J. Jones and W. Simpson and the Committee appointed Mr. Simpson as its Chairman. The General Secretary acted as Secretary to the Committee.

The Committee's Interim Report was presented to the National Executive Committee in September, 1967. It was decided that the Report be published immediately and presented to and debated at the Annual Conference the following month and then be given detailed consideration by the National Executive Committee in the light of the debate at Conference.

This course was followed and a number of the Committee of Enquiry's recommendations which have been accepted by the National Executive Committee are reported in the Party Organisation and Finance Department sections of this Annual Report. Other recommendations, of an administrative nature, which have been accepted by the National Executive Committee, are those relating to the role of the General Secretary, the appointment of a Deputy Secretary and the establishment of a Political Education Section. Also, the recommendation to reconstruct the National Executive sub-committee system has been accepted in principle.

The Committee of Enquiry continued its work during the past year, with Mr. Allaun and Mr. Nicholas appointed to serve in place of Mr. Crossman and Mr. Jones, who had not sought re-election to the National Executive Committee. The Committee presented its second report to the National Executive Committee in July, when it was decided that the procedure adopted last year should again be followed, i.e. that the Report be published and presented to Annual Conference for debate and then be considered in detail by the National Executive Committee.

OVERSEAS RECEPTION, ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1967

More than 250 representatives from overseas fraternal parties and diplomatic missions in London attended the reception given by the National Executive Committee for overseas visitors to the Annual Conference at Scarborough. Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., Vice-Chairman of the Party, received the guests on behalf of the National Executive Committee and during the reception

N.E.C. REPORT: SECRETARIAL

brief addresses of welcome were given by Mr. John Boyd, Chairman of the Party, and by Mr. Harold Wilson, M.P., Prime Minister and Leader of the Party.

NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOLS, 1967

The National Summer Schools were held at Beatrice Webb House, near Dorking, during the four weeks 22 July-19 August. Two hundred and twenty-three students attended the schools and of these, 114 were sponsored by trade unions and 46 by Party organisations. Harold Laski scholarships were awarded, on a regional basis, to 33 students and 30 students attended at their own expense.

Study groups on Home Policy, Overseas Affairs, Local Government, Party Organisation and Electoral Procedure were conducted by resident tutors. Visiting speakers were Lord Chalfont, Mrs. J. Hart, M.P., Mrs. S. Williams, M.P., and Messrs. R. H. S. Crossman, M.P., J. Diamond, M.P., W. Hamling, M.P., R. Hattersley, M.P., R. Marsh, M.P., R. Prentice, M.P., G. Reynolds, M.P., and A. L. Williams.

ROBERT ADDY HOPKINSON TRUST

The scholarship grant to Coleg Harlech for the academic year 1967-68 was awarded by the college to assist two students, Mr. A. J. Pritchard (Anglesey) and Mr. S. N. Hallahan (Abbotts Langley). The grant to Fircroft Collège was shared between Mr. B. White (Bridlington), Mr. W. Brown (Consett) and Mr. W. G. Ranson (Cardiganshire).

Scholarships to Ruskin College for the academic year 1968-69 have been offered to Mr. C. S. Clark (Orpington), Mr. E. Parsloe (March, Cambs.), and Mr. J. F. Tattersdale (Batley). Grants to assist students at Coleg Harlech and Fircroft College will be awarded later in the year.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The following fraternal delegates were appointed by the National Executive Committee:

Northern Ireland Labour Party Conference, Belfast	29-30 March	Mr. J. Chalmers
Co-operative Party Annual Conference, Brighton	11-15 April	Miss J. Lee, M.P.
United Textile Factory Workers' Association Annual Conference, Blackpool	18-20 April	Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P.
Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers Annual Conference, Scarborough	22-26 April	Miss M. Herbison, M.P.
National Society of Metal Workers, Annual Conference, Plymouth	29 April-3 May	Mrs. E. White, M.P.
Co-operative Union Congress, Scarborough ..	3-5 June	Mrs. E. White, M.P.
Post Office Engineering Union Annual Con- ference, Brighton	10-14 June	Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P.
Tobacco Workers' Union Biennial Con- ference, Blackpool	12-14 June	Mr. W. Simpson
Trades Union Congress, Blackpool	2-6 September	Miss J. Lee, M.P.

STAFF BOARD

The Staff Board, with Mr. H. R. Nicholas (*Chairman*), Mr. F. J. Chapple, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. W. Simpson and Mr. A. L. Williams, held a number of meetings to deal with staff appointments and to consider matters referred to the Board by the National Executive Committee arising from the acceptance of some of the recommendations contained in the Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation. Negotiations on salary increases and improved conditions of service for staff employed by the National Executive Committee were opened in June and in July the Board's proposals for salary increases were conveyed to the staff representatives.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE CABINET

A two-session joint meeting of the National Executive Committee and members of the Cabinet was held at Downing Street on 28 April, 1968.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR

The membership of the National Council of Labour as at July, 1968, was as follows:

REPRESENTING THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

Lord Wright (*Joint Chairman*), Lord Carron, Lord Collison, Sir Tom O'Brien, Mr. L. Cannon, Mr. F. Cousins, Mr. F. Hayday, Mr. G. Woodcock (*Joint Secretary*).

REPRESENTING THE LABOUR PARTY

Miss J. Lee, M.P. (*Joint Chairman*), Lord Champion, Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mr. D. Houghton, M.P., Mr. W. W. Hamilton, M.P., Mr. J. Silkin, M.P., Miss S. E. Barker (*Joint Secretary*).

REPRESENTING THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION

Mr. J. Jaques (*Joint Chairman*), Mr. G. Gay, Mr. C. Hamnett, Mr. H. Kemp, Mr. K. A. Noble, Mr. T. Weir, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. R. Southern (*Joint Secretary*).

PARTY ORGANISATION

National Agent: SARA E. BARKER

Organisation Sub-committee (1967-68): Mr. J. Gormley (*Chairman*), Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P., Mr. T. G. Bradley, M.P., Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mr. F. J. Chapple, Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. P. Hanley, Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Mr. F. Lane, Miss J. Lee, M.P., Miss J. Lestor, M.P., Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Mr. H. R. Nicholas, Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., and the National Agent, Miss S. E. Barker (*Secretary*).

YOUTH SUB-COMMITTEE

Youth Sub-committee (1967-68): Miss J. Lestor, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. F. Allaun, M.P., Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P., Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P., Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., Mr. D. Collins (*National Committee of Labour Party Young Socialists*) and the Assistant National Agent, Mr. H. R. Underhill (*Secretary*).

STAFF CHANGES

The National Executive Committee appointed Mr. B. Twigg, former secretary-agent at Brighouse and Spensborough, as Assistant Regional Organiser and Regional Youth Officer in the North East Region in succession to Mr. H. Sims. Miss M. Craythorne, former member of the Head Office staff, was appointed as Assistant Regional Organiser and Regional Women's Organiser for this Region in succession to Miss B. Lockwood.

Miss K. Butler, former secretary-agent at Lewisham North, was appointed as Assistant Regional Organiser and Regional Women's Organiser in the Southern Region, in succession to Miss I. Sampson, who resigned on the grounds of ill-health.

Mrs. F. Kirby has retired from the staff after 24 years as Assistant Regional Organiser and Regional Women's Organiser in the North West Region, and Mrs. M. Wilmot has tendered her resignation as Assistant Regional Organiser and Regional Women's Organiser in the Eastern Counties on domestic grounds. Both posts have been advertised.

COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO PARTY ORGANISATION

Party Co-ordinating Machinery in Greater London

In November, 1967, the National Executive Committee considered the section of the Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation, relating to Party Co-ordinating Machinery for Greater London. It accepted in principle the recommendation to set up a Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party.

Consultations took place between representatives of the National Executive Committee and the Executive Committees of the London Labour Party and the Southern and Eastern Regional Councils, regarding the proposals agreed in principle by the National Executive Committee. A Consultative Conference, attended by 272 delegates representing 123 party and affiliated organisations, was held at Congress House, London, on 27 January, 1968. The National Executive Committee's representatives were Mr. J. Gormley and Mr. W. Simpson. On 21 February, 1968, the National Executive Committee considered all the proposals put forward at the consultations and a number of them were embodied in the provisional Rules for the new Regional Council.

On 31 March, 1968, a conference to establish the Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party was held in the Camden Town Hall, London, attended by 485 delegates representing party and affiliated organisations. Mr. F. J. Chapple of the National Executive Committee presided. The National Agent, Miss S. E. Barker, presented the National Executive Committee's final proposals.

A resolution to establish the Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party, based on the Provisional Rules, set out in Appendix 1 on pages 320-326 of this Report, was carried by 799 votes for, to 240 votes against. The conference then elected a provisional committee with Mr. R. J. Mellish, M.P. as its chairman and Mr. B. Fry as Treasurer. The National Executive Committee appointed Mr. L. G. Sims, Assistant National Agent, as Acting General Secretary to

the Council, pending the appointment of its General Secretary. The first Annual Conference will be held on 22 September, 1968, in Camden Town Hall, London.

A National Agency Service

In January the National Executive Committee considered the section of the Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation concerned with the setting up of a National Agency Service. The proposal to set up such a Service was accepted in principle and it was agreed that a partial scheme should be introduced as soon as possible.

The National Executive Committee agreed that a sum of £50,000 should be transferred for each of the next three years from the General Election Fund, specifically for launching the National Agency Service. It was also decided that the General Secretary should issue an appeal to the whole Movement to subscribe to the National Agency Service Fund.

The agents entering this Service will be employed by the National Executive Committee. Consultations are now taking place between the National Executive Committee's representatives and the National Union of Labour Organisers, regarding salaries, contract of employment, negotiating machinery and procedures relating to appointments.

A list of constituencies agreed upon by the National Executive Committee will be the basis of negotiations with the constituency parties, to establish which of them are prepared to come into the scheme and what financial contribution they will make to Head Office. Where there is a sponsored constituency the sponsoring body will also be consulted, and in these cases the contribution will not be less than that made under the Hastings Agreement.

Constituencies will not be compelled to enter the scheme, but once they have decided to do so they will not be permitted to contract out. After agreement has been reached with the National Union of Labour Organisers, consultations with the constituency parties will begin. When these have been completed the National Executive Committee will make its final choice of constituencies to be brought into the initial scheme. As financial resources for this Service will be limited at the outset, the first intake of agents is unlikely to be more than thirty-five. However, this will be a real start to a Service which can grow into a most valuable organising force.

Constitution, Rules And Standing Orders

The Interim Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation included a section on Government and Party. Paragraphs 42 and 43 of the Report related to the method of dealing with proposed amendments to the Party Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders and recommended a departure from the present procedure.

At present the National Executive Committee itself can submit such amendments each year, but all other organisations can only do so once every three years. In the past, almost invariably only a few of the many proposed amendments have been reached during the Conference sessions dealing with constitutional amendments. The Enquiry Committee considered that unless much more time was to be given to these amendments at the expense of other business there could be no improvement except by departing from the present procedure.

After giving careful consideration to this matter the National Executive Committee decided to approve the proposal put forward by the Enquiry Committee, involving a return to the former practice of inviting resolutions to amend the Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders each year. Such resolutions would then be referred to the National Executive Committee, which would present a considered report to the Annual Party Conference the following year, in which the National Executive Committee would make recommendations about accepting or rejecting the amendments and giving the reasons for these recommendations. The debate would then take place on the report, thus enabling the proposed changes to be discussed as a whole. The amendments recommended for acceptance, as well as those recommended for rejection, and which the organisations sponsoring them refuse to withdraw, would be put to Conference and voted upon.

In order to obtain the full benefit from this proposed procedure, organisations would be entitled to submit a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment any year, but this would be the only one the organisation was entitled to submit that year, and in the knowledge that it would be referred to the National Executive Committee for report the following year. The 'three year rule' would prevent the annual repetition of amendments on which decisions have been taken.

The National Executive Committee has submitted to Conference amendments to Clause XIII of the Party Constitution and Standing Order No. 2, which would provide for the proposed procedure. These amendments are set out on pages 7 and 8 of the Agenda.

If Conference approves these amendments, the National Executive Committee, subject to the concurrence of the Conference Arrangements Committee, will ask Conference to agree that the amendments to the Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders set out in this year's Agenda,

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pages 9 to 26 be referred to the National Executive Committee for consideration and report to the 1969 Annual Party Conference.

PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURES

By 31 July, 1968, the National Executive Committee had endorsed 73 candidates, of which 64 have been selected on the responsibility of constituency parties, six are sponsored by trade unions and three by the Co-operative Party.

PARLIAMENTARY BY-ELECTIONS

There have been 15 by-elections during the year. Candidates were endorsed as follows: Mr. G. Scurfield (Cambridge), Mr. E. Deakins (Walthamstow West), Mr. N. Sandelson (Leicester South West), Mr. K. Marks (Manchester Gorton), Mr. A. Wilson (Hamilton), Mr. R. Corbett (West Derbyshire), Mr. C. Bradley (Kensington South), Mr. R. MacFarquhar (Meriden), Mr. R. Carter (Warwick and Leamington), Mr. J. Gilbert (Dudley), Mr. W. Johnson (Acton), Mr. E. Griffiths (Sheffield Brightside), Mr. M. Meacher (Oldham West), Miss B. Boothroyd (Nelson and Colne), and Mr. F. Evans (Caerphilly). Labour held the seats at Manchester Gorton, Sheffield Brightside and Caerphilly. The Conservatives held Warwick and Leamington, West Derbyshire and Kensington South. There were changes in representation at Walthamstow West, where a Labour majority of 8,725 in a three-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 71 per cent poll, was converted to a Conservative majority of 62 in a five-cornered fight on a 54 per cent poll; Cambridge, where a Labour majority of 991 in a four-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on an 80 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 5,978 in a three-cornered fight on a 65.7 per cent poll; Hamilton, where a Labour majority of 16,576 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 73.3 per cent poll, was converted into a Scottish Nationalist majority of 1,799 in a three-cornered fight on a 73.7 per cent poll; Leicester South West, where a Labour majority of 5,554 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 74 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 3,939 in a three-cornered fight on a 57.5 per cent poll; Meriden, where a Labour majority of 4,581 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on an 85.7 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 15,263 in a two-cornered fight on a 66 per cent poll; Acton, where a Labour majority of 4,491 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 74 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 3,720 in a six-cornered fight on a 59.7 per cent poll; Dudley, where a Labour majority of 10,022 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 73.9 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 11,656 in a three-cornered fight on a 63.5 per cent poll; Oldham West, where a Labour majority of 7,572 in a two-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on a 72.4 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 3,311 in a four-cornered fight on a 54.7 per cent poll; and Nelson and Colne, where a Labour majority of 4,577 in a three-cornered fight in the 1966 General Election on an 80.8 per cent poll, was converted into a Conservative majority of 3,522 in a four-cornered fight on a 74.2 per cent poll.

By-elections are pending in Bassetlaw and The New Forest.

ADJUSTMENTS BOARD

The National Executive Committee appointed Mr. F. J. Chapple, Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. J. Gormley and Mr. F. Lane as its representatives on the Board. Mr. J. Gormley was Chairman and Miss S. E. Barker, Secretary. The representatives of the National Union of Labour Organisers were Mr. A. Clare, Mr. J. Cartwright, Mr. F. Hall, Mr. R. Pinfold and Mr. J. Lyon.

Four meetings of the Board have been held during the year. Agreement was reached on a number of matters, including the Holiday Agreement and the recognition of the Union as the sole negotiating body for full-time agents. Agreement was reached on a revised mileage allowance for agents using their own cars on Party work. Agreement has also been reached on a new salary scale, subject to approval being given to the proposed increase by the Department of Employment and Productivity.

AGENTS

The number of full-time agents, city secretaries and assistant agents is 177 as against 199 in July, 1967, and there are two appointments pending.

All seven trainee agents who undertook the twelve months' training course, completed the course in January. They were successful in their final examinations and were awarded Grade 'A' Certificates. All these trainees secured appointments as full-time agents and commenced their duties in February. The National Executive Committee met the full cost of this scheme.

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Arrangements for a further course were postponed pending decisions on a National Agency Service.

In consultation with the National Union of Labour Organisers, the National Executive Committee again arranged a week's refresher course for established agents at Beatrice Webb House in the week commencing 27 July. This was the second successful full week's course. The National Executive Committee met the cost of this course and it also met a substantial part of the cost of a number of regional weekend courses for full-time agents.

POSTAL STUDY COURSES

A new Diploma Postal Study Course for Party workers commenced in February and 237 students nominated by their constituency parties were accepted for the course.

During the past year seven newly appointed full-time agents have enrolled in the Grade A Certificate Course. Eleven agents completed the course and have been awarded their certificates.

Preparations are now in hand for a new Advanced Proficiency Study Course. This course will be restricted to experienced agents who already hold the Grade A Certificate and it is hoped to commence the course later this year.

PUBLICATIONS

For the guidance of local government election agents sets of notes were prepared and circulated. These covered all local government elections in England and Wales. A separate set of notes were prepared and circulated for Scottish local government elections.

The pamphlet *How the Labour Party Works* has been revised and reprinted with an attractive new cover.

The *Labour Organiser* has been published regularly throughout the year. This publication which deals with electoral and organisational matters, is available to Party members only.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

Individual membership in 1967 was 733,932, a reduction of 41,761 compared with 1966. The average membership per constituency was 1,188 as compared with 1,225 in 1966. Forty-two constituencies have memberships in excess of 2,000 and of these eight have more than 3,000 members. Woolwich West continues to have the highest membership at 5,226. Lewisham South still holds second place with 4,590, followed by Woolwich East with 4,086.

HELP TO MARGINAL CONSTITUENCIES

The National Executive Committee has continued to give financial help to certain marginal constituencies towards the cost of maintaining or establishing full-time agencies. Sixty grants, many of them of substantial amounts, are being paid at present and offers of similar assistance have been made to other constituency parties where the appointment of a full-time agency is being considered. Without this financial assistance a number of agencies in key constituencies would have been terminated. The National Executive Committee also has provided financial assistance towards the cost of weekend and day schools for key workers which have been held on a regional basis.

CONFERENCES, MEETINGS, ETC.

During the last twelve months the demand for speakers has continued to be very considerable. Speakers have been supplied to address public meetings, schools, conferences, dinners, University Labour Clubs and to assist Labour candidates in Parliamentary by-elections.

The Prime Minister addressed very successful rallies in Ayr, Bedlington, Birmingham, Cambridge and Newtown and attended equally successful social gatherings of Party workers at Lambeth, Norwich, Portsmouth and Sheffield.

The Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party, the Rt. Hon. George Brown, M.P., attended a number of very successful functions.

A further series of conferences on "The Economic and Social Policies of the Government", commenced in June, 1967, and continued to November, 1967. The venues of the June and July conferences were included in the 1967 Annual Report. The remainder were held at:

Barry, Bideford, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Bradford, Bridgwater, Cardiff, Carmarthen, Castle Bromwich, Colwyn Bay, Crawley, Doncaster, Ealing, Eastbourne, Edinburgh, Edwinstowe, Exeter, Glasgow, Grantham, Halifax, Hartlepool, Holyhead, Huddersfield, Hull, Ipswich, Leicester, Leominster, Liverpool, Llanelli, Ludlow, Manchester, Market Drayton, Matlock, Newcastle, Newport (Shropshire), Newton Abbot, Northampton, Oxted, Peckham, Peterborough, Plymouth, Pontypridd, Ramsgate, Solihull, South Shields, Stafford, Stroud, Surbiton, Swansea, Thaxted, Treherbert, Truro, Watford, Wath-on-Deerne, Weston-super-Mare, Widnes, Wigan, Wimbledon, Workington, Worksop, Wrexham.

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During February and March, 1968, senior and junior Ministers addressed a number of conferences on Local Government. These were held at:

Blackburn, Bridgwater, Bristol, Cambridge, Carlisle, Chesterfield, Crewe, Darlington, Droitwich, Exeter, Gateshead, Glasgow, Gloucester, Ipswich, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Neath, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Rotherham, Stockport, Sunderland, Westminster, Wolverhampton.

In February and March, 1968, the then Minister of Power, the Rt. Hon. Richard Marsh, M.P., addressed a series of regional conferences on Fuel Policy at Barnsley, Bolton, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Newcastle and Nottingham.

PARLIAMENTARY REDISTRIBUTION

The Parliamentary Boundary Commission for England has published further revised and modified proposals in the past twelve months. The present proposals provide for 516 constituencies in England, an increase of five. A further six local inquiries have now been arranged for September and October.

The Scottish Commission has now published proposals for 71 constituencies. There is no change in the total number of constituencies in Scotland. Several local inquiries have been held and some revised proposals have been published. The result of one local inquiry is still awaited.

The Welsh Commission published provisional proposals for 36 constituencies, the same number as exist at the moment. One local inquiry has been held and the result is still awaited.

After each group of proposals there has been consultation between the Commissioners and the officers of the main political parties.

DISPUTES AND ENQUIRIES

Mr. D. Donnelly, M.P.

On 18 January, 1968, Mr. D. Donnelly, M.P., wrote to the Government Chief Whip resigning the Whip. His resignation was accepted and from that date Mr. Donnelly ceased to be a member of the Parliamentary Party.

This matter was reported to the National Executive Committee at its meeting held on 21 February, when it was decided that Mr. Donnelly should be invited to meet the Enquiry Committee of the Organisation Sub-committee.

The Enquiry Committee met Mr. Donnelly on 20 March when he presented a written statement setting out his record and the reasons why he had resigned the Whip.

Mr. Donnelly's attention was drawn to the constitutional undertakings he had given in March, 1966, when re-selected as Labour candidate for the Pembroke Constituency, that if selected he would accept the stipulations relating to candidature as set out in the Party Constitution and Rules.

On 27 March the National Executive Committee considered the report of the Enquiry Committee, and it decided to expel Mr. Donnelly from membership of the Party on the grounds of his failure to adhere to his constitutional obligations to the Labour Party.

Pembroke Constituency Labour Party

When the decision to expel Mr. D. Donnelly, M.P., was conveyed to the Pembroke Constituency Labour Party, the secretary-agent was advised that in view of the constitutional consequences of this decision a senior officer would meet the General Committee of the Pembroke Constituency Labour Party at an early date. Mr. H. R. Underhill, Assistant National Agent, attended the annual meeting of this party on 6 April, 1968. He was permitted to speak at the outset of the meeting. Following Mr. Underhill's statement a resolution was moved calling on the constituency party to continue to act in accordance with its rules and the Party Constitution. This motion was seconded but was never put to the meeting because of circumstances which are at the time of the printing of this Report the subject of an action in the High Court.

Later, after the chairman and some delegates had left the meeting, those who remained purported to carry a resolution by 69 votes for to one against to disaffiliate from the Labour Party. This decision was conveyed by telegram to the General Secretary of the Labour Party.

Because of this action, at its meeting held on 24 April, 1968, the National Executive Committee decided to suspend the activities of the Pembroke Constituency Labour Party, that the officers should have no rights for the time being to handle the funds of the party, that this constituency party be reorganised and that the National Agent be given the authority to take such steps as were necessary to carry out its decisions. Mr. H. R. Underhill carried out the detailed work to effect this reorganisation.

Twenty-six persons who appeared to have played a leading part in the dissident group were sent a letter by registered post informing them of the reorganisation of the constituency party, and stating that before any recommendations could be made to the National Executive Committee about their continued membership, the National Agent wished to have a written undertaking that they would accept and conform to the Constitution, Programme, Principles and Policy of the Labour Party, that they did not belong to, or were actively associated with any proscribed organisation, and that they would co-operate with the National Executive Committee in re-establishing the Constituency Labour Party in accordance with the Constitution and Rules. Only one of these persons gave the required undertaking, and he was re-admitted into membership immediately.

It was reported to the National Executive Committee on 26 June that 25 persons had not given the required undertakings. Therefore, it decided that it would at its July meeting, give consideration to their expulsions, but that in the meantime they should be given an opportunity to give reasons why they should not be expelled, and advised that if they wished to have an oral interview arrangements would be made for them to meet the Enquiry Committee.

Nine persons have intimated their desire for a personal interview with the Committee. These interviews have not yet taken place, owing to the fact that proceedings were being heard in the High Court and the National Executive Committee has not, therefore, reached a final decision as to whether disciplinary action should be taken.

Meetings to re-establish Local Labour Parties have been held in 13 areas, and with the exception of the persons referred to above, every member whose name and address could be traced was invited by post to attend his appropriate local party meeting. Those attending were requested to sign a form reaffirming their acceptance of the conditions of individual membership, and express their willingness to co-operate with the National Executive Committee in re-establishing the local parties.

All these meetings were successful, and the resolutions agreeing to re-establish the local parties were passed unanimously. Each local party elected its officers and appointed its delegates to the General Committee of the Constituency Labour Party. Two women's sections were set up and they also have appointed officers and delegates to the General Committee.

Of the 26 organisations formerly affiliated to the constituency, 16 trade union branches have reaffirmed their affiliation to the reorganised constituency party, and all have appointed delegates to the General Committee.

A meeting to re-establish the Pembroke Constituency Labour Party was held on 22 June, when officers and an executive committee were elected.

The legality of all these actions has been challenged on a number of grounds in the High Court and at the time of the printing of this Report judgment has been reserved on a number of motions. It should be delivered before the Annual Conference commences, when a further oral report will be given.

WOMEN'S ORGANISATION

National Labour Women's Advisory Committee (1968-69): Miss A. Bacon, M.P., Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P., Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Miss J. Lee, M.P., Miss J. Lestor, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P. (National Executive Committee); Mrs. N. Higgins, Mrs. E. King (Northern); Mrs. B. Meeson, Mrs. A. Taylor (North Western); Mrs. J. B. Gould, Miss V. Satterthwaite (Yorkshire); Mrs. J. C. Cooksley, Miss P. H. Pease (Southern); Mrs. M. Miller, Mrs. V. Secker (London); Mrs. E. Baker, Mrs. S. M. Sewell (South Western); Mrs. L. Williams, Mrs. D. Young (Eastern); Mrs. B. Davies, Mrs. E. M. C. Davies (Wales); Mrs. J. Brownlie, Mrs. A. Mackie (Scotland); Mrs. M. Foulds, Mrs. P. Stedman (East Midlands); Mrs. V. Fletcher, Mrs. I. Jones (West Midlands); and the Chief Woman Officer and Assistant National Agent, Miss Betty Lockwood (*Secretary*).

Recognising the difficulties of the political situation the Committee called upon the Women's Organisations to make known the achievements of the Government through an intensive education programme and special efforts to enrol new women members.

Together with the National Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations, the Committee celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Women's Franchise with a meeting in Congress House addressed by the Prime Minister and several women who had the honour to be "first" in a particular field. This was combined with a week's exhibition on the theme *Working Women in Public Life*. Labour Women's organisations throughout the country were asked also to arrange special activities to celebrate this event and to use the anniversary as a means of increasing interest in politics.

The study theme for the year was "Discrimination Against Women", and after a discussion paper and questionnaire had been sent to women's sections a report was published which was widely distributed and received good press coverage.

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The Committee is represented on the Mary Macarthur Holiday Homes Management Committee, and through its Memorial Fund continues to provide holidays at the Littlehampton Home for women's section members.

The number of women's sections in the country is 1,416 and 166 women's central committees and federations. Their activities have included campaigns, training schools and conferences as well as social and cultural activities organised to attract new members.

Increasing emphasis is being placed on the co-ordination of activities within the constituencies. Nevertheless 62 area women's advisory councils still function and have been responsible for the organisation of some 140 activities of an educational and training nature. In addition seven regional rallies and conferences and 15 residential schools have been held. Informal organisations such as lunch and supper clubs are continuing to function and every encouragement is being given to extend their numbers.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The Forty-fifth Annual Conference of Labour Women was held at Llandudno on 2-4 April, 1968. Mrs. Doreen Bellerby, Chairman of the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee, presided.

Four hundred and twenty-eight delegates attended from women's sections and affiliated organisations together with 400 visitors. Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., Chairman of the National Executive Committee, addressed the Conference and Mr. Anthony Greenwood, M.P., and Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., addressed the conference demonstration.

The agenda consisted of the Chief Woman Officer's Annual Report and 101 resolutions. The report on *Discrimination Against Women* was also presented to the conference. The private session was addressed by the Chief Woman Officer and discussed administrative resolutions. A presentation on behalf of the women's organisations was made by the Chairman to Mrs. Constance Kay, the former Chief Woman Officer.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Miss B. Lockwood served as a member of the Working Committee of the International Council of Social Democratic Women and attended meetings held in Zurich and Bonn. The Committee was represented by Mrs. D. Bellerby at the Study Conference in Vienna and by Mrs. A. Taylor at the special Human Rights Year Conference in Israel. The Committee has again donated £100 to the Fund for International Co-operation set up by the International Council of Social Democratic Women and £25 towards the establishment of a nursery school in Swaziland.

LABOUR WOMAN

With the exception of the month of August *Labour Woman* has been issued monthly. The circulation is approximately 10,000 copies per month.

NATIONAL JOINT COMMITTEE

The Labour Party representatives on the National Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations are Miss A. Bacon, M.P., Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P., Miss M. Herbison, M.P. (National Executive Committee), Mrs. B. Davies, Mrs. M. Miller, Mrs. S. M. Sewell, Mrs. P. Stedman and Mrs. A. Taylor. Mrs. M. Miller is the Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee has been represented on the United Kingdom Committee for Human Rights Year and has co-operated in its activities. It has made nominations for vacancies on the Minister of Transport's Area Transport Users' Consultative Committees, the Gas and Electricity Consultative District Committees and Hospital Management Committees. It has continued its interest in the provision of play facilities and was represented on the Pre-School Child Enquiry Working Party responsible for the 0-5 Report.

Representation was made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the importance of having women members on the Decimal Currency Board and to the Home Secretary asking for a review of the system of payments to and disbursement from Court Collecting Officers. Evidence was sent to the Law Commission in connection with the review of Family Law.

YOUTH ORGANISATION

National Committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists (1968-69): Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., and Miss J. Lestor, M.P. (National Executive Committee); Mr. D. Collins (Southern), Mr. D. Craven (Greater London), Mr. D. Dick (Scotland), Mr. J. Ewers (South West), Mr. M. Fletcher (Eastern), Mr. C. Gilleard (North East), Mrs. E. Keenan (Northern), Mr. T. Keene (West Midlands), Mr. R. Mayhew (East Midlands), Mr. C. Shakesheff (Wales)

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and Mr. R. Scott (North West) and the Assistant National Agent, Mr. H. R. Underhill (Secretary), Mr. D. Collins was elected Chairman and Mr. C. Gilleard, Vice-Chairman.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS' ORGANISATION

There are now 533 branches. Many branches were active in the local election campaign, some were given responsibility for the election organisation of entire areas. A number of Young Socialists were candidates and many others have been appointed to offices in ward committees and constituency and local parties.

Youth Officers have been appointed by 402 constituency and local parties. A copy of the *Guide for Youth Officers* is supplied free to each officer on appointment.

The National Committee has continued to carry out its work in a constructive manner and its many recommendations were given full consideration by the National Executive Committee. It was agreed that the committee should meet six times a year. The Chairman of the National Committee served on the Youth Sub-committee. The National Executive Committee decided that he be given the right to vote and that should he be unable to attend any meeting, the Vice-Chairman should take his place.

The National Committee carried out a review of the organisation and structure of the Labour Party Young Socialists. Its report was given unanimous approval by the Young Socialists' National Conference and was passed to the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation to assist it in reviewing the Party's youth organisation.

The National Committee took the initiative in launching an all-party Youth Campaign Against World Poverty. Branches were also urged to conduct a campaign on Rhodesia, for which a special leaflet was published.

Branches were encouraged to carry out local surveys and establish study groups, suggested subjects were Youth and leisure facilities, Apprenticeships and conditions of young workers, Youth and drugs, Overseas Aid and Discrimination against women.

EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Activities during the year included a one-week residential school at Ruskin College, Oxford. A number of area and regional schools, conferences and other activities were arranged by regional committees.

Fifteen regional weekend schools were arranged at which 597 places were subsidised by the National Executive Committee.

The final of the 1967 National Public Speaking Contest held in Bradford on 21 October was won by the Welsh region (Caernarvon and District), with Scotland (Inverness) second and West Midlands (Birmingham, Sparkbrook) third. The winning team received the Co-operative Press Challenge Trophy. Medals and prizes for the three winning teams and the individual winners were presented by the National Executive Committee. The final of the 1968 contest will be held in Manchester on 19 October.

The Brierley Hill and Hove and Portslade branches were selected as the two branches which made the best progress during 1967. Each branch has been invited to select a member to attend the 1968 Annual Party Conference as a guest of the National Executive Committee.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Seventh National Conference was held in the Wellington Pier Pavilion, Great Yarmouth, on 13-15 April, 1968, and was attended by 187 delegates. Four hundred and twenty visitors' credentials were issued. Mr. D. Collins presided.

The documents *The Aftermath of Colonialism in Africa* and *The Social Services 1968* were presented for discussion by the National Executive Committee. The Agenda included 111 resolutions submitted by branches. Decisions were taken on *The Aftermath of Colonialism in Africa*, Rhodesia and South Africa, Overseas Aid, Government and Public Relations, Economic Policy, Unemployment, The Social Services, Education, Enquiry into Organisation and Structure, Regional Youth Officers, The Young Chronic Sick, Extremist Elements, Trade Unions, Vietnam, Foreign Policy and Defence, Housing and The Building Industry.

Speakers selected by the National Executive Committee to introduce the two discussion documents were Mr. M. Foley, M.P., and Mr. T. Pitt.

PUBLICATIONS

The National Executive Committee decided that another Young Socialists' journal be published for a trial period and that an editorial board and an editor be appointed by the National Committee. Technical assistance is being given by the Press and Publicity Department, but the

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editorial board will be responsible for the contents of the paper which will carry the imprint of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

Many Young Socialist membership leaflets, posters, badges and other items of publicity have been sold, as well as supplies of the Guide, *How, When and Why*.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Labour Party Young Socialists continued affiliation with the International Union of Socialist Youth, and was represented at a meeting of the I.U.S.Y. Executive Committee held at Amsterdam on 25-26 July by Mr. D. Collins and Mr. D. Dick. Representatives also attended I.U.S.Y. seminars held at Strasbourg, 1-9 April, and Wurzburg, Germany, 6-9 June.

Seventeen members attended the I.U.S.Y. International Camp held at Vierhouten, Holland, 22 July-2 August.

Branches were invited to contribute to a fund to aid Greek democrats which was opened with a grant from the National Executive Committee.

STUDENT ORGANISATION

Consideration was given to a request from the National Association of Labour Student Organisations for discussions to be re-opened with the National Executive Committee. In light of most unsatisfactory correspondence with N.A.L.S.O. and the nature of the association's activities and declarations, it was decided that no further action be taken.

Student Labour Organisations in universities and colleges have been given assistance with literature, posters, speakers and in other ways. Recognition and help have been given to regional organisations set up by the clubs in a number of areas.

COMPARATIVE VOTING—GENERAL AND BY-ELECTIONS
 A comparative Statement of the Votes recorded by the various Parties in the
 same constituencies at By-Elections and at the 1966 General Election

Constituency	GENERAL ELECTION, 31 MARCH, 1966					Date	BY-ELECTIONS				
	Lab.	Con.	Lib.	Others	Lab.		Con.	Lib.	Others		
Walthamstow West ..	14,665	5,940	3,370	—	—	21.9.67	6,590	6,652	4,105	542 (Ind.)	
Cambridge	21,963	20,972	4,928	439 (Ind.)	—	21.9.67	14,510	20,488	4,701	63 (Ind.)	
Leicester South West ..	18,822	13,268	—	—	—	2.11.67	8,958	12,897	3,125	—	
Manchester Gorton ..	24,726	16,418	—	—	—	2.11.67	19,259	18,682	2,471	1,123 (Ind.)	
Hamilton	27,865	11,289	—	—	—	2.11.67	16,598	4,986	—	437 (Comm.)	
West Derbyshire ..	13,791	18,383	4,874	—	—	23.11.67	5,284	16,319	5,696	18,397 (Sc. Nat.)	
Kensington South ..	6,419	21,050	4,871	—	—	14.3.68	1,874	16,489	2,742	1,496 (Ind.)	
Acton	18,541	13,600	—	—	—	28.3.68	8,522	12,242	2,868	675 (Ind.)	
Dudley	22,671	22,671	—	—	—	28.3.68	16,360	28,016	3,809	59 (Ind.)	
Meriden	33,831	29,250	—	—	—	28.3.68	18,081	33,344	—	1,400 (Ind.)	
Warwick and Leamington	20,221	28,918	6,912	—	—	28.3.68	6,992	28,914	6,415	75 (Ind.)	
Oldham West ..	20,648	13,076	—	—	—	13.6.68	8,593	11,904	1,707	44 (Ind.)	
Sheffield Brightside ..	26,653	7,476	—	989 (Comm.)	—	13.6.68	14,179	8,931	—	3,389 (Ind.)	
Nelson and Colne ..	18,406	13,829	—	5,117 (Ind.)	—	27.6.68	12,944	16,466	3,016	1,069 (Comm.)	
Caerphilly ..	26,330	5,182	—	3,949 (Wel. Nat.)	—	18.7.68	16,148	3,687	1,257	918 (Ind.)	
										586 (Ind.)	
										1,255 (Ind.)	
										14,274 (Wel. Nat.)	

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REGIONAL COUNCILS

NORTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting was held at Gateshead on 11 May, 1968, and was attended by 274 delegates. Councillor A. McAndrews presided. The National Executive Committee was represented by Miss A. Bacon, M.P., and Miss S. E. Barker, National Agent.

Officers for the current year are: *Chairman*: Ald. A. Cunningham; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. R. Scott-Batey; *Treasurer*: Mr. C. Gray; *Secretary*: Mr. R. Evers.

Affiliated membership for the year was 445,000 and individual membership totalled 38,169. The regional membership shield, presented for the most encouraging work in membership, was won by Chester-Le-Street Constituency Labour Party.

Several area conferences were addressed by Ministers on policies of the Labour Government. Conferences on local government policy and on local election preparations were addressed by Ministers and the National Agent.

The women's organisations continued their educational work by means of rallies, conferences and schools. These were well attended and most enthusiastic.

Mr. R. Hattersley, M.P., addressed a rally of Young Socialist members. Delegates from constituency parties, local parties and trade unions were present.

The 1968 local government elections showed a net loss of 40 seats.

The excellent relationship existing between the Party and the Northern Parliamentary Group was continued.

A copy of the Northern Regional Council Annual Report can be obtained from the Regional Office, 31 Acorn Road, Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 2DJ (price 1s. 6d. by post).

NORTH-WEST REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting was held at Blackpool on 23-24 March, 1968, and was attended by 414 delegates. Ald. Sir George Eddie presided and at the conclusion of the conference he was the recipient of a presentation marking his retirement from the Council after 29 years' continuous service. Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., represented the National Executive Committee.

Officers for the current year are: *Chairman*: Mr. A. E. Fitch, M.P.; *Vice-Chairman*: Cllr. J. H. Wall; *Treasurer*: Ald. G. E. Cooper, J.P.; *Secretary*: Mr. P. M. Carmody.

Membership for the year totalled 1,017,000, consisting of 920,000 affiliated members and 97,000 individual members.

In spite of a very vigorous campaign, we suffered a net loss of 186 seats in the borough and district council elections.

A number of very successful schools were held during the year, including one full week's summer school at Buxton. A series of policy conferences were held, dealing with the economic policies of the Labour Government. Conferences were also held in relation to the local elections.

Two weekend schools and a number of day-schools and several half-day schools were held for Young Socialists. The Regional Youth Officers assisted in organising area functions for the 56 branches which are now functioning. The annual meeting was held in Manchester on 9 March, 1968. The Regional Youth Sub-Committee meets regularly.

Women's sections continue to play an important role in the Party's work. A full programme of speakers forums, weekend and day-schools was carried out during the course of the year.

Full particulars of the work of the Regional Council can be found in its Annual Report, copies of which can be obtained from the Regional Office, 15 Cooper Street, Manchester 2 (price 2s. 6d. by post).

NORTH-EAST REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting was held at Leeds on 2 March, 1968, when Mr. G. W. Young presided over 282 delegates. Mrs. E. White, M.P., and Miss S. E. Barker, National Agent, represented the National Executive Committee.

The officers for 1968-69 are: *Chairman*: Mrs. V. Thompson, C.C.; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. G. Fellows; *Treasurer*: Mr. W. Window; *Secretary*: Mr. H. Sims.

The affiliated membership for the year was 581,000 and the individual membership 52,169. The regional membership shield and the women's membership trophy were awarded to the Colne Valley Constituency Labour Party.

Fourteen conferences on the policies of the Labour Government were held. The Prime Minister addressed a May Day Rally in the Leeds Town Hall on 7 May, 1967. The Women's Rally was held at Bradford when the speakers were Mr. J. Diamond, M.P., and Mrs. J. Hart, M.P.

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The 1968 local government election returns showed a net loss of 127 seats. Control of the Council was lost in Sheffield and Spensborough. Following ward boundary changes in Leeds, Bradford and Hull, local government general elections took place.

There are 43 Young Socialists' branches. A successful Young Socialists' Rally was held at Bradford on 21 October, when over 300 young people celebrated and danced to music kindly provided by the Musicians' Union. A school on Industrial Democracy was held during the weekend 28-29 October, 1967.

A copy of the Council's Annual Report can be obtained from the Regional Office, 13 Queen Square, Leeds, 2 (price 2s. by post).

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-second Annual Meeting was held at Congress Hall, London, on 6 April, 1968. Mr. T. J. Marsh, C.C., presided, and the National Executive Committee was represented by Mr. G. Brown, M.P.

Officers for the current year are: *Chairman*: Mr. T. J. Marsh, C.C.; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. R. Boardman, J.P.; *Treasurer*: Mr. H. E. C. Webb; *Secretary*: Mr. R. G. Hayward.

The ninth regional annual meeting of the Young Socialists was held in London in July, 1968. It was reported that there were 78 branches and 50 youth officers in the region.

The women's organisation continues to be very active with 151 women's sections and 25 women's constituency central committees and advisory councils.

The annual county rallies of our women members were most successful. The Kent Women's Rally was addressed by Mrs. Mary Wilson, wife of the Prime Minister.

The region was sorry to lose the services of Miss Ivy Sampson, the Regional Women's Officer, who retired through ill-health, and a cheque for £200, which had been donated by constituency parties and women's sections, was presented to her. Miss Kathleen Butler was appointed by the National Executive Committee to succeed Miss Sampson.

In the local elections, the region suffered a net loss of 83 seats.

The annual conference of local government representatives was held in February, 1968, at Church House, Westminster.

A one-day conference was held at Caxton Hall, S.W.1, in November, 1967, on the South-East Study Report, the speaker being Professor Colin Buchanan.

A series of conferences addressed by Ministers have been held on the policies of the Labour Government.

The ninth reunion dinner was held in February, 1968. The guests of honour were the Prime Minister and Mrs. Wilson and Mr. W. Simpson, General Secretary of the Foundry Worker's Union, and Mrs. Simpson.

Schools and conferences have been held for the Young Socialists, full-time agents and other key workers.

A reception for key workers in Hampshire was held in November at Southsea, to meet the Prime Minister and Mrs. Wilson. Five hundred Party workers attended.

Individual membership for the year was 103,875, and the affiliated and trade union membership was 515,000, giving a total of individual and affiliated membership of 618,875.

Copies of the Annual Report giving full particulars of the work of the Regional Council may be obtained from the Regional Office, Wilbour House, 121 Main Road, Sidcup, Kent (price 2s. by post).

LONDON LABOUR PARTY

The Fifty-fourth Annual Conference was held at Camden Town Hall on 30 March, 1968. Mr. R. J. Mellish, M.P., presided and some 600 delegates and ex-officio members attended. Officers for 1968 are: *Chairman*: Mr. R. J. Mellish, M.P.; *Treasurer*: Mr. V. Feather; *Secretary*: Mr. E. P. Bell.

The affiliated membership for 1967 was 406,219.

The establishment of the Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party will bring to a close, after 54 years, the life of the London Labour Party. The Labour Movement in London has been well served by the London Labour Party during this long period and the work of many comrades who built and maintained the organisations is remembered with gratitude.

During 1967-68 two conferences for full-time agents, a day school for political education officers, a seminar on Industrial Democracy and three one-day schools on municipal organisation have been held.

The Prime Minister attended a reception in Lambeth in February. A number of conferences on Government policy have taken place in the House of Commons and in area venues.

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The London Women's annual conference was very successful and the Advisory Committee has organised the annual reception, the handicrafts exhibition and a weekend school, all of which were well supported.

The Young Socialists Regional Conference and the speaking contest were successfully organised by the Regional Committee.

The Party lost control of 17 London boroughs at the May, 1968, London Borough Elections.

During the year much effort has been given to opposing the Conservative Greater London Council rent increases and the Party has been greatly concerned at the effects of the movement of population and industry out of London and the consequent loss of industrial employment.

SOUTH-WESTERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-first Annual Meeting was held at Taunton on 16 March, 1968. Cllr. R. Morris presided. One hundred and eighty-three delegates were present, representing an affiliated membership of 287,000 and an individual membership of 45,540. The National Executive Committee was represented by Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., and Miss B. Lockwood, Assistant National Agent and Chief Woman Officer. Officers for the current year are: *Chairman*: Mr. W. England; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. L. Gray; *Treasurer*: Mr. E. A. Brown, J.P.; *Secretary*: Mr. A. M. Mason.

The regional membership trophies were awarded to Yeovil Constituency Labour Party, Street Local Labour Party, Paignton Women's Section and Bideford Labour Party Young Socialists.

Two very successful residential conferences were held during the year at Weston-super-Mare and a series of policy conferences on the work of the Labour Government were held throughout the Region. In September the Prime Minister and Mrs. Wilson attended an informal reception of Party workers from the constituencies in Wiltshire.

Women's Organisation has been maintained and educational work included two weekend schools, day schools and discussion groups. Much effort has been put into achieving greater co-operation between women in the Labour, Co-operative and Trade Union Movements.

The Regional Annual Meeting of the Labour Party Young Socialists was held on 24 February at Bristol. Mr. M. Rees, M.P., was the guest speaker. Weekend schools, day schools and rallies were organised throughout the Region. Mr. S. Ward was the guest of the National Executive Committee at last year's Annual Conference in recognition of the work undertaken by the Exeter Labour Party Young Socialists branch.

In the local government elections this year the Region showed a net loss of 40 seats.

Copies of the Annual Report can be obtained from the Regional Office, 26 Regent Street, Clifton, Bristol, BS8 4HN (2s. by post).

EASTERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-first Annual Meeting was held at Norwich on 15 June, 1968, when 88 affiliated organisations appointed 217 delegates to attend.

Mr. W. J. Bird presided. Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., and Miss S. E. Barker, National Agent, represented the National Executive Committee.

Officers of the Regional Council are: *Chairman*: Mr. W. J. Bird; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. J. Punshon; *Treasurer*: Mr. J. Cook; *Secretary*: Mr. D. Garnett.

Although individual membership declined during the year by 6,298 to 82,439, trade union affiliations went up by 46,000 to a record 336,000. Maldon Constituency Labour Party was awarded the membership shield for increasing its membership by 148 to 2,280, representing 10.3 per cent of the Labour vote.

In the 1968 local elections, including triennial elections in five London boroughs, there were net losses of 166 seats. Control was lost in Waltham Forest, Beccles, Canvey Island, Norwich and Witham.

Eighteen successful conferences on the policies of the Labour Government were addressed by Ministers during the year. Mr. R. Mellish, M.P., and Mrs. S. Williams, M.P., lectured on Housing and Education at a regional weekend school at Ipswich in December. Twenty full-time agents were brought together for a residential school on organisation at Clacton.

The highlights of the year were the two visits paid by the Prime Minister when he addressed capacity audiences at the regional rally at Cambridge and a workers' reception at Norwich.

Time has been devoted to strengthening the links with the Trade Union movement and a successful conference of 60 full-time trade union officers was addressed by Mr. P. Shore, M.P.

Suffolk parties held a successful Labour Week incorporating a photographic and art exhibition, car treasure hunt, a constituency quiz, handicraft display, talent contest, women's

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franchise celebrations and a gala festival. Norfolk is to stage a propaganda week in October.

The women's movement has continued to play a full part in the region's work. Women's sections arranged special functions in connection with Human Rights Year and celebrated at special functions the Fiftieth Anniversary of Women's Franchise.

The Young Socialists organisation has been maintained and there are 55 functioning branches. Weekend and day schools, the Young Socialists Speaking Contest and quiz competitions have brought members together and kept up interest within the region.

Copies of the Annual Report can be obtained from the Regional Office, First Floor, 35 Lower Brook Street, Ipswich (price 2s. by post).

EAST MIDLANDS REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Regional Council was held in Lincoln on Saturday, 15 June. The National Executive Committee was represented by Miss J. Lee, M.P., and Mr. H. R. Underhill, Assistant National Agent.

Officers for the current year are as follows: *Chairman*: Mr. D. J. Robertson; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. C. Adolphe; *Treasurer*: Mr. J. C. Booter; *Secretary*: Mr. J. Cattermole.

At the local government elections there was a net loss of 64 seats, but this figure takes no account of losses in Nottingham, Derby and Lincoln, where ward reorganisation took place. Labour lost control of Derby, Grimsby and Grantham, and we do not now control any county borough in the region.

Individual membership fell by 1,878 and only eight constituencies in the region have more than the minimum membership of 1,000.

Two weekend conferences were held during the year, one on Comprehensive Education and one on the Economic Policy of the Government. A residential conference was held for key workers in constituencies without full-time agents, in addition to a conference for full-time agents. Both these conferences dealt with Party Organisation.

Owing to a lack of response, we have only been able to hold one youth conference during the year, in addition to the regional Quiz Competition, which was won by Derby Young Socialists.

The Regional Women's Rally is to be held in Nottingham on Saturday, 12 October, and will be one of a series of events to mark the fiftieth anniversary of women securing the vote. Twenty-four educational conferences have been held with an attendance of 960, in addition to 25 business conferences, two day schools, three half-day schools and one weekend school.

Mrs. P. Stedman and Mrs. M. Foulds continue to represent the East Midlands on the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee.

Full details of the work of the Regional Council can be found in the Annual Report, copies of which can be obtained from the Regional Office, 542 Woodborough Road, Nottingham (price 2s.).

WEST MIDLANDS REGIONAL COUNCIL

The Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting was held at Wolverhampton on 9 June, 1968, with Mr. A. Garner presiding. Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., and Miss B. Lockwood, Assistant National Agent, represented the National Executive Committee.

Officers for the current year are: *Chairman*: Mr. J. Garwell; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. A. Pratt; *Treasurer*: Mr. S. Watts; *Secretary*: Mr. R. Chamberlain.

Total affiliated membership from trade union, socialist society and co-operative organisations was 578,000, an increase of 56,000.

The Prime Minister addressed the May Day Rally in Birmingham Town Hall organised in co-operation with the Birmingham Borough Labour Party.

A series of 19 policy conferences were held with members of the Government as speakers. Regional conferences were arranged on Passenger Transport Authorities and on Regional Government.

Two residential weekend schools were held on Party Organisation and a residential weekend school for full-time agents was arranged jointly with the East Midlands.

Substantial losses were suffered in the local government elections with a net loss of 94 seats in the region's organising area. Control was lost in Dudley county borough, Shrewsbury and Newcastle-under-Lyme boroughs and Atherstone rural district council. Control was gained of Tamworth borough.

The twenty-third Regional Rally of Labour Women will take place at Trentham Gardens, Stoke-on-Trent, on Monday, 9 September, 1968, with Mrs. J. Hart, M.P., as the main speaker.

A special event was organised at Bromsgrove on 24 May to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of women's franchise.

N.E.C. REPORT: PARTY ORGANISATION

The regional annual meeting of the Labour Party Young Socialists was held on 28 April. Officers of the Regional Committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists are: *Chairman*: Mr. D. Goodall; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. W. Laws.

A high level of activities has been maintained including an annual camp, a series of day conferences, a five-a-side football competition and a regional quiz. Three residential weekend schools have been held. In July a group of Labour Party Young Socialists visited West Germany as guests of the West German Young Socialists.

Copies of the Annual Report can be obtained from the Regional Office, Rooms 13-15, Swan Buildings, 113 Edmund Street, Birmingham, 3.

SCOTTISH COUNCIL

The Fifty-third Annual Conference was held at Ayr on 22-24 March, 1968. Mr. A. Bell presided. Miss S. E. Barker represented the National Executive Committee. Fraternal delegates from the Scottish Trades Union Congress and the Co-operative Party Scottish Committee presented fraternal greetings. Three hundred and thirty-nine delegates attended.

Trade union affiliated membership rose to 598,813. Individual membership for 1967 was 75,326. The Individual Membership Shield was awarded to Ayr Constituency Labour Party.

A feature of the conference weekend was the rally held in the Dam Park Pavilion, Ayr, which was addressed by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Scotland. Some 1,400 persons were present.

The following important statement, recommended by the Scottish Executive Committee, was accepted virtually unanimously by conference:

"The Executive Committee rejects the idea of total separation from the United Kingdom. We emphasise that any scheme for the reorganisation of Government or Parliament must safeguard the economic and social well-being of the Scottish people.

The Executive Committee welcomes the continuing reconstruction of the Scottish economy; the firm establishment of the Scottish Economic Planning machinery including the Economic Consultative Groups covering the North East, Tayside, the Borders and the South West; the constitution of the Highlands and Islands Development Board with its own consultative council; the increased democratic participation in the publicly owned industries resulting in more Scottish control in important fields.

The Executive Committee recognises the vigorous action which the Labour Government has taken in Scotland with respect to housing, health and education.

The Executive Committee, however, realises that a great deal has still to be done in these spheres, and that in particular, Parliament is overworked.

The Executive Committee looks forward to further improvement in the internal government of Scotland with the publication later this year of the Report of the Royal Commission on Scottish Local Government.

Arrangements have been made between the Scottish Executive Committee and the Scottish Parliamentary Group to continue on their detailed discussions in order to achieve the maximum possible self-government for Scotland consistent with full membership in the United Kingdom Parliament."

In the local elections of 1968 Labour placed 366 candidates in 78 burghs. The total number elected was 138. Control was lost in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Losses showed 59 to Scottish Nationalist Party, five to Progressives, five to Ratepayers, three to Conservatives, two to Moderates, two to Liberals, one to Communists and 13 to Independents. There were eight gains.

Since the last report, one Parliamentary by-election took place in Hamilton where Labour lost the seat to the Scottish Nationalists.

A large number of conferences and weekend schools were held on a wide variety of subjects, including a special Highland Constituencies' Conference in Inverness on the main subject of Transport.

Copies of the Annual Report are available from the Labour Party, Scottish Council, 8 Royal Crescent, Glasgow, C.3. (Price 4s. by post.)

WELSH COUNCIL OF LABOUR

The Thirty-first Annual Meeting was held at Llandudno on 25 May, 1968. The National Executive Committee was represented by Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P., and Miss S. E. Barker, National Agent and Acting General Secretary.

Mr. George Thomas, M.P., Secretary of State for Wales, replied to the discussion on Employment.

N.E.C. REPORT: PARTY ORGANISATION

Mrs. E. White, M.P., Minister of State for Wales, made a presentation to Miss Barker on behalf of the Welsh Council of Labour and expressed thanks to her for the interest she had shown in Wales over many years and the help she had given to the Movement in Wales.

The officers for 1968 are: *Chairman*: Ald. H. J. B. Watkins; *Vice-Chairman*: Mr. G. Williams; *Treasurer*: Mr. K. J. Griffin; *Secretary*: Mr. J. E. Jones.

The affiliated membership for 1967 was 436,150. Individual membership showed a slight decrease but the amount collected in individual membership again showed a marked improvement.

At the 1968 local elections 125 Labour candidates were elected. There was a net loss of 33 seats.

There was an intensive programme of conferences on the "Policies of the Labour Government" held throughout Wales on an area and constituency basis.

The Prime Minister and Mr. G. Thomas, M.P., Secretary of State for Wales, spoke at the All-Wales Rally in July.

The Annual Conference of the Young Socialists was held in February at Aberystwyth when Mr. G. Buckland was elected as Chairman and Mr. C. Shakesheff as representative to the National Committee. Day schools and weekend schools for Young Socialists were held in North and South Wales.

Over 400 women members attended the annual South Wales conference at Aberavon. Nineteen full-time students attended the annual summer school at Barry.

OVERSEAS DEPARTMENT

Secretary: GWYN MORGAN

Overseas Sub-committee (1967-68): Mr. W. E. Padley, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. J. Gormley, Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Mr. F. Lane, Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., Miss J. Lestor, M.P., Mr. F. W. Mulley, M.P., Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P.; Mr. G. F. Smith and Mr. J. A. Hargreaves (representing the Trades Union Congress); Mr. G. Morgan (*Secretary*).

SUB-COMMITTEES AND REPRESENTATIVES

Socialist International: The Prime Minister and Leader of the Party, Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., continued to hold the post of Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International. The National Executive Committee nominated the following to represent the Labour Party on the Bureau of the Socialist International: Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Mr. W. E. Padley, M.P., Mr. A. L. Williams and Mr. G. Morgan. The National Executive Committee also nominated Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. F. Mulley, M.P., and Mrs. E. White, M.P. as alternative representatives to the Bureau.

International Council of Social Democratic Women: Miss Betty Lockwood, Chief Woman Officer, was the Party's representative on the Working Committee of the International Council of Social Democratic Women.

British Overseas Socialist Fellowship: Miss J. Lee, M.P., and Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., were nominated to represent the Party on the Council of the British Overseas Socialist Fellowship.

T.U.C. Commonwealth Advisory Committee: Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., and Mr. M. Christie served as Labour Party representatives on the Trades Union Congress Commonwealth Advisory Committee.

London Standing Conference on Overseas Students: Mr. G. Morgan represented the Labour Party.

U.K. Committee for U.N.I.C.E.F.: Mr. G. Morgan served as the representative of the Party on this Committee.

DELEGATIONS

The Labour Party was represented at a number of international conferences and congresses of fraternal parties in the course of the last year. In addition a number of study tours were undertaken and a major Party delegation was sent to Romania. Major aspects of the year's activities are as follows:

10th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party (P.S.O.E.): Toulouse, 12-15 August, 1967; Mr. A. L. Williams and Mr. G. Morgan.

Socialist International Council Conference: Zurich, 10-14 October, 1967; Mr. W. E. Padley, M.P., Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. J. Gormley, Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Mr. A. L. Williams and Mr. G. Morgan.

Annual Conference of the Irish Labour Party: Dublin, 13-15 October, 1967; Miss M. Herbison, M.P.

I.C.S.D.W. Study Week: Vienna, 14-22 October, 1967; Mrs. D. Bellerby.

11th Congress of the Dutch Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid): Amsterdam, 23-25 November, 1967; Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P.

Socialist International Leaders' Conference: Chequers, 9 December, 1967; Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. A. L. Williams accompanied by Mr. G. Morgan.

Conference of Socialist Parties in Member Countries of N.A.T.O.: Amsterdam, 26 February, 1968; Mr. F. Mulley, M.P. accompanied by Mr. T. McNally.

Congress of the German Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.): Nuremberg, 17-21 March, 1968; Mr. J. Chalmers, accompanied by Mr. T. McNally.

I.C.S.D.W. Conference on Human Rights: Beit Berl, Israel, 21-30 April, 1968; Mrs. Agnes Taylor.

23rd Congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party: Stockholm, 9-15 June, 1968; Mr. F. Mulley, M.P., and Mr. G. Morgan.

Congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party: Basle, 15-17 June, 1968; Mr. G. Morgan.

Labour Party Delegation to Romania: 23-31 May, 1968. At the invitation of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries the following delegation visited Romania between 23-31 May, 1968: Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. J. Gormley, Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Mr. F. Lane and Mr. G. Morgan. The delegation was received by Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Romanian Council of State, and by other leading members of the Romanian Government and of the Grand National Assembly. The leader of the delegation and Chairman of the Labour Party, Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., on behalf of the National Executive Committee, invited the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations to send a return delegation to Britain in the late spring or early summer of 1969.

Trafalgar Square Rally to mark the first anniversary of the overthrow of democracy in Greece: 21 April, 1968. Miss J. Lestor, M.P., spoke at this rally on behalf of the National Executive Committee. The rally was organised by the Greek Committee Against Dictatorship.

Members of the Overseas Department staff continue to service Parliamentary Labour Party delegations to the Council of Europe, Western European Union and N.A.T.O. Parliamentarians' Conference:

Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe: Strasbourg; Mr. T. McNally accompanied the delegation to the Assembly at its sessions of 21-28 September, 1967, and 29 January-2 February, 1968.

Assembly of Western European Union: Paris; at the session held 4-7 December, 1967, the delegation was accompanied by Mr. G. Robinson.

N.A.T.O. Parliamentarians' Conference: Brussels; the delegation to the meeting on 20-25 November, 1967, was accompanied by Mr. G. Robinson.

OTHER VISITS

Mr. A. L. Williams visited Bonn and Berlin between 3 and 6 July, 1967, at the invitation of the German Social Democratic Party.

In late August and September Mr. G. Morgan, the Overseas Secretary, visited East Africa. After a brief visit to Kenya his itinerary included Mauritius at the invitation of the Mauritius Labour Party and the Malagasy Republic where he was received by the Social Democratic Party of Madagascar. In March, 1968, he attended the Independence Celebrations in Mauritius.

On 6-7 November, 1967, Mr. T. McNally made a study visit to the headquarters of the European Economic Community in Brussels. On 11-13 June, 1968, Mr. R. Balcomb participated in a study visit to the European Commission in Brussels. These visits were organised by the London office of the European Communities Press and Information Service.

VISITORS

The reception of many visitors from all parts of the world is a major aspect of the department's work. Useful and rewarding personal contact is established in discussions with members of fraternal parties and with visitors sponsored by the Central Office of Information, the Foreign Office, the British Council and other organisations. Information on the work of the Party was given during the year to several groups of foreign students who visited Transport House during educational tour programmes.

The Overseas Department arranged programmes for a number of distinguished visitors during the past year, including:

Mr. Norman Kirk (Leader of the New Zealand Labour Party), Senator Lionel Murphy (Leader of the Opposition in the Australian Federal Senate), Senator Hugo Miranda (President of the Radical Party of Chile), M. Daniel Raheisoanjato (senior officer of the Social Democratic Party of Madagascar) Dr. Georg Kahn-Ackermann, M.P. (German S.P.D.), Dr. Ernst Veselsky (Co-Director of the Austrian Economic and Social Advisory Council and economic adviser to the Austrian Socialist Party), Mr. Per Kleppe (Head, Research Department of the Norwegian Labour Movement), Mr. Andreas Papandreou (Leading member of the Centre Union in Greece and now Leader of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement), Mr. Walter Robinson (Leader of the Progressive Labour Party of Bermuda), Dr. Eduardo Mondlane (President, FRELIMO, Mozambique).

Among groups of visitors received in the department were Members of Parliament from Botswana and from Colombia, Provincial Governors from the Philippines and from Turkey, Trade Union leaders from Japan, Italy and Peru and a party of political science lecturers from Sweden.

Other individual visitors or delegations were received from the following countries:

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Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Germany, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Togoland, Tunisia, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam.

PUBLICATIONS, RESEARCH AND LIAISON

The department has produced a comprehensive range of documentation for the consideration of the National Executive Committee. In addition, information has again been provided on all aspects of foreign affairs to Ministers, M.P.s, Party officials and Party workers throughout the country. Much of the department's attention has been focused on developments in the Commonwealth and in addition to the continuing problem of Rhodesia, the department has been much involved with the tragic events in Nigeria. In the complex field of defence, the department has made every effort to explain to Party members and to the public the motivation, nature and extent of the Government's defence cuts.

Labour Government and Party policy has continued to be of great interest to fraternal parties and to other organisations abroad. The department has intensified the exchange of information with parties, organisations, groups and individuals throughout the world. In particular, it has increased its contacts and the depth of its research in Latin America where many parties are turning towards Europe as a new and encouraging point of contact.

Close relations have been maintained with those responsible for the International and Commonwealth work of the Fabian Society and the mutual value of this liaison is reflected in the grant of £300 made by the National Executive Committee to the Fabian Society for its work in the international field.

In September 1967, the Party produced its first regular publication dealing with international affairs. *Overseas Review* appears nine times a year and has attempted to present information and comment of interest to members of the Party which is either inadequately covered in the national press or obtainable only from other sources.

The department has contributed to other regular Labour Party publications whenever a section on foreign affairs has been required. The *Talking Points* on defence and foreign policy were also produced by the department. Contributions to the Labour Party Tape Service have been made by the Overseas Secretary on Aden, the Labour Party's relations with Eastern Europe, and one tape records an interview given to him by Andreas Papandreu.

STUDY GROUP ON THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

The Chairman of the Group is Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., and the members are: Mr. F. Barber, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. J. Gormley, Mr. J. Hatch, Mr. J. Johnson, M.P., Mr. F. Judd, M.P., Miss Joan Lester, M.P., Lady Llewelyn-Davies, Mr. J. G. Morgan, Mr. W. Padley, M.P., Mr. B. Prince, Lady Serota, Mr. J. Syson, Mr. G. Viner and Mrs. E. White, M.P.; joint Secretaries: Mr. M. Christie and Mr. T. McNally.

The Group has set itself two main tasks: (a) to examine the development of socialist thought and socialist action within the Commonwealth and assess its likely impact on the future of the Commonwealth; (b) to maintain close contact with the leading socialist politicians in the Commonwealth. The Group has considered papers on various aspects of colonial and Commonwealth development since the war and the evolution of Labour Party policy. Approaches have been made to leading Commonwealth socialists and to socialist parties for information and opinions which would aid the Committee in its work.

BRITISH OVERSEAS SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

The officers and Council members of the Fellowship are as follows: Lord Brockway (*President*), Miss J. Lester, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. T. Ridoutt (*Secretary*), Mr. A. Lester, Mr. D. Sehbai, Miss J. Hymans, Mr. J. Syson, Mr. H. Chakrabarty, Mr. G. Robinson, Mr. B. Bagnari, Mr. J. Lyttle and Mr. M. Hoda. Miss J. Lee, M.P. and Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P. represented the National Executive Committee.

At the Annual General Meeting an emergency resolution expressing the Fellowship's dissatisfaction with the Commonwealth Immigration Act, 1968, was carried. During the last year the Fellowship has organised highly successful tours of the Houses of Parliament and lectures for overseas students, and it is hoped that this aspect of the Fellowship's activities will continue. The fellowship has decided to concentrate its attention on the problem of Rhodesia, and meetings are planned for September and October.

SPANISH DEMOCRATS DEFENCE COMMITTEE

Chairman: Mr. G. Jeger, M.P.; *Treasurer:* Mr. J. L. Jones; *Joint Secretaries:* Mr. G. Morgan and Mr. T. McNally; *Committee Members:* Mr. R. Anthony, Mrs. E. Blumenau, Mr. E. Davies, Mr. R. Edwards, M.P., Mr. J. Lyttle, Dame Leah Manning, Mr. F. Noel-Baker, M.P., Mr. Giles Radice, Mr. M. Sargent.

The Committee has continued its work of giving material and moral aid to Spanish democrats. During July 1967, the Committee received a delegation from the Movimiento Socialista Catalunya and a programme of aid was agreed upon. From 12-15 August the General Secretary, Mr. A. L. Williams, and the Overseas Secretary, Mr. G. Morgan, attended the Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party (P.S.O.E.) in Toulouse. The General Secretary delivered fraternal greetings to the Congress on behalf of the Labour Party. Following the Congress a number of meetings have been held during the year between representatives of the P.S.O.E. and the Spanish Democrats Defence Committee. A programme of aid was agreed to further the work of the P.S.O.E. Rodolfo Llopi, General Secretary of the P.S.O.E., visited Transport House to discuss future co-operation.

The Committee made official representation to the Foreign Secretary for the appointment of a British Labour Attaché in Madrid. The Foreign Secretary declined to make such an appointment; but the Committee is continuing to press for this much-needed addition to our Embassy staff.

The Committee has kept under constant review the situation concerning the treatment of trade unionists in Spain. It has collected information from a wide range of sources including the T.U.C., Amnesty International and the I.C.F.T.U. in order to make British trade unionists fully aware of the situation in Spain and of the continuing policy of repression of free trade unions pursued by the Spanish government. In June 1968, Mr. Derek Page, M.P., attended the trial of twelve trade unionists in Madrid on behalf of the S.D.D.C. The trade unionists were found guilty of illegal association and illegal propaganda. Mr. Page's visit was intended both as a gesture of solidarity with Spanish trade unionists and as a further means of providing the Committee with accurate information concerning the situation in Spain.

Officers of the Committee have had regular meetings throughout the year with other representatives of democratic elements in Spain, including trade unionists, politicians, academics and students. Aid has been given to a number of individuals and organisations to finance propaganda, travel, organisational costs and political education. The Committee has continued its policy of supporting fully the work of the P.S.O.E., our fraternal party inside the Socialist International, while at the same time reserving its right to support on an ad hoc basis the projects of other socialist groups and individuals within Spain. By this approach the S.D.D.C. has made an unprecedented number of working contacts with Spanish socialists actively involved in the struggle against Franco. The level of aid given by the S.D.D.C. in the last year was raised considerably to take account of the increasingly critical situation inside Spain.

The work of the Spanish Democrats Defence Committee continues to be undermined by the activities of a few Labour Members of Parliament and trade unionists. The Franco Government, in an attempt to gain a veneer of respectability for itself and its puppet trade union organisation, continued to invite Labour Members of Parliament and trade unionists to visit Spain. Often Spanish propaganda purports to represent these visitors as official representatives of the British Labour movement. On no occasion has the British Labour Party given such support to the Spanish Government and the Committee deeply deplores the actions of those few members of the Labour Party who further the cause of the Franco regime by accepting Spanish Government-sponsored visits to Spain. Such actions not only damage the reputation of the Party among Spanish socialists, but are a betrayal of the principles for which so many British and Spanish socialists have given their freedom and their lives.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The officers of the Socialist International in the past year were: *Chairman:* Bruno Pittermann (Austria); *Vice-Chairmen:* Willy Brandt (Germany), Tage Erlander (Sweden), Guy Mollet (France) and Harold Wilson (Great Britain); *Secretary:* Albert Carthy.

Albert Carthy, the Secretary-General of the Socialist International, has indicated his intention to retire at the Socialist International Congress in 1969, and it is hoped to appoint a successor in the Autumn of 1968.

The Labour Party was represented at all the meetings of the Bureau of the Socialist International which continued to meet regularly throughout the year as follows: London, 25-26 August, 1967; London, 19 November, 1967; London, 19 January, 1968; London, 10 April, 1968; London, 1 July, 1968. In addition, various Committees and Working Parties

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established by the Socialist International have continued to provide expert advice to the Bureau on specialist questions.

Mr. F. Mulley, M.P. and Mr. G. Morgan attended meetings of the S.I. Disarmament Commission, and the Party was also represented at meetings of the S.I. Sub-committees on East European affairs and on the problems of the Jewish community in the U.S.S.R. The Labour Party contributed numerous papers to the S.I. Developing Areas Committee which has been increasingly active in the past year.

The S.I. Council Conference was successfully held in Zurich from 10-14 October, 1967, at the invitation of the Swiss Social Democratic Party. The Council Conference laid down clear lines for the work of the Bureau in the following year and in accordance with the decisions of the Council Conference, much of the Bureau's political effort in the past year has been directed to support for Greek democrats in their efforts to restore democracy to Greece and also to seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict in Vietnam. Spain and Portugal have also commanded the attentions of the S.I. and the challenge presented to democracy by the Iberian dictatorships has been given a human emphasis by the arrest and imprisonment of socialist colleagues in Spain and Portugal.

The S.I. Council Conference for 1968 is planned to take place in Copenhagen from 20-24 August, 1968. The British Labour Party will be hosts to the triennial Congress of the Socialist International in 1969. Plans are now being made for the Congress to be held in May or June and a decision will shortly be taken on the actual venue. On this occasion the Party will be hosts to the leaders of Labour and Social Democratic Parties throughout the world and it is hoped that all sections of the Party will fully support the event.

PUBLICITY

Socialist International Information continues to be issued on a fortnightly basis in English and French.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

Secretary: TERRY J. PITT

Home Policy Sub-committee (1967-68): Mr. G. Brown, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. F. Allaun, M.P., Miss A. Bacon, M.P., Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P., Mr. T. G. Bradley, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. F. J. Chapple, Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Mr. H. R. Nicholas, Mr. W. E. Padley, M.P., Mr. W. Simpson, Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P.; Mr. S. F. Greene and Mr. L. Murray (representing the Trades Union Congress), Mr. T. J. Pitt (*Secretary*).

THE RESEARCH PROGRAMME

The Home Policy Sub-committee has this year continued the wide ranging policy work begun after the 1966 General Election. A number of working parties and study groups have been preparing reports, and the Department has continued to submit research documents directly to the Sub-committee. Early in the year, it was recognised that greater efforts were required to co-ordinate the research work in progress. Accordingly, a small group of the sub-committee's members has met informally and advised the full meeting on priorities.

Since the Labour Government came to power, the National Executive Committee has completed and published reports on a number of important home policy areas:

The Report of a Study Group on the Port Transport Industry.

Evidence to the Fulton Committee on the Civil Service.

The Report of a Working Party on Industrial Democracy.

The Report of a North Sea Gas Study Group.

The Report of a Working Party on Race Relations.

A Survey of Child Care.

During the present year, documents have been completed and published as follows:

A first report on Discrimination Against Women.

A Report on a National Hydrocarbons Corporation.

A Statement on Industrial Democracy.

Recommendations on New Towns Policy (see Appendix 2).

In addition to the above, the Home Policy Sub-committee currently has groups committed to producing studies in the fields of Advertising, Regional Policy, Higher and Further Education, Discrimination Against Women, Textile Policy, Fuel Policy, Housing Policy, and Immigration.

The four major Advisory Committees have met throughout the year, and kept up a steady flow of analytical material on current and future policy to the Home Policy Sub-committee. The Committee itself has had a number of detailed discussions with Ministers on particular aspects of their department's work; and the National Executive Committee held in June a weekend study conference on private financial institutions.

The small informal group, which met to consider priorities, has considered the great size of the above research programme and recommended a number of "thematic" policy angles for further study by the Home Policy Sub-committee. It has been agreed that specific study groups now in existence will be asked to complete their work early in 1969, whilst the Home Policy Sub-committee itself will consider papers produced by the department on the following problems:

Distribution of Income and Wealth.

Institutional Reform and Participation.

Technology, Planning and Economic Growth.

The Commercial Environment.

World Poverty and Economic Development.

Work on these issues has begun, and the Home Policy Sub-committee will be considering detailed documents in the course of the coming year. Indeed, at the time of writing it is anticipated that a National Executive Committee statement to Annual Conference this year will tentatively raise these issues. The Home Policy Committee looks forward to hearing the views of the movement on these topics as it begins the great task of preparing a fresh statement of Party policy for the 1970s.

N.E.C. REPORT: RESEARCH

WORK OF THE SUB-COMMITTEES

FINANCE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The principal activity of this committee during the year has been preparations for a weekend study conference on Financial Institutions, which was held in June. A substantial amount of background material was prepared on the central issues of investment planning in both the private and public sectors; on international aspects of capital planning; and on more general problems of economic management. The committee hopes to continue these studies next year.

The committee has also considered papers on economic planning machinery, on taxation policy and on manpower planning with a view to further detailed work in these fields.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

This committee was earlier responsible for initiating studies of industrial democracy and of North Sea Gas, both of which were continued by more specialist groups. During the year, the committee has considered papers on the motor industry and on telecommunications. More detailed studies are in hand on both of these topics.

SOCIAL POLICY ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

Last year this committee began a fairly wide study of the development of social policy. Papers have been considered on social service expenditure, new sources of public finance, the distribution of income and wealth, demographic patterns and geographic areas of special social need, and Government machinery for the social services. It is expected to complete a first comprehensive document on these topics shortly.

REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

This Committee has the function of guiding and advising Labour members of local authorities, and advising the Home Policy Sub-committee on matters affecting the powers and functions of local government. The committee's earlier studies of housing have led to the setting up of a special Housing Policy Study Group.

ADVERTISING COMMITTEE

This committee was set up to recommend a policy for advertising, following the report of the Reith Commission in 1966. It met frequently during 1967, and the office has been busy this year preparing a draft report. It is expected to complete the study shortly.

STUDY GROUP ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

In November, 1967, a joint study group of the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party was set up to investigate the problem of discrimination against women. The group has met frequently during the year, and has considered papers on the extent of sex discrimination in education and training, earning and employment opportunities, legal and commercial transactions, family and social security, and in public life.

FUEL POLICY STUDY GROUP

This group is the successor to the North Sea Group, formed after the acceptance by Annual Conference 1967, of the proposal that a National Hydrocarbons Corporation should be created to strengthen public participation in the North Sea. A second report, on the structure and financing of the National Hydrocarbons Corporation and its relationship with the Gas Council was endorsed by the National Executive Committee, and published in August. Further study of fuel policy as set out in the National Executive Committee statement endorsed by Conference last year is now under way. In particular, the group will be considering papers on the major oil companies, and on wider issues of a co-ordinated fuel and power policy.

The National Executive Committee discussed fuel policy at length during the year. It decided to concentrate particularly on bringing pressure to bear on the Government to provide alternative employment in the areas affected by pit closures.

HIGHER AND FURTHER EDUCATION STUDY GROUP

This group was set up in June, 1967, to consider the structure of post-school education, and to formulate policy proposals. It has met frequently during the year and considered papers on structure, research, education finance and accountability, student finance, polytechnics, and the Open University.

HOUSING POLICY STUDY GROUP

In January this year the Home Policy Sub-committee set up a new group to consider future housing policy. The group has met frequently, and considered papers on housing stock and demand, the management of public housing, the working of the 1965 Rent Act, alternative rent policies, housing research, land policy, and housing subsidies.

IMMIGRATION STUDY GROUP

In June the National Executive Committee set up a new group to consider criteria and wider issues of immigration policy. The group has now commissioned papers on a number of areas of control policy, international comparisons, the U.K.'s international responsibilities, and the economic and social aspects of migration.

STUDY GROUP ON REGIONAL POLICY

This group was set up in June, 1967, to consider regional policy in the broadest terms. It has met frequently during the year and considered papers on the present working of regional machinery, development area policy, public purchasing, employment location and new towns, and regional machinery abroad.

JOINT N.E.C./U.T.F.W.A. WORKING PARTY ON TEXTILES

Following the debate on Resolution No. 161 at Annual Conference last year, the Home Policy Committee had discussions with the President of the Board of Trade and representatives of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association on the matter of textile policy. A joint N.E.C./U.T.F.W.A. working party was set up earlier this year to continue discussions and prepare papers on this subject.

MEMBERSHIP OF GROUPS

The membership of the above groups was as follows:

FINANCE AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

N.E.C. Members: Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. W. Simpson, Mr. F. J. Chapple.

Co-opted Members: Mr. J. Barnett, M.P., Mr. M. Barratt-Brown, Mr. E. Dell, M.P., Mr. J. Diamond, M.P., Mr. J. Dickens, M.P., Mr. J. L. Halstead, Mr. J. Hughes, Mr. D. Jay, M.P., Mr. D. Lea, Mr. H. Lever, M.P., Mr. A. Martin, Mr. A. M. Murray, Mr. L. Murray, Mr. R. Opie, Mr. G. Robinson, Mr. R. E. Sheldon, M.P., Mr. J. Sieve, Mr. R. J. Smethurst, Mr. P. Stephenson, Mr. S. Swingler, M.P.; Mr. M. Mills (*Secretary*).

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Mr. H. Nicholas (*Chairman*), Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P. (*N.E.C. Members*). Mr. N. Atkinson, M.P., Lord Bowden, Dr. J. Bray, M.P., Mr. T. Dalyell, M.P., Lord Delacourt Smith, Mr. E. Dell, M.P., Mr. P. Fisher, Dr. T. Hart, Mr. P. Jost, Mr. W. McCarthy, Mr. M. Montague, Mr. J. Morris, M.P., Dr. C. B. Phipps, Mr. B. Stanley, Lord Wynne-Jones (*Co-opted Members*). Mr. J. S. Thane (*Secretary*).

SOCIAL POLICY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Mr. W. Simpson (*Chairman*), Mr. F. Allaun, M.P., Miss M. Herbison, M.P. (*N.E.C. Members*). Mr. N. Buchan, M.P., Mr. B. Davies, Prof. D. V. Donnison, Mr. W. Hamling, M.P., Mrs. J. Hart, M.P., Mrs. L. Jeger, M.P., Dr. D. Kerr, M.P., Mr. S. Petch, Prof. B. Abel Smith, Prof. P. Townsend, Mr. B. Whitaker, M.P., Mrs. S. Williams, M.P. (*Co-opted Members*). Miss J. Bernstein (*Secretary*).

LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. A. Cunningham, Miss M. Herbison, M.P. (*N.E.C. Members*). Mr. A. Blenkinsop, M.P., Ald. R. W. Brown, M.P., Ald. E. C. Castle, Mr. D. O. Gladwin, Ald. Sir R. E. Goodwin, Ald. Sir M. Henig, Lord Kennet, Mr. J. E. MacColl, M.P., Coun. K. May, Mr. R. J. Mellish, M.P., Mr. C. Price, M.P., Mr. L. J. Sharpe, Mr. T. D. Smith, Ald. A. South, Coun. M. Ward, Mrs. A. Carlton (*Secretary*).

ADVERTISING COMMITTEE

Mr. W. Simpson (*Chairman*), Mr. M. Barnes, M.P., Mr. G. Borrie, Mr. T. W. Cynog-Jones, Mr. P. Davies, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. R. Evely, Dr. D. L. Kerr, M.P., Mr. F. E. Noel-Baker, M.P., Mr. G. Rhodes, M.P., Mr. B. Whitaker, M.P., Mr. J. S. Allen (*Secretary*).

N.E.C. REPORT: RESEARCH

FUEL STUDY GROUP

Dr. T. Hart (*Chairman*), Mr. E. Hillman, Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Mr. C. Norwood, M.P., Dr. P. R. Odell, Mr. J. D. Page, M.P., Dr. C. B. Phipps, Mr. C. Potter, Mr. E. A. Rhodes, Mr. J. Thane (*Secretary*).

STUDY GROUP ON IMMIGRATION

Mr. T. Driberg, M.P. (*Chairman*), Dr. M. Abrams, Mr. G. Bain, Mr. R. Brown, M.P., Mrs. P. Crane, Mr. J. Fraser, M.P., Mr. E. Heffer, M.P., Mr. A. Lester, Miss J. Lestor, M.P., Mr. D. Marquand, M.P., Mr. I. Mikardo, M.P., Dr. M. Miller, M.P., Dr. D. Pitt, Mr. G. Radice, Mr. J. Skinner, Mr. A. Green (*Secretary*).

HIGHER AND FURTHER EDUCATION STUDY GROUP

Mr. G. Rhodes, M.P. (*Chairman*), Lord Annan, Prof. M. Blaug, Mr. T. Bradley, M.P., Lord Bowden, Mr. R. Brown, M.P., Mr. A. Corfield, Mrs. S. Greenall, Mr. W. Howie, M.P., Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. N. Morris, Mr. S. Newens, M.P., Mr. C. Plant, Mr. C. Price, M.P., Mr. E. Robinson, Sir Harold Shearman, Prof. R. Shaw, Mr. R. Wallace, Lord Wynne-Jones, Mr. A. Green (*Secretary*).

STUDY GROUP ON REGIONAL POLICY

Mr. T. Dan Smith (*Chairman*), Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. G. E. Davies, M.P., Mr. R. Douglas, Mrs. G. Dunwoody, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Prof. P. Hall, Mr. B. Hazell, M.P., Ald. W. Jenkins, Lord Kennet, Dr. Dickson Mabon, M.P., Mr. K. McNamara, M.P., Prof. J. K. Page, Prof. P. J. Self, Mr. L. J. Sharpe, Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., Mr. C. H. Urwin, Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. A. J. Williams, M.P., Mr. P. Downey (*Secretary*).

HOUSING STUDY GROUP

Coun. M. Ward (*Chairman*), Mr. F. Allaun, M.P., Mr. A. Blenkinsop, M.P., Mr. H. J. Boyden, M.P., Mr. R. Brown, M.P., Cllr. E. Denington, Mr. J. B. Cullingworth, Prof. D. Donnison, Mr. W. Hilton, M.P., Mr. J. MacColl, M.P., Mr. E. Rowlands, M.P., Mr. A. Skeffington, M.P., Mr. N. Willis, Mr. D. J. Wise, Mr. M. Cantor (*Secretary*).

STUDY GROUP ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Mr. D. Houghton, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mrs. D. Bellerby, Mrs. J. Butler, M.P., Miss E. E. Chipchase, Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Dame A. Godwin, Miss M. Herbison, M.P., Mr. F. Lane, Mr. E. Leadbitter, M.P., Mr. A. Lester, Miss J. Lestor, M.P., Mr. A. W. Lyon, M.P., Mrs. M. Miller, Miss M. Rendell, Dr. S. Summerskill, M.P., Miss D. Gardner (*Secretary*).

JOINT U.T.F.W.A./N.E.C. WORKING PARTY ON TEXTILES

Mr. T. Bradley, M.P., Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Mr. H. Nicholas (*N.E.C. Members*), Mr. J. Browning, Mr. J. King, Mr. J. Milhench, Lord Wright (*U.T.F.W.A. Members*).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SECTION

LOCAL GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE

The Twelfth Local Government Conference of representatives of Labour Groups was held in Derby on 16-18 February, 1968. About 480 delegates and visitors attended.

Miss J. Lee, M.P., chaired the Conference, and the main speakers were Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P., Mr. T. D. Smith, Mr. P. G. Walker, M.P., and Mr. N. MacDermot, M.P. Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., Chairman of the Local and Regional Government Advisory Committee, attended the Conference and made the final speech. A pre-Conference rally was held on the Friday evening, and a reception was given by the National Executive Committee for representatives.

A major feature of this year's Conference was the debate on the Maud Committee proposals for the management of local government. This debate centred on a statement on the Maud Report put forward by the National Executive Committee for discussion by representatives.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

A special pamphlet entitled *Labour and Local Government* was prepared for use by candidates in the local election campaign. Arrangements were made for the central collection and analysis of results.

The transfer into opposition of a number of Labour Groups has led to an increase in the requests for advice received in the section. To meet these a wide range of publications have been produced including *Partnership*, the *Local Government Handbook for England and Wales*, and Information Papers.

Meetings have been held with members of local authorities and local authority associations.

PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY

The department has continued to assist individual spokesmen with briefs and notes for Parliamentary debates and meetings in the country.

PUBLICATIONS

The Department has contributed a large amount of informative and polemic material in briefs, in Information Papers and in various publications produced by Head Office.

The series of Information Papers is designed to help all Party speakers by providing background material on topical issues. Eighty-six have been prepared since the last General Election, and lists of those still available are obtainable from the office.

In November, 1967, the Department launched a new magazine, *Economic Brief*, to deal in detail with the problems of industrial, commercial and economic policy. Ten issues will be produced each year. The aim is to deal with a wide range of subjects in a factual and educational manner, and to keep Party members in touch with Labour's policy and progress.

A major marketing effort has been carried out to bring this new publication to the attention of local Parties, trade union branches and affiliated bodies. At the time of writing, the paid subscription list is 2,500.

LIBRARY

The Library continues to provide the necessary services for Head Office departments, and as far as possible provide help for constituencies and Members of Parliament.

The book stock has increased by 700, bringing the number of books to over 6,000. There is a steady increase in pamphlets and approximately 80 are added each week. More enquiries have been answered this year, and the photographic library is increasingly being used after completion of the catalogue.

The press cutting service continues to provide valuable information, and the cutting of magazines continues. The most satisfying event this year for the Library staff was the publication of the Bibliography of Labour Party publications after several years' hard labour.

PRESS AND PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

Director of Publicity: PERCY CLARK

Publicity Sub-committee (1967-68): Miss A. Bacon, M.P. (*Chairman*), Mr. F. Allaun, M.P., Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P., Mr. T. G. Bradley, M.P., Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., Mr. P. Hanley, Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. F. W. Mulley, M.P., Mr. A. M. Skeffington, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., Mr. P. Clark (*Secretary*).

The department has dealt with an increasing volume of enquiries from home and overseas Press, Radio and Television. The occasional distribution of thousands of leaflets by the movement cannot alone counter the attacks appearing daily in millions of copies of newspapers. Increasing priority, therefore, is given to Press relations, and valiant efforts have been made during the year to temper anti-Government propaganda in many newspapers. Advance copies of political speeches made by Ministers, Executive Committee members and other Party spokesmen have been circulated and a new feature has been the tabulating into sections of the 2,784 newspapers and periodicals on the department's press lists. This has made possible a much better service for the specialist and provincial press. Additional services have been provided for editors of Labour and Trade Union journals, many of which have printed informative articles by senior Ministers.

Publications have again concentrated on informing the Party member, although the issue of the new *Dictionary of Achievement*, designed for the Party supporter and the uncommitted alike, is intended for the widest possible public sale. A number of special supplements to *This Week* were produced during the year and in May the production of *Talking Points* was transferred to the department.

The Women's Exhibition, timed to coincide with the 50th Anniversary of the Women's Franchise, was designed and produced entirely in the department. After its original showing in London and the annual Women's Conference at Llandudno it is now on a regional tour, having been used at a number of regional women's conferences.

During the year assistance has been given at Parliamentary by-elections at Walthamstow West, Cambridge, Manchester Gorton, Kensington South, Hamilton, Leicester South-west, Acton, Derbyshire West, Meriden, Dudley, Warwick and Leamington, Oldham West, Nelson and Colne, Sheffield Brightside and Caerphilly and upon request during some local government campaigns. A 'do it yourself' publicity guide was issued for use during the local elections in May, and special advice was given in response to requests from parties with specific local government problems.

Attention has now turned to the publicity campaign which will culminate in the next General Election. The Publicity Sub-committee has already had two meetings with some of the voluntary advisers who have helped in the production of the *Let's Go With Labour* campaign and with the *You Know Labour Government Works* campaign.

PUBLICATIONS

LEAFLETS

- Take a Seat
- Government Achievements
- Learning to Live
- Labour is Looking After Them
- Labour Eases the Burden
- Labour and the Common Market
- North Sea Gas
- Incomes, Prices and Productivity
- Three years of Achievements

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKLETS

- Dictionary of Achievement
- North Sea Gas
- Race Relations
- Discrimination Against Women

Social Services 1968
 Aftermath of Colonialism
 Bibliography
 Industrial Training
 Local Government Handbook
 Elections on a Budget
 Care of Children
 How the Labour Party Works (*Revised*)
 Action—The Economy
 Action—Rents and Rates (*Revised*)
 Action—Housing (*Revised*)
 Action—Transport (*Revised*)

POSTERS

Rate Rebates for a Million People
 Breathalysers—760 Lives Saved
 New All Time Housing Record
 Education—Labour is Providing
 Better Schools, More Teachers with Labour
 Leaseholders Set Free with Labour
 Labour Acts—New Deal for Transport
 Build with Labour a Stronger Britain
 Tough Going—Now Forward with Labour
 Record Exports Month after Month with Labour
 Widows Pensions Trebled

RADIO AND TELEVISION

The Broadcasting Section has maintained liaison during the past year with the B.B.C. and I.T.V. programme companies and the Government Whips in order to provide Labour speakers for political programmes. It has continued a policy of promoting Labour Party views on radio and television to ensure a fair political balance.

The Technical Advisory Committee has met regularly to plan the presentation of party political broadcasts and to make recommendations to the Senior Broadcasting Committee.

Television training in the Transport House studio has been provided for by-election candidates.

BROADCASTS

The following party political broadcasts have been transmitted since the last report:

Television

8 November, 1967	10 minutes	Filmed programme on comprehensive education
15 November, 1967	15 minutes	Filmed programme on retraining for industry
22 November, 1967	10 minutes	Studio programme featuring participants of the two previous broadcasts, with Mr. R. Marsh, M.P.
6 May, 1968	15 minutes	Mrs. B. Castle, M.P., Mr. W. Ross, M.P., and Mr. G. Thomas, M.P., answering questions from studio audiences, chaired by Dr. Norman Hunt
26 June, 1968	10 minutes	Mrs. B. Castle, M.P. interviewed by Geoffrey Goodman on productivity, with filmed inserts

Sound

26 October, 1967	5 minutes	Miss M. Herbison, M.P.
31 October, 1967	5 minutes	Mr. R. Crossman, M.P.
31 October, 1967	5 minutes	Mrs. J. Hart, M.P.
8 December, 1967	5 minutes	Mrs. B. Castle, M.P.
15 December, 1967	5 minutes	Mr. P. Shore, M.P.
22 December, 1967	5 minutes	Miss J. Lee, M.P.
6 May, 1968	5 minutes	Mr. A. Greenwood, M.P.
18 June, 1968	5 minutes	Mr. A. W. Benn, M.P.

CONSTITUENCY SERVICES

The service of film hire and advice has continued. The Newstape Service has provided monthly tape-recorded talks on subjects of current political interest. The following tapes

N.E.C. REPORT: PRESS

have been issued since the last report:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| July, 1967 | Planning for the Regions—Mr. P. Shore, M.P. |
| September, 1967 | Government Policy—Mr. H. Wilson, M.P. |
| October, 1967 | The Queen's Speech—Mr. G. Rhodes, M.P. |
| November, 1967 | Devaluation—Mr. M. Mills, of the Labour Party's Research Department |
| January, 1968 | Devaluation and the Cuts—Mr. J. Diamond, M.P. |
| February, 1968 | Greek Democracy and the Labour Party—Mr. Andreas Papandreu |
| March, 1968 | The New Immigration Act—Mr. D. Ennals, M.P. |
| April, 1968 | The Budget—A Second Look—Mr. H. Lever, M.P. |
| May, 1968 | Race Relations—Mr. J. Lyttle, Chief Conciliation Officer, Race Relations Board |
| June, 1968 | Links with Eastern Europe—Mr. G. Morgan, Secretary of the Labour Party's Overseas Department |
| July, 1968 | What Shall we do with the Civil Service?—Mr. T. Pitt, Secretary of the Labour Party's Research Department |

FINANCE DEPARTMENT

Secretary: DOUGLAS RICHARDS

Finance and General Purposes Sub-committee (1967-68): Mr. A. Cunningham (*Chairman*), Mrs. E. M. Braddock, M.P., Mr. G. Brown, M.P., Mr. L. J. Callaghan, M.P., Mr. J. Chalmers, Mr. F. J. Chapple, Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. P. Hanley, Mr. F. Lane, Miss J. Lee, M.P., Mr. F. W. Mulley, M.P., Mr. H. R. Nicholas, Mr. W. E. Padley, M.P., Mrs. E. White, M.P., Mr. H. Wilson, M.P., Mr. D. Richards (*Secretary*).

The Auditors' Report, Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Accounts for 1967 are on pages 43 to 55.

GENERAL FUND

Affiliation fee income from trade unions was £2,200 higher than in 1966 but there was a fall in the corresponding income from constituency and central labour parties. Arrears of fees at 31 December 1967 were almost the same as at the end of 1966. Investment income was only slightly less than the previous year's record figure.

As was to be expected in a year with no election, ordinary sales of publications and from the bookshop were lower. However there was again an increase in the number of literature subscriptions.

Expenditure has risen, especially for salaries, national insurance and selective employment tax. In 1967 the special expenses for assistance to marginal constituencies and agent's training schemes were charged to the General Fund and cost £27,109. The balance of the fund at the end of 1967 was £199,014, after an overall deficit during the year of over £34,000. Expenditure costs continue to rise and it is expected that the balance in the fund will be used up during 1970.

BEQUEST FUND

This fund, which is available if required to meet general party expenses, benefited by a bequest of £4,813 under the will of the late Mrs. B. F. Daynes. The balance is now £21,029.

GENERAL ELECTION FUND

There was no income or expenditure during the year and the balance is £529,587. As recommended by the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation, the National Executive Committee has authorised the allocation of £50,000 per annum for three years to meet the initial costs of the National Agency Service.

COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO PARTY ORGANISATION

The National Executive Committee has considered the recommendations on party finance made in the interim report of the Committee of Enquiry.

Discussions have taken place with some affiliated organisations on the need to increase the income from affiliation fees. It will be necessary to make a specific proposal for higher affiliation fees to the 1969 Annual Conference. The National Executive Committee will discuss with the Parliamentary Labour Party the proposal that their members should be asked to make voluntary contributions towards the cost of servicing the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Constituency parties will be encouraged to make use of bankers' orders and the G.P.O. Giro system for payment of membership contributions and for other financial transactions.

The 1968 Annual Conference will be asked to accept an amendment to the Party Constitution in order to make payment of all levies on affiliated organisations a condition of representation at future Annual Conferences.

The National Executive Committee has decided not to support the proposal for a graduated scheme of individual membership contributions. It has also decided that it will not ask for acceptance of the recommendation that members of affiliated unions be given the right to enrol as members of ward committees and be delegates to Conference or General Committees without the necessity of being individual members of the Party.

SUPERANNUATION

The accounts of the Staff Superannuation Society are on pages 52 and 53 and those of the Agents' Superannuation Society on pages 54 and 55.

The possibility of merging the two Societies is being investigated, because of the proposal to develop a National Agency Service.

DEATHS

TOM AGAR died in January aged 65. He was a member of the National Executive Committee in 1958-59, and was an active worker in the Co-operative Movement and the Labour Party for many years.

THE RT. HON. FREDERICK JOHN BELLENGER, M.P. for Bassetlaw since 1935, died in May, aged 73. He was Financial Secretary, War Office, 1945-46; Secretary of State for War, 1946-47, and Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party Services Committee.

WILFRED ANDREW BURKE, M.P. for Burnley from 1935-1959 and previously candidate for Manchester, Blackley, 1924-29 and 1931, died in July, aged 83. He was Assistant Postmaster-General from 1945 to 1947. For many years Wilfred Burke was an official of the (then) National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. He served on the National Executive Committee from 1944 to 1955 and was its Chairman in 1954.

DR. JOHN CORLETT, M.P. for York from 1945 to 1950, died in January, aged 83. He was formerly a divisional organiser for the National Union of Teachers, and a York magistrate.

THE RT. HON. NESS EDWARDS, M.P. for Caerphilly since 1939, died in May, aged 71. He was Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service, 1945-50; Postmaster-General, 1950, and had been Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party Trade Union Group.

CAMILLE HUYSMANS, Prime Minister of Belgium, 1946-47, died in March, aged 96. He was Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau from 1905 to 1922 and later became Chairman of the Socialist International.

SIR WALTER NASH, P.C., G.C.M.G., C.H., Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1957-60, died in June, aged 86. A native of Kidderminster, Walter Nash went to New Zealand as a young man and was elected to the National Executive of the New Zealand Labour Party in 1919. He was Secretary of the Party from 1922 to 1932 and its President in 1935. Elected to Parliament in 1929 he held the same seat until his death.

LORD ROWLEY, P.C., Q.C. (Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson), died in August, 1968, aged 75. He was the Member of Parliament for Cardiff South, 1923-24 and 1929-31, for Kingswinford, 1935-50, and for Rowley Regis, 1950-64. Arthur Henderson served in the Coalition Government between 1942 and 1945 and in the post-war Labour Governments as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, India Office and Burma Office, 1945-47, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1947, and Secretary of State for Air, 1947-51.

SYDNEY SILVERMAN, M.P. for Nelson and Colne since 1935, died in February, aged 72. He was a member of the National Executive Committee in 1956-57 and had previously served on the Liverpool City Council.

RICHARD EMANUEL WINTERBOTTOM, M.P. for Sheffield, Brightside, since 1950, died in February, aged 78. He was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Postmaster-General in 1950-51 and was formerly a national organiser of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers.

Mrs. RACHEL ANN ARCHER, Spennborough.

WILLIAM HENRY BARTON, a former agent of Liverpool T.C. and L.P.; WILFRED BEARD, a former general secretary of the United Patternmakers' Association and chairman of the Trades Union Congress; JOHN BEBB, M.B.E., a former chairman of Welshpool magistrates, secretary of the Welshpool L.L.P., president and chairman of the Montgomeryshire C.L.P.; Alderman EVAN BEVAN, O.B.E., a former chairman of Carmarthenshire County Council; Dame FLORENCE ANNE BEVIN, widow of Ernest Bevin; FREDERICK HORACE BOND, J.P., a former member of the old Bexley council, and

treasurer of Bexley Labour Party; J. BONNER, a founder member of the Rhondda Labour Party; Mr. J. H. BOYCE, J.P., a founder member of Ryde Labour Party; VIC BRITTAIN, a former alderman of Maidstone; LADY BROOK, wife of Sir Dryden Brook, former M.P. for Halifax; Mrs. MAY BUTTERFIELD, chief clerk in the North West Regional Office.

Mrs. CHRISTINE CALLINGHAM, O.B.E., a former mayor of Wandsworth; ANDREW CAMPBELL, Hampstead, a former agent for West Willesden and parliamentary candidate for Guildford; Alderman F. C. CHAMBERS, C.B.E., a former mayor of Kettering and treasurer of Kettering C.L.P.;

ARNOLD COOPER, J.P., a former member of the West Dean R.D.C. and chairman of the Coleford Parish Council; Alderman EDWARD CORRIGAN, a former member of Newcastle City Council; THOMAS CHARLES COUNT, a former member of Rotherham Borough Council; HENRY CHARLES COUTTS, a member of Greenwich Council; WILLIAM CRANFIELD, a former member of Adwick U.D.C.

Dr. SUKAH DATTA, a former president of Bristol B.L.P.; DAI DAVIES, Goodmayes, a former Ilford and Redbridge councillor; Alderman G. V. DAVIES, Carmarthen, a former county councillor; GRIFFITH R. DAVIES, Bowydd, Merioneth, a member of the Merioneth County Council; WILLIAM H. DAVIES, Penrhiwfer; GEORGE DEARING, C.B.E., J.P., a former chairman and agent of the Bosworth C.L.P.; JOSEPH JOHN DIMMOCK, Battersea; GEORGE DUTTON, a former Nottingham councillor and chairman of Nottingham B.L.P.

JACK ELLIS, a former member of Nottinghamshire County Council and Arnold U.D.C.; GRIFFITH EVANS, Treharris, Glamorgan.

JAMES FERGUSON, J.P., a former mayor of Kidderminster and president of the Kidderminster C.L.P.; BOB FISHER, former chairman of Bletchley U.D.C. and of Bletchley L.L.P.

Alderman MARTIN GILES, former Bath city councillor; Mrs. CATHERINE GILLILAND, Flotterton, Northumberland; AARON ERNEST GOMPERTZ, a former agent at South Shields; RICHARD GREGSON, General Secretary, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives; DAN GRIFFITHS, Oxted, formerly of Llanelli.

J. HACKWORTH, a former Banbury councillor; Alderman HARRY R. HANCOCK, a former mayor and magistrate of Wigan; WILLIAM A. HARKER, a former member of Loftus U.D.C.; CHARLES WILLIAM HARRIS, M.B.E., a former mayor of Leominster, and treasurer of Leominster C.L.P.; Mrs. MAUD HEYWORTH, a former Blackburn town councillor; HAROLD JOHN HILL, a former treasurer of Chichester C.L.P.; SIDNEY HILL, General Secretary, National Union of Public Employees; PERCY HOMER, a former member of Dudley Borough Council and secretary of Dudley L.L.P.; Mrs. ELSIE HOPPER, a former Northumberland county councillor; ALBERT HORLE, a former Cardiff councillor; GEORGE HOWARD, a former chairman of Sible Hedingham Parish Council; Mrs. HESTER ELLA HUCKERBY, Armthorpe; TOM HUNTER, a former provost of Hamilton; WALTER HYAM, Horn-

church, formerly of Stepney.

ALF JAGO, a former mayor of Woolwich and holder of the Labour Party gold medal; Mrs. FRANCES JANE JORDAN, a former mayoress of Wandsworth.

JOHN GREEN LAMB, a former member of Silsden U.D.C., secretary and chairman of Silsden L.L.P.; Mrs. GLADYS LATHAM, Romford; LADY LAWSON, widow of Lord Lawson of Beamish; Mrs. HARRIET WICKS LECKIE, St. Leonards; Mrs. ALICE LEE, Preston; TOM LEE, a former Lord Mayor of Bradford; Miss ROSETTA LEWIS, Margate; Mrs. JESSIE LUNNON, Edlesborough; Alderman HERBERT JAMES LOWTON LYGOE, O.B.E., J.P., a former mayor of Islington.

PETER McLAUGHLIN, a former Accrington councillor; ALFRED JAMES MARSHALL, a former Eastbourne alderman and Honorary Freeman, founder member of Eastbourne T.C. and L.P.; RON MATHIAS, O.B.E., a former chairman and treasurer of the Welsh Council of Labour; Mrs. MADGE McKELLAR, a former vice-president of Blackpool B.L.P.; Mrs. MARGARET DRUSILLA MEWIS, a former Burton-on-Trent councillor; Alderman J. H. MOORE, O.B.E., a former Dorset county councillor; JOSEPH PATRICK MOORE, a former Barking councillor; Mrs. EMILY B. MORRIS, Tonypandy; SOHRAB MUGASETH, Havering.

DANNY O'BRIEN, Putney; Mrs. JOYCE O'DWYER, Silsden.

WILLIAM JOSEPH PANTON, a former mayor of King's Lynn and Norfolk county councillor; Sir MAURICE PARISER, a former alderman of Manchester City Council; Mrs. FLORENCE PEARL, Carlisle, mother of the Rt. Hon. Fred. Pearl, M.P.; Mrs. SARAH J. PHELPS, Wattstown, Glam.; ALFRED PHILLIPS, a former member and chairman of Sevenoaks U.D.C.; FRED PHILLIPS, a former treasurer of Reading C.L.P.; GEORGE PHIPPEN, Rhondda; JACK HUBERT PITTS, a former mayor of Liskeard and chairman of the bench; JACK PODMORE, former chairman of Newcastle-under-Lyme C.L.P.

Mrs. ELLA REEVES, Llangranog, a former mayor of Woolwich; CHARLES ROBERTSON, a former chairman of the London County Council; E. A. ROBINSON, a former mayor of Deptford; JOSEPH WILLIAM ROBINSON, a former alderman of Gravesend; Mrs. BEATRICE LILLIAN ROTHERY, Birkby, Huddersfield; WILLIAM ROWELL, O.B.E., J.P. of Coleorton, a former president of Loughborough C.L.P. and councillor; VERDUN ROWLEY, J.P., Doncaster.

N.E.C. REPORT: DEATHS

JOHN WILLIAM SCHUCH, J.P., former mayor of Bexley; Lady SELWYN-CLARKE, a former London county councillor; Alderman MARY SHAW, a former member of Newcastle City Council; P. J. SHEA, Hainault, a former Stepney borough councillor; Mrs. KATHLEEN SHEEN, a former alderman of Southwark; HERBERT WILLIAM SHELDRAKE, Doncaster; ALFRED SHELTON, former member of Carlton U.D.C.; ERNEST GEORGE SPRING, a member of Sandy (Beds.) U.D.C. for 37 years; CYRIL STONE, J.P., a former mayor of Mansfield and chairman of Mansfield L.L.P.; Mrs. DORA STRAWBRIDGE, O.B.E., Deptford; JOSEPH STRETTON, a former mayor of Rugby; JACK SULLIVAN, a former Stepney Borough and London County councillor; JIM SUTHERLAND, Edinburgh, President of the National Union of Public Employees; Mrs. MABEL SUTTLE, Derby.

Mrs. MAY TAYLOR, Armthorpe; ERNEST TEAR, a former Cardiff magistrate; JOHN THOMAS, a former secretary of Amroth L.L.P.; JACK THOMPSON, Ilkerton, a former member of the East Midlands Regional Council of the Labour Party and of

Derbyshire County Council; Miss NORAH EMMA TURNER, J.P., daughter of the late Sir Ben Turner, a former mayoress and alderman of Batley; BRIAN TILLEY, Liverpool, a former mayor of Devizes and a member of the Wiltshire County Council, and Labour candidate for Basingstoke in 1964 and North Somerset in 1966.

JACK WAITE, Manchester, a former General Secretary of the Confederation of Health Service Employees; Mrs. MARGARET WALKDEN, O.B.E., a former Surrey alderman and Sutton magistrate; LOUIS JAMES WEBB, J.P., a former chairman of Longdenale U.D.C. and a member of Cheshire County Council; JAMES AITKEN WELCH, first Labour mayor and Freeman of Acton; Mrs. HILDA WILDING, secretary of Banbury Women's Section for 20 years; ALGY WILLIAMS, a former Glamorgan county councillor, chairman of Gelligaer council and president of Caerphilly C.L.P.; IVOR WILLIAMS, a former mayor of Port Talbot; Alderman R. WILLIAMS, secretary-agent of Rochdale C.L.P.; W. H. WILLIAMS, a founder member of the Menai Bridge and District L.L.P.

MEMBERSHIP

Year	Constituency and Central Parties		Total Individual Membership		Trade Unions		Socialist and Co-operative Societies, etc.		*Total Member ship
	No.		Men	Women	No.	Membership	No.	Membership	
1900	7				41	353,070	3	22,861	375,931
1901	21				65	455,450	2	13,861	469,311
1902	49				127	847,315	2	13,835	861,150
1903	76				165	965,025	2	13,775	969,800
1904	73				158	855,270	2	14,730	900,000
1905	73				158	904,496	2	16,784	921,280
1906	83				176	975,182	2	20,855	998,338
1907	92				181	1,049,673	2	22,267	1,072,413
1908	133				176	1,127,035	2	27,465	1,158,565
1909	155				172	1,450,648	2	30,982	1,486,308
1910	148				151	1,394,403	2	31,377	1,430,539
1911	149				141	1,501,783	2	31,404	1,539,092
1912	146				130	1,858,178	2	31,237	1,895,498
1913	158				†	†	2	33,304	†
1914	179				101	1,572,391	2	33,230	1,612,147
1915	177				111	2,053,735	2	32,828	2,093,365
1916	199				119	2,170,782	3	42,190	2,219,764
1917	239				123	2,415,383	3	47,140	2,465,131
1918	389				131	2,960,409	4	52,720	3,013,129
1919	418				126	3,464,020	7	47,270	3,511,290
1920	492				122	4,317,537	5	42,270	4,359,807
1921	456				116	3,973,558	5	36,803	4,010,361
1922	482				102	3,279,276	5	31,760	3,311,036
1923	503				106	3,120,149	6	35,762	3,155,911
1924	529				108	3,158,002	7	36,397	3,194,399
1925	549				106	3,337,635	8	36,235	3,373,870
1926	551				104	3,352,347	8	35,939	3,388,286
1927	532				97	3,238,939	6	54,676	3,293,615
1928	535		214,970		91	2,025,139	7	52,060†	2,292,169
1929	578		227,897		91	2,044,279	6	58,669†	2,330,845
1930	607		277,211		89	2,011,484	7	58,213†	2,346,908
1931	608		297,003		80	2,024,216	7	36,847†	2,358,066
1932	608		371,607		75	1,960,269	9	39,911†	2,371,787
1933	612	211,223	154,790		75	1,899,007	9	40,010†	2,305,030
1934	614	222,777	158,482		72	1,857,524	8	39,707†	2,278,490
1935	614	246,401	172,910		72	1,912,924	9	45,280†	2,377,515
1936	614	250,761	179,933		73	1,968,538	9	45,125†	2,444,357
1937	614	258,060	189,090		70	2,037,071	8	43,451†	2,527,672
1938	614	250,705	178,121		70	2,158,076	9	43,384†	2,630,286
1939	614	239,978	168,866		72	2,214,070	6	40,153†	2,663,067
1940	614	175,606	128,518		73	2,226,575	6	40,464†	2,571,163
1941	585	129,909	96,713		68	2,230,728	6	28,108†	2,485,458
1942	581	123,101	95,682		69	2,206,209	6	28,940†	2,453,932
1943	586	134,697	100,804		69	2,237,307	6	30,432†	2,503,240
1944	598	153,132	112,631		68	2,375,381	6	31,701†	2,672,845
1945	649	291,435	195,612		69	2,510,369	6	41,281†	3,038,697
1946	649	384,023	261,322		70	2,635,346	6	41,667†	3,322,358
1947	649	361,643	246,844		73	4,386,074	6	45,738†	5,040,299
1948	656	375,861	253,164		80	4,751,030	6	42,382†	5,422,437
1949	660	439,591	290,033		80	4,946,207	5	41,116†	5,716,947
1950	661	543,434	364,727		83	4,971,911	5	40,100†	5,920,172
1951	667	512,751	363,524		82	4,937,427	5	35,300†	5,845,002
1952	667	594,663	419,861		84	5,071,935	5	21,200†	6,107,659
1953	667	584,626	420,059		84	5,056,912	5	34,425†	6,096,022
1954	667	544,042	389,615		84	5,529,760	5	34,610†	6,498,027
1955	667	488,687	354,669		87	5,605,988	5	34,650†	6,483,994
1956	667	489,735	355,394		88	5,658,249	5	33,850†	6,537,228
1957	667	527,787	385,200		87	5,644,012	5	25,550†	6,582,549
1958	667	515,298	373,657		87	5,627,690	5	25,541†	6,542,186
1959	667	492,213	355,313		87	5,564,010	5	25,450†	6,436,986
1960	667	459,584	330,608		86	5,512,688	5	25,450†	6,328,330
1961	667	434,511	316,054		86	5,549,592	5	25,450†	6,325,607
1962	667	444,576	322,883		86	5,502,773	5	25,475†	6,295,707
1963	667	480,639	349,707		83	5,507,232	6	20,858†	6,358,436
1964	667	478,910	351,206		81	5,502,001	6	21,200†	6,353,317
1965	659	475,164	341,601		79	5,601,982	6	21,146†	6,439,893
1966	658	454,722	320,971		79	5,538,744	6	21,175†	6,335,612
1967	657	427,495	306,437		75	5,539,562	6	21,120†	6,294,614

* The totals to 1917 in this column include the membership of the Co-operative and Women's Labour League affiliations, in addition to those of the Trade Unions and the Socialist Societies.

† Owing to the operation of the Osborne Judgment it was impossible to compile membership statistics for 1913.

‡ The Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, through its Political Purposes Committee, continues its affiliation with the Party, and its membership is included in these totals.

N.E.C. REPORT

(Signed)

JENNIE LEE (*Chairman*)
 EIRENE WHITE (*Vice-Chairman*)
 JAMES CALLAGHAN (*Treasurer*)
 HAROLD WILSON (*Leader of the Party*)
 GEORGE BROWN (*Deputy Leader of the Party*)
 FRANK ALLAUN
 ALICE BACON
 ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN
 ELIZABETH BRADDOCK
 TOM BRADLEY
 BARBARA CASTLE
 JOHN CHALMERS
 FRANK CHAPPLE
 ANDREW CUNNINGHAM

JIM DIAMOND
 TOM DRIBERG
 JOE GORMLEY
 ANTHONY GREENWOOD
 PERCY HANLEY
 MARGARET HERBISON
 FRANK LANE
 JOAN LESTOR
 IAN MIKARDO
 FRED MULLEY
 HARRY NICHOLAS
 WALTER PADLEY
 WILLIAM SIMPSON
 ARTHUR SKEFFINGTON
 SARA BARKER (*Acting General Secretary*)

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES

The National Executive Committee elected at the 1967 Conference held 12 meetings between October 1967 and July 1968.

Miss J. Lee (<i>Chairman</i>)	12	T. Driberg	8
Mrs. E. White (<i>Vice-Chairman</i>)	12	J. Gormley	11
L. J. Callaghan (<i>Treasurer</i>)	12	A. Greenwood	12
H. Wilson (<i>Leader of the Party</i>)	8	P. Hanley	2
G. Brown (<i>Deputy Leader of the Party</i>)	7	Miss M. Herbison	11
F. Allaun	12	F. Lane	12
Miss A. Bacon	12	Miss J. Lestor	12
A. W. Benn	10	I. Mikardo	10
Mrs. E. M. Braddock	12	F. W. Mulley	8
T. G. Bradley	9	H. R. Nicholas	11
Mrs. B. Castle	11	W. E. Padley	8
J. Chalmers	9	W. Simpson	10
F. J. Chapple	8	A. M. Skeffington	12
A. Cunningham	11	A. L. Williams (<i>General Secretary</i>)	8
J. Diamond	8	Miss S. E. Barker (<i>Acting General Secretary</i>)	12

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS for the Year Ending 31 December, 1967

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS APPOINTED BY THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

We have examined the attached Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Accounts and have obtained the information we required.

In our opinion the Balance Sheet and Accounts show correctly the financial affairs of the Labour Party.

26 June, 1968.

J. BLEACKLEY
F. A. SMITH

REPORT OF THE PROFESSIONAL AUDITORS

The annexed Balance Sheet, General Fund Income and Expenditure Account and other Accounts are in agreement with the books which, in our opinion, have been properly kept. We obtained the information and explanations that we required.

Cash at Bank was verified with Bankers' Certificates. The scrip pertaining to Investments and the title deeds of properties were found to be in good order and safe custody.

In our opinion, the Balance Sheet and Accounts give respectively a true and fair view of the financial affairs of the Labour Party and of the Income and Expenditure of the General, Bequest and Special Funds.

Norwich House,
13 Southampton Place,
London, W.C.1.
8 May, 1968.

HESKETH HARDY HIRSCHFIELD & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

ACCOUNTS

BALANCE SHEET as at 31 December, 1967

1966						£	£
£							
233,603	GENERAL FUND	..	..	..	..	199,014	
16,216	BEQUEST FUND	..	..	..	..	21,029	
<u>249,819</u>							<u>220,043</u>
SPECIAL FUNDS:							
529,587	General Election Fund	..	..	..	..	529,587	
73,763	By-Election Fund	..	..	..	..	75,181	
9,793	Deposit Insurance Fund	..	..	..	..	9,793	
4,973	Other Funds	..	..	..	..	4,637	
<u>618,116</u>							<u>619,198</u>

Note: No amount has been brought into account in respect of arrears of Affiliation Fees and By-Election Fund Premiums.

£867,935

£839,241

ACCOUNTS

1966					
£			£	£	
	CURRENT ASSETS:				
57,242	Cash at Bank and in Hand		50,625		
821,137	Investments, per Schedule		795,101		
	Debtors and Prepayments, less Provision for Doubtful				
9,291	Debts		12,191		
11,777	Stocks, as valued by Officials—Publications, Bookshop				
	and Stationery		12,984		
<u>899,447</u>			<u>870,901</u>		
	Less: CURRENT LIABILITIES:				
		£			
19,123	Creditors and Accrued Expenses	20,119			
3,388	Prepaid Subscriptions	2,483			
9,002	Corporation Tax	9,059			
<u>31,513</u>			<u>31,661</u>		
867,934				839,240	
	FIXED ASSETS, at Nominal Value:				
1	Freehold Property, Office Equipment and Vehicles..			1	
<u>£867,935</u>				<u>£839,241</u>	

INVESTMENTS

Nominal					Cost or Book Value £
£20,000	0 0	3%	Savings Bonds 1960-70		20,000
£473,125	13 10	3%	Savings Bonds 1960-70		401,050
£229,580	2 4	3%	Savings Bonds 1960-70		204,615
£70,425	11 5	3%	Savings Bonds 1965-75		50,048
£525	0 0	2½%	Treasury Stock 1975		200
£292	0 0	3½%	Conversion Loan		153
£100	0 0	4%	Funding Stock 1960-90		89
£5,244	8 3	3½%	War Stock		2,730
£200	0 0	3%	Electricity Stock 1968-73		168
£800	0 0	5%	Edinburgh Stock 1968-71		768
£800	0 0	5%	Essex C.C. Stock 1968-71		760
£143	15 7	6%	Surrey C.C. Stock 1978-80		145
60,000			5s. Shares of Canning Town Glass Works Ltd.		14,375
			(Market Value £719,499)		695,101
			TEMPORARY DEPOSIT LOAN		
£100,000	0 0		Basingstoke R.D.C.		100,000
			Per Balance Sheet		£795,101

ACCOUNTS

GENERAL FUND INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

1966 £	EXPENDITURE	£	£
	HEAD OFFICE STAFF:		
117,129	Salaries	122,690	
5,709	Superannuation	5,918	
6,109	National Insurance and Graduated Pension Contributions	9,696	
1,155	Pensions	882	
<u>130,102</u>			139,186
	GENERAL ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES:		
18,834	Rent and Office Services	20,092	
1,165	Heating and Lighting	1,257	
1,222	Maintenance and Repairs	1,766	
3,764	Telephone	3,429	
6,749	Postage	5,036	
1,180	Printing	1,033	
5,970	Stationery	6,255	
450	Audit Fees	600	
2,265	Legal and Professional Charges	1,944	
313	Bank Charges	186	
320	Insurance	340	
4,245	Office Expenses	4,556	
33	Bad and Doubtful Debts	181	
<u>46,510</u>			46,675
	ORGANISATION:		
92,939	Regional Office Salaries and Staff Expenses	97,940	
10,451	Regional Office Expenses	11,272	
1,379	Young Socialists	1,816	
601	Student Labour Clubs	358	
2,910	Travel and General Expenses	2,044	
—	Constituency Organisation Expenses	27,109	
<u>108,280</u>			140,539
	CONFERENCES:		
9,196	Annual Party Conference	10,610	
1,101	Women's Conference	1,936	
—	Young Socialists' Conference	738	
523	Local Government Conference	278	
<u>10,820</u>			13,562
<u>£295,712</u>	Carried forward ..		<u>£339,962</u>

for the Year Ended 31 December 1967

1966 £	INCOME	£	£
	AFFILIATION FEES:		
273,716	Trade Unions	276,902	
39,201	Labour Parties	37,848	
1,059	Socialist and Co-operative Societies	972	
<u>313,976</u>			315,722
	PUBLICATIONS:		
28,218	Sales	19,300	
5,556	Subscriptions	6,180	
<u>33,774</u>			25,480
	SUNDRY SALES AND FEES:		
3,036	Bookshop—Sales	2,372	
3,349	Summer Schools—Fees	2,991	
40	Study Courses—Fees	58	
10	Rents Receivable	10	
55	Royalties and Copyright Fees	230	
61	Membership Subscriptions—Overseas Residents	7	
<u>6,551</u>			5,668
	INVESTMENT INCOME (Gross):		
9,193	Interest on Investments	22,752	
22,854	Local Authority and Temporary Loan Interest	8,620	
597	Bank Interest	406	
<u>32,644</u>			31,778

£386,945

Carried forward ..

£378,648

ACCOUNTS

GENERAL FUND

1966 £	EXPENDITURE	£	£
295,712	Brought forward ..		339,962
	COMMITTEE EXPENSES:		
1,731	National Executive Committee	3,110	
713	National Labour Women's Advisory Council ..	611	
160	National Committee of Young Socialists	404	
<u>2,604</u>			<u>4,125</u>
	INTERNATIONAL AND COMMONWEALTH:		
6,375	Affiliation Fees and Grants	6,375	
3,622	Delegations Abroad	1,309	
648	General Expenses	913	
<u>10,645</u>			<u>8,597</u>
41,659	Publications and Publicity Expenses		34,465
2,353	Book Shop		1,911
3,851	Library		4,035
1,576	Propaganda—Special Activities		3,263
3,808	Summer Schools		3,645
4,096	Office Equipment and Furniture		3,172
27	Property Expenses		9
1,050	Grants and Donations		1,030
<u>367,381</u>			<u>404,214</u>
27,000	<i>Less: Allocation of Expenses to General Election Fund ..</i>		<u>—</u>
<u>340,381</u>			<u>404,214</u>
46,564	Balance, being Excess of Ordinary Income over Ordinary Expenditure for the year, carried forward		<u>—</u>
<u>£386,945</u>			<u>£404,214</u>
1966			£
—	Balance, being Excess of Ordinary Expenditure over Ordinary Income for the year, brought down		25,566
17,110	Corporation Tax		13,022
233,603	Balance of Fund at 31 December, 1967		199,014
<u>£250,713</u>			<u>£237,602</u>

1966	INCOME	
£		£
386,945	Brought forward ..	378,648
—	Balance, being Excess of Ordinary Expenditure over Ordinary Income for the year, carried down.. ..	25,566

£386,945

£404,214

1966		
£		£
154,615	Balance of Fund at 1 January, 1967	233,603
46,564	Balance, being Excess of Ordinary Income over Ordinary Expenditure for the year, brought down	—
26,007	Donations	2,138
23,527	Surplus on Realisation of Investments	1,861

£250,713

£237,602

ACCOUNTS

BEQUEST FUND

1966									
£									£
16,216	Balance of Fund at 31 December, 1967 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21,029
<u>16,216</u>									<u>21,029</u>

GENERAL ELECTION FUND

155,272	Campaign Expenditure ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
27,000	Transfer from General Fund, being allocation of Expenditure ..								—
529,587	Balance of Fund at 31 December, 1967 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	529,587
<u>£711,859</u>									<u>£529,587</u>

BY-ELECTION FUND

1,609	Grants and Expenses ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,147
73,763	Balance of Fund at 31 December, 1967 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75,181
<u>£75,372</u>									<u>£82,328</u>

DEPOSIT INSURANCE FUND

450	Deposit Paid ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
9,793	Balance of Fund at 31 December, 1967 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,793
<u>£10,243</u>									<u>£9,793</u>

ACCOUNTS

1966	INCOME								£
£									£
16,216	Balance of Fund at 1 January, 1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16,216
—	Bequest—Mrs. B. F. Daynes—Deceased	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,813
<u>£16,216</u>									<u>£21,029</u>

330,565	Balance of Fund at 1 January, 1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	529,587
357,085	Donations .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
24,209	Publications Sales .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
<u>£711,859</u>									<u>£529,587</u>

67,544	Balance of Fund at 1 January, 1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73,763
7,828	Premiums .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,565
<u>£75,372</u>									<u>£82,328</u>

8,695	Balance of Fund at 1 January, 1967	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,793
1,548	Premiums .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—
<u>£10,243</u>									<u>£9,793</u>

ACCOUNTS

THE LABOUR PARTY STAFF SUPERANN-SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

1966	EXPENDITURE			£
£				£
3,656	CONTRIBUTIONS WITHDRAWN (including interest)	..	..	4,857
8,057	PENSIONS	..	..	8,208
1,923	'TRANSFERS TO AGENTS' SUPERANNUATION SOCIETY	..	..	—
9	SUNDRY EXPENSES AND BANK CHARGES	..	..	32
<hr/>				
13,645				13,097
23,394	NET REVENUE	..	..	31,374
<hr/>				
£37,039				£44,471

BALANCE SHEET as at 31 DECEMBER, 1967

1966	FUNDS			£	£
£				£	£
	SUPERANNUATION FUND:				
337,993	Balance at 1 January, 1967	..	..	361,397	
23,394	Net Revenue for the year	..	..	31,374	
10	Surplus on redemption of investment	..	..	—
				<hr/>	392,771

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have audited the Accounts of the Society for the year ended 31 December, 1967, and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required.

In our opinion the foregoing Statements show correctly the transactions for the year and the position of affairs as at 31 December, 1967, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society

Transport House,
Smith Square,
London, S.W.1.
25 July, 1968.

WATSON COLLIN & CO.
Chartered Accountants.

£361,397

£392,771

UATION SOCIETY

Year Ended 31 December, 1967

1966 £	INCOME	£	£
	CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE:		
9,955	Members	10,388	
9,955	Employer	10,388	
			20,776
—	TRANSFERS FROM AGENTS' SUPERANNUATION SOCIETY ..		4,835
17,129	INVESTMENT AND BANK INTEREST		18,860
£37,039			£44,471

1966 £	ASSETS	£	£
	INVESTMENTS (at cost):		
	Quoted:		
	British Government Stocks	282,006	
	Dominion Government Stocks	17,921	
	British Municipal Stocks	30,874	
	Public Utility Stocks	25,935	
			356,736
	Less: Reserve	7,500	
	(Market Value approximately £298,238) ..	349,236	
	Unquoted:		
342,337	British Municipal Loans	30,000	379,236
	CURRENT ASSETS:		
4,728	Interest Accrued	5,440	
6,321	Income Tax Recoverable	1,925	
9,296	Balance at Bank (including £2,424 on deposit) ..	6,011	
194	Contributions owing	609	
—	Transfer Payment due	1,411	
			15,396
	Less: Current Liabilities:	£	
106	Income Tax, P.A.Y.E.	148	
357	Contribution Refunds Due	1,713	
1,016	Contributions paid in advance	—	
			1,861
			13,535
£361,397			£392,771

ACCOUNTS

**THE LABOUR PARTY AGENTS' SUPERANN-
INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT for the**

1966	EXPENDITURE				£
£					
6,079	CONTRIBUTIONS WITHDRAWN (including interest)	..	..	..	5,267
—	TRANSFER TO STAFF SUPERANNUATION SOCIETY	..	..	..	3,424
10	BANK CHARGES AND CHEQUE BOOKS	..	..	..	25
6,837	PENSIONS .. .. .	..	..	..	7,753
12,926					16,469
28,942	NET REVENUE .. .. .	..	..	..	25,360
<u>£41,868</u>					<u>£41,829</u>

BALANCE SHEET as at 31 December, 1967

1966	FUNDS				£	£
£						
	SUPERANNUATION FUND:					
318,295	Balance at 1 January, 1967	..	..	..	347,287	
28,942	Add: Net Revenue for 1967	..	..	..	25,360	
50	Profit on redemption of investment	..	..	..	—	372,647

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE LABOUR
PARTY AGENTS' SUPERANNUATION SOCIETY

We have examined the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion such Accounts are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

32 Clements Lane,
London, E.C.4.
August, 1968.

E. WATTS & CO.
Chartered Accountants.

£347,287

£372,647

UATION SOCIETY

Year Ended 31 December, 1967

1966	INCOME						£
£							£
23,610	CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVABLE	..	..	..	..	..	23,776
55	FINES	..	..	..	..	..	114
16,280	INVESTMENT AND BANK INTEREST	..	..	..	..	..	17,939
1,923	TRANSFERS FROM STAFF SUPERANNUATION SOCIETY	..	..	..	..	..	—
<u>£41,868</u>							<u>£41,829</u>

1966	ASSETS						£	£
£								
	INVESTMENTS (at cost):							
	Quoted:							
223,906	British Government Stocks	..	..	..	..	250,887	
71,480	Dominion Government Stocks	..	..	..	..	71,480	
23,877	British Municipal Stocks	..	..	..	..	23,877	
24,101	Public Utility Company Stocks	..	..	..	..	24,101	
<u>343,364</u>						<u>370,345</u>		
20,000	Less: Reserve	..	..	..	..	20,000	
<u>323,364</u>	(The Market Value was approximately £299,252— 1966, £279,124)					<u>350,345</u>		
	Unquoted:							
10,000	British Municipal Loan	..	..	..	..	10,000	
<u>333,364</u>						<u>360,345</u>		
	CURRENT ASSETS:							
	Contributions in Arrears	..	..	..	..	1,626	
	Income Tax Recoverable	..	..	..	..	3,314	
	Interest Accrued	..	..	..	..	5,429	
	Balances at C.W.S. Bank:							
	Current Account	..	..	..	..	1,144	
	Deposit Account	..	..	..	..	1,701	
						<u>13,214</u>		
	Less: Current Liabilities for Contribution Refunds etc.	..	..	..	..	912	
13,923						<u>12,302</u>		
<u>£347,287</u>						<u>£372,647</u>		

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

SESSION 1967-68

MEMBERS OF THE CABINET

PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY—Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, O.B.E., M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, M.P.
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER—Rt. Hon. Roy Jenkins, M.P.
LORD CHANCELLOR—Rt. Hon. The Lord Gardiner.
LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL—Rt. Hon. Richard Crossman, O.B.E., M.P.
FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY—
Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle, M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT—Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DEFENCE—Rt. Hon. Denis Healey, M.B.E., M.P.
LORD PRIVY SEAL AND LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Rt. Hon. Fred Peart, M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS—Rt. Hon. Peter Shore, M.P.
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—Rt. Hon. Anthony Crosland, M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND—Rt. Hon. William Ross, M.B.E., M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS—Rt. Hon. George Thomson, M.P.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE—Rt. Hon. Edward Short, M.P.
MINISTER OF TECHNOLOGY—Rt. Hon. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P.
MINISTER OF TRANSPORT—Rt. Hon. Richard Marsh, M.P.
MINISTER OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—Rt. Hon. Anthony Greenwood, M.P.
MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FOOD—Rt. Hon. Cledwyn Hughes, M.P.
PAYMASTER-GENERAL AND LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS—Rt. Hon. The Lord Shackleton,
O.B.E.
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WALES—Rt. Hon. George Thomas, M.P.
MINISTER OF POWER—Rt. Hon. Roy Mason, M.P.

MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET

MINISTER OF OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT—Rt. Hon. Reg Prentice, M.P.
CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER—Rt. Hon. Frederick Lee, M.P.
MINISTER OF HEALTH—Rt. Hon. Kenneth Robinson, M.P.
MINISTER OF SOCIAL SECURITY—Rt. Hon. Judith Hart, M.P.
MINISTER OF PUBLIC BUILDING AND WORKS—Rt. Hon. Robert Mellish, M.P.
POSTMASTER-GENERAL—Rt. Hon. John Stonehouse, M.P.
CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY—Rt. Hon. John Diamond, M.P.
MINISTERS OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS—
Rt. Hon. Frederick Mulley, M.P.
Rt. Hon. The Lord Chalfont, O.B.E., M.C.
Rt. Hon. The Lord Caradon, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E.
Rt. Hon. Goronwy Roberts, M.P.
MINISTER OF DEFENCE FOR ADMINISTRATION—Rt. Hon. G. W. Reynolds, M.P.
MINISTER OF DEFENCE FOR EQUIPMENT—John Morris, Esq., M.P.
MINISTER OF STATE, HOME OFFICE—The Lord Stonham, O.B.E.
MINISTER OF STATE, SCOTTISH OFFICE—Dr. J. Dickson Mabon, M.P.
MINISTERS OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE—
Rt. Hon. Alice Bacon, C.B.E., M.P.
Mrs. Shirley Williams, M.P.
Rt. Hon. Jennie Lee, M.P.
MINISTERS OF STATE, BOARD OF TRADE—
The Lord Brown, M.B.E.
Edmund Dell, Esq., M.P.
William Rodgers, Esq., M.P.
MINISTER OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS—
Rt. Hon. The Lord Shepherd

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

- MINISTER OF STATE, MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—Niall MacDermot, Esq., O.B.E., Q.C., M.P.
 MINISTER OF STATE, MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT—Stephen Swingler, Esq., M.P.
 MINISTER OF STATE, WELSH OFFICE—Mrs. Eirene White, M.P.
 MINISTER OF STATE, MINISTRY OF TECHNOLOGY—J. P. W. Mallalieu, Esq., M.P.
 MINISTER OF STATE, TREASURY—Dick Taverne, Esq., Q.C., M.P.
 MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS—T. W. Urwin, Esq., M.P.
 ATTORNEY-GENERAL—Rt. Hon. Sir Elwyn Jones, Q.C., M.P.
 LORD ADVOCATE—Rt. Hon. H. S. Wilson, Q.C.
 SOLICITOR-GENERAL—Sir Arthur Irvine, Q.C., M.P.
 SOLICITOR-GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND—Ewan Stewart, Esq., M.C., Q.C.

ORGANISATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY

THE OFFICERS

The Rt. Hon. Douglas Houghton was re-elected Chairman. On 2 November, 1967, it was announced that Mr. W. W. Hamilton, Mr. Edward Milne and Mrs. Joyce Butler had been elected Vice-Chairmen.

THE LIAISON COMMITTEE

The Liaison Committee consisted of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen, the Leader of the House (Rt. Hon. Fred Peart), the Deputy Leader of the House and Chief Whip (Rt. Hon. John Silkin), the Rt. Hon. Lord Champion representing the Labour Peers and the Secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party (Mr. Frank Barlow). The General Secretary of the Party (now Sir Leonard Williams) and later the Acting Secretary (Miss Sara Barker) have attended meetings of the Committee, thus enabling the Parliamentary Party to keep close contact with the National Executive of the Party.

SUBJECT GROUPS AND CHAIRMAN, ETC.
 AREA GROUPS AND CHAIRMAN

<i>Group</i>	<i>Chairman</i>	<i>Vice-Chairman</i>
Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Group	C. Kenyon	B. Hazell
Arts, Cultural Activities, Leisure and Sports Group	Rt. Hon. G. Strauss	{ John Parker A. Blenkinsop
Aviation Group	John Rankin	R. Howarth
Commonwealth and Colonies	T. Driberg	S. S. Allen
Communications Group	H. Jenkins	{ M. English G. Wallace
Defence and Services	Sir Geoffrey de Freitas	R. Edwards
Economic Affairs and Finance	J. Barnett	J. Dickens
Education	R. Mitchell	K. McNamara
Films Group	H. Jenkins	{ C. Johnson Lord Strabolgi
Foreign Affairs	Rt. Hon. P. Noel-Baker	F. Allaun
Forestry	J. Parker	A. Manuel
Health Services	L. A. Pavitt	Dr. S. Summerski!!
Home Office	V. Yates	Paul Rose
Housing and Local Government Overseas Development	A. Blenkinsop	J. Silverman
Power and Steel Group	F. Judd	F. Hooley
Public Works and Buildings	H. Neal	E. Wainwright
Science, Technology and Atomic Energy	C. Johnson	
Social Security	E. Moonman	S. Orme
Transport	H. Brown	
Legal and Judicial	A. Manuel	Rt. Hon. G. R. Strauss
Common Market and European Affairs Group	W. Wells	
Consumer Protection	S. Silkin, Q.C.	W. Molloy
Parliamentary Reform	W. T. Williams, Q.C.	A. Gardner
Shipping and Shipbuilding	D. Coe	M. English
	Rt. Hon. E. Shinwell	S. Mahon

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

A new group, called Prices and Productivity Group, has been set up. Mr. Ron Brown is its chairman.

<i>Group</i>	<i>Chairman</i>	<i>Vice-Chairman</i>
East Anglia	G. Wallace	
East Midlands	H. Neal	Sir Barnett Janner
Home Counties	Albert Murray	R. C. Mitchell
Lancashire and Cheshire	Frank Allaun	Mrs. Braddock
London and Middlesex	Joyce Butler	C. Johnson
Northern Group	J. Tinn	E. Milne
Scottish Group	P. Doig	G. Lawson
Welsh Group	J. Idwal Jones	D. Coleman
West Midlands	J. Horner	Mrs. Renee Short
South Western	W. A. Wilkins	A. Palmer
Yorkshire Group	D. Griffiths	A. Roberts

CODE OF CONDUCT

At Party Meetings on 28 February, 1968, and 21 March, 1968, the Parliamentary Party adopted the following Code of Conduct:

1. CONDUCT

It is the duty of Members to conduct themselves at all times in a manner consistent with membership of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and in particular:

- (a) to act in harmony with the policies of the Parliamentary Labour Party;
- (b) to be in regular attendance at the House and to maintain a good division record, and
- (c) to refrain from personal attacks upon colleagues, orally or in writing.

2. CO-ORDINATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

- (a) Area Groups for the study of regional problems, and Subject Groups for the study of particular aspects of Party policy may be set up by the Parliamentary Party. No such Group or any other organised Group is permissible unless approved in writing by the Chief Whip.
- (b) Before tabling any Early Day Motion, Private Member's Motion, or Prayer, or amendments thereto, a Member shall first consult the Chief Whip. For the purpose of securing concerted action in the House, Members shall consult the Chief Whip before tabling any Motion, Amendment or Prayer. The tabling of any such Motion, Amendment or Prayer shall be delayed for one sitting day should the Chief Whip so request.

3. VOTING IN THE HOUSE

While the Party recognises the right of Members to abstain from voting in the House on matters of deeply held personal conviction, this does not entitle Members to vote contrary to a decision of a Party Meeting, or to abstain from voting on a Vote of Confidence in a Labour Government.

4. DISCIPLINE

The Chief Whip may take or recommend disciplinary actions in respect of any breach of paragraphs 1-3 above by any Member, as provided for below:

(a) *Reprimand*

A reprimand may be given by the Chief Whip in writing, and reported to the Liaison Committee.

(b) *Suspension from the privileges of membership of the Parliamentary Labour Party* (referred to as "suspension")

On the recommendation of the Chief Whip the Liaison Committee may seek approval of a Party Meeting for the suspension of a Member for a period to be specified in the Motion.

A suspended Member may not attend any general meeting of the Parliamentary Party or its Area or Subject Group Meetings.

He will however be expected to comply with the Party Whip and to conform with whatever pairing arrangements apply to other Members of the Party from time to time.

The period of suspension may be extended by a Party Meeting if the Chief Whip and the Liaison Committee are of the opinion that the conduct of the suspended

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

Member during the period of suspension has given rise to further dissatisfaction:

Provided that the Liaison Committee may include in any Motion for the suspension of a Member authority to the Chief Whip to extend the period of suspension for one further period, not exceeding the period specified in the Motion, after consultation with the Liaison Committee.

The Chief Whip may at his discretion, after consultation with the Liaison Committee, end the period of suspension earlier than the specified date.

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party shall be notified of suspension.

(c) *Withdrawal of the Whip*

Withdrawal of the Whip (i.e., expulsion from the Parliamentary Labour Party) may be decided upon by the Party Meeting at which prior notice of motion has been given by the Liaison Committee.

Withdrawal of the Whip shall be reported to the National Executive Committee.

(d) *Member's right to be heard*

Any Member against whom disciplinary action is proposed under paragraphs (b) (suspension) and (c) (withdrawal of the Whip) shall be given at least three days' notice, and shall have the right to be heard at the Party Meeting before the Motion is put to the vote.

5. Minutes of meetings of the Parliamentary Party shall be available for inspection by any Member on application to the Secretary.

On 26 May, 1968, the Party approved the Motion:

"That for the purposes of the Constitution of the Labour Party, the Code of Conduct shall be regarded for all purposes as the Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party."

LEGISLATION DURING SESSION 1967-68 AS ON SATURDAY, 27 JULY, 1968

**Government Bills*

†*Given precedence by the Government*

<i>Title of Bill</i>	<i>Progress</i>
Abolition of Fidelity Bonding	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Administration of Justice	Royal Assent, 15 February
†Adoption	Royal Assent, 26 July
Age Level of Employment	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Agricultural Holdings (Deceased Tenants)	Withdrawn, 8 April
Agriculture Act 1958 (Amendment)	Withdrawn, 28 March
*Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions)	Royal Assent, 3 July
*Air Corporations	Royal Assent, 30 May
Aircraft Noise	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Anti-discrimination	2nd Reading, 22 July
Areas of Special Scientific Interest	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Authorised Sweepstakes	2nd Reading negatived, 23 February
*British Standard Time [Lords]	Royal Assent, 26 July
*Capital Allowances [Lords]	Royal Assent, 1 February
†Caravan Sites	Royal Assent, 26 July
Cigarettes (Health Hazards)	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Civil Aviation [Lords]	Returned to the Lords with Amendments, 23 July
*Civil Evidence [Lords]	Returned to the Lords with Amendments, 23 July
Clean Air	Lords Amendments to be con- sidered, 14 October
Clients' Money Accounts	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Coal Industry	Royal Assent, 20 December
*Commonwealth Immigrants	Royal Assent, 1 March
*Commonwealth Telecommunications [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
*Consolidated Fund	Royal Assent, 1 February
*Consolidated Fund (No. 2)	Royal Assent, 28 March
*Consolidated Fund (Appropriation)	Royal Assent, 26 July

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

<i>Title of Bill</i>	<i>Progress</i>
*Consular Relations [Lords]	Royal Assent, 10 April
Council Tenants' Charter	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Countryside	Royal Assent, 3 July
*Courts-Martial (Appeals) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
Crimes of Absolute Prohibition (Defence)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Criminal Appeal [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
*Criminal Appeal (Northern Ireland) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
Cruelty to Animals Act 1876 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Customary Holidays	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Customs Duties (Dumping and Subsidies) Amendment	Royal Assent, 3 July
†Design Copyright	Passed, 25 July
Development of Play-groups	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Disablement Income Commission	2nd Reading, 14 October
Dismissal Appeals Boards	2nd Reading, 14 October
Divorce Reform	As amended, in the Standing Committee, to be considered, 14 October
Domestic and Appellate Proceedings (Restriction of Publicity)	
	Passed, 22 March
*Education	Royal Assent, 10 April
*Education (No. 2)	Royal Assent, 3 July
Employer's Liability (Defective Equipment)	Not amended, in the Standing Committee, to be considered, 14 October
Equal Pay	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Erskine Bridge Tolls	Royal Assent, 15 February
Exchange of Young Persons	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Expiring Laws Continuance	Royal Assent, 20 December
*Export Guarantees [Lords]	Royal Assent, 30 May
Export of Animals for Research	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Family Allowances and National Insurance	Royal Assent, 20 December
*Family Allowances and National Insurance (No. 2)	Royal Assent, 3 July
Federal Government	2nd Reading, 14 October
Feuduties, Multurens and Long Leases (Scotland)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Finance	Royal Assent, 26 July
*Firearms [Lords]	Royal Assent, 30 May
Freedom of Publication Protection	2nd Reading [Dropped]
†Friendly and Industrial and Provident Societies	Royal Assent, 26 July
*Gaming	Passed, 12 June
Gaming Establishments	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Gas and Electricity	Royal Assent, 3 July
General Rate Act 1967 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Health Services and Public Health	Royal Assent, 26 July
†Hearing Aids (<i>changed to Hearing Aid Council</i>)	Royal Assent, 26 July
†Highlands and Islands Industry (<i>changed to Highlands and Islands Development (Scotland)</i>)	Royal Assent, 26 July
Highways (Straying Animals)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Housing (Financial Provisions) (Scotland), [Lords]	Royal Assent, 30 May
*Hovercraft	Royal Assent, 26 July
Immigration	2nd Reading, 14 October
Immigration (No. 2)	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Industrial Expansion	Royal Assent, 30 May
*International Monetary Fund	Royal Assent, 26 July
*International Organisations [Lords]	Royal Assent, 26 July
*Justices of the Peace	Lords Amendments to be considered, 22 July
Land Compensation	2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland)	Passed, 8 May
*Legitimation (Scotland) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
Live Hare Coursing (Abolition)	2nd Reading, 14 October

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

<i>Title of Bill</i>	<i>Progress</i>
Local Authorities (Goods and Services)	Adjourned Debate on 2nd Reading [Dropped]
Local Authorities' Mutual Investment Trust	Royal Assent, 30 May
Local Government [Lords]	Not amended, in the Standing Committee, to be considered
*London Cab	Royal Assent, 15 February
†Maintenance Orders	Royal Assent, 3 July
*Mauritius Independence	Royal Assent, 29 February
*Medicines	Passed, 24 June
Motorways Corporation	2nd Reading [Dropped]
National Insurance Act 1965 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
National Insurance (Further Provisions)	2nd Reading negatived, 16 February
*National Loans	Royal Assent, 13 March
National Lottery	Reported, without Amendment from the Standing Committee, 20 March
*New Towns (Scotland) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 28 March
Outlawries (No. 2)	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Overseas Aid	Royal Assent, 26 July
Parliamentary Commissioner Act 1967 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Passports	2nd Reading, 14 October
Ponies	Brought from the Lords, 21 June
Prevention of Crime (Scotland)	Adjourned Debate on 2nd Reading [Dropped]
*Prices and Incomes	Royal Assent, 10 July
Protection of Beneficiaries	Withdrawn, 27 February
Protection of Museums and Art Galleries	Withdrawn, 13 February
*Provisional Collection of Taxes [Lords]	Royal Assent, 1 February
*Public Expenditure and Receipts	Royal Assent, 20 March
Public Service and Armed Forces Pensions Review	2nd Reading negatived, 5 April
*Race Relations	Passed, 9 July
Renal Transplantation	As amended, in the Standing Committee, to be considered, 14 October
*Rents [Lords]	Royal Assent, 8 May
Representation of the People Act 1949 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Representation of the People Act 1949 (Amendment) (No. 2)	2nd Reading negatived, 5 April
*Restrictive Trade Practices	Passed, 27 June
*Revenue	Withdrawn, 2 February
*Revenue (No. 2)	Royal Assent, 13 March
Road Safety Act 1967 (Amendment)	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Road Traffic Act 1960 (Amendment)	2nd Reading, 14 October
Road Traffic (Burden of Responsibilities)	2nd Reading negatived, 5 April
Sale of Tickets (Street Offences)	2nd Reading, 14 October
Sale of Venison (Scotland)	Withdrawn, 20 March
Sale of Venison (Scotland) (No. 2)	Royal Assent, 3 July
*Sewerage (Scotland)	Royal Assent, 26 July
Shops	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Shops (Sunday Trading) (No. 2) [Lords]	2nd Reading, 14 October
*Social Work (Scotland) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 26 July
Stag-hunting with Hounds	2nd Reading, 14 October
Sunday Entertainments	As amended, in the Standing Committee, to be further considered, 14 October
*Swaziland Independence	Royal Assent, 26 July
*Teachers Superannuation (Scotland)	Royal Assent, 13 March
†Theatres	Royal Assent, 26 July
†Thefts [Lords]	Royal Assent, 26 July

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

<i>Title of Bill</i>	<i>Progress</i>
*Town and Country Planning	Passed, 22 May
Town and Country Planning (Amendment)	As amended, in the Standing Committee, to be considered, 14 October
*Trade Descriptions [Lords]	Laid aside, 13 February
*Trade Descriptions (No. 2) [Lords]	Royal Assent, 30 May
*Transport	Passed, 29 May
*Transport Holding Company	Royal Assent, 6 March
Travel Concessions	Withdrawn, 30 January
*Trustee Savings Banks	Royal Assent, 15 February
Voluntary Service	2nd Reading, 28 October
*Water Resources	Royal Assent, 3 July
Wild Plants Protection	2nd Reading [Dropped]
Wills	Royal Assent, 30 May

AGRICULTURE

This has been a year marked by steady progress and one major setback. The steady progress has been shown by the index of the industry's net output which, after remaining static for three years, showed a rise of eight points between 1966-67 and 1967-68. The major setback was the worst epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease for over 30 years, which cost the country about £30 million in compensation for slaughtered stock and caused substantial other losses to the industry through lost output and the need for precautions against the spread of the disease. It became clear during the year that the financial encouragement which the Government had given to the industry in 1967 was bringing good results. At the 1968 Farm Price Review the Government took steps to sustain the encouraging forward momentum that is now under way. In accordance with the prices and incomes policy, the industry was called on to bear a part (about one quarter) of its substantial cost increases, but the Government made an award of £52½ million. In order to have the maximum immediate impact, this was concentrated on the guaranteed prices themselves, with less emphasis on production grants.

In productivity the agricultural industry continued to outstrip manufacturing industry. The growth in its output per head over recent years has been more than twice that of the economy as a whole.

PAYMENTS TO TENANTS

Legislation was enacted to give a better deal to tenant farmers who lose their farms because their land is needed for development. Under the Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, landlords will have to pay to tenant farmers an additional payment equivalent to four years' rent when displacing them for non-agricultural purposes.

SECURITY OF TENURE

The Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act gives improved security of tenure to near relatives of deceased tenants in Scotland. In England and Wales the Government are reviewing the operation of the Agricultural Holdings Act as a whole.

SMALLHOLDINGS

The Government have announced their decisions on the recommendations of the Wise Committee. On statutory smallholdings the Government accepted that the views of the Committee on the need for reorganisation and amalgamation were in line with the Government's farm structure policy. They have also accepted the Committee's recommendation that assistance towards reorganisation should take the form of capital grants. On the Land Settlement Association the Government agreed with many of the Committee's specific recommendations, in particular that the structure of the Association's scheme should be improved by concentrating on horticultural production. Decisions were announced on the future of particular estates.

WELFARE OF ANIMALS

Legislation was enacted which will make possible new and better safeguards for the welfare of farm animals. This resulted from the recommendations of the Brambell Committee. For the most part the Government has decided to use a flexible approach based on codes of practice and on advice.

FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE: REHABILITATION OF FARMS

The Government took special measures to assist the farms hit by the epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease. A £10 per acre special ploughing grant was introduced. The Dairy Herd (Alternative Enterprise) Scheme gave special aid to farms embarking on suitable alternative enterprises. There were also important concessions on taxation. The new measures were notably successful in helping the farms to get back into full production again in a steady and planned manner.

IMPORTANT REPORTS

A number of important reports have been published during this year. The report of the Economic Development Committee for Agriculture on the import saving possibilities and the report of the Reorganisation Commission for Eggs are now under study by the Government.

FISHERIES

The Government took steps to help the deep sea fishing industry. A new policy was announced on 8 July. The Government have given an assurance of continued support to the deep sea fleet for a minimum period of five years. A new form of operating subsidy is being introduced for the three years beginning 1 August, 1968. The distribution of the subsidy will be related not to classification of vessels but to their operating efficiency.

**BOARD OF TRADE
International Commercial Policy**

KENNEDY ROUND

On 1 July, 1968, the United Kingdom, the European Economic Community, Japan and a number of other countries began to implement the tariff reductions which they had agreed in the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations in the GATT. Taken together with the reductions made by the United States and some other countries on 1 January, 1968, these represent the first phase of tariff reductions which, by 1 January, 1972, will be the most extensive ever achieved. In addition to enjoying the competitive advantage gained from devaluation, British exporters can now look forward to the new opportunities afforded by easier access to many of their most valuable markets overseas. The opportunity was also taken to simplify the United Kingdom customs tariff.

EFTA

The EFTA Ministerial Council met in London on 9-10 May, 1968, under the chairmanship of the President of the Board of Trade. Its most important outcome, in terms of strengthening EFTA co-operation, was its approval of a work programme which will seek (1) to improve further the trading opportunities opened up by the Free Trade Area; (2) to permit a more precise interpretation of the provisions of the EFTA Convention, including the rules of competition; and (3) to extend consultations within EFTA in a number of fields.

UNCTAD II

The Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (New Delhi, 1 February to 29 March, 1968) covered virtually all subjects in the field of trade, aid and development affecting developing countries. Although the Conference did not produce all the results for which the developing countries had hoped, there were positive achievements though the importance of these in practice will depend on the willingness of individual governments to follow them up. The most important of these were:

- (1) Agreement on the early establishment of a mutually acceptable system of generalised preferences in favour of manufactures and semi-manufactures from developing countries; and
- (2) Agreement on a new and more generous target (1 per cent of Gross National Product) for the flow of resources from developed to developing countries.

(Full details on UNCTAD II are provided in a White Paper, Cmnd 3649.)

ANTI-DUMPING LEGISLATION

The Customs Duties (Dumping and Subsidies) Amendment Act, 1968, gives the Board powers to take provisional action where this is expedient to prevent serious injury being done while a full investigation of alleged materially injurious dumping or subsidisation of imported goods is taking place. It also gives the Board additional powers in the case of alleged dumping by Eastern Area countries.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

Industrial Growth and Efficiency

DEVELOPMENT AREAS

The Government's policy of encouraging industrial growth in the development areas has been pushed vigorously ahead by the Board of Trade. Annual expenditure on development area incentives administered by a number of Government Departments (investment grants, the Regional Employment Premium, the Local Employment Acts, etc.) is now running at more than £250 million which represents an increase of £160 million as compared with last year. In the financial year 1967-68 assistance offered under the Local Employment Acts rose to £46.4 million and this expenditure is expected to create some 67,400 jobs. During the same period the building of 101 factories and extensions by the Board of Trade was authorised and these included 35 advance factories. On 4 July the President announced that future assistance to service industries under the Acts would only be given to those projects providing over 50 additional jobs. Every effort is made to ensure that businessmen are aware of the now very substantial help available to those firms manufacturing in development areas and that they fully benefit from them.

Industrial development certificates authorising the construction of 28 million square feet in the development areas were issued in 1967-68. These represented about one-third of the total area approved in Great Britain but are expected to provide about half of the estimated additional employment resulting from I.D.C.s approved in Great Britain.

The Board of Trade has been particularly concerned with the special problems of those areas where unemployment has been exceptionally high often as a result of pit closures. Steps have been taken to meet the particular difficulties of such places where the industrial structure has offered little scope for alternative employment. These include establishing new industrial estates and expanding existing ones; a rent-free period of up to five years in Board of Trade factories; building grants of up to 35 per cent; loans at a moderate rate of interest to help with the balance of the building costs; and a new operational grant normally at the rate of 10 per cent per annum for three years based on cumulative expenditure of eligible buildings, plant and machinery (less any building and investment grants). Clearly this is not a problem to which there is any quick solution but since these added incentives were introduced 12 advance factories have been allocated and the jobs in prospect now total 19,100 in these areas.

INVESTMENT GRANTS

During the financial year 1967-68 an estimated £315 million was paid on investment made previously by industry between 17 January, 1966, to 31 March, 1967. Of this, £287 million was expected to relate to plant and machinery, prototypes and mining works; £7 million to computers; and £21 million to ships and hover-vehicles. £145 million of the £287 million was expected to be paid at the higher Development Area rate, i.e., 40 per cent for expenditure in 1966 and 45 per cent for expenditure in 1967.

BOARD OF TRADE—SPONSORED INDUSTRIES

The Board has continued its work as "sponsoring Department" for an important part of British industry and trade, including: textiles, clothing, and many other consumer goods, chemicals, plastics, and rubber; non-ferrous metals; paper and board, printing and publishing; and the distributive trades. This work involves continuous close contact with these industries and trades in order to understand their circumstances and problems, and to explain and give effect to Government policy. In the past year much of the Board's work in this field has been concerned with such questions as export promotion, import substitution, prices, and the encouragement of rationalisation and industrial efficiency. An important part of the work is done through the relevant Economic Development Committees; there are 12 of these E.D.C.s within the Board's sphere, and the Board plays an active part in the work of all of them.

PRODUCTIVITY

- (i) A new grant-in-aid on a pump-priming basis—over £200,000 in the next six years—is being given so that the Centre for Inter-Firm Comparison can expand its work.
- (ii) A new grant of £650,000 over seven years to the British Institute of Management.
- (iii) An increased grant for 1968-69 of £690,000 [1967-68: £585,000] to the British Productivity Council which serves industry both from its headquarters and through the 140 or so local productivity committees and associations.
- (iv) "Aid to Productivity", a group training scheme to help increase productivity in small firms, was launched experimentally in Manchester in January, 1968. The scheme is subsidised to about one-third of its total cost.

- (v) The pilot Consultancy Grants scheme whereby the Government offers a 50 per cent subsidy towards fees paid by small firms—employing 25-500—to expert consultants, was launched in Bristol and Glasgow on 11 June. £500,000 is being made available and the Government will decide from the results obtained whether a similar scheme should be instituted nationally.

ALUMINIUM SMELTERS

The Board of Trade has been able to announce the setting up of three smelters in the United Kingdom. Agreement has been reached with Alcan Aluminium (U.K.) Ltd., British Aluminium Company and the R.T.Z.-B.I.C.C. Consortium and these companies will build at Lynemouth, Northumberland, Invergordon and Holyhead respectively.

These negotiations involving a number of Government Departments as well as the private companies were extremely detailed and complex. The projects represent a great deal of public money and a major Government investment decision with considerable long-term implications in a number of fields. There was also the need to keep in touch with and reassure our E.F.T.A. partners as to developments.

The smelters will make a considerable impact on their site areas and will provide a significant number of much-needed jobs for men. At Invergordon in particular the announcement represents a very major breakthrough and it is hoped the plant will be a focus for development of a type all too rare in the Highlands.

The total capacity of the three smelters is 260,000 tons and when fully operational there should be very considerable import savings.

RESTRICTIVE TRADE PRACTICES BILL

The Restrictive Trades Practices Bill, introduced in the Commons on 10 April, 1968, would empower the Board to exempt from registration (and thus from judicial examination) restrictive agreements of substantial importance to the national economy which promote efficiency or provide for industrial capacity. Similar powers are given to certain Government departments in relation to restrictive agreements made in support of the prices policy. The Bill also improves the enforcement provisions of existing legislation and provides for the honouring of our international obligations under the Stockholm (E.F.T.A.) Convention and the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement in relation to restrictive agreements.

Export Promotion

OVERSEAS TRADE PROMOTIONS

The Board has continued to support industry's participation in trade fairs overseas (at 137 events during the first six months of 1968, compared with 210 for the year 1967). Major British Weeks were held at Toronto and Brussels in October, 1967, and there will be further Weeks at Stockholm (27 September to 5 October, 1968), Vienna (10-18 October, 1969) and Tokyo (26 September to 5 October, 1969). The number of British shopping weeks and store promotions supported by the Board has continued to increase: during the financial year 1967-68 there were seven shopping weeks as well as individual promotions at 114 retail store outlets.

GRANTS FOR EXPORT COUNCILS

It was announced by the President of the Board of Trade on 23 July, 1968, that, in view of their special circumstances, he proposed to make annual but tapering grants over three years to the Clothing Export Council, the British Agricultural Export Council and the Book Development Council. The grants—for approved export promotion activities—will be up to a maximum for each Council of £20,000 in the present financial year, reducing to £15,000 and then £10,000 in the next two.

TRADE MISSIONS AND COLLECTIVE MARKET RESEARCH

The trade missions scheme, administered on the Board's behalf by the British National Export Council, continues to grow rapidly. There were 44 inward and 120 outward missions in the 12 months July, 1967, to June, 1968, compared with 42 and 98 respectively in the previous 12 months. Market research projects supported totalled 103, compared with 70 in the previous period.

On 23 July, 1968, the President of the Board of Trade announced his intention to introduce a scheme under which the Board will, in a limited number of selected cases, supplement the market information obtained for potential exporters by the existing Government services by contributing one half of the cost of professional marketing research.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

MARKET INTELLIGENCE

The Board, working with Diplomatic Service commercial officers overseas, continues to provide exporters with market information, news of specific opportunities overseas, and general help with export problems. Enquiries received by the Board's Export Services Branch have increased by 20 per cent since devaluation.

EXPORT PUBLICITY

The Board has continued its Export Intelligence advertising campaign. Since the campaign began in April, 1965, over 50,000 enquiries have been made to the Board as a direct result. The Board has also developed further its series of export handbooks, and has produced two new export films—"The Friendly Invasion" and "Call Export Intelligence".

GRANT FOR EXPORT HOUSES DIRECTORY

The President of the Board of Trade announced on 23 July, 1968, that a grant of not more than £13,000 was to be given to the British Export Houses Association to enable the necessary research to be carried out for a comprehensive directory of export houses.

REGIONAL MARKETING ADVISERS

As an experiment two part-time Regional Marketing Advisers were appointed in January, 1968, to the Board's London and South Eastern and Eastern Regional offices. Their function is to strengthen the normal advisory services of the regional offices on such matters as the organisation of firms for overseas marketing, the formation of marketing plans and the investigation of particular marketing problems.

OVERSEAS PROJECT GROUP

An Overseas Project Group was formed in January, 1968, to help increase exports through major capital projects. It is setting up an "operations room" to collect information about prospective project business and foreign competition, so that policy can be co-ordinated more effectively between the various parts of the Government machine, the nationalised industries, consultants and manufacturers, and the pace generally kept up.

EXPORTS CREDITS GUARANTEE DEPARTMENT

E.C.G.D.'s business has continued to expand. During the financial year 1967-68 turnover increased by over 12 per cent, from £1,683 million to £1,889 million. The year ended with a surplus of £1.9 million on commercial account, compared with a deficit of £5.5 million in the previous year. Financial Guarantees for large capital projects amounted to £126.4 million. A number of new credit arrangements were made under which U.K. banks were able to finance sales of British goods or projects to overseas buyers. These were guaranteed by E.C.G.D. and created opportunities for British exporters as favourable as those offered by other exporting countries.

EXPORT MARKETING PARTNERSHIPS

Since July, 1967, the Board has made available a grant of up to £20,000 for three years to the Institute of Marketing to finance the expansion of the Export Marketing Partnerships scheme. This is designed to promote partnerships between small manufacturers new to exporting and experienced exporters such as export houses. Partnerships are based on realistic export pricing, using marginal costing formulas, and on profit-sharing arrangements which ensure a fair return to both manufacturer and exporter.

OVERSEAS MARKETING CORPORATION LTD.

The Overseas Marketing Corporation Ltd. was formed in November, 1967, with the task of seeking new opportunities for British exports and ensuring an adequate marketing effort to fulfil them. It has equity capital of £100,000 subsidised by ten major companies and loan capital of up to £400,000 from the Government; the Corporation operates, however, as a private concern. It is concentrating at first on selected European markets for groups of products which research has established will offer good prospects for development. The first moves have been to set up a sales office in Italy to exploit the market there for hospital and medical equipment and to acquire an interest in a textile goods distributor in Sweden.

MONOPOLIES COMMISSION

Since July, 1967, three reports of the Monopolies Commission on the supply of goods and services have been published: flat glass, man-made cellulosic fibres and men's haircutting services. In the first case the conditions that prevail were found not to be against the public interest.

In the second they were found to operate against the public interest and the report is presently under discussion with Courtaulds. In the third the conditions of the Act were found not to apply.

Following references of proposed mergers under the Monopolies and Mergers Act, 1965, the Commission found that the merger between Thorn Electrical Industries Ltd. and Radio Rentals Ltd. did not operate against the public interest. But it recommended against the merger of Barclays, Lloyds and Martins banks by six votes to four—less than the two-thirds majority necessary to enable the Board to exercise its statutory powers to prevent the merger. The Government has considered the report in this case and accepted the majority view that the merger would unacceptably reduce consumer choice and should not be allowed.

Consumer Interests

The Trade Descriptions Bill, successor to the Protection of Consumers (Trade Descriptions) Bill which lapsed when the last Parliament was dissolved, was introduced into the House of Lords (under the title Consumer Protection Bill) in November, 1967. It received the Royal Assent on 30 May, and comes into force on 30 November, 1968. In general terms the Act—which extends the criminal law—deals with the misdescription of goods and services, and with certain types of false statement about price. It also provides important new order-making powers in connection with the labelling of goods, the inclusion of information in advertisements and the definition of terms used in trade. Enforcement is made the responsibility of local weights and measures authorities, and the Board of Trade has certain order-making powers.

On 2 July, 1968, the Board set up a Committee on Consumer Credit under the chairmanship of Lord Crowther. Its task is:

- (i) to inquire into the present law and practice governing the provision of credit to individuals for financing purchases of goods and services for personal consumption;
- (ii) to consider the advantages of existing and possible alternative arrangements for providing such credit, having regard to the interests of consumers, traders and suppliers of credit including depositors;
- (iii) to consider in particular whether any amendment of the Moneylenders Acts is desirable; and
- (iv) to make recommendations.

Civil Aviation

On 26 July, 1967, the President announced the establishment of a Committee of Inquiry into the structure and regulation of the civil air transport industry. The Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Ronald Edwards, is expected to report by the spring of 1969.

NEW AIRPORTS

On 22 February, 1968, the President announced that the whole question of the siting of the third London Airport would be referred to an independent public inquiry. A Commission of Inquiry has now been set up under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. Justice Roskill: its terms of reference are to inquire into the timing of the need for a four-runway airport to cater for the growth of traffic at existing airports serving the London area; to consider the various alternative sites; and to recommend which site should be selected. The Inquiry is expected to take about two years.

DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT AERODROMES

As a further step in the policy of transferring to local authorities the ownership and management of the few remaining air transport aerodromes still administered by the Board, it has been agreed to sell Bournemouth (Hurn) Airport to a consortium comprising the Bournemouth Corporation and Dorset County Council. The airport will be handed over to the consortium on 1 April, 1969, the Board continuing for a period thereafter to be responsible for the navigation services. It has been agreed in principle that the British Airports Authority will take over Edinburgh (Turnhouse) Airport subject to agreement on terms of transfer.

AIR SAFETY

The report was published in May, 1968, of the special review of the safety performance of operators of United Kingdom public transport aircraft. The review, established by the Board in June, 1967, was conducted by the Director of Aviation Safety (Board of Trade) and by the

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

Air Registration Board with the assistance of two independent advisers. Amongst conclusions and recommendations covering a wide field the review found:

- (a) There was no evidence that any aircraft operator currently holding a certificate was not competent to secure the safe operation of aircraft or that any type of aircraft now in use was below an acceptable level of air-worthiness.
- (b) The safety level of British civil air transport had improved over the past ten years but was below that achieved by the United States and Australia.
- (c) The sections within the Board dealing with safety matters (including inspection of airlines) required reorganisation and strengthening.

AIRCRAFT NOISE

During the year there have been discussions with the U.S. and French Governments, and with aviation interests in the United Kingdom, about the introduction of a Noise Certification Scheme which would make future subsonic aircraft design comply with specified noise standards. This will ensure that they will be quieter than present-day aircraft. Enabling powers to allow for the introduction of such a scheme are contained in the Civil Aviation Bill, introduced in the Lords in November, 1967. In the same Bill, powers are being taken to restrict or prohibit supersonic flights over the United Kingdom but it is too early to say what restrictions will be needed.

The Board has maintained its controls over the ways in which aircraft are operated in order to reduce the noise disturbance to the practical minimum. Controls have been extended in some respects, including the introduction of noise limits at Gatwick.

THE AIR CORPORATIONS

The Board approved the ordering by B.O.A.C. of 11 B747 Jumbo jets which will provide a large part of their fleet capacity in the 1970's.

Discussions continued on the second stage of B.E.A.'s re-equipment. The President announced in December, 1967, that B.E.A.'s preference for the BAC2-11 could not be supported because of its heavy costs, but approval was subsequently given to B.E.A. ordering a fleet of Trident 3B's. Negotiations on financial aid to B.E.A. were concluded, to fulfil the Government's pledge of 1966 that the Corporation would be enabled to operate as a fully commercial undertaking with the British fleet acquired. The Air Corporations Act, 1968, raised B.E.A.'s borrowing powers to cover capital expenditure over the next five years.

INCLUSIVE TOUR HOLIDAYS BY AIR

On 4 April, 1968, the President announced reductions in the minimum control prices of inclusive tour holidays by air during the 1968-69 winter season. The new control prices, introduced on an experimental basis, are designed to rectify anomalies in control price structure and to encourage a more even distribution of traffic throughout the year.

AIR SERVICES ARRANGEMENTS

During the year new agreements have been negotiated with Rumania, Malawi, Zambia and Afghanistan, and improvements have been gained with several countries—including the U.S.S.R., Venezuela, Japan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Yugoslavia.

MORTGAGES ON AIRCRAFT

The Civil Aviation Bill, now before Parliament, will enable a system of aircraft mortgages to be set up, along the lines of that applying to ships. It is expected that an Order will be made next year which will provide for a simple statutory form of mortgage, to be registered with the Board of Trade.

TOKYO CONVENTION ON CRIMES IN AIRCRAFT

Steps are being taken to ratify the Tokyo Convention on Crimes in Aircraft, in pursuance of the Tokyo Convention Act, 1967. This will clarify the position of the commander of the aircraft and will extend extradition treaties to crimes in aircraft.

CIVIL AVIATION EXPORTS

Continued support has been given to British industry in its efforts to expand exports of civil aviation ground equipment including feasibility studies, design and construction of civil airports. This is a large and expanding market and much of the know-how resides in the Board. With the assistance of the Board a British consortium is in the last stages of negotiations for re-equipment of 18 airfields in Iran at a cost of £13 million, and this could be the pattern of many similar operations.

Shipping

The Committee of Inquiry into Shipping, set up by the Government on 19 April, 1967, under the chairmanship of Lord Rochdale, has continued its review of the organisation and structure of the Shipping industry, its methods of operation and any other factors which affect its efficiency and competitiveness; and is to recommend what action should be taken by ship-owners, seafarers and Government, to bring about changes which would improve the position of the industry in these respects.

REVISION OF THE MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS

Work continued during the year with a view to revision of Parts II and IV of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, on the lines of the proposals of the Court of Inquiry under Lord Pearson's chairmanship.

TRAWLER SAFETY

Following the tragic loss of three Hull trawlers in January and February, 1968, the President set up an independent Committee of Inquiry, under Admiral Sir Deric Holland-Martin, to examine the major factors affecting the safety of deep sea trawlers and their crews, and to make recommendations. The matter is clearly one of great urgency and the Committee is expected to make an interim report in the early autumn.

ANGLO-SOVIET NAVIGATION TREATY

This was signed on 3 April, 1968. The main provisions dealt with conditions of competition between British and Soviet ships; the treatment of each other's ships in port; and consultation between the Government Departments responsible for maritime measures. The treaty will come into force as soon as instruments of ratification have been exchanged.

INTERNATIONAL LOAD LINE CONVENTION

The necessary statutory instruments required to enable the U.K. to accept the International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, when it came into force on 21 July, 1968, were prepared and presented to Parliament.

HOVERCRAFT

The Hovercraft Bill, introduced in the Commons on 9 May, 1968, has as its main purpose the recognition of the hovercraft as a vehicle of a new kind—neither a ship nor an aircraft—and to make provision for regulating various matters, including safety, liability and the jurisdiction of the courts.

LOAN FOR LINER "QUEEN ELIZABETH 2"

Negotiations were completed with the Cunard Steamship Company for a Government loan of up to £24 million for the completion of the liner "Queen Elizabeth 2".

Insurance Companies

The Insurance Companies (Accounts and Forms) Regulations, 1968, will soon be laid before Parliament. These Regulations, which prescribe the accounting and other information which insurance companies have to provide to the Board annually, will replace all the existing Regulations applicable to insurance companies with effect from 1 January, 1969. They bring the form of accounts up to date, implement some of the recommendations of the Jenkins Committee on Company Law relating to insurance companies' accounts, provide for greater disclosure of the financial affairs of insurance companies and for the supply from 1970 onwards of statistical information which will permit objective verification by the Board of Trade of the reserves provided by the companies.

Assistance for Hotels

As announced by the President on 20 March, 1968, and in the White Paper "Hotel Development Incentives" (Cmnd. 3633) of 21 May, the Government proposes to introduce legislation to provide for a new system of grants and loans designed to assist and encourage the building of new hotels and the extension or improvement of existing ones. The new plans will supersede the experimental loan scheme introduced in 1967, which closed for new applications on 31 March, 1968.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

Film Levy Changes

The rate of the levy on cinema takings has been reduced and changes have been made in the rules governing its distribution to producers of films eligible for payments from the British Film Fund. These measures were contained in regulations, made in July, 1968, under the Cinematograph Films Acts, 1957 and 1966.

Patents

A Committee to examine the Patent System and Patent Law was set up by the Board on 10 May, 1967, under the chairmanship of Mr. Maurice Banks. The Committee is to examine the British patent system and patent law in the light of the increasing need for international collaboration in patent matters.

Statistics

In close consultation with industry, the Government plan important improvements in industrial statistics. To make these possible, and to improve the value of the information collected, a common register of businesses will be established for use in statistical inquiries. Use of this register will allow information from different surveys to be brought together and inter-related. As a result large-scale quinquennial censuses of production, such as that to be taken for 1968, will become unnecessary in the future.

The Board's Census Office is to become the Business Statistics Office, and will have the responsibility for collecting information, maintaining the common register and for developing data banks of industrial statistics. These changes are described in the May issue of *Statistical News*.

COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Throughout the year the Government has maintained close contact and co-operation with Commonwealth Governments. The Prime Minister flew to Australia to attend the memorial service of Prime Minister Harold Holt. The Commonwealth Secretary visited six African Commonwealth countries in November, 1967, for discussions on the Rhodesian problem, and visited Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand in connection with Britain's accelerated withdrawal from the Far East.

General Ankrah of Ghana, Dr. Banda of Malawi, Chief Leabua Jonothan of Lesotho, Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia, President Kaunda of Zambia, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, visited Britain during the period of this report.

A meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers was held in September, 1967, in Trinidad which was attended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Fourth Commonwealth Conference on Education was held in Lagos in February.

AMALGAMATION OF FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICES

The Prime Minister announced on 15 March that it was intended to amalgamate the Foreign Office and Commonwealth Office later this year. When the amalgamation is completed one Secretary of State will be responsible for the general conduct of Britain's overseas relations. Britain has been the only country in the Commonwealth to maintain two separate departments for overseas affairs.

COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRANTS ACT, 1968

In March, 1968, an Act was passed to bring under immigration control citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies holding United Kingdom passports but having no substantial connection with Britain. This was necessitated by the sudden arrival of large numbers of East African holders of United Kingdom passports which was placing a severe strain on the services of those areas where they decided to settle.

COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP

Mauritius became an independent member of the Commonwealth on 12 March, 1968. Following a General Election on 7 August, 1967, Mauritius had become internally fully self-governing.

SWAZILAND

Following the Independence Conference held in London in February, 1968, Swaziland is to achieve independence on 6 September.

CYPRUS

Britain remains a major contributor to the United Nations Peace Keeping Force and throughout the year was in close consultation with all Governments concerned to reduce the tension and lessen the likelihood of fighting.

MALTA

On 18 July, 1967, the Joint Mission for Malta under the chairmanship of Lord Robens reported on means of strengthening the Maltese economy. In October, 1967, Prime Minister Borg Olivier participated in discussions in London with the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary at which it was agreed to set up a joint steering committee under Lord Robens's chairmanship to serve as a liaison between the two Governments in the work of assisting Malta's development.

TANZANIA

Diplomatic relations, which had been broken in 1965 by Tanzania as a result of a resolution of the O.A.U. on Rhodesia, were restored in July, 1968.

ST. KITTS, NEVIS AND ANGUILLA

Following difficulties between the Government of the State and the community in Anguilla a Parliamentary mission visited the country in December, 1967, and following their visit the British Government made available a senior civil servant to assist with the administration of Anguilla for 12 months and to try to reach an agreed long-term resolution to the difficulties. Although the British Government has no powers in regard to the internal affairs of this associated state it is anxious to promote a peaceful settlement.

THE BAHAMAS

The Minister of State visited the Bahamas for talks on the proposals of the Government of the Bahamas for constitutional advance to full internal self-government.

BRITISH HONDURAS

The report of the mediator appointed by the President of the United States in the dispute between British Honduras and Guatemala was published in April, 1968. The British Government, following representations from the Government of British Honduras and the House of Representatives, agreed not to proceed with the proposed Treaty with Guatemala.

FIJI

On 1 September, 1967, the Executive Council of Fiji was replaced by a Council of Ministers with Ratu Mara as Chief Minister. The Ministers now have full responsibility for the sections of government business which are within their portfolios.

GIBRALTAR

In a referendum held on 10 September, 1967, the people of Gibraltar voted by an overwhelming majority to retain their links with Britain. Discussions have been proceeding between the Gibraltar Ministers and the Government about future constitutional developments.

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS

The first General Elections under the new Constitution were held in September-November, 1967, and the new House of Representatives met for the first time on 8 December. The British Government has expressed its willingness to consider what further constitutional advance might be desirable if the House of Representatives should request this after some experience of the working of the new Constitution.

HONG KONG

Following the Chinese Cultural Revolution a number of border incidents occurred sporadically from July, 1967, and protests were made to Chinese Authorities.

SEYCHELLES

In November, 1967, a new Constitution came into force establishing a single Government Council. In December a General Election was held, the first on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

NIGERIA

Throughout the year fighting has continued between the forces of the Federal Military Government and the secessionist forces under Colonel Ojukwu. Strenuous efforts have been made by the Government to bring about a cease fire and following a visit by Mr. Arnold Smith, Secretary General of the Commonwealth to Nigeria talks were begun between representatives of the two sides in Kampala in May. The breakdown of these talks has led to renewed efforts by the British Government to end the fighting and to alleviate the hardship, illness and starvation following in the train of the civil war. At the request of the Prime Minister Lord Hunt led a mission to Nigeria to determine how best to utilise the £250,000 which the Government agreed to provide for relief purposes.

RHODESIA

At the request of the Government, Lord Alport visited Rhodesia in June-July, 1967, to determine whether a basis for discussion with the illegal regime might exist which could lead to a settlement of the Rhodesian problem on the basis of the six principles and the Government's pledges. Following the Commonwealth Secretary's visit to Salisbury in November, 1967, the British Government were satisfied that the changes in the constitution proposed by Mr. Ian Smith were fundamentally incompatible with the six principles and could not form the basis of discussions. In March, 1968, the illegal regime carried out the execution of three Africans despite the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy. Following this action the Security Council of the United Nations passed a resolution unanimously on 29 May, for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions to render more effective the pressure on the illegal regime. The British Government has implemented the resolution of the Security Council by Parliamentary Order. The intensification of sanctions appears to be having a marked effect upon the Rhodesian economy.

DEFENCE

The major decisions announced by the Prime Minister on 16 January, 1968, and in the Defence White Paper (Cmnd. 3540) were as follows:

- (1) Britain's defence effort will in future be concentrated mainly in Europe, and the North Atlantic Area. No special capability for use outside Europe will be maintained when our withdrawal from Singapore, Malaysia and the Gulf is completed.
- (2) We shall accelerate the withdrawal of our forces from Singapore and Malaysia and complete it by the end of 1971. We shall also withdraw from the Gulf by the same date.
- (3) Service manpower will eventually be reduced by more than the 75,000 previously forecast. There will be a similar reduction in civilian manpower of some 50,000 overseas and 30,000 in the United Kingdom.
- (4) The Carrier Force will be phased out as soon as the withdrawals from Malaysia, Singapore and the Gulf have been completed.
- (5) The order for 50 F.111 has been cancelled and the Royal Air Force Transport Force will be cut.

The implementation of these decisions will enable us to reduce Defence expenditure from its present level by £250 million per annum in just over three years' time.

OUR N.A.T.O. CONTRIBUTION

Withdrawal from the Gulf and South East Asia will enable us to concentrate our defence effort in Europe. We have decided to keep a small naval force in the Mediterranean. We have also decided to earmark for assignment to N.A.T.O. the whole of three Divisions (consisting of three brigades), 16 Parachute Brigade (less one battalion) and 22 Special Air Service Regiment. All these are now based in the United Kingdom as part of the new Army Strategic Command. The ground attack squadrons and short-range transport aircraft of No. 38 Group, Royal Air Force, will be similarly earmarked. Together with 3 Division and the parachute force, they will form a mobile task force. Two Royal Naval Commando ships with their embarked Royal Marine Commandos and two assault ships with other Commandos will also be committed. A Commando ship and a Royal Marine Commando will take part in N.A.T.O. exercises in the Mediterranean next year. We are earmarking an Armoured Reconnaissance Squadron now requested by S.A.C.E.U.R. to form part of the land element of the Allied Command Europe Mobile Force, and are taking steps to improve both the short-range and the strategic air mobility of this force. Air lift for the Army units mentioned will be provided by transport aircraft of Air Support Command. These additional contributions, which lead to a closer association of our land, sea and air forces with the rest of N.A.T.O. have been welcomed by our allies.

As these forces will remain based in the United Kingdom the extra foreign exchange costs

will be small. We have made foreign exchange savings of £5 million per annum by bringing one brigade of B.A.O.R. back to England; it is now stationed in the Catterick area.

FAR EAST

On 1 April, 1968, the total of those working in or for the forces in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, including ships' companies on sea service in the Far East Fleet, numbered 73,000. It included about 31,000 U.K. Servicemen, 8,000 Gurkas, 5,000 locally-enlisted Service personnel, over 1,000 U.K.-based civilians and 28,000 locally-engaged civilians. The size of these forces is a measure of the task which confronts us in bringing back our own personnel to Britain and of the problems that will consequently confront the local governments.

An outline plan has been prepared for our withdrawal and redundancy payments for locally employed civilians have been agreed. A total of £75 million economic and defence aid will be made available to Malaysia and Singapore to help offset the effects of our withdrawal. We have also agreed to hand over free of charge those service lands and fixed assets which the two Governments wish to use for economic or defence purposes. The Singapore naval dockyard will be handed over to the Singapore Government towards the end of this year to be converted for commercial ship repairing.

Good progress has been made in laying the foundations for new defence arrangements in the area after our withdrawal. After 1971 we shall still remain members of S.E.A.T.O. but will not declare forces to S.E.A.T.O. contingency plans.

THE GULF

The withdrawal of our forces from the Gulf will mean bringing back some 6,000 men to this country. We welcome discussions at present taking place between States in the area in an attempt to work out means of emerging successfully into unqualified independence in close co-operation with one another and the support of their larger neighbours.

MANPOWER REDUCTIONS

Reductions in manpower of over 105,000 U.K. military and civilian personnel have made it necessary to draw up a redundancy scheme for military personnel and to operate agreed Civil Service procedures for redundant civilians. These reductions will lead to a further contraction of the U.K. Base and the closure of a considerable number of defence establishments over the next few years. Further information about these closures will be published as soon as possible. These closures include some 20 Royal Air Force stations, half the present Naval Air stations and a reduction in the number of infantry depots. Between April, 1967, and April, 1968, the number of uniformed United Kingdom officers and other ranks in the three services was reduced by 12,550.

POLICY FOR THE 70s

It is therefore the Government's intention that Britain shall play her full part in the defence of Europe. Her all-regular Army, though smaller in size than some Continental armies, will provide the Alliance with ground forces of a professional skill and experience unmatched in Europe. Her Air Force will compare in size and quality with that of any other European power and will make a vital contribution to the success of N.A.T.O. operations by land, sea or air. Britain's Polaris force will be the only European element in N.A.T.O.'s strategic nuclear deterrent; the British Navy as a whole will be by far the strongest navy in Europe—a contribution particularly appropriate for an island nation. All three Services will be unique among their European partners in the range and degree of their operational experience.

During the past decade, the future of the Services has been uncertain. The decision, however, to withdraw from our main bases overseas, and our improved methods of controlling the defence budget and of deciding what military equipment the forces will need, have reduced the main uncertainties in our planning. The next few years will see a major redeployment in the Services. Once this has been completed, and our forces are based in Europe, the Services can look forward with increasing confidence to a more stable future. We shall then require about 35,000 recruits each year and the Government believes that the Armed Forces will offer a stimulating, worthwhile and enduring career. In the future, as in the past, they will make an indispensable contribution to the security of the nation, and the peace of the world.

ECONOMICS

In April, 1968, the functions of the D.E.A. were reorganised. Having completed its work on the new phase in Prices and Incomes policy, as embodied in the White Paper, responsibility for the policy for productivity, prices and incomes was transferred to the Department of

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Employment and Productivity. At the same time, however, the Department was given special responsibility for the shift of real resources from public and private consumption at home into exports, import saving and investment which was needed to make the most of the opportunities afforded by devaluation and to strengthen the balance of payments. These changes have enabled the D.E.A. to concentrate its efforts on the task of securing a more rapid improvement in the structure of the economy and of raising productivity through the better use of resources.

As a result of these changes, the work of the Department is now organised into three main groups—an Economic Group, an Industrial Group and a Regional Group.

ECONOMIC GROUP

The Economic Group, who are mainly concerned with medium-term planning, have continued their work of assessing the economic prospect over the next four or five years (taking account of devaluation) and of advising on how to influence the prospect. The general economic strategy is to increase the rate of growth of total output and the proportion of it which goes into exports, import saving or supporting investment. This strategy is considered both in relation to particular industries and regions.

INDUSTRIAL GROUP

The Industrial Group of D.E.A. continues to be responsible for co-ordinating the work of the Industrial Departments in promoting industrial efficiency and works closely with industry to promote exports and the saving of imports. D.E.A. sponsors the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation and is therefore in touch with proposals to reshape industry to meet modern international competition.

The Group has continued detailed work on increasing productivity, export growth and import saving, industry by industry, through the National Economic Development Council and the E.D.C.s, on which D.E.A. is represented by its Industrial Advisers.

The N.E.D.C. has continuously reviewed the economic and industrial situation, and subjects discussed in the past year have included: public expenditure, international payments questions, imports, transport, the Budget and productivity, prices and incomes policy.

The E.D.C.s with their representation from Government, management and the trade unions have a unique role in stimulating discussion of topics relevant to their industries. They have fulfilled their "efficiency" as distinct from their "planning" function, particularly through inter-firm and international comparisons of industrial performance, export market studies and studies of industrial structure and possibilities of market rationalisation. The latter is likely to become a more important part of the E.D.C.'s work as a result of the amendment of the Restrictive Trade Practices Act, promoted by the N.E.D.C. The improvement of industrial management performance has been given increased priority with the formation of the Management Education Training and Development Committee.

The Industrial Reorganisation Corporation in its first 15 months has helped to promote ten important industrial re-groupings, including two of the biggest mergers in British commercial history, and two single-firm development schemes. It has studied the structure of several important industries and is continuing to seek opportunities for improving their structure, with a view to increasing efficiency and profitability in the national interest.

D.E.A. has been closely involved with the Ministry of Technology and other Departments on the preparation of the Industrial Expansion Act. This will widen Government powers to assist in the modernisation of industry and the expansion of productive capacity.

The Department has worked with N.E.D.C. and other Government Departments in following up ideas on boosting productivity put forward at the two National Productivity Conferences.

D.E.A. has also worked closely with other Departments on policies for transport and the nationalised industries, public purchasing, investment grants and the industrial aspects of taxation, international trade and finance and the problems of individual private industries. It has also worked closely with the N.B.P.I. and the relevant sponsor departments on the relationship between productivity in the nationalised industries and the prices charged by them.

REGIONAL GROUP

Regional policies have continued to be a major responsibility of the Department.

The publication last November of the South East strategy, followed this June by the North West's report "Strategy II" and, later this year, the East Anglia regional study will complete the series of major reports published by all the English Planning Councils during the past two years. The South East Planning Council's outline planning strategy will be examined in greater depth, together with possible alternative forms of development, in the course of the recently commenced Joint Planning Study of the South East. A similar major study of the

Birmingham Conurbation and its surrounding area is being carried out by the West Midlands Standing Conference of Local Authorities with the co-operation of Government departments.

Regional Councils and Boards are further developing their ideas on regional strategy, some by means of sub-regional studies such as the Yorkshire and Humberside Council's study of Halifax and the Calder Valley. These studies, together with other planning work now nearing completion within departments, e.g., into the future growth and distribution of the home population, will enable further progress to be made towards the production of regional strategies.

With the introduction of the Regional Employment Premium in September, 1967, and the withdrawal of the S.E.T. Premium outside Development Areas, aid to these areas (including the differential element of investment grants and the increased amount of assistance under the Local Employment Acts) is now running at an annual rate of over £250 million. This is eight times the total of such assistance given in 1964-65.

The problems of regions which are outside the Development Areas but whose economic development is giving, or may give, cause for concern—"the intermediate areas"—are being studied by a Committee appointed by the Government.

The Central Unit for Environmental Planning, established within D.E.A. but drawing also on the resources of other Departments, has been studying in detail the potentialities of Humberside and Severnside as possible areas for accommodating a substantial influx of population from the rest of the country.

PRODUCTIVITY, PRICES AND INCOMES

After devaluation the policy was reaffirmed. Proposals for strengthening it were outlined in the 1968 Budget Debate, and were detailed in the White Paper published on 3 April. D.E.A.'s responsibility continued until 5 April, 1968. At the end of the period of severe restraint in July, 1967, the policy returned to the April, 1965, criteria but the concept of the "norm" was not restored because, in practice, it has become regarded as the minimum which everyone expected.

In August, 1967, Part II of the Prices and Incomes Act was brought into force. It was strengthened by the 1967 Act. But delaying powers could be used only through the process of reference to the National Board for Prices and Incomes, not directly as in Part IV of the 1966 Act. The maximum delay became seven months.

The April, 1968, White Paper, pointing to the need for restraint for two years or so, laid great emphasis on relating income increases to productivity in order to avoid inflationary wage and price increases. Proposed increases must satisfy the criteria and are subject to a ceiling of 3½ per cent. But above ceiling increases are possible where genuine productivity agreements merit. Provided a given settlement satisfies the criteria and is within the ceiling, how that increase is distributed between various income levels remains a matter for negotiation between employer and unions. Dividends as well as pay are subject to the 3½ per cent ceiling. Scrutiny of price increases remains rigorous.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

THE SCHOOLS

The number of pupils in maintained schools in England and Wales continued to rise in consequence of the higher birth-rate in the late fifties and of the increasing tendency for children to remain at school beyond the statutory leaving age. In January, 1967, there were 7,328,110 full-time pupils, 144,945 more than in January, 1966. The total number of pupils in sixth forms rose by 8,750 to 181,751 in the same period.

Many of the Plowden Report's recommendations were carried forward, special attention being given to school building in educational priority areas.

The Government intends, as part of its urban aid programme, to increase nursery education in certain selected areas.

Progress has been made on the secondary reorganisation front. By mid-summer two-thirds of the 163 local authorities had comprehensive school plans either implemented or approved for the whole or part of their areas. Only six had formally declined to prepare a plan. The most recently available figures (January, 1967) show that the number of comprehensive schools in England and Wales rose over the previous 12 months from 342 to 509, the number of pupils in such schools rising from 287,444 to 407,475.

Direct financial and other help has been given to a number of authorities with educational problems arising from larger numbers of immigrant children. Additions have been made to teacher quotas and minor works allocations.

The Education Act, 1967, raised from 75 per cent to 80 per cent the rate of Exchequer grant payable to the managers and governors of voluntary aided and special agreement schools

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for building work. The Act also extended the scope of the grant, an easement of considerable help where these schools are faced with the need for substantial new building to enable them to fit into comprehensive schemes.

The Public Schools Commission presented its first report, on public and other independent boarding schools, and under its new chairman, Professor Donnison, turned its attention to public and other independent day schools and also to direct grant grammar schools.

As part of the general economy measures of January, 1968, it was announced that the capitation grant to direct grant grammar schools was to be cut from the beginning of the 1968-69 school year by £20 to £32.

Independent schools not formally recognised as efficient are to be subject to inspection.

THE TEACHERS

The teaching force continued to grow at an increasing rate as more teachers reached the schools from the expanding outputs of the colleges of education. The total of qualified teachers in service (including the full-time equivalent of part-timers) rose by 10,513 to 316,915 in the 12 months to February, 1968. The pupil-teacher ratio has improved from 24.5 in 1964 to 23.8.

In the current academic year, the colleges of education have over 97,000 students. There is every indication that the Robbins Committee's target of 111,000 students by 1973-74 is likely to be reached well ahead of schedule. The massive expansion of the teacher training system and the consequent growth of the teaching force make increasing demands upon resources. But it has been made plain that the planned increase in the supply of teachers will continue.

The operation of the teacher quota system in 1968 resulted in a considerable narrowing of the spread between the best and worst staffed areas, special help being given to authorities with substantial numbers of immigrant children.

EDUCATIONAL BUILDING

Over the whole field of education investment, excluding the universities, the value of work done in the three years 1965-67 was £393 million, compared with £326 million in 1961-63. Taking schools alone, in 1965-67 1,815 new schools were provided, compared with 1,291 in 1961-63—an increase of 49 per cent. In terms of new school places 846,000 were provided in 1965-67 an improvement of 35 per cent over the 1961-63 figure of 627,000. In June, 1968, £200 million of building work was in progress in England and Wales—the highest in our history.

FURTHER EDUCATION

All branches continued to expand. Student numbers in the current academic year total some 1,774,000 of whom over 160,000 are on advanced courses.

The work of the Council for National Academic Awards continued to develop. So far the C.N.A.A. has approved some 167 degree courses with nearly 11,000 students enrolled.

Training has never been more important to the well-being and prosperity of the nation than it is at the present time and it is certain that this importance will increase. Industrial training boards covering all the main manufacturing industries, construction, road transport, agriculture and the public utility industries, employing in all well over 11 million workpeople, have been set up and during 1968 it is expected that the total number of employees covered by training boards will increase to about 16 million by the setting up of more new boards. Others will follow in the next year or two until all employees within the scope of the 1964 Industrial Training Act, some 18 million, will be covered.

Detailed schemes for the establishment of Polytechnics in their areas were in preparation during the year by the local education authorities concerned. So far, 20 schemes have been formally submitted and the authorities responsible for 16 of these were announced in May, 1968.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The growth in student numbers has meant a substantial increase in awards from public funds. Nearly all students are to receive an increase in grant from September, 1968, although the increases will be less than those recommended by the Advisory Panel on Student Maintenance Grants, as part of the economy measures announced in January.

In 1962-63 there were 113,000 full-time students in universities; now there are nearly 200,000. Government grant to the universities at these points in time totalled £57 million and £134 million respectively. The latest quinquennial settlement allows for £172½ million in the academic year 1971-72.

The Open University authority will be formally established by charter early in 1969 and by the end of 1970 or early 1971 the new university will be launched. A Planning Committee has made good progress in working out the practical and organisational problems involved. A Vice-Chancellor has been appointed.

SCIENCE

The Agricultural, Medical, Natural Environment, Science, and Social Science Research Councils are autonomous bodies operating under the general oversight of the Secretary of State. Their broad function is to channel Exchequer funds into scientific research and to offer expert advice to the Government and their several fields. Science votes for 1968-69 total £83 million, made up as follows, compared with £75 million in 1967-68:

	1968-69 £ million	1967-68 £ million
Agricultural Research Council ..	13.1	11.9
Medical Research Council	15.3	14.2
Natural Environment Research Council	9.0	7.76
Science Research Council	41.9	37.97
Social Science Research Council ..	1.7	1.16
Natural History Museum	1.0	0.97
Science: Grants and Services	1.3	1.05
	<hr/> £83.3 million	<hr/> £75.01 million

The research councils report annually to the Secretary of State on their activities and their latest reports, for 1966-67, have all been published.

On 1 December, 1967, Her Majesty the Queen inaugurated the Isaac Newton telescope at the Royal Observatory, Herstmonceux. Her Majesty also opened, on 19 April, 1968, the Meat Research Institute—an Institute of the Agricultural Research Council which is situated on the campus of the University of Sussex although not under its jurisdiction.

The United Kingdom was host country to the Assembly of I.Q.S.Y. (International Year of the Quiet Sun)—C.O.S.P.A.R. (Scientific Committee on Space Research) held in July, 1967, and to the conference of the Bureau and Consultative Council of the inter-governmental Oceanographic Commission in June, 1968.

A joint project between the Medical Research Council and the University of Cambridge—the Dunn Nutritional Laboratory—was opened on 17 June, 1968.

The Secretary of State announced on 19 July a £250,000 country-wide study of floods to be undertaken by the Institute of Hydrology in co-operation with the Water Resources Board. The study will help to define the programme of research needed to produce design data required by civil engineers and others for the control of floods.

EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

The former Ministry of Labour has been given additional responsibilities, particularly in relation to the Government's productivity, prices and incomes policy, and has therefore been renamed the Department of Employment and Productivity.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations reported in June. Its report calls for collective bargaining to be reformed by the introduction of comprehensive and authoritative negotiating machinery at the company or factory level to deal with the terms and conditions of employment which are settled at those levels; proposes the establishment of an Industrial Relations Commission to look into general questions of industrial relations and into problems connected with union recognition and negotiating machinery; recommends a statutory right of appeal for employees against alleged unjust dismissal; and makes recommendations about many other aspects of industrial relations. The Government is consulting industry about the Report and will publish a White Paper by the end of the year.

SUB-CONTRACTING

The inquiry, under the chairmanship of Professor E. H. Phelps Brown, into the engagement and use of labour in construction, with particular reference to labour-only sub-contracting, reported at the beginning of August. The Government is consulting employers and unions in the construction industry about its recommendations, which include proposals for a statutory scheme to regulate self-employment in the industry and for the Government, the industry and its clients to take measures to assure construction workers of greater continuity of employment.

PRODUCTIVITY, PRICES AND INCOMES

The Department of Employment and Productivity has been made responsible for co-ordinating the Government's productivity, prices and incomes policy. The Prices and Incomes

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Act, 1968, continues and strengthens the Government's statutory powers over prices and pay and provides new powers over dividends and rents. All these powers will be used only to the extent necessary where the voluntary arrangements are not being properly observed. In the context of the policy, increased encouragement is being given to employers and employees to negotiate productivity agreements.

A Manpower and Productivity Service is being established within the Department in order to develop its advisory services for industry.

EQUAL PAY

On 26 June Mrs. Barbara Castle announced in the House that she was about to open discussions with both sides of industry with a view to agreeing a timetable for the implementation of equal pay. The examination of the technical problems involved—cost and definition—will continue throughout the year.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

During the past year, new industrial training boards have been established for the rubber and plastics processing, chemical and allied products, printing and publishing, paper and paper products, distributive, and food, drink and tobacco industries. There are now 25 I.T.B.s organising and supervising industrial training for approximately 16 million men and women. Eighteen of the boards have published approved levy and grant schemes which amount to direct financial incentives for the improvement and extension of training. Six boards have established their own training centres and an increasing number offer grants for courses designed to assist shop stewards. The Capital Central Training Council has produced a series of reports outlining its recommendations on training in occupations common to all industries.

TRAINING CENTRES

At present there are 39 centres with 8,600 training places. Between now and the end of this year there will be three additional centres and over 1,000 more places. We shall then be in a position to produce about 16,500 trained men a year.

Six new centres are expected to open in 1969 and seven others in 1970. When all these are fully operational by the end of 1970 we shall have 55 G.T.C.s with over 13,000 training places and an estimated annual output of about 22,000 trained men.

The Department gives special priority to expanding training in the Development Areas. For new or expanding firms training grants for "green" workers help with running costs. Free instructor and supervisory training can be provided if necessary on firms' premises; and instructors can be loaned by the Department to help train new workers in semi-skilled engineering work on employers' premises. Since 1 April, 1968, the Government's £2 million scheme under which I.T.B.s can make grants to assist with the costs of providing additional training facilities, operates only in D.A.s. R.E.P. which will attract many extra jobs to D.A.s will increase demands for skilled workers. Plans to expand training programmes are well in hand.

SAFETY, HEALTH AND WELFARE

Work on the revision of the Factories Act and the Offices, Shops and Railway Premises Act has continued, and following circulation to interested organisations of a document containing outline proposals for new safety, health and welfare legislation a large number of comments were received and these are now being considered.

The Industrial Safety Advisory Council was set up to advise the First Secretary on all aspects of industrial safety and with its sub-committees helps to co-ordinate and direct the work of accident prevention. An interim report from the sub-committee on joint consultation in safety entitled, "Work Safety Committees in Practice—Some Case Studies" has recently been published.

The decision to form a special branch of H.M. Factory Inspectorate to deal with construction work has resulted in the setting up of 13 construction districts each in charge of a Construction District Inspector.

As a result of the Geddes Report a Shipbuilding and Repairing Council was set up and a Working Party of the Council has reported on safety, health and welfare in shipyards. The Steering Committee dealing with safety of merchant seamen is still sitting.

Ionising Radiations (Unsealed Radioactive Substances) Regulations come into force on 15 November, 1968 (apart from Regulation 1 [1], and 2-5 which came into operation on 29 May, 1968). The regulations impose requirements for the protection of persons employed in factories and other places to which the Factories Act applies against ionising radiation from unsealed radioactive substances; they are in line with current recommendations by the International

Commission on Radiological Protection. The Ionising Radiation (Sealed Sources) Regulations, 1961 are being revised to bring them into line also.

The Statutory Draft of the Asbestos Regulations is intended to be published in August and any objections to them will have to be submitted to the Secretary of State within one calendar month.

Under the Offices, Shops and Railway Premises Act regulations dealing with safety of hoists and lifts in offices, shops and railway premises have recently been made and will come into operation in May, 1969. A leaflet on the prevention of explosions in launderettes has also been published recently.

FINANCE

INTRODUCTION

Economic and financial policy during the year has been dominated by devaluation. This set the framework within which many decisions on the economy had to be taken.

DEVALUATION

On 18 November, 1967, the pound was devalued. This was unavoidable in face of the pressures which built up on the pound during 1967. But if then essential, it was a measure which the Government had striven to avoid because of the disruptive effects which had to follow for home and overseas aspects of economy.

Devaluation itself was accompanied by measures which were a beginning in the task of adjusting the economy to the new challenges and opportunities in the export field—Bank Rate was moved to 8 per cent and bank lending restricted, hire purchase restrictions on cars were tightened, S.E.T. premiums to manufacturers (except those in development areas) were withdrawn, and an increase in Corporation Tax and a reduction of defence expenditure were announced. These measures were the first round in a programme of decisions in other areas worked out in the light of the economic situation in the post-devaluation period.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Reduction in public expenditure was necessary to prevent the public sector taking over the resources freed from home production which should be directed to exports and import substitution. In January, the Prime Minister announced a series of wide ranging cuts in public expenditure aimed at reducing the rate of growth of expenditure in real terms from about 4 per cent per year to 1 per cent in 1969-70. These cuts included the earlier withdrawal from the Far East and the Persian Gulf. Since then, the scrutiny of public expenditure proposals has continued to ensure that the rise in expenditure keeps within the limits compatible with success for devaluation.

BUDGET 1968

But the main instrument to get the economy working on the right lines was the Chancellor's courageous Budget. To free resources for the largest and quickest possible turn round in our balance of payments it was necessary to cut consumption by 2 per cent from what it would otherwise have been. £900 million in additional taxes were imposed, mainly indirect taxes. This was not done, however, to deflate the economy which was expected to grow at about 3 per cent a year.

INTEREST RATES

Bank rate was reduced from 8 per cent at devaluation to 7½ per cent on 21 March this year, but it has not been possible to reduce it further, because of the problem of credit control at home and the general international pattern of high interest rates.

CREDIT RESTRICTIONS

Restrictions were placed on lending by banks at the time of devaluation when banks were asked to keep total lending to the private sector, except for exports, to its present level. Within this ceiling some measure of priority was to be given to lending for production and investment associated with exports and import substitution. To increase the effect of this tightening of credit further measures were announced on 23 May, 1968, to keep down lending to non-priority borrowers.

GOLD

Concern about the continuing U.S. deficit and the position of the dollar meant that in the first part of this year heavy speculation occurred in the gold market against the prospect of an

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increase in the price of gold. This in turn placed an unacceptable burden on the countries which operated the "gold pool" (which maintained the then official gold price by selling from reserves at \$35). The problem reached a climax in the spring and was discussed at a conference in Washington in March. The result was the creation of a two-tier system, which allowed gold in reserves to keep its value of \$35 and be used for central bank transactions, but effectively confined speculative buying and selling to a free market. The price in the free market since its creation has not gone significantly high, and the two-tier system shows every sign of durability. The Government gave its full support to the decision taken which they saw as an important step in the programme of international co-operation designed to strengthen the world monetary system and to enable it to accommodate expanding world prosperity.

S.D.Rs.

The problem of increasing international liquidity has also been carried forward this year. Mr. Callaghan as Chancellor had achieved a notable success in the development of this idea. To advance it further Mr. Jenkins went to a conference of Finance Ministers in Stockholm in March to discuss a scheme of Special Drawing Rights to be organised by the I.M.F. This was then approved by the members of the I.M.F., and an Act has now been passed giving the necessary powers for the U.K. to participate.

STERLING BALANCES

Devaluation did not resolve the problems for sterling posed by the large sterling balances which for the most part are a result of the last war; indeed it tended to create a volatile margin of these balances anxious to move from sterling to other currencies or gold. This meant that the U.K. might have to meet at short notice a heavy flow of demands for conversion of sterling to dollars or other currencies. This would have had intolerable consequences for the Government's economic policy and for the achievement of higher levels of prosperity and general welfare.

Negotiations were therefore put in hand with other countries to find a way of removing the anxiety of sterling balance holders and of spreading the impact of such requests for conversion of sterling as might continue to be made from the volatile margin. No final result has yet been reached. But discussions which culminated in talks at Basle in July have produced international support for a scheme under which the immediate dollar debts with which Britain might have been faced can be converted into deferred debts by means of a medium term standby credit. Consequently no increase in the U.K.'s total overseas indebtedness would result. Consultations about the proposal are now taking place with the members of the sterling area. When these have been concluded and the scheme can be implemented, a vast improvement will have been made in the sterling area system and a source of uncertainty will have been removed which has been not a little responsible in the whole of the post-war period for the monetary crises which have resulted in the stop-go policies of the past.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DEBATES

During the year there were four full days devoted to debates on Foreign Affairs and another 11 debates taken by the Foreign Office on individual subjects.

EUROPE

On 19 December, 1967, the French Foreign Minister indicated at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities that the French Government would not permit negotiations to start with those states which had applied to join the Community—this in spite of strong insistence by the representatives of the other five Members of the Community, and the clear recommendation of the European Commission.

The next day, in a statement in the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary reaffirmed that the Government still regarded themselves as committed to their main purpose in Europe; that they continued to believe that the long-term interests of Britain required that we should become a member of the European Community; and that there was no question of withdrawing our application for membership.

On 19 January, 1968, the Benelux Governments issued a Memorandum containing proposals for common action and consultation between members of the Community and the Commission on the one hand and those states which had applied to join on the other. The Government welcomed this initiative, and accepted the proposals in the memorandum. Similar proposals were subsequently made by the Italian Government.

After their meeting in Paris on 16 February, President de Gaulle and Chancellor Kiesinger

issued a declaration reaffirming their support in principle for enlarging the Community and suggesting the possibility of some kind of interim trading arrangement between the Community and the candidate countries. This suggestion was subsequently developed by the German Government and has been discussed in the Council of Ministers of the Six at a number of meetings; but so far, no proposals have been put to us. The Government, for their part, have expressed readiness to examine any proposal put to them by the Community as a whole, provided it were inextricably linked to the application for full membership.

There were two meetings of the Europe Free Trade Area Ministerial Council—one in Lausanne in November, 1967 and the other in London in May, 1968; and consultation with our Commonwealth partners has also been maintained throughout the period under review.

N.A.T.O.

During the past year N.A.T.O. has made progress in adapting itself to current problems. A report prepared on the proposal of the Belgian Foreign Minister, Monsieur Harmel, was approved by N.A.T.O. Ministers in December. The essential points of the report were that the Alliance was needed as much as ever; that it had a political as well as a military role and that security depended on working for detente as well as maintaining defence.

In June of this year, N.A.T.O. Ministers met at Reykjavik. In his speech at this meeting the Foreign Secretary emphasised the need to explain to the world and especially to the younger generation, why the Alliance exists and should continue to exist, and what it is doing. In the Foreign Affairs Debate in the House of Commons on 18 July he said that the two aspects of N.A.T.O.'s purpose, defence and detente, cannot be separated because the N.A.T.O. allies could not be expected to pursue a policy of detente with any confidence unless they could feel sure that their defence was provided for.

At the Ministerial Meeting in December, 1967, Ministers agreed that particular attention should now be given to ways to achieve a just and suitable order in Europe, to overcome the division of Germany and to foster European security; and to measures of disarmament and arms control including the possibility of balanced East/West force reduction. It has not been possible to make any progress on the linked problems of Germany and European security. Such progress can be made only when there is a real disposition on the part of the Soviet Union and its allies to enter into negotiations looking towards a mutually acceptable settlement. It would be premature to hold a comprehensive European security conference at present but the Government are ready to work towards such a conference provided that there are real prospects that it could reach successful results and provided all interested parties, including Canada and the United States, could take part from the start. Meanwhile, the Alliance continues to examine suitable policies to foster European security in preparation for the time when fruitful discussion may be possible on an East/West basis. On the disarmament side, priority has been given to the study of possible forms of mutual and balanced East/West force reductions. The Government consider that the balance of deterrence must be maintained in Europe but that this can be done on a lower level of forces on each side than is the case today. At Reykjavik, Ministers emphasised their decision to make all necessary preparations through studies in N.A.T.O. for discussions on this subject with the Soviet Union and its allies and call on those countries to join in the search for progress along these lines.

GREECE

Despite an attempted counter-coup by the King of Greece in December, 1967, the military regime which seized control in Greece in the coup of the previous April is still in power. We have continued to make clear, both in public statements and in direct representations to the Greek Government, the importance we attach to a return to constitutional rule and the restoration of civil liberties in Greece.

A new draft constitution was published on 11 July, to be followed by a referendum on 29 September.

GIBRALTAR

A referendum in Gibraltar was held on 10 September, 1967 to enable the people to say whether they wished to pass under Spanish sovereignty or voluntarily to retain their link with Britain. Out of the 12,182 votes cast only 44 were in favour of joining Spain. In December, 1967 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling on us to continue negotiations with Spain "with a view to putting an end to the colonial situation in Gibraltar". We have made clear that we consider the resolution ignores Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations, which states that the interests of the inhabitants of dependent territories are "paramount".

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On 6 May, 1968 the Spanish authorities closed the land frontier between Spain and Gibraltar at La Linea to nearly everyone except Spaniards working in Gibraltar. They claimed that this action was a logical consequence of our refusal to accept the United Nations resolution. We reject this argument, and we have also continued to challenge, in the International Civil Aviation Organisation, the validity of the Prohibited Area for flying which Spain declared in April, 1967. In July, 1968 in fulfilment of an undertaking given before the referendum, a constitutional conference was successfully held in Gibraltar. It gave the Gibraltarians more responsibility in domestic affairs, but in no way changed the international status of the territory.

MIDDLE EAST

(a) *The dispute between Israel and the Arab States*

The present situation carries within it the menace of a new war, with all that this would imply for the security of our interests in the Middle East and the prospects of preserving world peace.

The Government tabled the Security Council Resolution of November, 1967, which has been accepted by the parties chiefly concerned and which embodies principles for a political settlement, and have since given Dr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, full support in his efforts to make progress towards a political settlement

(b) *Withdrawal from the Gulf and its Consequences*

On 16 January, the Prime Minister announced to Parliament that we would be withdrawing our military presence from the Persian Gulf by the end of 1971. One effect of this announcement has been to cause the small states of the Persian Gulf to consider seriously the shape of the relationships between themselves, and with their neighbours, after our protection has been withdrawn. The result of these considerations has been that these states have come together to form the Union of Arab Emirates.

(c) *Restoration of Relations with Arab Countries*

Our relations with the Arab countries have now largely recovered from the low ebb they reached after the June war. Our Ambassador in the U.A.R. presented his credentials on 21 December, 1967. This was followed by the resumption of relations with Sudan, Algeria and Iraq. Syria remains the one Arab state with which relations remain broken.

SOUTHERN YEMEN

The twin objectives of the Government's policy through the trying events of last year in South Arabia were the orderly withdrawal of our forces and the establishment if possible of a viable and stable Government in the territory.

We were able to achieve both objectives with the peaceful withdrawal of the last British troops on 29 November and the independence of the new country of Southern Yemen under the dominant nationalist party, the N.L.F., on 30 November.

VIETNAM

Nineteen-sixty-eight has seen both sides take the first steps towards a negotiated end to the conflict by making significant departures from their previous positions.

President Johnson took the initiative on 31 March by moving from his "San Antonio" position (that the bombing of North Vietnam would stop if Hanoi would agree to prompt and productive talks and not take military advantage of the cessation) when he announced a unilateral and unconditional partial cessation of the bombing (attacks ceased on all areas north of the 20th parallel). At the same time President Johnson renewed his offer of talks and called upon the Co-Chairmen to assist in bringing them about.

The North Vietnamese responded with a shift from their own position (the "Trinh" formula that only after a total and unconditional cessation of the bombing could talks start) by announcing that they were ready to hold direct contacts with the Americans to determine the unconditional cessation of the bombing so that talks could start.

After a month's haggling over the site, talks started in Paris on 10 May.

In the period before the opening of the Paris talks, the Government's efforts have been devoted to narrowing and bridging the gap between the two sides ("San Antonio" and "Trinh" formulae) and to defining the circumstances in which U.S. bombing might stop. The Prime Minister went to Moscow, Washington and Ottawa and had discussions with U Thant. In February, the Foreign Secretary appealed to both sides to get round the table quickly and to the Soviet Co-Chairman to join in this appeal. The Government has also been in touch with a wide range of world leaders with a view to exploring ways of contributing to a settlement.

When President Johnson announced his cut-back of the bombing, the Government immediately welcomed it as offering a further opportunity of achieving a just and honourable peace and were in immediate touch with the Russians to discuss further action. The Foreign Secretary subsequently visited Moscow on 22 and 23 May. This visit confirmed that the Co-Chairmen were ready to give whatever help they could when that was the wish of both parties in Paris. The Prime Minister also welcomed Hanoi's decision to go to Paris as advancing the prospect of a just and lasting settlement.

The Government believe that it is for the parties at the talks, themselves, to work out how they can best proceed and that the time is not yet ripe for initiatives by third parties.

The Government continues to maintain the closest contact with the Soviet Union and stand ready to help in any way that seems practical, whether as Co-Chairman or in any other capacity.

CHINA

Our relations with China have been under severe strain for over a year. The offices of our Mission in Peking were attacked and burned in August, 1967. On 2 September, 1967 the Foreign Secretary sent a message to the Chinese Foreign Minister, expressing the desire for a normalisation of relations. No reply has ever been received. A number of British subjects, including journalists and businessmen, have been subject to harassment and imprisonment.

Despite the lamentable treatment of our Mission and of British subjects in China, we continue to believe that China must be brought out of her isolation and allowed to take her seat in the United Nations.

DISARMAMENT

The United Nations General Assembly on 12 June adopted a resolution commending the draft Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons prepared by the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee. This Treaty was opened for signature on 1 July.

The Treaty is the fruit of long and arduous negotiations in which the United Kingdom played a major part. It contains provisions made to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to those states which do not now possess them, for safeguards to ensure that nuclear material provided for peaceful purposes is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and for the potential benefits of any peaceful applications of nuclear explosives to be made available to non-nuclear weapon states party to the Treaty. Parties to the Treaty undertook to pursue negotiations in good faith on further measures of disarmament.

On 16 July, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs submitted further proposals for disarmament to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva. These proposals were that the International Atomic Energy Agency should prepare a report on action they should take to assist in the implementation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; that the U.N. should prepare a report on the nature and possible effects of chemical weapons and the implications of their use; that the Committee should give priority to the preparation of a comprehensive test ban treaty; and that in the non-nuclear field, priority should be accorded to an instrument banning the production and possession of agents of biological warfare.

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

The Government have continued their efforts to promote East-West relations. There have been useful advances in this field especially in the sphere of bi-lateral relations with the Soviet Union and other East European countries. There are particular opportunities in trade. For the first time we look like achieving a balance in trade with the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister visited Moscow in January and the Foreign Secretary in May. The Foreign Secretary has also paid visits to Yugoslavia and to Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania.

In the broader field of East-West relations, there is a contrast between the hostile propaganda attitude of the Soviet Union towards the West and the readiness of the Soviet Union to make useful progress on certain major issues, especially in the field of arms control. The signature of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is an important example; the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States to hold talks on the limitation and possible reduction of strategic missiles is also greatly to be welcomed and may be of even greater long-term significance.

Current Soviet hostility towards the West is clearly partly due to uncertainty about their position in Eastern Europe. They have tried, unjustifiably, to ascribe events in Czechoslovakia to alleged Western interference. The British Government is, of course, opposed to interference in the internal affairs of any country by any outside power. As the Foreign Secretary stated in the House of Commons on 18 July "it is not for us to order the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia—not for us, nor for anyone else, except the people of Czechoslovakia". At the same time, if the changes taking place in Eastern Europe result in greater prosperity and freedom for the peoples

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of those countries, they will be welcomed and they will help to relax the tension between East and West.

UNITED NATIONS

The report on the Middle East and on the non-proliferation treaty records real achievements by the U.N. Organisation this year. Another has been in the extension of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia. The Government have played a leading part in all these and have taken a full share in all the wide range of U.N. activities, including, this year, the second U.N.C.T.A.D. Conference and the celebration of International Human Rights Year. During the year the Foreign Secretary and other Foreign Office Ministers have visited the United Nations and the U.N. Secretary-General has been in London for talks.

HEALTH

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1967-68 £90 million was spent on hospital building in England and Wales; this is two-and-half times the figure for 1962-63. The level will continue to rise in 1968-69 for which the estimate is £96.5 million. In 1967-68 hospital building schemes had a total value of £81.8 million; and new work to the value of £121.7 million was started; and at 31 March, 1968 nearly £300 million worth of work was in progress. Despite the progress indicated by these figures, a formidable problem of obsolescence in the fabric of our hospitals still remains to be dealt with.

During the year ending 31 March, 1968 the Ministry recommended loan sanction for local authority health and welfare building projects to a total value of just over £26 million, an increase of over 12 per cent on the previous year. During 1967, 14 health centres, 111 homes for the elderly, 95 training centres and hostels for the mentally disordered, eight centres for the handicapped, four day nurseries and 23 ambulance stations were completed.

DRUG ADDICTION

Hospital facilities for heroin addicts were extended during the past year prior to the statutory limitation in April of the right of doctors generally to prescribe heroin to addicts. Out-patient clinics, under the supervision of consultant psychiatrists, are situated mainly in London, where the problem of addiction is greatest; and most of these are attached to the psychiatric departments of teaching hospitals. The number of out-patients at the 16 clinics in London was about 800 on 31 May, 1968; about 150 were being treated in the rest of the country. A further 150 addicts are receiving hospital in-patient treatment.

LEGISLATION

In February the Government introduced the Medicines Bill outlined in the White Paper (Cmd. 3395) of September, 1967. It makes entirely new provision with respect to the safety, quality and efficacy of human and veterinary medicines, the circumstances in which they are sold or supplied, their labelling, description and sales promotion. The Bill takes into account a number of relevant recommendations made in the report of the Sainsbury Committee on the Relationship of the Pharmaceutical Industry with the National Health Service.

The framework for the provisions relating to safety, efficacy and quality is a licensing system to be administered by the Health and Agriculture Ministers, with the support of expert advisory committees and a Medicines Commission. It will relate to marketing, import, manufacture and wholesaling and will give statutory backing for the scrutiny of the kind now being carried on on a voluntary basis by the Committee on Safety of Drugs and under the Veterinary Products Safety Precautions Scheme.

The Health Service and Public Health Act was introduced last November. It is a very wide ranging measure, including provisions relating to university hospitals, ophthalmic services, private hospital beds, vehicles for the disabled, care of the elderly, child minding, public health and many other matters. It will not bring about sweeping alterations but, by amending and supplementing existing legislation, will make possible a large number of desirable changes.

PAY

The Report of the N.B.P.I. on nurses' pay has been criticised in some quarters for not going far enough, but at a time of a nil norm and a 3½ per cent ceiling the overall increase of 9 per cent with 14 per cent for certain grades, together with further increases for those who nurse psychiatric and geriatric patients, and changes in the system of payment for night and weekend work, recognise that nurses were a special case in terms of incomes policy.

The Report of the Review Body on Doctors' and Dentists' Remuneration was published in May, 1968. The Government have accepted the Review Body's recommendations in their entirety.

PRESCRIPTION CHARGES

Prescription charges of 2s. 6d. per item prescribed, with arrangements for exemptions and refunds applying to about 40 per cent of the population, came into operation on 10 June, 1968. They were one of the measures announced by the Prime Minister on 16 January to cut back the rise in public expenditure. The decision was taken with the utmost reluctance, but short of cutting back on hospital building it was the only way to achieve the saving required. The arrangements we decided to introduce are very different from those in operation before 1965 and there are exemptions for particular categories of patients: the elderly, over 65; children up to 15; expectant and nursing mothers; the chronic sick; people in receipt of supplementary benefit and their dependents; and people living at or about that level who need help to pay the charges.

The chronic sick cannot be identified without the help of the doctors and the short list of specified medical conditions on which we were able to agree with the medical profession is limited to those which are certain to need continuous medications and which call for no discretion as between individuals. To help other people who need frequent prescriptions the Government introduced a new clause into the Health Services and Public Health Bill to provide for the purchase of certificates exempting the holder from prescription charges for a period. This arrangement should be introduced before the winter.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON MEDICAL EDUCATION

The Royal Commission's Report which was published on 4 April, contains many far-reaching proposals about the future of undergraduate and postgraduate medical education, the career structure of National Health Service doctors, the number of medical school places required in the future, medical education in London and the organisation and administration of medical schools and teaching hospitals. The Report is being examined urgently by the Government.

SEEBOHM REPORT

The Seebohm Report on local authority and allied personal social services was published in July and is being considered by the Government.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

In July the Minister published a Green Paper on the administrative structure of the medical and related services in England and Wales. This put forward tentative proposals for the future as a basis for wide public discussion and consultation with representative bodies.

HOME OFFICE

CHILDREN

This has been a year of laying the foundations for major reforms in law and practice and for the further co-operative development of all the services concerned with deprived and delinquent children and their families.

The White Paper "Children in Trouble" published by the Home Secretary in April set out the proposed reforms in the law. These include changes in legal procedures which will reserve court proceedings in respect of children under 17 for situations where these are necessary for the protection of society or for the sake of the child; the development of new forms of treatment for children placed under supervision by the courts, designed to bring them into contact with a different environment and to make available to supervisors community facilities not provided expressly for this purpose; and setting up a comprehensive system of residential establishments for children in the care of the local authorities, including the present approved schools, by a partnership of public and voluntary effort.

The Advisory Council of Child Care has been re-constituted, with a widely representative membership, so as to become the central forum for the co-operative planning and discussion of research, development and training in child care and for disseminating the results. One Committee of the Council will continue the work of the Central Training Council in Child Care. The other will discuss and co-ordinate research and development, working in conjunction with the Development Group recently established in the Home Office Children's Department and the Home Office Research Unit.

The Home Secretary announced in June that, jointly with the Minister of Health, he proposed to develop a new range of child care establishments which will specialise in meeting the needs of severely disturbed boys and girls now in approved schools; they will combine many of the treatment possibilities of a school, a children's home and a hospital. Action is in hand to find suitable sites, to prepare detailed plans and to make arrangements for staff training. It is also

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proposed to develop improved facilities for intensive care within the approved schools, with special emphasis on the needs of severely disturbed girls.

IMMIGRATION AND RACE RELATIONS

The Government has maintained a balanced policy by taking a number of steps, in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968, to reduce the number of Commonwealth citizens entering the United Kingdom for settlement but also introducing increased powers to ensure that immigrants already here are treated in the same way as the indigenous population. The Race Relations Bill, which was introduced in April, makes racial discrimination unlawful in employment, housing, insurance and credit and the provision of goods, facilities and services. The emphasis in the Bill is on conciliation through an enlarged and strengthened Race Relations Board. Where conciliation fails enforcement will be through the civil courts by way of injunction or damages for material loss.

The Bill empowers the Home Secretary to conduct or assist in conducting research into race relations and provides for the establishment of a Community Relations Commission, a statutory body which will continue and expand the work of the existing National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants.

The Home Secretary announced in Parliament that an urban programme was to be initiated to supplement the Government's other social and legislative measures by helping areas facing acute social problems in the fields of education, housing, health and welfare. Many of these areas would include concentrations of immigrants. The programme, which would be assisted by a new Government grant, would be a continuing one; and over the next four years expenditure of some £20-25 million would be sanctioned, starting forthwith.

POLICE AND PRISONS

Since May, 1966, rapid progress has been made with the programme of amalgamations to improve the efficiency of the police service. Twenty-five amalgamation schemes have now been made and six only are now outstanding, of which five are proceeding compulsorily. The number of police forces in England and Wales has been reduced from 117 to 71, and will be further reduced to 47 forces by the remaining amalgamation proposals.

The operational efficiency of the police has been rapidly built up by investing substantial sums in equipment. Some 3,000 small cars and 20,000 personal radio sets were made available in order to extend the system of unit beat policing throughout the country, and by the end of 1968 those successful new operational methods will be serving nearly 80 per cent of the population of England and Wales.

The improved standard of prison security reported last year is being maintained and many activities inside prisons which had to be suspended in the interests of security have been resumed. Prisoners are being increasingly provided with modern, efficiently organised industrial work. A new detention centre was completed early this year having been built almost entirely by prison labour. The standard of work has been praised by experts, especially by representatives of the building trade unions.

ELECTORAL LAW

The recommendations of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Law (Cmnd. 3550) and of the Electoral Advisory Conference have been examined and the Government announced their conclusions on these recommendations in a White Paper (Cmnd. 3717) published on 24 July, 1968. The major change in electoral law recommended by the Government is that the minimum age for voting should be reduced to 18. A review of local government elections law has also been carried out.

THEFT ACT

The Theft Act, which comes into force on 1 January, 1969, is one of the major pieces of criminal law reform of recent years. It completely restates (and in the process modernises and simplifies) the law of theft and related offences, including false pretences, robbery, burglary and blackmail. The Act forms part of a comprehensive programme of codification of the criminal law upon which the Government is now embarked with the assistance of the Law Commission and the Criminal Law Revision Committee.

GAMING

The Government's Bill to control and reduce the volume of commercial gaming is in the last stages of its passage through Parliament. The object of this measure is to put an end to the profiteering and racketeering that has too often been associated both with the gaming clubs and

with the supply of gaming machines; but the restrictions are relaxed for bingo clubs operating on a local basis for moderate prizes.

BRITISH STANDARD TIME ACT

The British Standard Time Act which comes into force at the end of October provides that the equivalent of summer time shall apply throughout the whole of the next three years; the effects to be reviewed at the end of this experiment. The change to the new time system should bring a number of significant social and economic benefits, but some disadvantages as well, particularly perhaps in Scotland. The Government have thought it right, therefore, to put it to practical test before a final decision is taken whether to continue it.

LONDON TAXI CABS

The London Cab Act passed early in the Session will bring under control all fares for cab journeys in Greater London, while at the same time protecting the proper rights of the licensed cab trade in competition with the private hire cars. The relationship between the taxi and private hire trades in London is being examined, in the longer term, by the Stamp Committee appointed by the Home Secretary last autumn.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS

The Government gave technical and drafting assistance during the passage of the Theatres Bill, introduced by Mr. George Strauss, which abolishes the censorship of stage plays by the Lord Chamberlain, leaving them to be controlled only by normal processes of law administered through the courts.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

HOUSING PROGRAMME

We are glad to record another record year in house building.

In 1967, 404,300 houses were completed in Great Britain. This was the fourth year running in which a record was achieved and the first time in our history that 400,000 houses had been built in one year. Public bodies completed 13,000 more houses than in 1966, though private builders completed 5,000 fewer. Moreover, building societies lent a record total of £1,472 m. for house purchase in 1967, £227 m. more than in 1966.

In the first six months of 1968, 199,000 houses have been completed, 12,000 more than in the same period last year. The building societies had lent £832 m. up to the end of May, 1968, an increase of £195 m. over last year's figures. It is reasonably certain that 1968 will be another record-breaking year.

NEW TOWNS

New Towns are making an even bigger contribution to solving housing problems in the big cities. Some are also playing an important part in stimulating economic growth in less prosperous areas. There are now 27 New Towns (20 in England, 5 in Scotland and 2 in Wales).

Three new towns, Northampton, Warrington and Newtown, were designated in the last 12 months. Northampton will receive 70,000 Londoners, and Warrington 40,000 people from Manchester. Both these projects focus on large existing communities, where major expansion will promote urban renewal as well as meeting overspill needs. The third town, Newtown in Montgomeryshire, is intended to stimulate economic growth in Mid-Wales.

Public inquiries have been held this year into proposals to create a new town at Ipswich, to receive 70,000 Londoners, and to extend Dawley to enable the existing new town there to receive a total of 100,000 people from the West Midland conurbation, instead of the 50,000 previously planned for.

An "impact study" to assess the effect on North East Lancashire of the major new town proposed in the Leyland/Chorley area became available in April, 1968. Ministers are now considering the views of the Regional Economic Planning Council and of local authorities on the impact study.

SALE OF COUNCIL HOUSES

Last year (20 March, 1967) the Minister of Housing and Local Government renewed the general consent to the sale of council houses which has existed since 1952. When he did this he advised local authorities that it would be wrong to sell council houses in any area where an unsatisfied demand existed for houses to let at moderate rents. But local authorities were left free to make their own decisions in the light of the circumstances prevailing in their particular districts. On several occasions during 1968, the Minister of Housing and Local Government said

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that he had no intention of permitting any substantial erosion of the stock of local authority houses to let in areas where there is still a long waiting list for council accommodation, and at the end of July he withdrew the general consent and reissued it in a form which put a severe restriction on the number of council houses which could be sold by local authorities in the conurbations of Greater London, Merseyside, South East Lancashire and the West Midlands.

"OLD HOUSES INTO NEW HOMES"—IMPROVEMENTS

A new and significant emphasis in Housing Policy is revealed in the White Paper "Old Houses into New Homes" published on 23 April, 1968. It foreshadowed legislation which will embody a new approach to the improvement of older housing areas. Local authorities will be asked to concentrate on the improvement of whole areas rather than scattered individual houses; they will be given power to improve the environment in such areas as well as helping by grant-aid the improvement of the houses themselves. An Exchequer grant will be given of 50 per cent towards the cost of approved environmental work up to a cost limit of £100 per dwelling in the area. For house improvement the discretionary grant limit will be raised to £1,000 and the standard grant limit to £200. Certain types of structural repair work would be eligible for grant aid. Local authorities will be able to act as owners' agents in improvement matters. There will be exchequer aid towards the cost of acquisition and conversion or improvement by local authorities, up to a cost limit of £2,500 per dwelling produced. The same limit will apply to housing associations working with local authorities.

The cumbersome procedure of the Housing Act 1964 will be replaced by a much more flexible procedure in which local authorities will rely mainly on persuasion and good public relations in an area declared by them to be a "General Improvement Area." But they will have powers of acquisition which could be exercised compulsorily as a last resort, subject to confirmation of an order by the Minister.

The White Paper also proposed a strengthening of the powers for dealing with problems of multiple occupation of houses, including in particular a power to prevent it or to allow it only subject to conditions.

The White Paper makes it clear that while many more houses should be improved and more repair and maintenance should be done, the number of houses which should be cleared away as slums is greater than had been supposed. This was shown by the sample survey of the condition of houses in England and Wales organised by the Government in 1967: There are probably some 1.8 million unfit houses in the country of which 1.1 million must be dealt with in clearance areas. The Government propose that where action leading to the demolition of clearance of an unfit house is started at any time after the date of publication of the White Paper, a supplement should be added to the compensation payable in respect of houses which have been owner-occupied since that date, or for two years (whichever is the shorter period) before the local authority takes action. This supplement will bring the compensation up to full market value.

The Government believe that when these proposals have been embodied in legislation a much greater attack will be made on the problems of our old and decaying housing areas than has ever been seen in this country.

MORTGAGE GUARANTEE SCHEME

Last year the Ministry introduced the Option Mortgage Scheme which came into full operation on 1 April, 1968. Now the Government have introduced the Mortgage Guarantee Scheme, which enables house purchasers who have chosen an option mortgage to borrow up to 100 per cent of the loan of the valuation or cost of the house they are buying. The Government pay part of the premium for the insurance policy which covers the excess loan so reducing the cost to borrowers.

HOUSING AND IMMIGRATION

The Race Relations Bill which passed into law in 1968 replaces Sections 1 to 4 of the Race Relations Act 1965 by a comprehensive measure making it unlawful to practise racial discrimination over a wide field which includes the disposal of housing accommodation.

A Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee is considering problems of housing management including those concerning immigrants, and is expected to report this year.

NATIONAL HOUSE-BUILDERS REGISTRATION COUNCIL

The proportion of new private houses built with the safeguards of the National House-Builders Registration Council has continued to increase, and now stands at over 80 per cent. The Government supports the scheme and the Minister of Housing nominates the Chairman and

another member of the Council. A list of registered builders has now been published, as foreshadowed in last year's report.

HOMELESSNESS

The reports submitted by local authorities led to the sending of a Joint Circular in September 1967 by the Ministry of Health, Home Office and Ministry of Housing. This drew attention to the best practice of local authorities themselves. It emphasised the need to institute an early warning system to prevent homelessness wherever possible, to keep the family together where it did become homeless, and to aim at permanent resettlement as soon as possible.

CARAVANS

With the Government's full support an important new measure, the Caravan Sites Bill, was introduced at the end of 1967. Part I gives to all those living on caravan sites whose caravans are their homes, full protection from arbitrary eviction and harassment. It makes it unlawful, without a court order to deprive a man of the pitch, or of the caravan and pitch. It enables courts to suspend any order for possession for up to 12 months, to review or extend that period, and to fix terms and conditions. At last the unprotected section of the community get protection against harassment.

This is only an interim measure. The Government has given an undertaking that comprehensive legislation for caravan dwellers will be introduced as soon as possible.

GYPSIES

The Government has also given full support to Part II of the same Bill, which places a duty on county, county borough and London borough councils (subject to certain limitations) to provide sites for gypsies residing in or resorting to their area. The Bill will also enable local authorities to exercise stricter control over unauthorised camping by gypsies in areas where sites have been provided. Gypsies are defined as persons of nomadic habit of life, whatever their race or origin. At present there are very few places where gypsies can legally camp and they cause nuisance undoubtedly to the settled population by haphazard camping in unsuitable places without facilities.

LOCAL AUTHORITY RENT INCREASES

The Government have made it clear that the success of the national economic strategy depends on the success with which increases in prices and incomes are limited. Rents are a large item in the family budget, and the Government have consistently stressed the need to moderate increases at a time when it is essential to exercise restraint on incomes.

Most local authorities have observed this moderation. Some have not. The Government decided to take powers to limit local authority rent increases in the Prices and Incomes Bill now before Parliament. Clause 10 of the Bill provides that local housing authorities may not increase rents after enactment without Ministerial approval. Clause 11 enables Ministers to require local authorities to submit proposals for the reduction of rent increases which took effect between 1 April 1968 and the date of enactment, and also rent increases referred to the National Board for Prices and Incomes, even if the increases took effect before 1 April.

Local authorities have already been advised that average increases in standard rent must not normally exceed 7s. 6d. a week in any one year. This was the limit recommended by the National Board for Prices and Incomes. Authorities have also been advised to limit the maximum increase for any individual house to 10s. a week in any one year. Ministers have stressed that these figures constitute a ceiling and shall not be regarded as a norm. No rents shall be raised except to cover unavoidable increases in costs or the introduction or extension of a rebate scheme.

PRIVATE RENTS

Most of the Rent Act 1965 has now become part of the consolidated Rent Act 1968; but part III of the 1965 Act, making illegal eviction and harassment of tenants criminal offences for which local authorities can prosecute, remains in full force.

Rent regulation has continued to operate and statistics relating to it were published in *Housing Statistic* No. 8 (January, 1968), H.M.S.O. These show that some 55,000 applications had been made to Rent Officers between January, 1966 and September, 1967; some 5,800 of these had been referred to a Rent Assessment Committee following an objection to a Rent Officer's decision. Of those cases analysed, increases in the registered rent over the previous rent had resulted in 51.8 per cent, decreases in 38.4 per cent, and no change in 9.8 per cent of determinations. Passing from the highest to the lowest Gross Values of premises dealt with, the statistics show progressively smaller rent increase, and greater decreases, on average, as the result of rent

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registration. This suggests that the effect of rent regulations is to give most assistance to those tenants who most need it, and a further publicity campaign has therefore been launched using television, press and posters, to bring the service to their notice.

Meanwhile the Minister of Housing has stated that he does not propose at present to bring into rent regulation any further blocks of rent-controlled property, except in the context of the proposals for the improvement and maintenance of older houses.

Under the Prices and Incomes Act 1968, the Minister has provided by Regulations for the phasing of certain rent increases consequent on rent registration under the Rent Act 1968. These will not apply where there is a new tenancy or where the tenancy agreement itself makes fair provision for staging of increases. The increase permitted will be 10s. a week in the first year after registration; in the second year an increase half-way from the first year's limit to the full registered rent will be permitted (or 2s. 6d. per week if that is more); in the third year the full registered rent will be recoverable. In addition any increase in rates paid by the landlord will be chargeable and increase also in the cost of services provided by him as part of the tenancy arrangement will be allowed for.

RATES

A new scheme of local government finance must follow the new structure likely to be created after the Royal Commission. Meanwhile the Government have introduced (in the Local Government Act 1966) a new system of aid to local authorities. The greater part of the annual increase of grant under these arrangements is channelled direct to the domestic ratepayer and reduces his rate poundage below what is charged to commercial, industrial and other ratepayers in the area. The reduction for the ordinary domestic ratepayer was 5d. for 1967-68 and is 10d. for the current year; occupiers of "mixed hereditaments" which are predominantly residential have had reduction of, respectively, 2d. and 5d. The result of the new System has been to produce the lowest rise in domestic rate poundage for very many years. On average the increases both in 1967-68 and in the current year have been only about one per cent. Further, under the General Rate Act 1967 householders may pay their rates by monthly instalments instead of in a lump sum once or twice a year.

RATE REBATES

In addition to this general and generous rate relief for *all* householders, the Government introduced in 1966 the rate rebate scheme for those who have low incomes and who are not among the 2 million or so householders getting supplementary benefit which takes their rate liabilities fully into account. The Government have thus moderated the worst feature of rating as a tax—its regressiveness. No less than three-quarters of the cost of the rate rebate scheme is met by the Exchequer. The scheme has now completed more than two years of operation. In 1966-67 over a million household ratepayers were benefiting from it with rebate of, on average, £15 for the full year towards average rate bills of about £30 for the year. The number benefiting in 1967-68 was about 800,000. It will rise again in the current year since the Government have raised the qualifying income limits with effect from October 1968, in line with their pledge to maintain the effectiveness of the safeguards for the poorer sections of the community.

IMAGINATIVE NEW TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

A radical Town and Country Planning Bill is completing its passage through Parliament. It will be regarded in the future as being as significant as Lewis Silkin's great Acts. It paves the way for major improvement for four kinds in town and country planning:

Greater relevance; Greater effectiveness; Speedier decision; Greater opportunity for people to be involved in and aware of the planning and development of their environment.

The Bill provides for a new system of development plans which recognises ministerial responsibility for broad policy and general standards as well as placing much more responsibility for detailed allocations of land, and for action to improve the environment, on local planning authorities. The new plans will be more realistic and relevant: they will deal with problems of movement as well as of land use and will form the essential bridge between regional economic policies and the physical development of each town and rural area. Speedier settlement of main issues will be possible, for the Minister will no longer be encumbered by the task of settling detail of local importance only. Although the rights of the citizen to object to a plan will be altered, they will not be diminished; indeed, the Bill will bring far greater opportunity for the public to participate in the plan-making process at the formative stages before the planning authority have become committed. The Bill includes comprehensive safeguards for those affected by development plans.

A Committee on Public Participation in Planning working under the chairmanship of Mr.

Arthur Skeffington, M.P., is examining the ways in which public participation in the plan making process under these new arrangements can be made most effective. Its report is expected early next year.

The Bill will make effective the enforcement of planning control by local planning authorities. A new "stop notice" procedure prohibits the continuance of works alleged to be in breach of planning control until the matter is resolved.

The Bill also provides remedies for the time taken to deal with appeals to the Minister against the decisions of local planning authorities. Some 10-11,000 appeals of this type are dealt with by the Ministry every year and despite improvements in machinery and staffing in recent years it has been taking nine months on average to decide any case in which a local inquiry was needed. The Bill will enable the Minister to transfer selected classes of case to Inspectors for determination. The consequence will be a speeding up of decision as the Inspector himself, having heard or read the arguments and seen the site, proceeds straight from that to a decision at first hand, instead of making a report for further consideration in the Ministry. No change will be made in the right of appeal or the right to a hearing.

The Bill deals with planning cases raising wide or novel issues of more than local significance. It provides for cases of this kind to be referred to planning inquiry commissions set up for the purpose whose task it will be first of all to identify and investigate the special issues raised by the case, and in the light of that investigation, to hear objections to the proposed development.

The commission will be able to consider the possibility of carrying out the development on an alternative site.

Public concern has been increasingly aroused by the apparent difficulty of suitably controlling the carrying out of development by public bodies. The Bill reduces the level of compensation which may be payable if planning permission to carry out development essential for the working of an undertaking on the site preferred by the undertaking is refused.

The Bill supplements present arrangements for the advertisement in the press of selected types of application for planning permission by requiring the posting of notices on the site of the proposed development. The public will thus be made more readily aware of impending changes in their locality and will have a better opportunity than at present to make representations to the local planning authority to guide them in their consideration of the application.

The report of the Management Study of Development Control commissioned by the Minister and the local authority associations indicated ways by which local planning authorities can improve and speed up the working of planning machinery. Some recommendations of the report are already incorporated in provisions in the Town and Country Planning Bill, including the proposal that local planning authorities should be empowered to delegate to selected officers authority to decide certain types of planning application. At present some three-fifths of decisions on planning applications are of a relatively simple character and pass through the planning committees of local authorities merely for ratification of an officer's recommendation. A speedier decision for applicants and time to spare for the conduct of more important business by members of local authorities will result if officers can be authorised formally to decide such cases. This limited measure of delegation to officers in the planning field does not in any way prejudice the wider examination of local authority organisation and practice flowing from the reports of the Maud and Mallaby Committees.

PRESERVATION

Part V of the Town and Country Planning Bill deals with the preservation of historic buildings. It provides an improved system for controlling demolitions and alterations of listed buildings, and enables local authorities to act against owners who wilfully neglect them in order to get the development value. It thus completes the work of the Civic Amenities Act of last year. In April the Government announced an increase in the funds available to the Historic Buildings Council, the revived use of the Land Fund to allow the Minister of Housing and Local Government and local authorities to buy historic buildings, and an expansion of the work of the Historic Buildings Bureau, which helps to find new uses for them. The consultants' reports on Bath, Chester, Chichester and York, which have been received, will be published in the autumn.

DERELICT LAND

Under the Local Government Act, 1966, Exchequer grant became available towards expenditure by local authorities on the acquisition and treatment of derelict land on 1 April, 1967. Grant is at the rate of 50 per cent of the costs incurred. Previously specific Exchequer grants for treating dereliction were available only under the Industrial Development Act, 1966, for land in development areas and under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, 1949, land in national parks and areas of outstanding natural beauty.

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Because of restrictions on public expenditure the range of schemes eligible for grant under the Local Government Act was restricted at first to those where sites would be reclaimed for housing or industry, or where the presence of dereliction was a serious deterrent to industrial development in the area. These criteria have since been widened to include amenity schemes. Fifty schemes for treating 1,039 acres at an estimated cost of £1.2 million were given final or outline approval in 1967.

LAND COMMISSION AND SUPPLY OF LAND FOR BUILDING

The Land Commission came into operation on 6 April, 1967. Its main objectives are those which the Government stated in the White Paper published in 1965:

- (1) To ensure sufficient land is available for new development.
- (2) To take for the community part of the "betterment", i.e., the increased development value resulting from the activities of the community.

The betterment levy has been introduced. In the first year £½ million was collected. The reason for this low figure is that extensive transitional exemptions were given in the Land Commission Act to achieve a smooth run into the new system. The levy is now building up but it will be a few years before it realises its full yield of £80 million.

The Government have told the Commission that their first priority for land acquisition must be to ensure that sufficient land is available to maintain the housebuilding programme. However, one of the major problems is making land available in planning terms. The Government have tackled this problem by approaches to local planning authorities, asking them to release more land for housebuilding, and to work in conjunction with the Land Commission in so doing. In the outer Metropolitan Area the Government has asked that land should be made available in sufficient quantity for a programme of private housebuilding of 35,000 houses a year for seven years. This is an appreciable increase in the supply of land, and the Land Commission can help to ensure an orderly phasing of the supply of this land on to the market.

The process of purchasing land is necessarily lengthy, but the Commission's acquisitions are building up. Over 1,100 acres of land have now been acquired, or are subject to binding contracts or to published draft compulsory purchase orders, and much of this is land which could not have been made available for development without the assistance of the Land Commission. The Land Commission are actively investigating over 500 other sites totalling over 20,000 acres. It does not follow that all these will be required since in many cases the intervention of the Land Commission helps to secure the sale of land to builders, which was otherwise being withheld from the market by the owners.

THE LEASEHOLD REFORM ACT, 1967

Another milestone in social legislation is the Leasehold Reform Act, 1967, which became law on 27 October; and 1 January, 1968, was fixed as the Appointed Day when the main provisions of the Act came into force. (Those whose leases expired since 8 December, 1964, but who were still living in the house could take action at once to secure the benefits of the Act, and they had to do so before 27 January, 1968, if they were not to lose their rights.)

Under this Act, leaseholders of houses in England and Wales who fulfil certain qualifying conditions have been enabled to buy the freehold of their properties or to extend their lease for 50 years. The qualifying conditions are that the lease must originally have been granted for more than 21 years, at a rent less than two-thirds of the rateable value. The rateable value of the house must be less than £200 (£400 in Greater London). And the leaseholder must normally have lived in the house for five out of the last ten years.

It is thought that at the time of the passage of the Act there were over one million leasehold houses in England and Wales that could be affected by it.

The principle on which the Act is based is that "in equity the bricks and mortar of such a house belong to the qualified leaseholder and the land to the landowner": the price of enfranchisement will take account of the leaseholder's deemed right to the 50-year extension. It is considered that this device should have the broad effect of transferring the value of the bricks and mortar from the freehold to the leasehold interest so that the leaseholder will pay for the site (including any development value) but not for the building on it.

The landlord is given certain rights to possession for redevelopment purposes, or the accommodation of a member of his family, but on terms involving the payment of compensation to the leaseholder.

Where the lease is held from a local authority or new town corporation they may retain the development rights or a right of pre-emption, and enfranchisement or extension of such a lease can also be prevented if the property will shortly be needed for redevelopment: otherwise these bodies stand in much the same position as private landlords under the Act.

Schemes of management may be laid down for large, comprehensively managed estates: these will lay certain obligations on the enfranchising leaseholder.

COUNTRYSIDE

During the year the Countryside Act, 1968, was passed into law. It reflects the importance which the Labour Government gives to amenity and provides more opportunities for millions of people to relax in the countryside while at the same time ensuring that the attractions are not destroyed.

The Act re-names the National Parks Commission as the Countryside Commission, extends its functions, and empowers it to set up a Welsh Committee.

Generous grants of 75 per cent will be available anywhere in the countryside for tree planting, picnic sites, camps and access to the countryside, etc., and for much larger and novel projects such as country parks, where people from the more densely populated areas can spend their leisure hours and will be welcomed.

Woodland Conferences have been held at High Wycombe, Tunbridge Wells, and Harlow New Town to bring together all the interested bodies, i.e., the National Parks Commission, local planning authorities, the Forestry Commission, private woodland owners, the Nature Conservancy and others, to discuss what steps are needed to protect and preserve woodlands in most of the Home Counties.

Orders have been made to designate parts of the South Hampshire coast, the Norfolk coast and the Kent Downs as areas of outstanding natural beauty. Other areas, North Wessex Downs, Suffolk coasts and heaths, Dedham Vale, are under consideration.

The National Parks Commission have followed up the important coastal conferences held in 1966-67 by the publication of their regional Reports covering the problems of preservation and recreation round the coasts of England and Wales, and will shortly produce a general policy Report on the same subject.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANISATION

The Royal Commission on Local Government in England, which was appointed in May, 1966, is expected to report by the end of the year.

In the meantime the last of the changes flowing from the recommendations of the Local Government Commission for England have come into effect with the creation in April, 1968, of the county boroughs of Tees-side and Torbay and the extensions of Derby, Grimsby, Kingston-upon-Hull, Norwich and York.

The Minister also gave effect to those proposals in the Bedfordshire, Cornwall, Herefordshire and Worcestershire county reviews, carried out under the Local Government Act, 1958, which were urgent and generally agreed.

OIL POLLUTION

After the Torrey Canyon disaster the Minister began to discuss with local authority associations a new and permanent procedure to deal with the pollution of beaches and estuaries by oil. In July a circular was sent to local authorities laying the responsibility on counties and county boroughs to report to the Minister of Housing by January what system they would adopt for the division of responsibility as between themselves and district councils. Central Government will bear 50 per cent of the cost of cleaning of coasts. This will include the wages of local government employees while they are engaged on this work. With the circular went a technical memorandum from the Warren Spring Laboratory of the Ministry of Technology about the best methods and substances for removing oil of different types from different types of coast.

Local authorities were asked to make advance arrangements for the hire of small craft to deal with oil slicks within a few miles of the shore. If Navy or Air Force help is needed, the local authority will re-pay them for operations close inshore, and Central Government if they are further out, where no one could tell which local authority area was threatened.

ORDNANCE SURVEY

The Ordnance Survey is responsible for the survey mapping of Great Britain. Its authoritative maps are essential for all planning purposes. Further the Government secured additional staff to press ahead with production of large scale maps which must be available if the proposals for Compulsory Registration of Title are to apply to the whole country—with considerable saving in time and costs.

The number of maps surveyed and the number published during 1967-68 were both higher than in any previous year.

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WATER

In many parts of the country the question of adequate water supplies is now of prime importance in view of the growing population and development.

Further progress has been made in implementing the new system of water conservation set up under the Water Resources Act, 1963, particularly in carrying out surveys, preparing plans for major conservation schemes and in mounting research projects. Other significant projects are:

BARRAGES

Morecambe Bay

In January, 1967, the Government authorised the Water Resources Board to commission a full feasibility study of a barrage across Morecambe Bay. It will cost about £500,000 and will take about three and a half years to complete.

The Wash

The Minister decided in April, 1968, to approve a Water Resources Board proposal for a preliminary desk study, at a cost of £25,000, of water storage in the Wash.

Ely Ouse Scheme

A Private Bill introduced into Parliament this year would authorise the works and licences required for a transfer of water from the Ely Ouse to Essex, where restrictions on new house-building are at present necessary because water supplies are inadequate.

If the scheme is approved by Parliament, the water will travel over 80 miles from the Ely Ouse Pond, 12 miles south of King's Lynn, to storage in the Hanningfield Reservoir, near Chelmsford, and Abberton Reservoir, near Colchester. The works include a 12-mile tunnel, but for over 60 miles the water would flow down existing rivers and watercourses.

As a result of the scheme, an additional 24 million gallons of water would be provided daily in Essex without the need to construct more reservoirs.

Trent Study

The River Trent is potentially as large a source of supply as either the Morecambe Bay or the Wash Barrages; but it is so polluted at present as to be unsuitable as a source of drinking water. In May, 1967, the Government approved a programme of studies, under the direction of the Water Resources Board, the Trent River Authority, the Water Pollution Research Laboratory and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, to discover the most economic way of making the Trent water available for further use.

RESEARCH

Apart from the £4 million to be spent by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority over the next four years on its desalination research and development programme, the Water Resources Board has in the current financial year spent about £150,000 on its own research work, and is making grants amounting to £470,000 towards experimental works by river authorities and towards river authorities' hydrometric schemes for the collection of data about water resources. (These figures include the Government contribution towards the cost of the Trent Study.)

RECREATION

Under the Countryside Act, 1965, statutory water undertakers obtained powers to provide for recreation at reservoirs which they own or manage, and the British Waterworks Association will report to the Government yearly on progress.

LEGAL AND JUDICIAL

With the help of the Law Commission, set up by the Government in 1965, we have continued in the past year to clear off the statute book many obsolete statutes and passed Acts consolidating a large number of other statutes, including a Rent Act which consolidates all the Rent Acts of the past 46 years.

The Law Commission are also proceeding with proposals for the reform and codification of the criminal law, of the law of contract and of the law of landlord and tenant.

We have continued to democratise the Justices of the Peace by the abolition of ex-officio Justices. We have reformed the law of Civil Evidence.

The Latey Committee on the Age of Majority has reported and the Government has accepted its recommendation to reduce the age of majority from 21 to 18.

The Government is considering the report of the Committee on the speedier and simpler trial of personal injury actions which has just been received.

Reports are expected shortly from the Royal Commission appointed to overhaul the whole of the jurisdiction and administration of our Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions and from a Committee on the execution of judgments and the question of imprisonment for debt.

The Law Commission has reported on the liability for damage done by animals and is considering with a view to early reform the simplification of the law of house purchase, the liability of vendors and lessors for defective premises, the proof of paternity, the assessment of damages and matrimonial and family law.

OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT

In the four years since the Ministry of Overseas Development has been in existence there has been a concentration on bringing a greater degree of planning into the aid programme, and changing the methods by which we give aid in order to make them most effective for their purpose. Along with this has gone a general tendency to increase the quantity of aid. It is true that Britain's economic crisis has had its effect on the aid programme. In the financial year 1967-68 the upper limit of the aid programme was £205 million. Following the review of public expenditure earlier this year it was agreed that the permitted ceiling for this financial year and the next would remain at £205 million.

The effects of devaluation have had to be absorbed within this figure, which in real terms amounts to about £10 million. But it was also agreed early in 1968 that three aid items would be added on top of the basic £205 million. These items are: £6 million in food aid negotiated under the Kennedy Round; £7 million for extra replenishment of the International Development Association (the World Bank's soft loan agency); and special aid for Malaysia and Singapore to offset the economic effects of the run-down of British bases and forces. This means that British aid in 1968 will be more in money terms, and about the same in real terms, as in 1967.

Taking the figures for the calendar year 1967 (rather than the financial year 1967-68), Britain disbursed £208 million in aid, which was broken down as follows: £92.5 million in loans direct from the British Government to developing countries; £54.5 million in the form of grants; and £33.3 million in technical assistance. Our contribution to multi-lateral agencies was £19 million. The first instalment of special aid to Singapore and Malaysia amounted to £2.5 million, and £6.3 million went in contingency aid to Zambia.

Contributions to multi-lateral agencies have been running at about 10 per cent of the aid programme, but the tendency is to increase the flow in this direction, so that over the coming year it is expected that it will go up to about 14 per cent.

For five consecutive years Britain exceeded the target set by the 1964 U.N.C.T.A.D. conference, which was 1 per cent of National Income. This target included private investment as well as official aid. At the second U.N.C.T.A.D. conference in Delhi in March, 1968, a new definition was given to the target, which was 1 per cent of G.N.P. at market prices. Britain readily gave its support to this target. No target date was set for reaching the newly defined 1 per cent.

About 90 per cent of loans to developing countries are given interest-free and on soft terms: maturity periods now cover a period of about 25 years, and grace periods on the repayment of capital for periods up to the first seven years of the life of the loan have been granted to an increasing number of countries.

Increasing importance is attached to technical assistance. Its value in terms of development is very high for the amount of money spent. In 1967 more money was spent on technical assistance than ever before because it was recognised that the import of skills and knowledge is, without question, the first requirement of most developing countries. A large part of disbursements on technical assistance goes to pay for the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. Under this scheme Britain contributes a large part to the salaries of British people employed in the developing countries so that the recipient government has only to pay the local rate which Britain makes up to the rate required to keep the skilled man on the job. Including those recruited under the British Volunteer Programme, there were 20,000 British people serving in developing countries at the beginning of 1968.

India and Pakistan continue to be the largest recipients of British aid. In 1967 over £50 million went to these two countries. African countries received over £70 million, Asia (other than the sub-continent) about £15 million, the remainder going to the Caribbean, Latin America and a few other countries. Commonwealth countries receive about 80 per cent of Britain's aid.

The aim of the aid programme is to promote economic and social development. There are no political strings to the Ministry's aid programme in the sense of giving or withdrawing aid to secure particular political advantages.

The aid programme is designed to act in partnership with the recipient countries. It is for the recipient government, in consultation with Britain, to decide where the aid we give is most

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needed. There has been increasing concentration on a number of main lines of policy. These include improving the effectiveness of aid. This is done by careful scrutiny of individual countries' development programmes (a process in which the Ministry of Overseas Development's Economic Planning Staff figure most prominently), and by increasing the number of posts in High Commissions and Embassies in developing countries held by people responsible for dealing with the recipient governments on development aid matters. We are also putting more emphasis on rural development; and on support for family planning, including the establishment of a Population Bureau within the Ministry.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

Further progress has been made in modernising the procedure of the House.

The experimental morning sittings held in the 1966-67 session have been replaced by a sessional arrangement under which, if debate is running late, a Minister can move that it be adjourned until 10 a.m. This is more flexible than the regularly scheduled morning sittings of the previous session; and taken in combination with a revised standing order abolishing "counts" after 10 p.m., it has substantially reduced the number of occasions on which the managers of Government business have had to ask back benchers to be in attendance in the small hours of the morning.

Standing orders have been changed so as to allow the committee stage of the Finance Bill to be taken in standing committee upstairs, instead of occupying a number of days (and late nights) on the floor of the House. The 1968 Finance Bill was handled in this way.

Standing Order 9 has been revised so as to allow for more frequent debates at short notice on matters of urgent interest.

The new system of specialist committees has been extended by keeping in existence the two committees appointed in the previous session (on Agriculture, and Science and Technology) and appointing a third (Education and Science) for this session.

POST OFFICE

REORGANISATION

Active preparations continued for the legislative and other measures required for the change of status of the Post Office to a public corporation. The Bill to give effect to this change was to have been taken in the 1967-68 session but the Government decided to defer it until the 1967-68 session. If approved by Parliament, change in status will still take place in 1969.

The Post Office also continued its progress in organising its new management structure by separating the two main businesses—Posts and Telecommunications. Each under its Managing Director has its own headquarters and field organisation (except in Northern Ireland).

FINANCE

There were two main general financial developments in 1967-68. First, in accordance with Government policy for the nationalised industries as set out in the White Paper "A review of Economic and Financial Objectives" (Cmnd. 3473) it was announced to the House of Commons on 3 November, 1967, that new financial targets had been set for the Post Office. Instead of an overall financial target of 8 per cent, there are now separate targets of 2 per cent on a total expenditure for Posts and a net return of 8½ per cent on capital for Telecommunications. The postal target is more appropriate to the less highly capitalised postal services. The telecommunications target in particular reflects the need to hold a fair balance between the amount directly financed by Post Office customers (when the profit is ploughed back) and the amount borrowed from the National Loans Fund. This is especially important now when a very large and rapidly rising capital programme has to be financed.

The second, was that it became clear during the year 1967-68 that some charges for Post Office services would have to be increased in the face of higher costs and to meet the need for self-financing with the financial targets represented. In accordance with Government policy, the proposed changes in Post Office charges were referred to the National Board for Prices and Incomes. The Board's report (Cmnd. 3574) supported the Post Office view that it would have to raise some of its prices to bring in about £30 million for Posts and £40 million for Telecommunications in a full year if targets were to be met and the need for further increases before 1971 avoided. On Telecommunications, the Board agreed with the Post Office's proposals that additional revenue should be obtained from increased exchange line rentals. On Posts, the Board accepted the Post Office's main proposal which was that 5d. and 4d. should be the charges for letters in the classes of the new two-tier letter service when it is introduced.

Of the two main businesses, the postal services made a profit of £4 million in 1967-68 and a net return on capital of 9.1 per cent.

Telecommunications income reached a record level of £485.1 million. The profit of £35.3 million was £2.4 million lower than in 1966-67 and the return on capital fell to 7.3 per cent. The temporary slackening in the rates of growth of demand of telephone service and traffic in the early part of the year recovered in the later part and for the full year were nearly 10 per cent higher than in 1966-67.

POSTS

The quality of the letter service was maintained at about the same level as last year despite some dislocation of rail services in 1967 and adverse weather in early 1968. Some 92 per cent of fully paid letters are delivered on the next working day after posting.

Further progress was made in the mechanisation of sorting offices and the allocation of post codes. Work continued on the development of a system of code-marking letters for automatic sorting. Further systems for improving management control and working processes were developed during the year and project team studies have continued to result in useful savings in larger sorting offices. A postal marketing team was created.

The intention to change the structure of the inland letter service by introducing a two-tier system was announced.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The telephone system continued to grow. The number of telephones in use rose to over 12.1 million. Automatic service is now available to 97 per cent of customers and STD to 76 per cent of customers.

The bulk supply agreements—for telephone apparatus and for exchange equipment—expired on 31 March, 1968. In the course of the year it was decided that future supplies of apparatus would be obtained by competitive tender and that the exchange equipment agreement would be extended only for an interim period to allow arrangements for competitive purchasing to be worked out.

The second of the electronic exchanges already standardised for the small to medium size range was opened during the year. A further 72 of these exchanges were ordered.

Both telex and datel services continued to expand rapidly.

Post Office network of pulse code modulation links became the largest in Europe. An experimental digital electronic exchange has been designed and built at the Post Office Research Station. It will be brought into experimental use in a London exchange this year.

Work proceeded on the construction of a second earth terminal at Goonhilly Down, Cornwall, to operate to Intelsat 3, a new high capacity satellite which will be launched over the Atlantic this year.

BANKING

The arrangements for launching the Giro service are progressing satisfactorily and it is expected to open in the autumn of this year as planned. The equipment which will make up one of the largest and most advanced data processing centres in Europe is progressively being installed and tested at the National Giro Centre in Bootle. Market research surveys have produced favourable responses from both the business community and the general public and it is expected that the service will quickly attract the level of business required to make it commercially viable.

The total amount managed for the Department for National Savings rose during the year from £5,975 million to £6,034 million and deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank Investments Account and holdings of Premium Savings Bonds both rose during the year.

THE NATIONAL DATA PROCESSING SERVICE

Steady progress was made both on the 20 data processing projects for other Post Office services—e.g., computerisation of Post Office Savings Bank Accounts and computerisation of telephone billing—and on selling machine time to outside customers at rates corresponding to those charged by private bureaux for similar services. Studies were commenced of computer systems to meet the needs of customers outside the Post Office.

STAFF RELATIONS

The relations between management and staff in the Post Office continued to be good. Discussions began as early as possible and many issues relating to the position of the staff under the reorganisation of the Post Office. The staff again contributed their own section to the Annual Report.

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POWER

Far-reaching policy decisions and activity have characterised the work of the Ministry of Power and its nationalised industries during the past year—all of major importance to the future of the economy. Britain now has four main primary fuels instead of two—coal, gas, oil and nuclear power. Proper use of them all will give ample and efficient fuel supplies and lower energy costs in the future.

STEEL NATIONALISATION

Since vesting day for nationalising steel last year, good progress has been made in troublesome conditions. World surplus capacity has created profound difficulties for the steel industry here and throughout the world. In the U.K. last year, output and capacity use fell while imports rose. Financial results were correspondingly depressed. In the year ending September, 1967—10 months of which were pre-nationalisation—the companies forming the British Steel Corporation lost £10 million after depreciation and achieved under 2½ per cent return on capital. Recently, however, things have improved.

Steel production this year is about 8 per cent up on last year and capacity use has risen sharply. In the six months ending 31 March, 1968, the B.S.C. approximately broke even, after depreciation but before interest on the commencing capital debt.

The B.S.C. faced an immensely hard task. The merging of even two companies is a formidable operation. The B.S.C. has had to merge 14 large companies with 200 subsidiaries, to create one of the largest industrial concerns in the world.

There has been rapid progress in organisation. The first stage was to prepare for vesting. This took place only four months after Royal Assent, the shortest time for a big nationalised industry. The second stage was to submit the B.S.C.'s first report on organisation—required within a year of vesting. It was submitted within three days, and started to be implemented progressively.

Organising a headquarters has gone ahead, including new offices and specialised planning staff. Full-time directors of the groups were appointed at the end of September, 1967, and part-time members in April this year. Of special interest to the Labour Movement are the worker-directors—an imaginative experiment initiated by the B.S.C. It will be watched with interest by the Government, industrial management and trade unions elsewhere.

By the end of this year, a second B.S.C. report on organisation will deal, among other things, with the future structure of the companies inherited. The B.S.C. will work continuously to plan future development of the industry, keeping in close touch with consumer industries, trade unions, regional authorities and the Government. It hopes to have a broad brush picture of the industry's future development within the next year.

Reduction in manpower produced by reshaping and increased efficiency will be carried through humanely, with full regard to the social consequences. The B.S.C. will consult fully with the unions and with Government who are concerned with overall regional implications.

A basic price review, fundamental to the industry's success and national economic health, is now taking place, for discussion with the Government by the end of the year.

Concentration on long-term policy is not at the expense of short-term improvements in efficiency and finances. The B.S.C. has arranged central financial control, to make valuable savings. Detailed technical and cost comparisons are being organised between different works, to bring all to the standard of the best. Co-ordination between companies in export markets, to avoid depressed prices and earnings, is in hand. Weak points in the industry's management structure are being strengthened.

This is an interim summary, but although much remains to be done, the steel industry now has an organisation with the potential to face and overcome the problems of the 1970s, to contribute to modernising Britain's industry and to hold our position in a tough international market.

FUEL POLICY REVIEW

Publication of the White Paper on Fuel Policy was the most notable event for the Ministry of Power in the past year. It followed a major review of all the fuel industries' prospects against the background of recent important advances and new discovery—the most thorough examination ever of the fuel economy. The White Paper was not a "blueprint" exercise, but the basis of a co-ordinated policy for future investment and development. Study and review continue.

The Government's long-term policy decisions in the White Paper were that:

- (i) *Natural gas should be brought rapidly into the economy.*

The known North Sea fields can provide 3,000 million cubic feet of gas a day, three times the amount of gas we use at present, and there is a close inter-action between

speed of absorption and economically acceptable price levels in relation to required investment. The first major long-term contract was made by the Gas Council in March at a price of 2.87d. a therm. The industry is starting to build a national grid, will phase out town gas and convert all appliances to burn natural gas over ten years.

The Gas and Electricity Act, 1968, gave the gas industry power to borrow the extra money needed to exploit North Sea gas and raised its present borrowing limit from £1,200 million to £2,400 million. It strengthened central management as a preliminary to a closer review of organisation to meet the changing circumstances from now to the early 1970s. The Minister has consulted management and unions and it is hoped to introduce legislation soon to strengthen the Gas Council's central powers and duties, to make them responsible for main policy decisions, including investment programmes and financial performance.

Looking further to the future, the Ministry has joined in consultations at the invitation of the Party's Fuel Study Group on the question of establishing a National Hydrocarbons Corporation, proposed at the 1967 Party Conference. The Ministry is now studying the Group's report.

- (ii) *Nuclear power should provide an 8,000 MW second generating station programme.*

More nuclear power has been generated in the U.K. to date than in the whole of the rest of the world. It gets cheaper as each station adds to knowledge. Nuclear stations now under construction and coming into service in the early 1970s are expected to produce cheaper electricity than the most favourably sited conventional stations. Nuclear stations later in the decade will have even lower costs. Looking further ahead there is the fast reactor, a prototype of which the Atomic Energy Authority is building.

- (iii) *Power stations proposed by C.E.G.B. should be by cheapest generating methods.*

In deciding on new stations, however, the Government will take account of wider economic factors. The Ministry is examining, in consultation with management and unions, the future structure of the electricity industry—the relationship between the Electricity Council, C.E.G.B. and Area Boards.

- (iv) *Oil should continue to be discriminated against in favour of indigenous fuels.*

Particularly while the balance of payments situation is difficult, the Government think it right to continue to favour indigenous fuels against oil. Oil demand will grow, but its increase in the share of the market will be smaller than before.

Hydrocarbons reconnaissance of the British part of the Continental Shelf, together with detailed investigation of prospects in the northern North Sea, has been programmed—a co-operative effort between the Ministry, oil industry and the Institute of Geological Sciences.

- (v) *Coal will remain a substantial industry, but will be smaller.*

With mechanisation and concentration of output on to efficient pits, mining manpower will decline on average by about 35,000 a year up to 1970-71, compared with an annual average of 30,000 over the past decade. Natural "wastage" will account for a large part of this. But to help older men, miners over 55 made redundant when pits close will benefit from a scheme under the Coal Industry Act, 1967, which will give them about 90 per cent of previous take-home pay for up to three years or until age 65.

This Act increased the Government share of extra social costs of pit closures to two-thirds, costing up to £45 million, and financed (by £5 million increasable by order to £8 million) extra losses by the N.C.B. due to Government requests to defer colliery closures in areas of high unemployment, in the period up to 1971. Sixteen closures were deferred last winter. These measures are in addition to the ban on coal imports, tax on oil, discrimination against oil in power stations and public buildings. Up to 1971 the Act empowers the Government to pay up to £45 million for extra coal to be burned by the electricity and gas industries, at the Minister's request, to sustain the market for coal.

In addition to existing help for development areas, the Government are helping areas specially hard hit by pit closures by:

- (a) Extra inducements to attract industry.
- (b) New industrial estates or factories at selected sites in South Wales, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Scotland.
- (c) New "advance factories" to replace those let.
- (d) Extra expenditure on roads to improve travel-to-work opportunities.

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Meanwhile, streamlining and modernising the industry has gone ahead. Technically it is among the most advanced in the world. Its productivity is rising year by year. With 20,000 MW of coal-fired power stations now under construction, the N.C.B. will continue to have a market for very large quantities of electricity coal in the 1970s. They have also mounted fresh drives to hold and increase other markets. This market drive is as crucial as the technical modernisation of the industry. For, like the rest of Western Europe, sales have been dropping and stocks increasing seriously. Particular efforts have been made in the fields of domestic central heating and large-scale district heating schemes.

The N.C.B. have also played a central rôle, with Government backing, in a working party which produced proposals to establish regional and local committees to rationalise coal distribution. This is vitally important to control costs, improve service and so hold markets. It follows recommendations made in a report by the N.B.P.I. on coal distribution costs and prices.

FUEL ECONOMY PLANNING

One of the most important decisions arising from the fuel policy review which produced the White Paper has received the least public notice. This was to construct in the Ministry of Power a mathematical model of the fuel economy. This decision will prove to be a major step forward in planning an important sector of Britain's economy.

For the 1966-67 review the Ministry carried out some fairly sophisticated economic analysis—designed to give a total sum approach; but this had to be combined with rather crude statistical methods. Now the Ministry are extending the area of sophistication to use methods which take full advantage of the availability of modern computers. Essentially the mathematical model—now reaching prototype stage—is designed to examine the interaction of the various fuel industries on each other and to assess variations in policy, in economic, technological or natural circumstances, and changes in public taste or overseas events over which there is no control.

Eventually it is contemplated that there will be satellites to the principal model. These may be operated by the Ministry or by the fuel industries. They will be built whenever it is necessary to study a particular part of the field in greater detail than in the main model. The basic job of the main integrated model itself will be to calculate year by year, on any particular set of assumptions, demands for various fuels, use of resources—manpower, capital and running costs—and resulting prices. It will be able to show the effect of varying one or more of the assumptions marginally or significantly, and to calculate the cost of a marginal increase in producing a particular fuel.

Inevitably the Ministry's model is limited to the energy sector and input on the general economy is provided by information and advice from the Department of Economic Affairs. But work is going on in this field in other Departments and, as fuel industries are service industries, the Ministry's model should be seen eventually as a satellite to a larger model of the economy generally. Its emergence from the fuel policy review is a valuable contribution to Labour's development of future national economic and social planning.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND WORKS

PUBLIC BUILDING

The Ministry continues to carry out a very large building programme both at home and overseas including in the office accommodation field a number of office dispersal and computer projects, a start on integrating Ministry of Social Security local offices and studies in open plan layouts. In areas of the Ministry's programme those most worthy of mention in the U.K. are the Giro Buildings at Bootle, the Royal Mint in South Wales, the "Cell 3" extension at Pyestock, the country-wide system of Heavy Goods Vehicle Testing Stations and the completion of 4,000 married quarters for the Services in the year ending March, 1968. Overseas the Ministry finished a project to accommodate the forces deployed to the Gulf only 18 months after the proposal was first discussed and also completed the new offices at Stockholm. Maintenance expenditure both at home and abroad continued at over £100 million.

SPONSORSHIP OF THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

There has been a major reorganisation of the Minister's machinery for consultation with the construction industry. Membership of the National Consultative Council has been increased so that the Council now includes representatives of all aspects of the work of the industry. In addition, five Standing Consultative Committees have been established. To enable urgent questions to be considered swiftly, the N.C.C. will from time to time set up Working Groups to consider any specific issue and recommend a line of action to the Council. Three Working Groups have already been formed to consider the Registration of Builders, Metrication, and possibilities for collaboration between different sectors of the industry in the export field.

The Department continues to enjoy excellent relations with the unions and employers largely by means of regular consultation on all major policy matters affecting the industry.

The Ministry is continuing with its programme for the change to metric measurement in the construction industry and aims to develop, in parallel with the metric change, dimensionally standardised components. Work also continues on improved winter building methods, the effective use of computers in the building industry and the development of maintenance techniques.

Standard Specifications for Mechanical and Electrical Engineering have been published as part of a new programme for the dissemination of information about research and development in the mechanical and electrical engineering field.

With the agreement of industry and in conjunction with the Ministry of Technology, the Civil Engineering Research Association has been reconstituted as the Construction Industry Research and Information Association, and now receives a grant from the Ministry for its technical information services.

It is our view that the Government as clients should continue to use their influence, through contract clauses and procedures, to improve contract management and conditions of those who work in the industry, e.g., by winter building precautions and site and welfare amenities.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Adequate supplies are available of all major building materials. The industry has co-operated well with the Government in the operation of its Prices Policy. Voluntary Early Warning arrangements exist with all the key building material producers. The Minister has given active encouragement to the export of building materials. There is plenty of scope for improvement in this field. Contacts between the contractors and the designers and the material producers are being strengthened and this should assist the last to expand their exports.

BUILDING CONTROL

A report by the Minister on the performance of his functions under the Building Control Act, 1966, during the initial period to 31 March, 1968, was presented to Parliament in May, 1968. At the same time, the control was eased by restoring the £50,000 cost exemption limit to £100,000. This change was made in view of latest forecasts of demand and capacity in the construction industry, but there is still a need for some restraint on buildings above the new limit.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS AND HISTORIC BUILDINGS

This particular aspect of the Ministry's work continues to attract record numbers of visitors, over 10 million last year, and plays an important part in attracting overseas visitors. Gross receipts at the monuments and buildings in the Ministry's care also rose considerably.

ROYAL PARKS

The Department's long held conviction that the Royal Parks were places where people enjoyed the quiet surroundings and relaxed atmospheres was reinforced by a survey which was carried out by Danefords Boys' School, Bethnal Green, which confirmed that the Department's administration of the Parks met the wishes of the majority of visitors.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Measures taken in the field of Social Security evidence the Government's continuing concern for the "less well off" members of society. In spite of rises in the cost of living pensioners and beneficiaries are still better off today in real terms than ever before. Substantial increases in benefits were made at the end of October, 1967, and the rates of supplementary benefit are being increased again this autumn.

The standard rate of national insurance benefits for a single person went up from £4 to £4 10s. a week and for a married couple from £6 10s. to £7 6s.

Further increases were made in the benefits for those injured at work. The basic rate of pension for 100 per cent industrial disablement being increased from £6 15s. to £7 12s. a week. Corresponding increases were made in most other benefits, pensions and allowances. There have also been comparable increases under the Pneumoconiosis, Byssinosis and Miscellaneous Diseases Benefit Scheme and for the Old Cases.

The extra cost to the National Insurance Fund and the Industrial Injuries Fund of the increased benefits was estimated to be £219 million and £10½ million respectively for the first full year, of which £158 million related to retirement pensions.

Among other improvements in the administration of the benefit schemes, changes were made in the rules about the treatment of earnings of retirement pensioners following recommendations

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by the National Insurance Advisory Committee. These came into effect on 5 June, 1967, and raised the amount which a retirement pensioner may earn without any reduction of pension from £5 to £6 10s. a week. Deductions from pension of 6d. for each 1s. earned were extended to apply to earnings between £6 10s. and £8 10s.—one shilling is deducted for each shilling earned over £8 10s. The regulations also provided that the earnings to be taken into account are those before P.A.Y.E. income tax deductions have been made, and lists the expenses that can be deducted and items of remuneration that are to be disregarded.

The basic rate of pension for 100 per cent war disablement was increased by 17s. to £7 12s. a week and the standard rate of widow's pension by 12s. to £5 17s. a week. For officers and their widows the increases were £43 a year and £31 a year respectively. At the same time the provisions for war widows who were separated from their husbands at the time of death were improved. Pensions to such widows, previously permanently restricted to the amount of financial support received from the husband, can now be increased in proportion to any increases in the standard rate of war widow's pension after the husband's death.

The work of the Supplementary Benefits Commission continued to increase following the success of the publicity campaign which accompanied the start of the new supplementary benefits scheme. The publicity aimed at making people in need aware of the possibility of help through supplementary benefits and to overcome their reluctance to apply. The increased benefits available under the new scheme were further increased from the end of October, 1967, when the basic rate of supplementary benefit for a married couple went up from £6 13s. to £7 1s. and from £4 1s. to £4 6s. for a single householder. Following the Prime Minister's pledge to protect the most vulnerable classes of the community, further increases in the Autumn of 1968 have been approved.

The Supplementary Benefits Commission undertook a review of the administration of the Wage Stop provisions of the Ministry of Social Security Act which required the Commission to restrict the supplementary benefit payable to a man who is unemployed or temporarily sick so that his income is no greater than it would be if he were in full-time work. The report was published in December, 1967, and a number of changes were introduced, to ensure that the wage stop is administered as fairly and sympathetically as possible—including, for example, the adoption of local authority rates for labourers and light labourers as a measure of earning capacity, and the reduction from six months to three months of the period used as a measure of temporary sickness.

On the advice of the Commission, the Minister decided to appoint a Social Work Adviser to make even stronger the mutual understanding between social workers and the officials administering supplementary benefits from day to day. The Social Work Adviser is concerned with those aspects of the Commission's work which concern the functions of social workers and she will advise on performance and training.

Following discussion with the Chairman of the Commission, the Minister of Social Security, who had become increasingly concerned about the very small minority of people who were abusing social security provisions, announced new measures to check voluntary unemployment. These will help to ensure that supplementary allowances are not paid to those who while unemployed are not attempting to seek new jobs, while safeguarding the great mass of reputable claimants.

The Government has been very concerned about a considerable number of families where poverty has been most marked—families where the breadwinner is in regular employment but whose family circumstances are such that the total income is below the needs scale as laid down by the Ministry of Social Security Act. The simplest and easiest way to help these families, and many children are involved, is by family allowances.

Family Allowances have been increased firstly for the fourth and each subsequent child in the family from 10s. to 15s. a week for the period 24 October, 1967, to 8 April, 1968. This 5s. increase was provided as an interim measure pending a general increase in family allowances to take effect from 9 April, 1968. The rates from that date were raised to 15s. a week for the second child in the family and 17s. a week for the third and each subsequent child. Family allowances are being further increased by 3s. a week from 8 October, 1968, bringing the rates to 18s. a week for the second child and 20s. a week for each subsequent child.

The increases are substantial and it will be seen that a family say with four children will by October of this year receive an extra 30s. a week in their income and a six-child family will of course receive an increase of 50s. a week. To ensure that these family allowance increases are not being paid to families who do not need them the Government decided to introduce the principle of "give and take". In effect this means that income tax allowances are adjusted to ensure that those paying income tax at the standard rate receive no benefit from the family allowance increases; those paying at a lower rate than the standard rate only receive part of the

increases whilst those families who pay no income tax receive the full extent of the increase. No one will pay more tax. This is, of course, equitable and fair and it means we can devote more of our resources to those in the greatest need without recourse to means-testing.

The Government are concerned about the real gap that exists in the provision to meet chronic sickness or chronic handicap arising not through work or war disability and particularly among housewives or congenitally handicapped children who grow up to be adults. There exists, however, a lack of knowledge about the incidence of such disability of differing degrees in the community outside the industrially and war injured. To overcome this lack of knowledge the Government have instituted a large-scale survey of the disabled with the main purpose of providing factual information on which the development of services for handicapped people may be based. This survey will also provide valuable information on the incidence of disability among groups of people like housewives and enable the Government to produce the necessary plans to cover this gap in our social security provisions.

For too long our Social Security structure has, like Topsy, "just grown". The Government is now undertaking a complete restructuring of benefits. It is hoped to place before Parliament a White Paper in the Autumn outlining a new and comprehensive earnings-related scheme, and to legislate on the new scheme before the end of this Parliament.

TECHNOLOGY

In Mintech's first full year of responsibility for the engineering industries as a whole, major steps have been taken in the rationalisation of British industry, record export orders have been secured in the engineering field, technological advances made across a wide front, and research resources brought to bear more closely on the needs of industry. At the same time the magnitude of the task of modernisation has become clearer, and a new kind of partnership between Government and industry has begun to develop in accelerating industrial advance.

AEROSPACE

With strong Government backing Rolls Royce won the order for the advanced technology RB-211 engine for the U.S. Lockheed airbus, worth hundreds of millions of pounds. Other major aerospace orders have been won from overseas. The Government has continued to pursue a policy of international collaboration on major aircraft projects.

COMPUTERS

The three major British computer companies have been brought together to form International Computers Limited with a 10 per cent Government shareholding. Now easily the largest computer company outside the United States, it is set to make a yet more powerful impact on home and export markets, and to further the development of computer applications.

Sales of British-made computers increased by 23 per cent to £96 million in 1967, and sales of imported machines actually fell by 15 per cent to £31 million.

The National Computing Centre support for computer users has widened further, ranging from local authority users to production control.

MACHINE TOOLS AND MANUFACTURING MACHINERY

The first fruits of modernisation in the machine tool industry have appeared in a new generation of machine tools, many of them numerically controlled. £6 million worth of pre-production orders have been placed by Mintech to speed their introduction into industry. While home orders have awaited the upturn in the economy, export order books have increased 50 per cent in the past year. Close touch is maintained with the industry in keeping up the pressure of progress.

The vast field of manufacturing machinery is being surveyed for opportunities to speed development.

ELECTRONICS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The first major step in the rationalisation of the tele-communications and electrical industry took place with the merger of G.E.C. and A.E.I., with the encouragement of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation. The painful adjustments in employment nevertheless led to increased jobs in development areas.

Support is being given to micro-electronic developments which will replace conventional electronics. Progress has been made with the rationalisation of instrument manufacturers.

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SHIPBUILDING

With the support of the Shipbuilding Industry Board groups have been formed on the Tyne and the Upper Clyde, and negotiations are continuing to complete the rationalisation needed elsewhere. Large orders have been received and the order book now at £283 million (end of May) stands at a much higher level than last year; the rate of ordering has been at as high a level as for many years past. Building docks and other modern shipbuilding facilities are being installed.

HEAVY PLANT

Discussions have reached an advanced stage on a new structure for nuclear engineering which will be better able to exploit British achievements in nuclear power generation. The rationalisation and re-orientation towards increased exports of the heavy electrical industry has made progress in the face of the sharp fall in home orders. The wide range of interests in the £700 million a year process plant industry have been brought closer together in the common pursuit of increased efficiency.

MOTORS

The two major independent British motor manufacturers, B.M.C. and Leyland, were brought together with the help of I.R.C., to form a powerful group to compete strongly in the international league. This will make possible increases in efficiency in marketing and manufacturing. In the first six months since devaluation, production for export rose by some 20 per cent over the previous year.

THE REORGANISATION OF THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY

In July the outlines of the reorganisation of the Nuclear Industry were announced. This will provide for a new publicly owned fuel company working with two design/construction organisations in which it will have a shareholding. An Atomic Energy Board also will be established.

RESEARCH

The activities of government research establishments and the Atomic Energy Authority have been increasingly focused on practical application and the needs of firms and industries. For example medical work at Aldermaston includes artificial kidneys, heart beat pacemaker, artificial hands, ultrasonic examination of the growing foetus, and new surgical instruments. Research associations are being encouraged to concentrate on getting results applied, with for example, a computerised information dissemination service.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

Technical agreements have been signed with Russia and most other Eastern European countries. The concept of European Technological co-operation has been developed in discussions with all West European countries. The importance of spreading development costs and enlarging markets for technologically advanced products has come to be more widely appreciated overseas, and the contribution that Britain can make in advanced technology is widely recognised.

GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRY PARTNERSHIP

The pursuit of social and economic advance through technological development has been found to span the full range of industrial activities from research, through production and employment, to sales and finances. A wide variety of relations between government and industry are needed, from support for research to sharing the risk on expanding production capacity. A new partnership is needed between government and industry, with Parliament playing its full part. The Industrial Expansion Act was passed to facilitate this development, and was first used for financing the computer merger.

TRANSPORT

Big advances have taken place in all the main transport spheres during the year. The massive Transport Bill to implement Labour's policy for integrating road and rail transport—one of the biggest measures ever to come before Parliament—is nearing the end of its passage through the two Houses. The roads investment programme has taken a further major step forward. Progress has been made on road safety, with some encouraging initial results following the introduction of the drink and driving laws. Further developments and modernisation has gone on in the ports, including the ending of the casual labour system. And the Minister of

Transport has stated that the Government will be announcing proposals for ports reorganisation.

The year has also seen developments on other major matters within the Minister of Transport's responsibilities, including his announcement of proposals for reorganising transport in London.

LEGISLATION

There have been two pieces of transport legislation during the 1967-68 session: the Transport Bill; and the Transport Holding Company Act, which extends the Company's borrowing powers and, among other things, enables it to acquire the privately-owned interests in the British Electric Traction group of bus companies.

Parliamentary time for transport has been dominated by the Transport Bill. It was introduced into Parliament in December, 1967, following a series of explanatory White Papers in the autumn of 1967. These spelt out the Government's policy for freight transport, for public transport and traffic, for the railways and for the inland waterways. The Bill is the blueprint for implementing Labour's transport policy (except for the ports and transport in London), and sets out a comprehensive framework for an integrated transport system.

The main features of the Bill are:

- (a) The reorganisation of nationalised transport so that the road and rail systems are integrated, with the various functions—road and rail passenger services and freight services—carried out by individual authorities to be set up for the purpose. The Bill provides for three new publicly-owned authorities: the National Freight Corporation, to integrate publicly-owned road and rail services for parcels and general goods and giving a comprehensive network of door-to-door through services; the National Bus Company, to control all nationally-owned bus undertakings in England and Wales; and the Scottish Transport Group, to plan and operate the nationalised road and shipping services in Scotland. The target date for establishing these three new authorities is 1 January 1969. Already, a vast amount of preliminary organisation has been done, especially in the difficult task of segregating from the main railway business those rail functions which are to come under the Freight Corporation.
- (b) A new and, for the first time, completely realistic financial framework for the Railways Board. This follows the recommendations of the Joint Steering Group which reviewed railway policy in 1966-67. Key elements in this new deal are the writing down of the Board's commencing capital debt to the Minister from £1,562 million (which included some £700 million of suspended, non-interest bearing debt) to £300 million; an entirely new system of Government grants for unprofitable passenger services regarded as socially necessary; and the end of deficit financing. From the beginning of 1969 the Railways Board will be expected to pay their way and will have realistic incentives to do so.
- (c) Wider ancillary powers for the nationalised transport authorities. These include power to manufacture, repair and supply goods for outside persons. This will free the authorities from the restraints under which they have been placed in using assets and skills and will enable them to compete on fair terms with private enterprise.
- (d) Power for the Government to set up passenger transport authorities. These authorities will be able to plan and operate an integrated network of public transport services over large areas which need to be treated as entities for transport purposes. They will be composed mainly of local authority representatives and will have wide responsibilities. Discussions are under way with local authorities in the first four areas chosen for designation as Passenger Transport Areas—the conurbations of the Manchester area, Merseyside, Tyneside and the West Midlands.
- (e) New measures of financial support for public transport, including Government grants of 75 per cent for fixed capital investment and 25 per cent for new buses of approved types; further remission of fuel duty for stage buses; and local authority/central Government assistance for bus and ferry services in rural areas.
- (f) Wider power and increased responsibility for local authorities for regulating traffic. The Bill will provide local authorities with much greater flexibility and will enable them to adopt a much more comprehensive approach in planning local transport and traffic needs—something that is needed in our towns and cities.
- (g) A new deal for the nationally-owned canals and other inland waterways. New financial arrangements for the British Waterways Board and the classification of their waterways into a commercial network and a cruising network—these and other provisions will

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allow the waterways' potential for pleasure and recreation to be fully exploited. A new Amenity Advisory Council—already set up on a non-statutory basis—will help to shape future plans for the cruising waterways.

- (h) Modern licensing controls over road goods transport. The present system of carriers' licensing, dating from the 1930s, is to be scrapped and all vehicles under 30 cwt. are to be exempt from any kind of licensing whatsoever. To promote higher standards of safety and working conditions, operators of all vehicles over 30 cwt. will have to satisfy the licensing authority about the adequacy of their resources before they can receive an operator's license. And to achieve the most economic and efficient distribution of freight between rail and road, there is to be a system of quantitative control over the heaviest goods vehicles. The distinction between public haulage and "own account" vehicles is to be abolished.

- (i) Shorter hours for lorry and bus drivers. In the interest of safety, a two-stage reduction in the maximum permitted daily and weekly hours is planned.

The Bill contains many other smaller but important provisions, such as an extension of local authorities' powers to give concessionary bus fares to old age pensioners, the blind and the disabled.

The Bill will pave the way for a more rational, more efficient, and higher quality transport system.

TRANSPORT HOLDING COMPANY ACT, 1968

This Act extends the Transport Holding Company's borrowing powers and enables it to acquire the privately-owned interests in the British Electric Traction group of bus companies. This will facilitate the reorganisation of bus services—including those outside the boundaries of the Passenger Transport Areas set up under the Transport Bill, and those inside their boundaries (where reorganisation will take place through co-operation with the Passenger Transport Executives).

In November 1967 the Transport Holding Company reached agreement with the British Electric Traction Co. Ltd., to acquire the shares the latter held in bus companies in the B.E.T. Group for £35 million, subject to their statutory borrowing powers being appropriately extended. The Transport Holding Company Bill was introduced for this purpose and it received Royal Assent in March 1968. Subsequently the T.H.C. made offers for the remaining privately held shareholdings in the bus companies concerned.

Previously the T.H.C. had held an equal share with the B.E.T. Co. in most of these companies, each owning from one-half to one-third of the shares though by arrangement control of the companies had always rested with B.E.T. The B.E.T. Group owned about 11,000 public service vehicles and the T.H.C. 14,000. So the T.H.C. now have about 25,000 vehicles, representing one-third of the total number of public service vehicles in the country. Less than 10 per cent of the mileage on ordinary stage bus services is now run by privately-owned vehicles.

ROAD INVESTMENT

Public expenditure on new and improved roads in Great Britain rose from £181 million in 1965-66 to about £270 million in 1967-68. This is nearly 10 times the amount being spent 10 years ago. Road spending will continue to rise and the figure for 1968-69 will be well over £300 million.

During 1967-68 nearly 100 miles of motorway were opened in Great Britain and by June 1968 over 553 miles were open to traffic and over 120 miles were under construction. In addition over 400 miles of new or improved all-purpose trunk road are under construction or in the firm programme plus well over £600 million worth of urban principal road schemes. A further £540 million worth of trunk roads and £410 million of principal roads have been announced for preparation.

With this rapidly expanding programme money and manpower resources must be used to the best possible advantage.

To make the best use of engineering manpower resources six decentralised *Road Construction Units*, staffed jointly by Ministry and local authority representatives, were set up during the year. These are progressively taking over engineering and administrative responsibility for major road schemes in their areas.

A great deal of effort is also being devoted to improved methods of planning and control. During the year new economic appraisal techniques were further developed to ensure maximum value for money; critical path analysis was extended to provide closer planning and control of major road schemes at all stages of their preparation and execution; and design standards were

kept under constant surveillance to reduce road construction costs without lowering traffic and safety standards.

ROAD SAFETY

1. New drink and driving provisions in the Road Safety Act 1967 came into operation in October. The new law makes it an offence to drive or be in charge of a vehicle with more than 80 mg of alcohol in every 100 ml of blood. The casualty reductions which followed its introduction were the most striking for very many years. In the first six months of the new law's operation, 855 fewer people were killed and 7,010 fewer people were seriously injured on the roads than in the comparable months of the preceding year. Motor traffic is estimated to have increased by two per cent during the same period.

2. In May, the Minister launched a £1 million publicity campaign for road safety. It is a comprehensive programme covering in particular the advantages of wearing seat belts, pedestrian safety, the safety of young people, overtaking and speeding. This campaign aims at inducing a more positive attitude to road safety, and altering the road user's behaviour so that he does not put himself and others at risk.

3. Other measures have been implemented which were outlined in the White Paper "Road Safety—A Fresh Approach" published in July 1967. Conspicuous among these new measures are regulations making the fitting of seat belts compulsory for cars registered in 1966 (1965 cars will follow soon). There are also new regulations about the condition of tyres; these, among other things, prescribe a minimum tread depth for tyres. Preliminary indications are that this will be a winner in terms of road safety.

4. Finally, in July the Minister published a Green Paper "How Fast?" on the subject of speed limits. A Green Paper is intended to provide a basis for public discussion and consultation before decisions are taken. This one marks a big step forward, both in the development of a new policy on speed limits, and in methods of consultation.

GOODS VEHICLE PLATING AND TESTING

In April, 1968, the Minister laid before Parliament regulations to set up a scheme for periodic roadworthiness tests for goods vehicles over 30 cwt. unladen and for their marking—or "plating"—with individual maximum gross weights. These regulations, under the Road Safety Act, 1967, come into effect on 1 October, 1968 (1 December in Scotland).

A chain of 67 main purpose-built testing stations and 24 subsidiary stations is being provided. Once stations have been completed from the early part of 1968 onwards they have been opened for voluntary testing to give operators and Ministry testing staff experience of the procedures and standards to be applied, and there has been a good response. Valuable help was given to the Ministry by the operators' organisations and vehicle manufacturers' and trades union representatives in working out the details of the scheme, which will cover more than $\frac{3}{4}$ million vehicles (including trailers). Annual testing will start in 1970, when the initial programme for testing and "plating" existing vehicles has been completed.

CENTRALISATION OF VEHICLE AND DRIVER LICENSING

Intensive preparations have continued on the major project to centralise motor vehicle registration and licensing and driver licensing in the Ministry of Transport in the 1970s. The work is at present carried out by 183 local authorities. The Minister announced in the House of Commons on 30 May, 1968, that he hoped to introduce the necessary legislation next Session. The central office for the new organisation, with a large computer installation, will be at Swansea.

RAILWAY INVESTMENT

The railways continue to modernise and rationalise their system. Notable individual schemes approved include £12½ million on expanding the very successful freightliner system by building five new terminals and extending three others; resignalling in the Bristol area; acquisition of data processing equipment; new stock for Southern Region services; new wagons for power station coal business; and provision of a new multi-purpose ship for cross-Channel services.

In August, the railways ran their last steam engine, and in the same month started operations with the world's first large Hovercraft, the SRN4. This illustrates well the way British Railways are looking to the future and how, with the aid of the new structure to be given to them in the Transport Bill, they expect to face up to the needs of the country in the 1970s.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

PORTS

A. *Port Investment*

In 1967 progress on developing and modernising the ports continued, with expenditure rising to £45 million, compared with an average of £18 million a year from 1952 to 1964. In 1968 investment is expected to exceed £50 million. A number of major developments put in hand since 1964 are now coming into use, notably some of the container and unit load berths in the big Tilbury dock extension. Construction work also started during the year on the new Seaforth Dock at Liverpool, and on other schemes to provide really modern facilities for handling bulk traffic and general cargo in containers or other forms of unit loads. Investment in both major works and modern cargo-handling equipment was encouraged by 20 per cent grants under the Port Modernisation Grant Scheme; the first grants were paid in mid-1967, and over £6 million was paid out in 1967-68.

B. *Decasualisation and Licensing*

Decasualisation took place on 18 September 1967 and brought all dock workers for the first time into permanent employment with a particular employer. At the same time or as soon as possible after that date in the various ports, employer licensing under the 1966 Docks and Harbours Act was brought into force, to eliminate the casual element among employers as well. These major reforms simplifying the employment pattern in the docks are already making a real contribution to the efficiency of the ports and to improved labour relations.

C. *Reorganisation of the Ports*

The Government has reaffirmed its intention to introduce legislation and an announcement of its proposals is to be made by the Minister as soon as possible.

LONDON GROUP

1. *Reorganisation of Transport in London*

The most important event of the year for transport in London was the publication in July of the White Paper "Transport in London" (Cmd. 3686). This proposes the first major reorganisation in 35 years. The result will be the largest and most comprehensive transport authority of any city in the world. All the various elements that affect public transport and the environment it operates in will be integrated and planned together. This will be achieved by extending the powers and responsibilities of the G.L.C. so that not only is the system unified and economic, but also responsible to those who use it—Londoners themselves.

2. Main features of the White Paper proposals, which incorporate many recommendations of the Group on London Transport mentioned in last year's report, are:

- (a) the G.L.C. will be made the overall transport planning authority for London;
 - (b) most of London Transport's functions and assets will be transferred to a new London Transport Executive, broadly responsible to the G.L.C., and its finances will be put right mainly by a 90 per cent write-off of its capital debt to the Government;
 - (c) the highway and traffic powers of the G.L.C. will be strengthened;
 - (d) British Rail commuter services for London will be treated as a single network, and the Ministry and G.L.C. will be involved in setting new financial and level-of-service objectives for the network.
3. A Bill will be needed to give effect to the proposals.

II. *Heathrow*

4. After publication of a Traffic Study on Heathrow Airport in 1967, various methods of providing a new fast surface transport link between the centre of London and the airport are being examined and compared.

III. *Transport Research*

5. The Ministries of Transport and Technology now have a joint transport and research and development programme using resources from both departments.

SCOTLAND

Stimulated by the Government's vigorous development area policy, including the regional employment premium, industry in Scotland showed spectacular developments in electronics, computers, petrochemicals and aviation. Compared to the best years of the Tories, Labour in

Scotland has doubled the rate of new jobs. The modernisation of coal mining, steel plants and shipbuilding however presents a continuing challenge to the Labour Government's aim to reduce unemployment and cut migration in half by the early 70s. Latest figures from last summer to this spring indicate a fall in migration. Labour's efforts to step up industrial training saw the completion of the Government's ninth Scottish Training centre in addition to the growing private/public training schemes. 92 per cent of all trainees from G.T.C.s in Scotland have jobs in their new skills. Glasgow was chosen as the larger of the two Board of Trade Consultancy Grants pilot schemes aiming to improve standards management in the area. The Scottish Economic Planning Council and the four consultative groups continued their intensive work in all parts of Scotland. Three major plans of action were published for the Central Borders, the Moray Firth and Falkirk/Grangemouth. Three more are in preparation apart from two estuarial studies on Clyde and Forth. The efforts of the Government, the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board and the Highlands and Islands Development Board will bring a large British Aluminium smelter plant into operation at Invergordon in 1971. So the first stage of the Moray Firth plan is being put into action now. Work on the new 1250 megawatt nuclear station at Hunterston, which will power the smelter, began last year. In May this year the new coalfired generating station at Cockenzie was opened. 1967 was the best year for housebuilding in Scotland breaking all previous records with a total of 41,458 new houses. The White Paper "Older Houses in Scotland: A plan for action" was published in July and legislation will follow promptly. Scotland established its own Countryside Commission to develop and conserve the countryside for purposes of recreation and amenity. Road building in Scotland also broke records adding more motorway mileage in Central Scotland. Industry and trade were given access for their effluents into local authority sewers for the first time in Scotland and the 75 year old sewerage code was revised in the Sewerage (Scotland) Act. The Agriculture (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act implemented the Brambell Report on animal welfare and also provided for more efficient farming units. In addition Labour restored security of tenure for tenant farmers in Scotland. The National Farmers Union warmly welcomed the end of this 1958 Tory injustice. The most important piece of Scottish legislation this session was the Social Work (Scotland) Act. This Act does two main things. First, for each county and each burgh in Scotland, it establishes a social work department which are responsible for a full range of welfare services, including the work of the present children's department, the welfare of the elderly, the social after-care of the sick and advice, guidance and assistance to all those who need help. The probation service is also to be incorporated in the new Department. The new service is therefore comprehensive and it will break down the barriers between the different welfare services: it provides the basis for an enlightened and effective attack on social problems. Secondly, juvenile courts are to be replaced by a system of children's hearings which will not only decide the best treatment for the children who come before them but will be under an obligation to take a continuing interest in these children and review their progress from time to time. The children's hearings will work closely with the social departments who are responsible for providing background and other reports and for seeing that appropriate residential accommodation is made available. This new system represents a radical change in our methods of dealing with children in need of care.

WALES

The new Welsh Council, under the chairmanship of Professor Brinley Thomas, held its first meeting on 13 May. The Council replaces the former Welsh Economic Council and has rather wider terms of reference. Strong representations were received from Welsh local authorities and other bodies in favour of an elected council, but the members of the present council were appointed by the Secretary of State after consultation with appropriate organisations.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANISATION

During the year Welsh Office Ministers have held consultations with the local authority associations and with all local authorities in Wales on the proposals put forward in the White Paper on local government in Wales. The Secretary of State is considering the results of this series of meetings.

INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

The run-down in coal-mining continues to be by far the most serious worry on the economic front. Eight Welsh pits have closed in the year to 31 July and the fate of others is in question. Alternative work has been offered to a substantial proportion of workers from closed pits, and the new regulations providing 90 per cent of previous income for three years to men over 55 will be of much benefit. Discussions have also taken place with the British Steel Corporation on future

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

prospects in the Welsh steel industry, where some redundancies due to technological change are in prospect.

Meanwhile, further announcements of dispersal of Government establishments to Wales brings the total number of jobs involved in projects carried out or proposed since 1964 to 11,370. This includes the Royal Mint, on which rapid progress is being made at Llantrisant. Two new Government Training Centres have been announced, at Wrexham and in West Monmouthshire. A most important exercise in conjunction with local authorities has been the preparation of a comprehensive register of industrial sites available in Wales.

During 1967, 41 new firms decided to move into Wales and no fewer than 169 firms already in Wales decided to expand their factories or to move into larger premises, with a promise of some 6,000 additional jobs. Since 1964, 41 advance factories have been approved in Wales, of which 19 have been allocated. Seventeen have been completed this year and eight are under construction. Among major industrial items this year have been the opening of a large pharmaceutical works in Monmouthshire and a major tyre factory at Wrexham, the completion of the Gulf Oil refinery on Milford Haven and approval for an aluminium smelter at Holyhead.

MID-WALES

The newly-appointed Mid-Wales New town Development Corporation held its first meeting in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, on St. David's Day, and hopes to produce a draft master plan early in the autumn. Important decisions were reached on the proposed enlargement of Rhayader and there has been public discussion on possible development at Bala and Builth. Welsh farmers were especially badly hit by the foot and mouth outbreak. The establishment of a Rural Development Board for Mid-Wales awaits the outcome of a public enquiry.

HOUSING AND COMMUNICATIONS

A record number of houses was built in Wales in 1967 totalling around 20,000. Expenditure on roads was about £15.5 million, including important trunk road improvements. A new bridge to cost £2.6 million has been announced for Milford Haven and permission has been given to extend and modernise Rhoose (Cardiff) airport. Traffic over the new Severn Bridge has exceeded all expectations.

TOURISM AND THE COUNTRYSIDE

The Government has continued to assist the Wales Tourist Board, which is rapidly expanding its services and which looks forward to a record year in 1969, when Prince Charles will be invested at Caernarvon Castle. Following the enactment of the Countryside Bill, a statutory Welsh Countryside Committee will be set up to undertake work in Wales. In July, 1967, the Secretary of State purchased for the nation a large part of the Vaynol estate, including Snowdon.

WELSH LANGUAGE

The report of the Committee under Professor Gittins on primary education in Wales has stimulated discussion, including a debate in the Welsh Grand Committee, in particular on the teaching of the Welsh language. Progress has been made in the provision of official forms and documents in Welsh.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY Thursday, 25 July, 1968

We are now at the end of another political year. In many respects it has been the most challenging Session any of us have known. And I want first to congratulate the Parliamentary Party on the tremendous amount of work we have got through.

The Session is not yet over. We shall be meeting for a few days in October to complete our work. But already 62 Bills have passed through the Commons and have either received the Royal Assent or are being dealt with by their Lordships' House.

I know I am speaking for all our Members in the Commons when I pay tribute to the work of our colleagues in the Lords. And when we go into Recess next week they will still be sitting to complete the work which we have sent to them.

During this Session the Parliamentary Labour Party have stood up against everything the Tory Party and the Tory Press could throw at us. We have come through. And we have come through united. We still have a very difficult time ahead before we see the full results of all we have been working on. But after what we have been through this year let us be clear. We have seen the worst that they can do.

We have met their hysterical, even neurotic attacks, not by answering in kind, not by personal attacks, but by getting on with the job. The job of Government. In this Session, as in

the three preceding Sessions since 1964, we have carried through a formidable programme of legislation. For while public attention has been focused on the more dramatic happenings in the field of executive Government in this dramatic Session, Parliament, on the Government's initiative, has been steadily pressing on with a tremendous programme of legislation which has carried still further the programme which we were elected to carry out.

The Industrial Expansion Bill, bitterly fought by our Opponents. The Coal Industry Bill tempering with real concern for those made redundant, the effects of pit closures, the effects of a programme of streamlining in the Coal Industry which is inevitable and unavoidable, but which the Tories would have carried through without regard, without consideration for the social consequences. The legislation on family allowances which in the conditions of 1968 represents the contribution we must make to solving what is now the major problem of poverty in this country. The problem of large families living on inadequate family earnings. At Newtown earlier this month I said we should hit out on this problem and whatever political capital can be made against us, make plain that if we are to attack the residual problem of poverty we have to attack this problem. That we have to do what is right because it is right.

The Race Relations Bill which on every issue affecting race, human dignity, freedom from contempt has illustrated the great divide between us and the Tories. A divide which in the case of the Tories has gone deep even within their own Party. Race relations, equally with Rhodesia, have shown what we are up against.

But this Session has been dominated by the relentless fight for economic recovery and independence. It opened in the storms of last November. And the Government have not hesitated to ask the Parliamentary Party to give us the means we need to carry through the shift of resources from home consumption to exports and to import replacement. The restraints in the still sharply rising expenditure in the social services. The restraints on private expenditure in a firm and courageous and fair budget. It was in those months we had to take everything that they could throw at us.

And now this week this turbulent Parliamentary term ends, not with a bang but with a whimper. It ends with an Opposition afraid to challenge us in an economic confrontation.

Less than three weeks ago we had their great build-up. A new economic attack designed to capitalise on what they thought was a weak moment for sterling. Not only thought. Hoped.

And the answer was given yesterday in City Column after City Column. The world, they tell us, wants sterling. Export orders in every sector of industry now—motorcars, chemicals, shipbuilding, engineering, aircraft, machine tools—are mounting.

I do not underrate the difficulties, the problems, the hardships even we have still to go through—and the unpopularity that we must still meet.

But the whole Establishment press are now ready to concede that the measures of industrial reconstruction we have already carried through, every one of them bitterly opposed on ideological grounds by the Opposition, are creating a new, more efficient, more vigorous and assertive industrial machine.

The achievement of this Parliamentary Party, and the movement in the country, has been this. That at the moment when our opponents thought us at our maximum weakness, we have held together and seen this Session through. And from now on, while I do not underrate what we still have to face, it is they who have to start worrying.

When I last spoke to this Party meeting on 15 May—and again at the great rally at Newtown—I pointed to the fruits that could be garnered from the great industrial revolution we are putting through. I said we must not a second time allow the Tories to gather the fruit from the trees that we had planted with so much sacrifice and so much pain. They are not going to.

Everyone—not least our political opponents—has begun to sense a change in the political atmosphere. Let's not make too much of this. We have still got a very hard Session ahead. A Session in which we must not relax, in which we must not turn aside from the policies which have to be followed if we are going to see this country through. We have kept our nerve. And I will always be proud of this Parliamentary Party that made it clear that this was never in doubt. Now that we are fighting back we must not only keep our nerve whatever must still be faced, we must carry the fight into the enemy's territory.

In the Recess that starts tomorrow it is for us to carry the fight into the country. Parliamentary Party and the Party machine—now under the leadership of Harry Nicholas—uniting our industrial and political movement. And let me take this opportunity on your behalf of wishing godspeed to Len Williams on his new mission in the Commonwealth.

When we look back on this Session with all its disappointments and heartbreaks, there is one thing I can see, and that is the spirit that has grown up among us. Now our job is to communicate that spirit to the movement in the country and to all those whose hopes for Britain depend on what we are determined to achieve.

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PERSONAL

During the present session the Parliamentary Labour Party has lost through death six of its Members. They were Bernard Floud, Christopher Rowland, Sydney Silverman, Richard Winterbottom, Ness Edwards and Frederick Bellenger. Each was held in the highest regard and will be sadly missed.

DOUGLAS HOUGHTON, *Chairman.*
WILLIAM HAMILTON }
EDWARD MILNE } *Vice-Chairmen.*
JOYCE BUTLER }
FRANK BARLOW, *Secretary.*

HOUSE OF LORDS

NEW LIFE PEERS

Since the last Report the Party's strength has been increased and we have been glad to welcome the following new Members: Lady Llewelyn-Davies, Lady Birk, Lord Evans, Lord Fiske, Lord Granville, Lord Tayside, Lord McLeavy, Lord Delacourt-Smith, Lord Mais, Lord Douglas, Lord Garnsworthy, Lord Hirshfield, Lord Hill, Lord Donaldson, Lord Balogh, Lord Jaques, Lord Energlyn and Lord Taylor of Gryfe.

DEBATES

To consider and approve all the legislation listed elsewhere in this Report the House sat for an additional week after the Commons and they plan to meet two extra days in October. There were also authoritative debates on Motions covering the following subjects:

Transport	Police Manpower and recruitment
Foreign Affairs	Historic houses and castles
Economic Affairs and Public Expenditure	House of Lords Procedure
Yorkshire and Humberside Development	The Wilson Report
Religious education in schools	Overseas Aid
Devaluation	Defence
Age of majority—Latey Report	Selectivity in the Welfare Services
Crime and the community	Civil Defence Policy
Scotland	The Economic Situation
Stansted site and third London Airport	The structure of Government
British Museum library	The problems of the Scottish Highlands
Health education	Nuclear Reactor Programme
United Nations and special agencies	Maritime strategy and Royal Navy Requirements
Nationalised industries	University students discontent
Sport	Gaming
Fuel policy	Residential care—the Williams Report
Youth and the nation	The Civil Service—Fulton Committee Report
Science policy and manpower	

Considerable interest was aroused by the decision of the Opposition to challenge the Government on the Southern Rhodesia (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1968. Although nominally the Conservatives, alone, have a majority of some hundreds over Labour Peers, the Motion to approve the Order was lost by only 193 to 184 votes. In addition to 94 Labour Peers, the Government was supported by 8 Conservatives, 22 Liberals, 40 Cross-Benchers, 1 Communist, 1 Law Lord, 17 Bishops and 1 Archbishop. This vote was widely held to be a moral victory for the Government and when later the Order was again taken it was agreed without a Division.

LEADER

On 16 January, 1968, it was announced that Lord Longford had resigned as Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Lords and that Lord Shackleton had been appointed to be the new Leader. Lord Shepherd was appointed Deputy Leader.

In April, 1968, Lord Sorensen resigned the post of Government Whip and Lady Serota was appointed in his place.

SHACKLETON, *Leader.*
BESWICK, *Chief Whip.*

THE LABOUR PARTY REPORT OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1968

The Sixty-seventh Annual Conference of the Labour Party opened in the Winter Gardens, Blackpool, on Monday, September 30, 1968, the number of organisations and voting power represented being as follows:

<i>Organisations</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Votes</i>
Trade Unions ..	50	642	5,512,000
Socialist Societies ..	5	5	8,000
Co-operative Society ..	1	5	16,000
Constituency and Central Labour Parties	544	566	768,000
Federations of Labour Parties	13	13	13,000
	621	1,231	6,317,000
<i>Ex-officio</i> Members ..		241	
Agents		150	

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30

MORNING SESSION

Conference assembled at 9.30 a.m.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

Miss S. Barker (Acting General Secretary): Good morning, Comrades. It is now my pleasure to propose that Miss Jennie Lee, Chairman of the National Executive Committee shall preside over this Conference. Is that agreed? (*Agreed*)

(The Rt. Hon. Jennie Lee, M.P., then took the Chair)

CIVIC WELCOME

The Chairman: Comrades, my first duty is the very pleasant one of inviting Madam Mayor of Blackpool to address us. It is a double pleasure—she is a very old friend of many of us in this Conference, so both in your personal and official capacity, Madam Mayor, we are delighted to have you with us.

Alderman Mrs. Jean Robinson, J.P. (Mayor of Blackpool): Madam Chairman, Prime Minister, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my pleasant task this morning to extend to you all a very warm welcome to Blackpool. We always look forward with keen anticipation to the periodic visits of the great political parties, and we are delighted to have you with us. Such conferences are a part of our democratic way of life.

Of course, I know there are some of us who attend conferences each year who see these assemblies as a great performance of a sob play, a kind of political East Lynne; but I am sure that is not the view of delegates assembled here today. They will recall a speech made here in 1959 by Nye Bevan; in that speech he declared, 'The burdens of public life are too exhausting to be borne.'

I hope, indeed I believe those words reflect the seriousness with which delegates approach the business of this week.

Unlike many of our visitors, you have come to Blackpool with your minds on business

MONDAY MORNING: WELCOME

rather than pleasure. No-one who has read the Conference Agenda and the Diary of Events can doubt that, and you will be very busy people during the next five days. I hope that you will not think me subversive if I none the less remind you that Blackpool has many amenities and diversions to offer its visitors, some of which I hope you will find time to enjoy.

Nineteen sixty-eight is in many ways a significant year; a few weeks ago I had the pleasure of welcoming in this building the Centenary Congress of the trade union movement which has made such a tremendous contribution to the development of the Labour Party. I hope the male delegates present will forgive me if without militancy I also mention that 1968 marks the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage. (*Applause.*) I think, Madam Chairman, that the suffragettes and the other determined women who so much persuaded Parliament to give the vote to women would find considerable satisfaction this morning in seeing a woman Mayor of Blackpool welcoming a conference presided over by a woman Chairman (*Applause*), supported by a woman Vice-Chairman, and backed by a woman Acting General Secretary of the Labour Party.

I am sure, however, that their satisfaction would be reduced by the need for Resolution 156 to appear on your Agenda, that: *This Conference deploras the lack of progress—after 50 years of women's suffrage—in taking steps to ensure equal pay for women for equal work.* (*Applause.*)

I make no further comment other than to say that as far as the mayoralty of Blackpool is concerned, women are paid the rate for the job. For those of us who devote such a lot of time to local government, this year, 1968, is of course significant as a year in which the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in England is likely to appear.

I think we all agree that strong and healthy local government with local people playing a full and important part in governing the area in which they live is a vitally important part of our democratic system. There is many a worse slogan than 'Keep local government local'. I imagine that will be a slogan in all our minds when the implications of the Royal Commission's recommendations are considered.

Madam Chairman, it only remains for me to wish you a very successful Conference. We hope that you will enjoy your stay in Blackpool. I am sure that the sun will shine for you all the way—it may be raining this morning, but it is not usual, you know—and that you will want to come again at a very early date. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Madam Mayor, for a charming, official, but typically militant speech, very much in character.

I now have very much pleasure in calling Mr. Don Neish, the leader of our local Labour Party, to address you.

WELCOME FROM THE BLACKPOOL BOROUGH LABOUR PARTY

Mr. Donald Neish (Chairman of the Blackpool Borough L.P.): Madam Mayor, Mayoress, Madam Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Comrades, it gives me great pleasure this morning to welcome Conference to Blackpool on behalf of our local Labour Party. I think it adds to the pleasure when it is only the second time at Conference that I am able to have a Labour Mayor on our platform. This is something we are proud of in Blackpool and I am sure it is a great thing for Conference to welcome. (*Applause.*)

It is 41 years since you first came to Blackpool. The first Labour Party Conference held in Blackpool was in 1927. Looking back over the years, many of you and many of us have seen the achievements that have been gained by the working class movement, with us having Labour Governments in power. Despite all the criticisms which are put forward against the Government, I do not think there is any doubt in the minds of the people that welfare, education and the housing programme that is being carried out by our present Government and the previous Labour Government in 1945-51 is something that we have achieved and which has been done through the efforts of the delegates at these Conferences.

I must say a few words about one of the great concerns of our local Labour Party, because I will never have a better audience of Ministers to listen to me. I refer to the subject of unemployment. We suffer from a high unemployment rate in Blackpool. When you come to Blackpool and see us at these Conferences, taken with the famous illuminations, this looks a very gay town, but in a few weeks' time when the Conferences have gone home and the lights have dimmed once again, the workers of Blackpool will be faced with this unemployment problem. We in the Blackpool Labour Party are confident that

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we will get some assistance from this Government. We know that we will get none from the other lot. But we know that many areas like Blackpool will be thought about in relation to this problem by our Government.

In conclusion, I would just like to say this, Comrades. I am not going to speak about any policies this morning, because there are so many experienced speakers on this platform. I want to put over one of my own personal feelings. There is one thing that I hope will be brought forward at this Conference from delegates and given consideration to as our economic situation improves. That will be once again to abolish prescription charges for ever. That is a personal view of mine. (*Applause.*)

So once again we would like to welcome you and say thanks for coming along in such numbers to Blackpool last night at our cabaret. We were very pleased to get your support for the local Labour Party. All I have to say now is that I hope that at the end of this Conference we will have taken another step towards the Socialist society that we have all been working for. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Comrades. You will be glad to know that it gives us as much pleasure to be with you at Blackpool as it gives you pleasure to see us here.

Now I have one more pleasant privilege. It is, Madam Mayor, to present you with this bouquet of flowers, with our thanks for all that you are doing for Blackpool and all that you have done for the movement. (*Applause.*)

Now, Madam Mayoress, there can be no Mayor without a Mayoress. Thank you for all that you are doing. We are delighted to have you here this morning. Please accept this bouquet as a mark of our appreciation. (*Applause.*)

(The Mayor and Mayoress then left the Conference hall.)

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The Chairman:

Comrades, I have been present on many former occasions when you have been addressed from this Chair and I recall vividly, as I am sure many of you do, too, the changing moods and changing circumstances of these other years. Sometimes we have met in an atmosphere of easy euphoria, feeling that everything was going our way. Other times we have drawn comfort and fresh courage by being together after some particularly dispiriting electoral setback.

But the golden thread—or, if you prefer it, the scarlet thread—running through all those earlier conferences, bad times and good times alike, has been our profound conviction that we knew what was best for our country and best for the world. We were quite certain that the hope of mankind lay in so reorganising the world's resources that extremes of wealth and poverty, both within countries and between countries, should become no more than a fading recollection of a primitive past before humanity came of age.

But today, I hear on all sides, that there are almost as many doubting Thomases in this assembly as there are delegates. Not doubts about Socialist principles in the abstract. The doubts are about how our Labour Government is tackling its job. Indeed, for some the doubts go even deeper than that. It has become fashionable to question whether Britain, with its long tradition of peaceful, constitutional, parliamentary Government, has anything relevant to contribute in a world of mounting violence, a world in which so many millions have abandoned all hope of peaceful progress and are turning instead to those who offer a diet of blood, terror and tears.

Right here in our own midst we have madmen in high places, we have our own home-grown primitives encouraging this dangerously destructive doctrine. For what could be more barbaric, what could give greater provocation to violence than the gospel as preached by Enoch Powell? Back to the jungle, the weak to the wall, each man for himself, sacred white supremacy.

In the course of our debates this week we must, therefore, seek to understand and analyse some of the new explosive elements and some of the complexities of the contemporary scene.

Have we, as is now so often said, lost our way? Ought we to reach maybe for a guitar and a long string of beads and give it all up as a bad job? What about a nice jolly period of anarchy and destructuring, leaving someone else to deliver the milk in the morning and the coal in the evening?

I want at once to add that we shall make a very grave mistake if we underestimate the power of this kind of appeal. And a still greater mistake if we think only halfwits and layabouts are attracted by it.

In addition to the crazy fringe, some of the ablest and most articulate members of the generation we should like to see turning to us in greater numbers, have abandoned hope of orderly progress by peaceful parliamentary means. They tell us that kind of hope is a mirage, the outmoded delusion of the old and the feeble. They point out, as if we ourselves had not already done so, that after having had a Labour Government for four years, 9 per cent of the population still own 80 per cent of Britain's personal wealth, leaving the remaining 91 per cent of us to scramble for a share of the remaining 20 per cent.

That is true. And that truth is part of the reason why, as our Trade Union leaders know, they have so much difficulty in persuading their members, not to mention persuading themselves, to accept a Prices and Incomes Policy. The suspicion that Government economic policy is no more than a device for feeding the dog off its own tail, is very prevalent.

And once this state of mind ossifies, even our virtues as a Party and as a Government tell against us. Dick Crossman, for instance, was entirely right when he said that wage related benefits and the £26½ million spent on Redundancy Payments last year were not too high.

What is wrong is that the wages of too many workers are far too low. We are in a dangerously lopsided position, because we are only halfway through.

In the midst of a technological revolution, there is no way of escaping the fact that some workers must inevitably change jobs and often change their locations as well. Knowing this, our Government has done more than any Tory Government would have

dreamed of doing to help them over their difficulties and ought to be given at least a little credit for trying to ease their hardships and embarrassments.

That is the kind of expenditure of which Enoch Powell and his followers wholly disapprove. That is the kind of policy Tory Governments never dreamed of adopting during all the long agony for millions of families living on the dole in the between war years.

Then do you remember the great hullabaloo when Harold Macmillan, the wonder worker, trumpeted through the land that he had built 300,000 houses in one year? Tony Greenwood built more than 400,000 last year. But hardly a word of praise, so far as I can recall, has been given either to the Government or to the Minister.

It is right, utterly right, that we who belong to a Movement dedicated to abolishing the misery of bad housing, poor schools, ugly inconvenient hospitals, should be constantly on the alert to point out all that has still to be done.

But I give this word of warning. Before the Russian people reached their present level of modest well being, they went all the way to Hell and back on a journey lasting half a century.

Violent revolution is the slowest, the most costly and the cruellest way of bringing about social change. It is something not to be glamorised, but to be strenuously avoided if there is any other way forward.

Therefore, do not let us undersell what has been done and what can be done by a Labour Government even in the cramped circumstances of today.

Since 1964 expenditure on the social services, on social security payments and on housing has been increased by more than 50 per cent. Curiously enough, expenditure on education and health has not quite kept up to that level. But even in these crucially important Ministries a 48 per cent increase has been achieved.

Then, our Labour Government has not just doubled Tory expenditure on improving welfare and industrial provisions in those parts of the country so callously neglected by the 'I'm all right Jack—Never had it so good' brigade. We have spent *eight* times as much. In round figures £250 million a year.

To turn now to the future. How do we see the shape of coming events?

The Powells and the Heaths and all that deadly band of brothers no doubt like to think in terms of alternating Mary Ann and Queen Ann governments. The role cast for us, of course, is Mary Ann—virtuous and dowdy. We clean up the mess they leave, then back comes Queen Ann to muck things up again, having a gay old time in the process. Gay, that is, for the few—the rest of us are left to pay the bill.

How dumb do they think we are? Or are they counting on the sensible, kindly people of this country being so bemused by their hidden persuaders that they can lead them blindfold wherever they choose

In the Labour Movement we have no hidden persuaders—and that could well be the understatement of the week—we do everything in the open. Our wounds, our disappointments, are there for all to see. But we have no intention of abandoning the struggle because the weather is rough.

The democratic socialist faith that has sustained us through the years is the only philosophy that meets the needs of the modern world. Let that be clearly stated from this platform.

I hope it will also become increasingly plain during the course of this critical week that we accept the weight and complexity of the problems that confront us, as a challenge, not as an excuse for running away.

Nations in debt to powerful creditors are not free. The chains that bind may be different in kind and degree from the brutal physical force we have so recently witnessed Russia apply to Czechoslovakia. But they are chains all the same. And if sometimes all we can do is edge our way forward, inch by painful inch, the explanation should be obvious.

(At this stage there was an interruption by a demonstration from the floor.)

You have made your presence felt, and I am sure that the last thing a miners' delegation would want to do at a Labour Conference is to prevent us talking to one another. *(Applause.)*

We are all one movement, one history, one hope: some of us know how to fight, too, you know. Therefore, comrades, will you, if you want to stay with us, wait till I finish what I have got to say. We can talk to one another, but we are not going to shout one another down. *(Applause.)*

Now, will you decide, please, if you want to leave now or remain as our guests quietly?

MONDAY MORNING: CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

May I say, comrades, that we have no real right to object to this demonstration? (*Applause.*) Because, as I have already said, in a period of technological revolution it is the working man and his family above all who have got to pay the price. (*Applause.*) All we claim is that under the Tories there is no mercy, there is no compassion, and I have already said that one of the embarrassments in this transition stage is that we cannot exempt some of our comrades from displacement and hardship in a transition stage: I have already said it. All we can do is to try to help and protect them to the limits of our power.

Now may I go on to say what we all very much feel? It would be much more exhilarating if all we had to do was to shout our battlecries and leap forward from where we are to where, ideally, we would like to be.

But that is not permitted us, that only happens in Dreamland.

Instead, and this is vital and central to our movement and to this Conference, we have the knowledge to sustain us that though, within our own ranks there are varying counsels as to how best to outwit and outflank the enemy, we are as united today in our socialist faith, in the ends we seek to achieve, as at any time in the past.

That is our strength. Our enemies would enjoy seeing us destroy one another. They would enjoy still more the spectacle of the very hands that have built this movement, in a fit of anger or frustration, pulling it down. But we do not intend to oblige. (*Applause.*)

After all, we have not met here to exterminate one another. All we want to do is to convert one another. We are counting heads, not breaking heads, as Nye was wont to say. We have still got that choice. We have still got a hope of planned priorities and orderly progress.

So, in conclusion I say to all of you so eager to participate in this great debate, let the battle be joined. And by the tone and temper of our deliberations, let us demonstrate to all the world, not only that our cause is a cause worth fighting for, but that we, individually and collectively, are fighters worthy of their trust and respect. (*Applause.*)

I now call on the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. G. Williams (Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee) submitted the following report:

APPOINTMENT OF TELLERS

J. COVENEY (Chief Teller), *Heston and Isleworth C.L.P.*

P. BRANIFF, *National Union of Blast-furnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades.*

D. R. COATES, *National Union of Funeral and Cemetery Workers.*

G. DAVIDSON, *Scottish Commercial Motormen's Union.*

E. J. HARNELL, *National Graphical Association*

R. LONGWORTH, *Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association.*

E. J. POPE, *United Patternmakers' Association.*

A. JOHNSON, *National Union of Furniture Trade Operatives.*

W. J. CONNOR, *Cumberland Federation of Labour Parties.*

A. GARNER, *Wolverhampton South-West C.L.P.*

T. HANSON, *Howden C.L.P.*

L. G. GODWIN, *Cirencester and Tewkesbury C.L.P.*

MRS. J. MANN, *Wellingborough C.L.P.*

MRS. O. PHILLIPSON, *Westmorland C.L.P.*

F. SHAW, *Battersea North C.L.P.*

APPOINTMENT OF SCRUTINEERS

R. DRIVER (Chief Scrutineer), *Rossendale Union of Boot, Shoe and Slipper Operatives.*

W. BARBER, *Fire Brigades Union.*

W. C. CLIFTON, *United French Polishers' Society*

S. EVANS, *National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers.*

J. FAREY, *Constructional Engineering Union.*

C. GALLACHER, *Scottish Union of Bakers and Allied Workers.*

J. WATT, *National Union of Seamen.*

J. G. BALL, *Shrewsbury C.L.P.*

J. BOE, *Central Ayrshire C.L.P.*

T. MULLIN, *Durham C.L.P.*

MISS P. PEDLFY, *Beckenham C.L.P.*

I. WESTLEY, *Cambridgeshire C.L.P.*

MRS. B. H. WILLIAMS, *Caernarvon C.L.P.*

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

At appropriate times, which will be announced by the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, the following Fraternal Delegates will address the Conference:

Trades Union Congress: **LORD WRIGHT**

Co-operative Party: **MR. HERBERT KEMP**, C.S.D., J.P.

TIME LIMIT FOR SPEAKERS

With the exception of speakers appointed by the National Executive Committee, movers of resolutions shall be allowed 10 minutes; seconders and subsequent speakers 5 minutes each.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR MOVING MOTIONS

Only fully accredited Delegates appointed in accordance with Clauses VI and VII of the Party Constitution are entitled to move Motions on behalf of their organisations.

BALLOT FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS

Ballot papers may be obtained on Monday in the Horseshoe from 12.30 p.m. and must be returned **not later than 4 p.m. on the same day.**

NEXT ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Committee recommends that the newly elected National Executive Committee shall be empowered to select the place of the next Annual Conference.

EMERGENCY RESOLUTIONS

Czechoslovakia: Seven emergency resolutions concerning Czechoslovakia or arising from recent events in that country have been received from the Pontypridd, Paddington North, Bristol North East, Isle of Ely, Wrexham and Dudley Constituency Labour Parties and the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party. The delegates from these seven parties are asked to meet the Standing Orders Committee at 11.30 this morning.

Seaton Carew Power Station: An emergency resolution was received from the Dearne Valley Constituency Labour Party. The Standing Orders Committee has accepted this as an emergency resolution.

National Insurance Advisory Committee: An emergency resolution has been received from the Association of Scientific, Technical

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and Managerial Staffs concerning the recommendations of that Committee on unemployment benefit. There is a resolution on the agenda dealing with this matter and the Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency resolution.

Votes at Eighteen: An emergency resolution on this subject has been received from the Walthamstow East Constituency Labour Party. The Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency resolution and there are resolutions on this subject on the Conference Agenda.

Sheffield Rolling Mills Ltd.: An emergency resolution on this subject was received from the Sheffield Heeley Constituency Labour Party. The Standing Orders Committee has accepted this as an emergency resolution.

Industrial Reorganisation Corporation: An emergency resolution was received from the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs concerning the merger of the General Electric Company and the English Electric Company. This organisation is named to move a composite resolution on the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation and the points raised in the emergency resolution could be dealt with when proposing that resolution. The Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency resolution.

A further emergency resolution dealing with the same subject was received from the Liverpool Walton Constituency Labour Party. For the same reason the Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency—the points contained in the resolution could be put in the general economic debate.

Rhodesia: An emergency resolution on this issue was received from the Hemel Hempstead Constituency Labour Party. The terms of this resolution are embodied in Composite Resolution No. 36 which this organisation is down to second. The Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency resolution.

Barrow Council House Rents: An emergency resolution on this subject was received from the Barrow Constituency Labour Party. The Standing Orders Committee does not consider this to be an emergency resolution. The general question of rents is included in resolutions on the Agenda.

NOMINATIONS FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Division III. In accordance with Clause 3 (c) of Standing Order 4 which requires a written explanation from a nominee unable to be present at Conference, letters have been

received from the following nominees:

Mr. T. Driberg, M.P., owing to illness;
Mr. W. W. Hamilton, M.P., because of the death of his wife;

Mr. H. Jenkins, M.P., who is a member of a Parliamentary Delegation to the Bahamas, and

Mr. B. Whitaker, M.P., who is a member of a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Delegation to Singapore.

Similarly Mr. J. Bleackley, a nominee for Auditor, is absent because of illness.

The Standing Orders Committee rules that these nominations be in order.

NOMINATIONS FOR CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

The nomination of Mr. F. W. Bowerman has been withdrawn after the ballot papers had been printed. Delegates should delete his name from the ballot paper.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

It is proposed that the special amendments to the Constitution and Standing Orders proposed by the National Executive Committee on pages 7 and 8 of the Agenda, be taken in Private Session on Tuesday afternoon in conjunction with the relevant sections of the National Executive Committee Report.

The Conference Arrangements Committee has concurred with the request of the National Executive Committee that should Conference approve the amendment proposing a change in the procedure for dealing with Constitutional Amendments, Conference be asked to refer the other proposed Constitutional Amendments set out in pages 9 to 26 of the Agenda to the National Executive Committee for consideration and report to the 1969 Conference. Should Conference approve that procedure, the Standing Orders Committee will recommend that the further Private Session suggested in the time-table for Thursday afternoon not be held and at a later stage the Committee will recommend alternative business to be taken in Public Session that afternoon.

The Chairman: Mr. Chairman, we are very grateful to you and your Committee for this very important and essential job you have been doing on behalf of Conference. Having heard the Report of your Conference Arrangements Committee, does it meet with your approval? There is a point of order.

Mr. D. Hughes (Liverpool, Walton C.L.P.): The point of order I am raising is in relation to the prices and incomes sec-

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tion. I notice that there are in fact three composite resolutions printed in the booklet, and I also notice that last evening there was a long debate within the National Executive. I am not asking for a long debate, but I am asking for some assurance that the three different points of view covered by these three composites are in fact discussed and taken in the order in which they are printed because unfortunately we have had experience in the past of resolutions of this description not being called.

The point of order is that you have one position which discusses only the question of legislation, you have another position broadly in support of it, and the third position is opposed to it. I would suggest to Conference that in order for there to be a full debate similar to the National Executive's we should take the three points of view.

The Chairman: I think there is a point of explanation wanted on the point of order, but I can assure you that I will do everything in my power to make this a fully fair and representative debate.

Mr. A. Allen (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers): Madam Chairman, one hesitates to take the time of Conference up in pointing out an aspect of the Conference Arrangements Committee's Report which we are a little dissatisfied about. I want to say that there is an exclusion in the recommendations of the Committee in relation to Proposition 179 on the insurance industry.

If you take the recommendation of the Conference Arrangements Committee, you will see that it proposes that Composites 12 and 13 under the nationalised industries be one of the subjects to be discussed. It is a little surprising and of concern to the U.S.D.A.W. delegation that in discussing the nationalised industries there is an attempt to exclude Proposition 179 on the insurance industry.

May I say, briefly, I hope that those colleagues like my own union who have supported consistently and steadfastly the demand for public ownership will also insist that the proposition on the insurance industry which is an industry holding tremendous economic power in our country, involved in almost £12 thousand million investments per year, is also included in discussion. I move the reference back of this.

The Chairman: I am going to ask the Chairman of the Committee to reply, but I do beg delegates not to try to make their main speech at this stage of the Conference.

Mr. G. Williams: This item is not on the time-table, but if certain proposals recommended are carried with regard to the private sessions, the Committee will consider the matter later in the week.

The Chairman: Will you withdraw your reference back?

Mr. A. Allen: If we have an assurance that it will be discussed.

Mr. Robert Maxwell (*ex-officio* M.P., Buckingham): I wish to move the reference back of the statement on Czechoslovakia, Madam Chairman. Am I in order to do so?

The Chairman: I do not think you are, but let us hear what you have to say.

Mr. Maxwell: Very briefly, the statement on Czechoslovakia should not have been linked with the statement on NATO. (*Applause*) Delegates should be given an opportunity to condemn the Russians on Czechoslovakia and to deal with NATO quite separately as an issue.

The Chairman: I am sorry, I entirely agree with the sentiment that Conference must be allowed to express its view on N.A.T.O. and Czechoslovakia, but it is out of order to try to move the reference back at this stage on that part of the motion.

Mr. C. Jenkins (Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs): Madam Chairman and Comrades, I think if Robert Maxwell is moving the reference back on that issue I would like to second it.

The Chairman: I am sorry, that is out of order. You can make your speech, but I have to obey the rules of the Conference, and the rules are that you are out of order. (*Murmurs of dissension.*)

Mr. Jenkins: Madam Chairman, I have two other points to make. (*Dissension.*) They are on the Standing Orders Report.

The Chairman: May I explain to you that this is an N.E.C. document. It is open for debate, but it is against the rules of our Conference that it should be dealt with in the way that you are seeking to do, so I hope you will obey the Chairman.

Mr. Jenkins: Madam Chairman, I do understand that, I want to vote the reference back on two other points. (*Dissension.*)

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The Chairman: I do not want anyone to be shouted down. Clive said he wants to make two further points and he must be listened to.

Mr. Jenkins: I am grateful, Madam Chairman. I want to make the point that there is the strongest possible case for us taking two other issues this week. I refer now to the question of the revision of the Party Rules and Constitution. In 1962 we debated an appeals tribunal. In 1965 we actually failed to reach the amendments on the order paper, and what I am asking for now is that the Conference Arrangements Committee should reconsider its attitude to this, otherwise the amendments put down in 1965 which were not reached will not be reached again this year.

One other point, on the Report: quite clearly there is an urgent need for a full scale debate on mergers, and the concentration of large companies into monopolies. We have a composite on the Agenda, and I hope we can have an announcement as to when the debate will take place.

There is also a case for us looking at the whole question of new draft regulations which would deny occupational pensioners their right to the benefits for which they have paid. Therefore, I believe there is the strongest case for a complete re-examination of what is a rather unsatisfactory Report, and I would move the reference back on those grounds. I beg to move.

The Chairman: Is the reference back seconded? (*Seconded.*) I want to say to you, comrades, that the Conference Arrangements Committee cannot put in everything, and if everyone who finds that any issue, no matter how deeply we feel about it, has been excluded comes to this rostrum, we will never get the Conference started. I am going to ask the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee to reply.

Mr. G. Williams: As we reported on this matter, the N.E.C.'s recommendation in regard to the Constitution will be considered and it will be proper to consider the points put.

On the question of monopolies, if the recommendation of the N.E.C. is carried, we can look at this to see what recommendations to go on. But I would make an appeal to Conference, we have a very long Agenda and a full day, please accept our Report and get on with the debates.

The Chairman: May I appeal to Conference that we get on with the debate. The

more we get on with it, the more people can speak and the more democratic our procedures will be. Do you accept the Report? (*Agreed.*) The vote has been carried, I am sorry, but if you have a point of explanation please make it quickly.

Mr. A. Soutter (Hampstead C.L.P.): I have a point on the Standing Orders Committee Report. I want to know what happened to the emergency resolution on Rhodesia submitted by Hampstead C.L.P. There has been reference made to Hemel Hempstead's resolution, and I wonder whether there has been some confusion over the name.

The Chairman: Would you please go to the Conference Arrangements Committee and discuss this? You are speaking after the Report has been accepted, but they will do their best to meet your point of view, and it is the point of view of everyone in this Conference.

It is now my sad duty to ask you to turn to pages 36-38 of the N.E.C. Report in which we record the names of those comrades who have died in the last year.

I have to ask that since it was printed, the names of Lord Rowley whom we know better as Arthur Henderson, Sidney Hill of N.U.P.E., Dick Gregson of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, should be added to those who have died. Will you please stand?

(Conference stood in silent tribute.)

PRICES & INCOMES

The Chairman: I will now ask you to turn to Composite 22, Prices and Incomes Policy. The Composite will be moved by the Transport and General Workers' Union and seconded by the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers.

Rt. Hon. Frank Cousins (Transport and General Workers' Union) moved Composite Resolution 22:

*This Conference, recognising the extent to which legislation restricting wage and salary movements has hindered both legitimate trade union activity and economic expansion, calls for the repeal of this legislation. It also rejects any further legislation the aim of which would be to curtail basic union rights.**

He said: Madam Chairman, I refrained from coming to the rostrum as so many

**Resolution carried. See page 153*

must have been tempted to do on points of order. The delegate from Walton made particular reference to the fact that there are three aspects of this problem of incomes policy which are under review in the three composite resolutions.

I want to ask, Madam Chairman, that we should recognise that Composite 22 is related specifically to legislation. Legislation is a matter which concerns every delegate in this room. It is the one that deals with the fundamental right of workers to approach their employers collectively and negotiate for adjustment. It is the matter that really is of as much concern to the constituency delegates as it is to the trade unions.

I want to avoid anyone getting into the atmosphere that what we are talking about is an argument as between whether the great unions should be allowed to go for wage adjustment without restriction at the expense of some undefined person. I want to make it quite clear, if I can, that as far as I am concerned I am a constituency member. I have been proud to be a constituency member ever since I first joined industry. I think in common about the problems that affect the Government or affect the trade unions or affect the working class. I do not want, therefore, to be confused in an argument that takes the whole lot, wraps it up in a package, and has a couple of Ministers address you, saying, 'Take it in a lump'. We in the T. & G., seconded and supported by many of the constituency representatives, are talking about this problem of legislation.

We are apparently in Government finding it difficult to accept that every step we have taken since that ill-judged, ill-advised and not very well thought out approach on the voluntary measures of productivity, prices and incomes declaration of intent, has inevitably gone along the pattern of bringing legislation definitely and positively in front of us as the end step.

I do not think that the forcing through of laws to restrict the right of trade unionists to deal with their employers is the way to solve the problems of Socialism. I thought that we were talking of a more egalitarian society, of getting the rights of the workers adequately presented to the employers. We talk, you know, as if the only way to get on with this job is to have legislative control of the trade unions. We are told time and time again how essential this legislation is. We are told what it has done.

I would like to suggest some of the things that it has done. It has created between the political group and the trade unions and the unorganised workers a deep feeling of

mistrust. I think if anything were needed to display this it is that fact which is reported in the Press this morning of the division even at Executive level. We are almost getting to the state of accepting that the workers are on one side and the Government is on the other side. I do not believe this at all. I do think yesterday's performance did something which will be recognised later on in the week—that is, whether Ministers who sit on an Executive responsible for decisions of Government can ever freely discuss matters on an Executive which is determining policy from the ranks of the workers as distinct from the ranks of Government. (*Applause.*)

The argument that the only choice is legislation or free-for-all misses some essential points. First of all, we never had a free-for-all. We never had a free-for-all because we were faced with employers whose attitude was resistance to the claims, legitimate or otherwise, but mainly legitimate and sponsored by people who are now sitting on this platform, endorsed by them as being proper claims.

But we did not have a free-for-all on another basis. The trade union movement recognised the power of some particular groups, not necessarily in large organisations, but the great power comes sometimes from small blocs of people. We had federations ironing out their claims and putting forward a claim based on the requirements of all peoples. So we did not in fact think that at any time we had a right to go for a free-for-all and get exactly what we wanted.

The second thing about this is that Governments appear to adopt postures related to Governments rather than to philosophies. They blame the workers. We are, I should think, almost as sick of hearing some of our own people telling us about 'the horrible workers' as we were of the other side telling us about 'the horrible workers'. It seems as if Governments, from the fact of getting into Government, assume that they are on the other side. We do not think this is so.

Nor do we accept that a Socialist Government, dedicated—I not only hope but believe—to improvements in the general standard of living for all, can ever approach us on a basis of getting our confidence and support to do the job that requires to be done by telling us that there is legislation at the back of us. We shall be told, probably, that the voluntary system does not work, that this long stop—to use one of these cricket terms that we have so frequently put to us—is essential if we are ever to get any voluntary effort.

My reaction is exactly the reverse. Anyone who has handled the problems of workers knows that a boss has only to say, 'You are not going to get it under any circumstances', to find the lads doing all sorts of things to force him.

I ask this Government, as I have been doing for so long, to discontinue the use of legislative control. Legislation has nothing to do with my attitude towards voluntary discussion about progressive adjustments in our standard of living, or, to use the phrase that I coined some years ago at a Labour Party Conference, the planned growth of incomes.

But the act of legislation itself, and the restriction of endorsement that this gives to the employers, is something we cannot stand. We have had experiences during the past few months, not only of the growth of the belief that they have to have in Government circles further and continuing control, but an argument that, 'We shall take it off some time when we have restored the position.' I ask myself—how long will it be before they have restored what they regard as the position?

It has done nothing towards removing any of the problems. It has not dealt with the issue of the low-paid workers. It has not made their standard any better. It has not made it any simpler to negotiate. I do ask this Government, as I have done time and time again, to say that we in the trade union movement are their allies and we are best fitted to know what can be done.

George Woodcock coined a phrase when he said, 'We do dirty, shabby deals when we do just the best we can.' Probably they do not like the phrase, but this is what we do in the trade union movement. We do just the best we can. You cannot in fact put it in a state of social democracy where the Government can get itself involved in the details of negotiation and assist in settlements, because they just do not manage to do this.

If I were to use as examples what has happened in, say, the municipal bus industry or some of the manufacturing industries, where I found the Government not ready even to agree with the adjustments that we have knocked out of employers after a long hard negotiating period, and our municipal busmen still waiting for an adjustment in rates of pay that was agreed in November, 1967, and being told that they cannot have it until the expiry of a 12-month period, which the Minister extended from 7 months to 12 months during the course of the argument, then I am supposed to believe that this is helping us to get unity of purpose in

the Labour movement. I wonder whether they have lost all sense of direction.

A little phrase came across my mind when I was reading the Press the other day. There was a party sitting in London talking about an expedition that is out in the Antarctic. You know how constant association with areas of deep freeze brings aberrations of mind and stops clear thinking. I am wondering if there are people who have become so associated with the belief that a deep freeze is an essential part of a Socialist philosophy that they have lost all sense of judgment or how to deal with problems.

I do want to put just one or two more things to you. We have been told that this has tended to stabilise the wage movement. Even the Chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board says that the limit that could be expected from this is that it has reduced the wage movement by 1 per cent.

I would like to put alongside that a little equation. It has also, in my opinion, lost 10 by-elections. If 1 per cent for 10 by-elections is the sort of equation we want in our movement, I just do not understand it, because I think if there is one thing that is causing more dissension among the ranks of the people—the ordinary people, not the general secretaries of unions—than that we should not be allowed to settle our wage claims in a free enterprise system of society I have not yet discovered what it is. People are really quite upset about this position. Disputes have grown, and we warned the Government that this would happen because, as we directed more of our authority and powers back to local level—and I have done this very deliberately—there was a rising possibility of adjustments of disputes growing in order to force adjustments we could not get at national level.

But, you know, you cannot say we did not expect this to happen or then complain that one of the great prohibitions from us getting an economic growth is because of the disputes without looking at why the disputes were caused. I do very sincerely ask, in moving this resolution, not only that you should give it overwhelming support, as proof of your objection to legislation, not as anything to do with your argument about whether we want a policy concerning incomes or prices or salaries or dividends, but simply as to whether we believe there should be legislation. I do not think there should be. I do not think you believe there should be and I hope in your vote you will demonstrate that. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I have to announce, before calling on the seconder, that a number of

tellers and scrutineers have not reported to the Standing Orders Committee, so will delegates look at their printed report to see if their name is in the printed list.

Will those moving and seconding Composite 23 please move forward.

Mr. D. McGarvey (Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, in seconding this motion I believe that the moment of truth has arrived so far as this conference is concerned because, if we have a failing as a movement, it is that we become fragmented when an issue confronts us in relation to a Labour Government.

This issue of legislation is one which is so important to the Labour movement that I am very proud to second Frank Cousins's motion here today, because this fact has to be borne in mind. The Trade Union movement has a proud heritage in relation to free collective bargaining, but it also has a proud loyalty to the Labour Party and, as we see the situation on this wages resolution, I hope in the ensuing debate that we will hear the voice of the movement against the voice of the establishment on this issue.

Again when one looks at the Trade Union movement's stand on this issue, one looks at it from the clear premise that we realise, as trade unions, that so far as the Government itself is concerned, they have taken a line on this issue which has been interpreted by the rank and file as an attack on the Trade Union movement.

This is the place for plain speaking, and I would say this to Barbara Castle who, according to the minutes of the National Executive, which appeared in this morning's papers, will be speaking on this issue, that we hope that we will not hear a lot of double talk from Barbara, because what we are concerned with on this whole issue is that from this Conference we should demonstrate, as an organisation, to the Trade Union movement, that they belong to this great movement.

One has to look at the recent local elections in this country. One has to look at the debacle where thousands of hard-working Labour councillors had their heads chopped off because of national policies and particularly the legislation acts. (*Applause.*) Now this is a fact of life, and I hope that when the reply is being made and interviews are being given to the Press by prominent people, who shall remain anonymous, that we will not hear that oft-worn phrase that the Government must govern, because this is becoming so repetitive that one is beginning

to think that we are in Portugal or Spain or Eastern Europe.

At this Conference this week we hope that the voice of the masses of the movement will charter the course this Government should take in the future. When we look at the second part of this motion, here again I hope in the reply to this debate that we will not have a promise that the Government had to do this and when this legislation comes up for renewal in November next year it possibly will not be renewed.

I say to Barbara if that is the answer to this resolution, then the answer from the trade unions to Barbara is 'Not on your Nellie', because the situation is this—that if we, as a movement, have to join hands with the political wing to win the next election then the political wing must show that they trust the Trade Union movement.

I listened last night, at the demonstration, to the Prime Minister of Sweden, when he said, amidst great applause, that he had a two-year dialogue with the Trade Union movement, and in this dialogue two years was enough. I say to Harold Wilson and to the Government that two years is not enough, unless a declaration is made by the Government, in line with the basic content of this resolution, that this legislation will be repealed as soon as it is possible to do so in the House of Commons.

Again, fellow delegates, let me also say this—that another saying last night was that when we are in opposition there are those who dream, and when we are in power there are those who have to do. I would close on this and quote Nye Bevan saying that when we are in opposition we preach socialism and when we are in power we practise capitalism. This is the difference between us and the Tory party. (*Applause.*)

I hope an overwhelming vote will be given in favour of this resolution, so that the common workers in the Labour Party can win the next election despite the leadership. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I am now calling Composite 23, will the mover come to the rostrum.

Mr. T. R. Lloyd (South Dorset C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 23:

This Conference congratulates Her Majesty's Government on its efforts to stabilise the economy and urges that stronger action be taken to control retail prices.

It calls upon the Government to ensure that industry is run efficiently in the interests of the people, to take clear and

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well-publicised legislative measures to keep prices in line with the 3½ per cent norm advocated and to set up Price Regulation Committees similar to those operated during World War Two.

*It urges that stronger action be taken to control take-over bids which contribute largely to inflation.**

He said: I am a new boy and at this very moment I feel very much like a David chasing Goliath.

I believe that the man in the street recognises the need for a wages policy. Why? Because I am a man in the street. But it is difficult to justify a wages policy when prices continue to rise higher than the 3½ per cent norm.

I belong to a section of the community who are employed in an industry where productivity has not even begun to be thought about; that is to say productivity as the Government criteria call for it. So I am stuck—stuck with a wages policy that limits my wages to a 3½ per cent norm while prices continue to rise. And I have no possibility of breaking through into a share of the profits being accumulated by the employers. So I think that this brings me to the crux of my argument, if the employers are in control of the prices and any 3½ per cent wage award is already passed on to the consumer, plus a little bit for the employer—

I cannot go on to give you any statistics, anything glib, or any catch-phrase or anything like that. All I can give you is a feeling that we are right, that the Government is right. In this case, all I seek is your support, and a mandate to the Government to watch its step to see that the man in the street is protected from this price war that is going on. (*Applause.*)

Mr. C. Stagge (Barkston Ash C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, I have come here today to second what I consider is a reasonable resolution, bearing in mind the facts—that whilst we are trade unionists, whilst we are old age pensioners, whilst we are people on small incomes, we have all to be considered, not just one section.

I am behind the unions, yes. We have Frank Cousins protesting that he will support the Government, and most of his speech was attacking them. That was true.

We say in our resolution that we congratulate the Government on their economic efforts. We do. Their attempts to balance the economy and the debit the Tories left us with have been immense. Their efforts through grants to exports, their grants through production councils, export guaran-

**Resolution accepted. See page 153*

tees, etc., have done much to try and balance this economy of ours.

If we are going to have a prices and incomes policy, we have got to limit prices. If we are limiting incomes as well as prices we have got to legislate. We have got to legislate against the people making the profits in industry. Look at profits soaring. Every day in the *Financial Times* we see profits soaring. That is where we have got to stop it, at the price level. There is a firm here boasting of admirable profits for this year, up by 52 per cent. That is why we have got to legislate. That is why we have got to go further than just wages. We have got to go on the track, fighting the people that we set out in the movement to fight. We are Socialists. We believe in a planned economy: so do trade unionists, who are part of us. A planned economy cannot be without legislation.

I hope when you consider this matter further than just the separate issue of trade unions, you go further afield and look a bit deeper.

Here we have a number of takeover bids. How is this money arrived at? How do they achieve values of shares higher than they were in the past? I would seriously suggest that it is not on the machinery and plant and the goodwill, but it is on the possibility of future profits. I also want the Government to consider how this money is raised: how the money is raised through the commercial banks.

The banks are offering fabulous interest to get money to put into these bids. At the same time, what are they doing to you and I? They are forcing up local government borrowing interest, forcing up housing interest. Building societies, etc., and Government bonds are having difficulties in getting money and have to persistently raise their interest. We want stabilisation: stabilisation on prices, stabilisation on mergers. This can only be achieved by legislation, and in the case of mergers by public examination of the facts beforehand. I want them to open trade unions, open the political parties; in the same form as any other organisation—any public organisation—has to produce it.

We believe in organised society. Why do we believe in organised society? Because it is only by organisation that anything in this world was built. I ask you all to consider organisation through legislature. No socialist body will ever get organisation without legislature.

We have got to go further: we have got to challenge these mergers. As a young man I saw an advertisement: 'If it pays the landlord to buy a house for you to live in, it

pays you to buy it for yourself.' Comrades, if it pays them to have a merger, it pays us to take it over. If it pays them at the rate of interest they are claiming, we should take that industry, and this needs legal action, not talk over the counter and around the banks.

Let us come out in the front and challenge these people: the Tories, the banks and these industrial mergers.

The Chairman: I am now going to call Composite Resolution 30 by Liverpool Borough Labour Party and seconded by Bristol North East Constituency Labour Party, but before doing so may I appeal to delegates to give their name?

A delegate: On a point of order, we have a composite resolution on prices and incomes that is not being taken.

The Chairman: On your point of order, please see the Conference Arrangements Committee. There must be fair play. There are many things that cannot come up before Conference. We appoint a Conference Arrangements Committee, and it is in their hands. Please discuss it. As Chairman, I shall make it my responsibility to see that before the end of the day all points of view are stated. You will have to discuss it with the Conference Arrangements Committee.

Mr. E. Loyden (Liverpool Borough Labour Party) moved Composite Resolution 30:

This Conference notes the disastrous results for Labour from the local government elections earlier this year, and is of the opinion that they confirm the failure of the present Labour Government to adopt policies which are, and can be seen to be, in the interests of the majority of the British people, which policies, because of the very nature of capitalist torism, must flow from the general socialist perspectives of the Labour movement;

Conference notes that all these recent measures have been designed to cut real wages in order to increase profit margins and will benefit only a privileged minority:

- (a) wage and salary restraint;
- (b) unemployment;
- (c) the 4,500 price increases since devaluation;
- (d) higher rents, particularly those of council tenants;
- (e) increased taxation;
- (f) increased mortgage interest payments;
- (g) reimposition of prescription charges;

(h) *the Budget and devaluation;*

Planning has largely been abandoned, and where the state is forced to intervene, e.g., the steel industry, enormous over-compensation is paid whilst the 10 per cent of the industry which takes 33 per cent of the profits is left in private hands, and the Steel Board itself is dominated by capitalists.

Conference therefore declares that the policies of the Government have been and are being dictated by the monopolies and the big financial interests to the detriment of the needs and desires of the working-class; and further declares that only by taking into public ownership the 300 monopolies, private banks, finance houses and insurance companies now dominating the economy, and by producing a positive national plan anchored to socialist production can the Government effectively develop the resources of our country for the benefit of the people; such a socialist plan of production, democratically administered, involving the trade union and Co-operative Movement, shop-stewards' and housewives' committees, scientists, teachers, technicians, doctors and the whole spectrum of the working people of Britain, would guarantee an annual growth of resources far beyond the meagre 4 per cent at present proposed with a reduction in working hours and should be followed up by calling a world conference of socialist organisations in order to plan the unity of the world's workers against the power of capitalism and imperialism.

*It would mean an end to social problems of housing, employment, education and health, and bring a standard of living the majority of people in Britain only dream about.**

He said: Chairman and comrades, in moving this Composite Resolution I want to say first of all, because reference was made this morning by the Chairman to the opposition, and particularly reference to Powellism, that when one adopts an attitude of criticism towards the Government it is sometimes taken that in fact we are demanding a return of the Tory Party as a government. Let us make it quite clear that, as far as we are concerned, we do not expect, and never would expect, any Tory government to act in the interests of workers at any time. What they have always done they will always do as far as we are concerned, in connection with the working class.

But it is not the criticism of the Govern-

*Resolution lost. See page 153

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ment that is paving the way for a return of the Tories. The return of the Tories is being assisted, if not assured, by some of the policies being pursued by this Government at this time. Let us look very quickly at some of the policies that are referred to in this resolution.

The question of prices and incomes which has been debated here this morning is obviously one of the policies that has met with a great deal of hostility throughout the whole of the working class movement and throughout the populace in general. The policies that are being pursued have meant that while wages were being restrained price increases on 4,500 items have been imposed since devaluation, and since this agenda was drafted that figure is now 5,500 items. We have had savage increases in rents, in gas, in electricity and in fares and all the other essential commodities and services used by working class people. We have seen an erosion of the social services with the re-introduction of prescription charges, the increase in school meals, the ending of school milk for certain children, and whilst these may not appear to be of vital importance they are a clear indication that in certain circumstances, to appease international fiscal manipulators, this Government is prepared not only to slaughter one sacred cow but if necessary to create an abattoir where they will in fact destroy them all.

It is essential at this time that we say to this Government that of course we want a Labour Government, but we want a Labour Government prepared to carry out the basic principles upon which this party was built and for which it stands (*Applause*) because on the other side of the coin what has this legislation of the last four years meant in terms of British capitalism? What is the situation as far as big business is concerned? What has the last four years meant to them?

The Chairman made reference this morning to the deep division that exists in the distribution of wealth: 80 per cent of the wealth of this nation controlled and owned by 9 per cent. This has not shifted in the last four years and in fact there has been an increase in the number of millionaires in this country—£1,500 million has been ploughed into private industry without in fact taking over the necessary control of those industries in the interests of the nation as a whole. We have seen the growth of monopolies and mergers that have had a drastic effect upon the security of workers. This has been the sort of thing that has happened in the last four years on the other side of the coin.

I say to this Executive Committee and to the Labour Government that it is about time they went to the workers instead of the bankers. (*Applause.*) It is about time that this Government began to place confidence in the working class of this country, because in 1964 on the basis of their manifesto they were elected to carry out the necessary social reforms that will begin the change in this society that we all believe in.

As far as we are concerned the resources of this nation, the resources of this country, the skills and talents of this country, can in fact be released by the proper measures of taking over the 300 monopolies that exist, of taking over real power in the economy, and of advancing with us to build the sort of socialist society that we firmly believe in in this movement and are prepared to sacrifice and work for. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Bristol North East to second.

Mr. P. Howe (Bristol North East C.L.P.): Comrade Chairman, Comrades, it gives me great pleasure to second this resolution from Liverpool.

The N.E.C. have said how the workers feel alienated from and uninvolved in the Government; the workers do not feel involved in any way. The important part of this resolution is the fact that workers should be made to be involved at every level—the Co-operatives, the Labour movement generally, the trade unions, etc.—but you cannot expect workers to go for increased production if it in turn means they are going to be unemployed as a result.

After all, in all the cases of takeovers recently we have had this result—6,000 in the case of G.E.C./A.E.I.—and in all the run-down industries we have had the result of people being put out of employment, especially in the railways, where the productivity agreements have directly resulted in unemployment. This is why they feel alienated; this is why they do not feel involved.

Economics is not a matter of pounds, shillings and pence, it is a matter of people. It is a matter of their lives and how they are affected, and to us as socialists this is the important thing. Eddie Loyden said, in moving this motion, that it is very important that we must have a socialist plan, not the type of plan which we have seen this Government introduce. You cannot plan a capitalist economy, it is impossible. You just cannot plan a capitalist economy. You cannot go along to the capitalist and say, 'My brother trade unionist here wants a say in running your firm', because everybody

knows what the capitalist would say—and I would not say it on this rostrum.

We must have the basic taking over of the commanding heights of the economy before in any way we can introduce a social content into the running of this country and involve the trade union movement, etc. We have seen again and again measures introduced which have resulted only in cuts in the living standards of the working class in this country, and you cannot expect people who are having their living standards cut to want keenly to participate in the economy. We must fight for the socialist alternatives, the constructive alternatives that are laid down in this resolution, and I ask everybody to read this resolution very carefully. It is a long one, it is deliberately long, because it has to lay down a constructive alternative and this cannot be done in a few lines.

We talked about devaluation resulting in all the price increases and we have said that the Budget did this also. The S.E.T., for instance, where a 50 per cent increase was given in the Budget, directly resulted in price increases. I worked in a store for many years and am a member of U.S.D.A.W. and can say definitely that these price increases were to offset the S.E.T. and that the S.E.T. has not resulted in the transferring of workers, etc., that the Government's policies are in fact based on a running of a capitalist economy and are not based on producing a socialist economy. It is up to us in the Labour movement to insist that these alternatives are introduced.

The Chairman: We now go on to Resolution 108, as amended:

*This Conference, concerned at all indications of dissensions on economic affairs within the Labour Movement, calls on the Party leadership, in and outside Parliament, to consult with the trade unions and Co-operative Movement to formulate a comprehensive conception of economic planning which will produce clear, firm and continuing lines of procedure, roles, responsibility and commitment for all concerned. As a first step towards such a consensus, Conference accepts that the Government's present economic policy is a great improvement on former policies.**

This is to be moved by Newcastle-under-Lyme Constituency Labour Party and to be seconded by Paddington South.

Mr. E. H. Beet (Newcastle-under-Lyme C.L.P.): Already, by half-past eleven on the *Resolution remitted. See page 154

first day of this Conference, can be seen what the cause of concern was which led my constituency party to table motion 108. It is to this only that I want to address myself in the light of what has already been said and in the light of what, it appears, is to be said later in the week.

Can I stress to delegates that every word of this motion has been carefully selected for a purpose. Especially, you will note that my constituency party does not attempt to attach the responsibility or blame for any thing that has gone wrong, or is thought to have gone wrong, on any particular part of the Labour movement, because the responsibility lies on all our shoulders. Let us not get away with arguments from either one side or the other, one part or the other, that the responsibility can be safely attached to one particular place and that as long as we can put that right, everything will be all right.

Furthermore, can I draw particularly to your attention, Madam Chairman, and that of other members of the executive and of our leadership, that if anyone thinks that this is merely a pious motion which can be accepted and then forgotten, that would defeat the whole object of the exercise which my constituency party wanted to be set. It is not a call for fine words.

It is a call for action, and action not just now, but action over a long period, because this movement, as we have already seen, is beginning to break itself in pieces by internal dissensions whilst we still hold office and only two and a half years since we won that magnificent victory. No one can feel happy that things should go like this.

Barbara Castle, at the demonstration last night, stressed all that has been done by this Government. Let everybody remember this, because in 1970/71 the issue is going to be whether we can carry on with this or whether we see Powellism coming to the surface.

It is not likely that the Tories will win the next election. What my party is concerned about, and what, I think, every man and woman in this hall should be concerned about, is whether we are going to lose it, not whether the Tories are going to win it.

And so our call is to the leadership of the Party. Instead of coming to Conference and, as you will see on your agenda where our motion appears, rejecting this and dismissing that, abandoning the other and condemning something else and deploring the rest and using adjectives like this—I am not here to argue for polite language; but if the members of this movement feel the need to use motions in terms like this, then there

is something wrong with the soul of this movement.

I, as someone who has worked at the grass roots of the Party for 30 years, do not want to see all that I have stood for, all that I have tried to work for, all that you have stood for and all that you have tried to work for, melting into the sand in a space of five years and with the likelihood that we will be faced for a long time after that with Tory Government by default.

It is time for the leadership of this Party, the unions, the Co-ops and the political side, to get together on this whole question of economic planning so that, instead of being told, for example, that the unions will not accept legislation on prices and wages, what we get is constructive undertakings as to what we will do, not what we will not take, not what we will not stand for, not the conditions upon which this, that or the other can be done, but some guide to action which has been agreed by all the Party, which can call forth the spirit which is so lacking at the grass roots of this movement—not because we cannot be persuaded to accept legislation or not.

I am not concerned directly, although I have views about this, with what sort of incomes and wages policy we have, what sort of economic planning we do. What we have to make our minds up about is what we mean by economic planning, and what we mean by it must include not only the benefits which, we hope, will accrue from it, but also the commitments and obligations which we are prepared to accept in order to bring it about. This is what we want the leadership to work out.

For all the brave words, there is a malaise in this Party and in its activities which my party finds terrifying, because through this, as I have said, we are going to lose the next election if we are not very careful—not that we are going to fail to do what we can. We want the leadership as a whole to show us a movement where agreement can be found.

If there are those who believe that economic planning must not touch freedom of collective bargaining, let them say how we can have economic planning without it. If we need legislation or supervision of things like this, let us have a concept worked out through which those responsible can accept the obligations and commitments that it involves. We want to go forward over a long period. We want to see not just till 1970/71. We want to see the means and wherewithal of carrying on the work that we have done. This is not a bonanza for five years which we can then forget, and

that we do what we can in the expectation that this will be the last opportunity.

Our motion asks the leadership of the movement to formulate a comprehensive conception of economic planning which will produce clear, firm and continuing lines of procedure, roles, responsibility and commitment for all sections of the movement. Unless we can get to that point, then, by default, we are going to see Tories in power after the next election. This is not just a matter of image-building. The image will come from the way in which we conduct ourselves.

I appeal to all delegates, wherever they may come from, when they come to this rostrum with their motions and speeches condemning and deploring and all the rest of it, to bear in mind that we are all members of the same movement.

I am not prepared to accept that either the Prime Minister and his colleagues, or our union leaders and their colleagues or our membership in general, have given up hope of achieving a more ordered society. I am not prepared to condemn what the Government is doing when I think that, at base, we all know that they have to do what they can do in the light of any given circumstances.

They are entitled to expect support from the movement which made them. I want to see one movement speaking with one voice—differences on detail, but on the basic issues of principle and procedure one movement—marching forward together and commending itself for that reason to the people of this country for a long time to come. (*Applause.*)

Mr. E. R. Packer (Paddington South C.L.P.): I second the motion. I am not a man of a lot of words. I say what I want with very few. My colleague who has just been on the rostrum has expressed the views of South Paddington very adequately. We have just added, in our amendment, a slight improvement, we think, by commending the present economic policy of the Government as being better than former policies.

The former policies which we refer to are, of course, Tory policies. These are the people that we should be fighting, not fighting between ourselves as between constituency parties and trade unions. We should be working together by agreeing that the trade union side has a point of view which should be put.

In the resolution, we are giving the leadership an opportunity to consult with all branches of the movement to come to a good economic policy.

I do not think I want to say anything more. I will not take up all my time, somebody else can have the rest of it who can speak better than I do. I therefore second this resolution 108.

The Chairman: Resolution 109, as amended:

*This Conference being mindful of the continuing imbalance between imports and exports, calls upon the Government to introduce a system of selective import controls, particularly with regard to manufactured goods and agricultural commodities, thus enabling British industry to expand more rapidly whilst at the same time making it possible to reduce the existing high rate of unemployment.**

Mr. R. D. Pompa (Lincoln C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, Comrades, you will excuse me because of inexperience, but I hope the sentiment is there and I hope you will give me your hearing.

Before 1964, when this Party was in opposition, we had some wonderful schemes in mind which would be introduced when we became the Government. When we were challenged about the cost and where the money was to come from, we replied 'by having planned growth of the economy by economic expansion'. Many of these new policies have been introduced to the credit of the Government, and they are costing a lot of money. Immediately after the election it became evident that this country was in serious financial trouble, and we seem to have been living in a continuous state of crisis ever since. We have been unable to go all out on economic expansion; instead there have been occasions when very deflationary methods have been applied, and the result has been to create a high level of unemployment and restriction on wages.

Looking back, the festering sore which this Government seems totally unable to cure is the imbalance between imports and exports. All the time we are bedevilled by this problem. Being a trading nation, our whole economy is bound up with our ability to sell abroad, and in turn we ourselves must purchase from overseas, but at the moment we are purchasing far more than we are able to sell, particularly in relation to manufactured goods.

You do not have to be an economist or a whiz kid at the Treasury to recognise that many of the goods coming into this country could be manufactured here; for example,

*Resolution lost. See page 154

footwear, furniture, clothing, toys, cosmetics, wines and spirits and beer, one-armed bandits and many other articles. Is it not incredible that in prime agricultural counties in England, Lincolnshire for instance, we have to put up with foreign potatoes?

We in Lincoln are not suggesting the indiscriminate use of import controls. That is why we use the word 'selective'. Some may fear that there may be retaliation from other countries, but I doubt this. After all, all we want to do is to control the rate of imports to a level which we could afford to meet out of export earnings, and finally, as it says in the resolution, it would allow British industry to expand more rapidly to the all-round benefit of the economic survival of this country and, more important, would provide more jobs for the half million or so unemployed in Britain. I know this will not fully solve all our difficulties, but I am sure it will help quite a lot.

I could reel off a lot of statistics concerning some of our hard hit counties, Lancashire for instance with textiles and so on, but instead I know that there are many, more qualified than I, to talk about this who would rather debate it, and are possibly champing at the bit to do so, and who can put you in the picture much more quickly and effectively than I ever could. So, Madam Chairman, I hope you will give the extra minutes to these people who wish to debate this point. I beg to move.

Mr. R. Hoyle (Richmond, Yorks. C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, Brother Delegates, this Conference and the present Government rather remind me of the story of marriage. In the first year it is idolise, in the second year it is criticise and in the third year it is pulverise, and then they settle down.

In seconding Resolution 109 as amended, I wish to emphasise that the persistent high level of imports is the root cause of the major economic problem facing our Government, and the present incomes policy is one of the results. Roy Jenkins has recently pointed out that post-war governments have consistently underrated Britain's excessive propensity to import, and Anthony Crosland has expressed surprise that the level of imports has certainly been higher than expected. But in the last two years no one has so much as lifted a finger to do anything which has been really effective, and foreign exporters have laughed all the way to the bank. Unless we can contain imports and at the same time increase exports, unless we can do these two things simultaneously, we shall be living in a fool's paradise.

We must get one thing absolutely clear.

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Some time we shall have to pay our way, and we shall have to pay our debts. I am sure we all want just that, and at the same time we want to reduce unemployment and improve everyone's standard of life. Devaluation last October was supposed to offer the certain solution, but after nine months all we had was a big fat nothing. The August figures did bend the trend a bit in our favour, but nowhere near enough, and it is quite obvious that something more needs to be done.

Harold Wilson has recently told us the simple answer. He has spelled it out loud and clear—import saving by means of home produced substitutes—and we all know Harold Wilson is right. He is absolutely right. Mind you, he very often is, but from the evidence we have had over the last two years we shall not get the desired results unless we provide selective import controls which should be of such a nature that there would be little or no risk of spoiling our export markets.

One of the simplest methods is to apply credit restriction to our importers. For a change let us have the credit squeeze right at the point where it can be effective in controlling imports and at the same time will not increase unemployment. Let our importers, or some of them at any rate, pay for their goods by prior deposits, cash with order and no messing, and the cash to be deposited in this country. This type of credit squeeze would undoubtedly give British industry a better chance to expand, with consequent reduction in the numbers of unemployed.

As a farmer, I firmly believe that another form of selective import control could be applied judiciously on food, fish products and timber. Imports of the agricultural commodities urgently need integrating and co-ordinating with production on our own farms and from our own fishing fleets. You would never believe some of the things that happen at the present time which, in the main, are heirlooms of principle and practice bequeathed to us by previous Tory Governments, perhaps deliberately, and which require immediate surgery.

For instance, this year we had a surplus of potatoes of rather more than half a million tons. Some of these have been fed to cattle and pigs, but much have been dumped either in the sea or in quarries or in any old hole in the ground, and the farmers have been fairly compensated, but here is the rub; whilst this has been happening we have actually imported foreign potatoes in one form or another to the value of nearly £15 million sterling.

Then there is the fishy story about fish;

we are now importing more fish and fish products than we catch ourselves, and here we are with 40 million acres of sea round this island within the 12 mile limit, exclusively ours, with some of the best fishing grounds in the world. Yet this year we shall be importing over 100 million pounds worth of fish, whilst our fishermen have been throwing fish back into the sea or sending it for cattle food. The whole thing stinks.

The Chairman: I think you have had your time.

Mr. Hoyle: Britain is a wide open market for any Tom, Dick or Harry who wants to bring his goods in, we are the dumping ground for the world. We actually buy half the world's food exports and there really is a crying need for selective import control.

The Chairman: Point of order.

Mr. A. Johnson (West Renfrewshire C.L.P.): I wish to put a point of order that No. 30 on the Composites has been heard, and No. 29 has been omitted. The difference is that No. 29 puts positive proposals in (a), (b) and (c), whereas No. 30 puts purely negative proposals from (a) to (h).

The Chairman: This is a matter for the Standing Orders Committee. Everybody wants everything called, they are doing their best, and I am afraid that I must ask you to consult them.

Mr. C. Lindsay (Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 35:

This Conference, recognising that low wages are a major source of poverty in this country, calls upon the Government to increase the living standard of the lower-paid worker. In particular Conference asks the Government:

- (a) *To introduce a statutory minimum wage;*
- (b) *to legislate a policy of equal pay for women;*
- (c) *to ensure that social and taxation policies are at all times designed to give effective assistance to low-paid workers; and*
- (d) *to investigate industries which have a high proportion of low wage earners.**

He said: Comrade Chairman, we are moving composite number 35 on a minimum earnings guarantee, a statutory minimum, because in recent years it has been estab-

**Resolution accepted. See page 154*

lished beyond doubt that low pay is a major cause of poverty in this country. To quote simply two figures, it is a fact that about 1¼ million adult male manual workers in this country are earning under £15 a week. It is also a fact that low pay is a major cause of family poverty in this country; according to the Ministry of Social Security's own statistics 125,000 families in this country in which the head of the family is at work receives an income, including family allowances, which is less than that family would be receiving under supplementary benefits allowances.

I think it is vital to get to the human realities behind these statistics, because the poverty from low pay means, for example, that a family cannot buy a good cut of meat; a family very often cannot take the kids out for a holiday, even in some cases they cannot take them out for an outing. It means economising on fuel, even when the family could well do with a fire. It means that Christmas time can become a cause for concern and anxiety because there just is not enough money to buy toys for the kids. It can mean that you cannot afford to buy new clothes. Go into any major industrial city in this country, go into the poor areas, have a look at the secondhand clothes shops. This is what poverty means, this is what low pay means.

Now, the solution is obviously a complex one, it involves a comprehensive strategy, it involves the shaping of social security further to meet the needs of low paid workers. Probably one of the best ways can be an increase in family allowances. It involves a more vigorous regional policy. It involves a host of things. But also it means strengthening the position of the low paid worker at his place of work.

Now of course this means work for the trade unions, the trade unions have a central role here. But it is not simply a job for the trade unions in our opinion, because the fact is that a very large proportion of these low paid workers are very, very poorly organised. The fact is that very many of them are in a very weak bargaining position, and probably because of technological change a larger number of them will be in an even weaker bargaining position.

This is why we are proposing a statutory minimum. I know, I think all of us concerned with this resolution are aware of a distrust for legislation on the part of trade unions. It has been suggested from time to time that we could have a negotiated minimum, but the fact is it appears to us that this just is not on. We do not believe that you are going to get the C.B.I. to agree to

any kind of decent minimum, and even if the C.B.I. agrees to it, it is highly unlikely, to say the least, that many of the firms in the industries concerned will agree to it, especially when they show a reluctance to give over any powers to their own industry employers' associations in this matter.

Therefore, we say that this minimum must be a statutory thing. It must be able to be enforced by law, there is no alternative. If you oppose this statutory minimum, then we say in effect that what you are doing is condemning to poverty the hundreds of thousands of people, the men, the women and their children who, because of low pay, are now the poorest section of this community.

We did not mention a specific figure in this resolution. We certainly believe, all of us, I think, that a £15 minimum is the very minimum which ought to be established. But we want primarily to assert the principle that we must have a statutory minimum earnings guarantee. This would make it possible to have a viable socialist economic policy, because you cannot have a viable, you cannot have a credible socialist economic policy which does not make as one of its first priorities the bettering of the situation of the lower paid workers.

It also means a major advance towards relieving serious poverty in this country. It cannot be emphasised too often that one of the worst sections of the poor in this country is those in employment, but receiving too low a wage to keep them above the supplementary benefits level. To pass this resolution and to implement it would also be to go a long way towards social justice, which the Labour Party and the Labour Government must stand for and which gives it its reason for existing.

Comrade Chairman, I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

Coun. W. A. Nicks (Bristol West C.L.P.): It gives me great pleasure, Madam Chairman, to second this resolution. The importance of this resolution from my point of view is that it is exclusively concerned with the poorest members of our community. Many of these people are people who are not well organised in trade unions and who are ill-represented, and as my colleague has said, in a difficult position when it comes to bargaining for improved working conditions and rates of pay.

It is for this reason that we in this Party and this Government must regard ourselves as their trade union. We must see that they

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do not go by default, and that their interests are looked after.

Also as part of this resolution, and of equal importance, are the questions of equal pay for women which I believe will be more fully debated later this week, and also the question of our tax and fiscal policies as they affect the low paid workers. It is something that is of concern to my party that the trend in recent fiscal policy has tended to change the emphasis from taxation on income to indirect taxation. I believe this has a very adverse effect on the lower paid member of the community. If you increase the cost of cigarettes by raising the tobacco duty, this affects everybody regardless of their income. I believe that from a socialist point of view this is morally wrong and unfair, and I will hope that future policy of the Chancellor will see a change in this drift of fiscal policy, because I believe it to be quite contrary to the basic principles of what this Party stands for.

Many of you will know from your own personal experiences of people who are faced with a dilemma when looking for employment. They go to the labour exchange and they are offered a job. They find out the rate of pay and they find that the pay they are offered for the job is less than they may already be receiving on social security supplementary payments.

The truth of the matter is that a man who wants to work, who longs to work, is faced with a problem—'If I work, if I take this job, I am going to be worse off than my present state of affairs'. This is a ridiculous situation. This is utter nonsense. I think it should be a cardinal principle of this Government's policy to put that right.

Our opponents will say, 'Ah, it is the lazy man seeking to sponge off the welfare state'. I say to you that is rubbish. The problem is low wages and not high social security benefits. It is about time that was recognised. (*Applause.*)

Some people will say that it is wrong for the Government to interfere this far in our wages and incomes policy. I say that if the justification of the prices and incomes policy is only this, it is to secure for the lower-paid workers protection against inflation and to look after their interests. That alone is justification enough for the prices and incomes policy.

Already there are other reasons. One is that, as I have already mentioned, persons on low incomes are very often in poorly organised industries as far as union representation is concerned, and these are the very people that are most liable to suffer from the evils of Powellite economic

philosophy. These are the people who suffer from gearing wages to the market trend, because if a man's skills are in demand the employers must pay him more. If they are not in demand and he is unskilled, the employers can afford not to increase his wages, because they know that there is a reserve of manpower available. These are just the evils of the Powellite philosophy that we must seek to protect people from.

There are already precedents for Government taking action in this way. We already have in existence the wages councils whose very reason for existence is to protect lower-paid workers. I say it is not an illogical thing to extend this and to set a statutory minimum income. You know, it is very difficult to evaluate a man's services to the community, but one thing I am quite sure about is that no man's services to the community are so low that they should be less than the levels laid down by the Ministry of Social Security. I beg to support. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I am having complaints sent up from the Conference that the noise from the talk among promenaders at the back is a serious interference. So please, if you want to talk will you go right outside.

We are now ready to start the general debate. The fellow who is in the hot seat, the fellow who has to do the additions—the sums—in the Government with every other Minister touting for more cash for his or her particular task, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We have got Roy Jenkins, Chancellor of the Exchequer, with us this morning. He has listened to everything that has been said, and he is here because your N.E.C., on your behalf, has invited him to come to the platform and to address you this morning. I am now calling upon Roy Jenkins, the fellow with the hard job as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Roy. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. Roy Jenkins, M.P. (Chancellor of the Exchequer): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, I am most grateful to the N.E.C. and to Conference for giving me this opportunity to talk to you this morning. I accepted the invitation without hesitation, not because I regard my task as an easy or an enviable one—far from it—but because I think it my duty as the Minister who now has the central responsibility for our economic policy to seize every opportunity of putting before the Party and the country the reasons for our economic policies, the hard reasons why there is no easy way out, and our hopes for the future, too.

I also regard it as entirely appropriate that this debate should be at the beginning of our proceedings. It must in present circumstances be the foundation of everything else. Unless we can succeed here, we can talk as much as we like about our other plans but it will not get us very far.

That certainly does not mean that a balance of payments surplus is what socialism is about. It is, of course, a means and not an end, but in present circumstances it is a means we cannot possibly do without. During the past five years, extending well back to before the Labour Government came to office, we have over-spent abroad by well over £2,000 million. Other countries have temporarily subsidised us to this extent.

They will not go on doing so, there is not the slightest reason why they should. We are still one of the richer countries in the world and we must and shall pay our way, move out of debt, rebuild our reserves, strengthen our position.

I do say to you, therefore, that it is not some malevolent quirk of international bankers which makes a balance of payments surplus necessary for this country, it is the hard facts of life.

Quite a lot of resolutions mention the need to get rid of the shackles of international finance. I think these shackles can be exaggerated. I am bound to say no international banker or any other banker has ever tried to lay down policy to me, but if you want to have less to do with bankers, if you want fewer I.M.F. visits here, the answer is straightforward: help us to get out of debt. (*Applause.*) It is no good urging independence and denying us the policies to that end.

There is another reason, Madam Chairman, why we need a big surplus and need it quick. We have lived for the past year in the most menacing international monetary situation for some decades; the dollar, the pound and the franc have all been weak at the same time, and this has meant a real threat to world trade. In these circumstances it is essential that we should be able to speak with sanity and authority in world monetary affairs. But you cannot do this from a position of perpetual deficit. You may be sane, but you will not be authoritative, because everybody will just think you want to borrow some more money to bail you out again. Therefore we have already made, in the last few weeks, substantial progress by the Basle arrangements to spread the burden of carrying the sterling balances, debts which were basically accumulated as long ago as the war.

I have long wanted to see some abatement of our reserve currency responsibilities.

In this, as in other fields, I thought we were trying to do too much. But we cannot just pull out, as some resolutions suggest, without making any arrangements as to what is to follow. If that had happened the whole somewhat ramshackle house of the international monetary system might have come crashing down. A lot of other countries, some rich some poor, would have been badly hurt in the process. But it is we who would have been at the bottom of the pile of rubble.

Nor do I find particularly reassuring Mr. Enoch Powell's suggestion the other day that if he were Chancellor of the Exchequer he would float the pound at 2.00 a.m. on the first morning—typical melodramatic touch that—without any prior arrangements about sterling balances. I think I see the Tiber foaming with much chaos. (*Applause.*) But chaos, of course, is what dangerous and irresponsible demagogues always want, even if they are ex-professors of Greek. (*Applause.*)

The Basle arrangement, on the contrary, Madam Chairman, has been an immensely worthwhile piece of rational, international co-operation, involving in total over 50 different countries. It has relieved us of an incubus of instability and it marks a major step towards freedom from the special, restrictive, no longer sensible liability of carrying alone on our too narrow shoulders a world reserve currency.

Basle, however, does not begin to free us from our own proper responsibilities. On the contrary, it makes it more than ever necessary that paying our way abroad should be our central and dominating short-term aim. The test for us now, whether we like it or not, is whether in the remainder of this Parliament we can cure this crucial weakness in Britain's economic performance.

The Government cannot be faulted on the priority it has given to building up the social services. You will remember the Prime Minister gave the figures last year, and very impressive figures they were. They are just as true this year. There have been vast increases since 1964 in public spending, on education, on housing, on health and pensions. We gave, and rightly gave, a high priority to the attack on public squalor. Nor, until devaluation, were we hard on private spending.

In 1967 wages, whether you take hourly rates or average weekly earnings, went up by just about 6 per cent. Now in that year, 1967, prices went up by only 2 per cent. In 1967, therefore, there was an approximate 4 per cent increase in real wages. The only trouble was we did not earn it. Production

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that year went up by only about 1 per cent. The balance came directly out of the foreign balance, out of the deficit abroad, paid for by others, by other countries, rich and poor, throughout the world.

But, Madam Chairman, neither the growth of social services, nor the increase in real wages, unaccompanied as they seemed to be by a solution to our central economic problem, brought us electoral popularity. On the contrary, the very year in which we had this big unearned increase in real wages saw the collapse of our support. Neither this growth, nor what we have done in the social services field, was held to our credit—I think mainly because people did not feel we were getting on top of the economic situation; did not see the balance of payments coming right; did not see sustained, secure economic growth; did not see a solution to the problem of sterling. And the conclusion I draw from this is that support will come back to us if, and only if, we achieve what was, after all, our main election plan, both in 1964 and 1966, and cure the fault which has restricted our economic growth throughout the whole post-war period.

The economic interests of the nation and the political interests of the Party are therefore at one. There would be nothing more foolish and pointless than to snatch at some short-term political advantage. The only thing which makes sense politically, and offers by far the best prospect of full political recovery, is to put the economy right, and to put it properly right. (*Applause.*) That means another 18 months of hard, difficult but ultimately rewarding effort.

Now, following devaluation we had to put through a three-pronged policy. Each part of that policy was difficult but necessary. They were all together necessary to get the swing-round to free the resources, for the £1,000 million swing-round in the balance of payments which we need. The first part of that policy was the public expenditure decisions of last January. By far the major decision here was that to come out of East of Suez by the end of 1971, the earliest practicable date. This, I think, was not merely a major decision but a historic decision because it begins to cut us free of one of the most crippling legacies of our past, the attempt to maintain great power status on the basis of a medium-power economy. (*Applause.*)

It means that, when this change has worked itself out, for the first time since the war we shall be carrying no heavier a defence burden than our main competitors in Europe and a lesser one than some. It

means that for the first time in the history of government in this country we shall be spending more on education than on defence. (*Applause.*) It concentrates that defence where it is most needed in Europe and it frees us in general from a fairly major economic albatross.

In my view, nothing in the whole Tory catalogue is more unconvincing than Mr. Heath's rash commitment to go back east of Suez. They talk almost endlessly about the need for public expenditure economy. To combine this talk of a demand for public expenditure economy with a rash promise of this sort is really the most nauseating hypocrisy. (*Applause.*) Either, if they had the chance, they would go back with forces so derisory as to be positively dangerous, or they would send defence spending through the roof.

But defence cuts, Madam Chairman, could not do the whole job. We had to moderate—not make absolute cuts but moderate—the growth in expenditure at home. I know that some of those changes were unwelcome to you and they were unwelcome to us too. Why, you may ask, could we not have got by without any cuts at all? Because the alternative would have been still higher taxes than I had to impose in the budget, and we have already heard this morning quite a lot of complaint about some of those taxes. We had last year, in spite of the cuts, an increase of 10 per cent in real terms in public expenditure. Since we came to power public expenditure has risen nearly four times as fast as the national income.

This has been the price that we have paid for that great increase in the social services, that great attack on public squalor. It has been a worth-while price, but it is not a process which can go on without limit; at least, it cannot go on without limit unless we seriously believe that people, ordinary people, our people, our supporters, are indifferent to how much tax they pay, and I do not believe that is the fact.

Even with these January cuts, the March increases which I had to impose were the biggest in our history in peace or war. They had to be imposed partly to pay for social service advance, but partly because this was an essential part of our strategy to free resources from consumption, to hold back consumption, in order to make the resources available for exports, for import saving and for extra investment. That was an essential part of our strategy. Everybody here knows that if you let home consumption try to battle with exports, it is always home consumption which wins. Therefore, if you are

to protect your export opportunities, you have to give the opportunity for all reasonable orders to be taken up and to go ahead. That is the task I had to do.

But if we had not made the restrictions on public expenditure, the tax task, already daunting enough, would have been still worse. As it was, I believe that it was possible, even in this monumental Budget, the biggest in peace or war, to combine fairness with not impairing incentives, with no increase in the direct tax on pay packets or other earned incomes. But on unearned incomes, let me remind you, there was a very different story, with a special charge, rising to 27s. 3d. in the £, on those with big unearned incomes, a charge without precedent since the days of Stafford Cripps' Budget in 1948. As a result of this, the Budget produced a small but measurable shift towards equality, in spite of all the other things which it had to do.

The third prong of our policy is the most difficult of the lot. It is the prices and incomes policy. We have heard a lot about this this morning, and Barbara Castle will, of course, reply primarily on this point this afternoon, but let me say a few words. None of us wants to keep on present restrictive legislation a moment longer than we have to. We are not masochists. But at a time like this, we just could not have done without it. A very rapid rate of wage increase, and there was every evidence on the 1967 precedent that it would have come, would have driven two gaping holes in our essential policy. It would have driven consumption up and thus helped to defeat the Budget. Even worse, it would have done severe damage to our competitive position.

When the adjustments are made, devaluation gives us a 9 per cent competitive edge. We need to cling to every bit of that. To throw it away before we had even got the surplus, and what would face us? To confess that devaluation had failed, to say that we were going on into mounting deficit or to say that we were going to attempt further deflation. The first—to go on with a mounting deficit—is impossible. The second—further deflation—is unacceptable.

Is there any other way out? I know, quite naturally, that lots of delegates would like to believe that there is, but does it really exist? There are two, I know, which are canvassed. There are import controls. We heard that from the delegate from Lincoln this morning. Let me assure you that it is not free trade dogmatism which has kept us away from these, but the real disadvantages, which are always minimised.

Let me tell you what some of the dis-

advantages are. First, contrary to what a lot of people believe, they would ease none of the need for hard policies at home—in fact, rather the contrary. Second, they would carry with them a real risk of retaliation against our exports—and a surge forward of our exports is the most valuable thing that we have at the present time. Third, there is no practical, worthwhile scheme which can be introduced without great administrative complexities and the threat of some disruption to essential supplies for industry at home, including export industries. And the fourth disadvantage is that they are not a real solution. They have to come off some time. They have to come off, unless we are going to contract right out of the world trading community, as soon as things begin to improve. Therefore, you are merely rolling the trouble forward, and that, I assure you, is not the sort of solution that we seek.

It is also suggested that by bringing back our overseas investment we could solve the whole problem. That sounds an easy way out, too, but it also has many difficulties and disadvantages. Our net overseas assets are positive, I am glad to say, but not very big, just about 4 per cent of our national income; and I think that that is a reasonable margin which we ought to keep.

But there is another point, too, here. Even though the plan, the idea, the theory, might be to bring them back to pay off debt, I have an awful feeling that, once they were brought back, some people would try and use them as an excuse for avoiding the hard decisions necessary to put our balance of payments right. (*Applause.*) That is a course which I reject utterly. There is, therefore, no easy way out, although there are plenty of false easy remedies. The only way we can succeed is by sticking with a consistent determination to the strategy we have set ourselves. And there are encouraging signs that the strategy is working.

The Budget is now producing the shift of resources we want. For the past eight weeks unemployment has shown a significant and welcome downward trend. This is not chance; there is a perfectly good rational explanation for it. The pause necessarily associated with the post-Budget change of gear from consumption to exports should now be over. We can certainly see exports forging ahead, and I believe they can gain further momentum. This is exactly what we want, a growing export drive drawing more people into employment, but we dare not let it happen the other way round by letting consumption rush ahead, and that is the only way we could do it faster. A boom which led us into mounting deficit

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would inevitably contain the seeds of its own destruction, and maybe this Party's destruction too.

This is also the answer to those who want faster growth. We are not stagnating, we are growing four times as fast as last year. Some people say why not six times as fast. I would like to grow as fast as we can, but this could only happen with consumption pulling us forward. We have for some time to ride the edge of a precipice, and if we are doing it at three times the previous rate without undue risk, this is not bad. We could not increase that rate at the present time without great risk of falling over with all the catastrophic consequences that would have.

The export performance reflected itself in the August trade figures. With invisibles, this was pretty near to balance. But even so, there is a long way to go. I hope the steady improvement will continue, but from month to month one cannot be sure. We must not watch every economic indicator too frenetically.

A few weeks ago Mr. Macleod tried to compare Government policy this summer with a yo-yo. The simile was completely misapplied. It is in fact the attitude of the Opposition and of some commentators which is yo-yo-like. The commentators see one figure and say everything is marvellous; they see another and say everything is disastrous. I want a little more steadiness both of judgement and of nerve.

As for the Opposition, Madam Chairman, in June they thought they were closing in for the kill and were prepared to inflict any damage on sterling and the British economy in order to achieve it. (*Applause.*) But by July, when things seemed to have improved, they ran away from the economic debate they had announced for the House of Commons. Then in August, rather like a sort of horizontal heavyweight who is always flexing his muscles when he is away from the ring, they said they wanted another fight. And now they are too preoccupied with their own leadership troubles to know what they want. (*Applause.*)

But we shall not be deflected by these oscillations. Our determination is to make a strong economy, to turn our backs on mounting international debt, to get off our shoulders the spectre of another balance of payments crisis which has been constantly ruining our hopes. You know as well as I do the need for this. It is not just the Government but the whole Party which waits anxiously for the signs that the policies are working and that we are getting through the tunnel. But it is no good waiting

anxiously if at the same time you try to deny us the only means by which we can get through.

If we succeed here, I believe the country will respond to success. But to ensure success the whole movement must lift its sights to the longer term, whether in the field of wages or prices or consumption. We must not just think of three months on its own, or six months on its own or even a year. So long as we do we shall stagger from crisis to crisis, cut back to cut back, and the immensely worthwhile results we all want to achieve and which have eluded us for so long will continue to elude us.

But until we get that success, we cannot achieve our other goals except by mortgaging the future. For success here is the key to a higher and more secure level of employment, the key to an easier relationship on wages policy between the trade union movement and the Government. It is the key to a steady and satisfactory rate of growth; and with such a steady and satisfactory rate of growth, but not without it, new horizons in social policy would open up.

We could avoid some of the restrictions which have been essential in the past year. We could end the squalor which still disfigures some sectors of our national life. We could give Britain a new sense of purpose both at home and abroad. All this demands that we stick to the policies to which we have set our hand. That, I believe is what the country wants from us: no veering, but consistency and determination. And that is what it will get. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Roy, for a brilliantly lucid statement of what it feels like to be the fellow in the 'hot seat', with the problems you have to face.

The Conference adjourned until 2.00 p.m.

MONDAY AFTERNOON

The Chairman: It is time now for us to resume the general debate. Anyone wishing to catch the Chairman's eye, now is your moment.

Mr. Peter Doig, M.P. (Transport and General Workers' Union): Madam Chairman, I would appeal to the delegates here to support Resolution 22. Prices and incomes legislation in practice has been a failure. It has been a failure, because prices have risen faster than they did before the legislation. I want to quote you a few examples of what has happened in the way of prices, and I may say each of these examples I have sent to the appropriate Cabinet Minister.

Bed and breakfast hotels in London, a 200 per cent increase in rental without any justification whatever. In my own constituency in Dundee, council shop rents—increases of 100 per cent, 200 per cent and 300 per cent in their rentals at one go. Corporation house rents up 20 per cent. Government house rents, S.S.H.A. rents, up 20 per cent. S.S.H.A. garage rents, up 25 per cent. And even football charges in Scotland, up 25 per cent. The domestic worker rate in Dundee, up 100 per cent. Insurance on cameras, up 100 per cent. These are only some examples which I have sent to the appropriate Cabinet Minister and asked that they be referred to the Prices and Incomes Board for investigation. Not one of these was so referred.

We find, however, that when our local bus crews in Dundee make an agreement with their employers, the Dundee Corporation, for an increase of 8 per cent—we find that the Minister says that this must be referred to the Prices and Incomes Board. It seems to me, therefore, that it is quite patently unfair.

I want to go a stage further. In the reply I received about the local busmen, this is what it said in the letter from the Minister: 'Dundee Corporation decided to implement their own agreement without seeking a clearance from my department. This agreement differs substantially from those which we have approved and does not involve, as you say, an increase of 7½ per cent but an increase of 7·8 per cent and 8·6 per cent on basic rates together with a bonus payment of over 5 per cent in exchange for productivity measures. I consider that the Government had no alternative but to refer this agreement to the Prices and Incomes Board for examination.'

At the Ministry's own maximum figure, this is an increase at the very maximum on their figures of 13·6 per cent, and they consider this a substantial amount. This is something which must be referred and yet they refuse to refer increases in prices in the region of 100, 200 and 300 per cent.

Of course, in the replies about the other ones that I received, to take an example, there were car parking charges, which is a most recent one. They say, you know, it was not exactly a 100 per cent increase, it was only 100 per cent increase on the first scale of charges up to four hours, after that it was only 66 per cent and after that again, after five hours, it was only 50 per cent, and over and above that only 40 per cent. But the lowest increase was 40 per cent. This is a firm which makes very substantial and rising profits; this is not a poor firm. This is a national firm making, as far as I

understand, record profits at the present time.

But they accept, in every one of these price increase cases, that it is justification for the increase if the firm can show increased costs, but they do not accept this from bus drivers or anyone else in the way of manual workers. Even if the bus drivers can show that their costs and what they have to pay in rent, what they pay for their car or their food or anything else have gone up they will not accept this as a reason for giving them a higher wage rate, nor even approving it, and it seems to me, therefore, it has not only been a failure but in fact it has been totally unfair. Therefore I would ask, as this resolution asks, that the Government should repeal this legislation.

Lord Cooper (National Union of General and Municipal Workers): I wish to confine the few moments I have to the resolution number 22 and say, right away, that our union are supporting it for very different reasons than those for which it is being supported by other unions, and this, of course, is the problem that faces conference. We are supporting it because all along we have consistently supported a T.U.C. policy.

I think what is important for the Labour movement is that if you are not going to agree to a legislative policy how are we going to solve this problem? I am quite satisfied that most people accept that an incomes policy of some form or another is necessary if we are going to have the kind of planned economy that we have advocated over the years.

The resolution is not clear because it talks about legislation which might interfere with the basic rights of trade unions. This, in our view, does not mean that legislation of some form or another cannot be considered even in regard to the trade unions; in fact, unless we are prepared to go this way we shall be left to the anarchy—as I describe it—that existed in the bulk of the post-war period.

On the T.U.C., of course, I would remind conference we agreed to legislation, we agreed to the declaration of intent, we agreed to the criteria, we agreed to the prices and incomes board, and we agreed to the legislation that was necessary to bring all that into being. But, of course, what happened? There were some unions who believed in anarchy, and it was the tail wagging the dog. In spite of legislation they threatened to break the legislation by legal action and, in my view, compelled the Government to introduce additional punitive

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legislation which most of us found very difficult to swallow indeed. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman, in her opening remarks, very properly set the whole tone for this conference. We should not forget we are going through a most difficult period of change, and it is difficult for us all to adapt ourselves.

But I want to say this about legislation. If it is going to be possible for a few men—a dozen men—because of the concentration of industry and line production and so on, to throw 5,000 out of work, than I want something doing about that. There is another instance of the tail wagging the dog. And it is not reasonable negotiation, it is very often blackmail created by this special industrial situation.

Therefore, whilst opposing legislation that interferes with the basic rights, let us not go away from this conference with the belief that some form of legislation or no form at all can be applied to the Trade Union movement.

Now what is the answer? Surely it is this, if a Trade Union movement, as a whole, tells the Government they do not want legislation, then it is time we agreed amongst ourselves as to how we can manage our own house. The great pity is, as everyone knows, that the T.U.C. is split; we are not marching forward in the T.U.C. as one army, and this is the great problem. If, therefore, we cannot grapple with it ourselves, then, as I see it, the Government are bound to do something about it.

I would like to just pick up in my closing comments, the remark of Frank Cousins, when he said we are the allies of Government. I wish it was true. We ought to be the allies of Government, and the sooner we start behaving as allies the better. (*Applause.*)

Mr. D. Hughes (Liverpool, Walton C.L.P.): Comrade Chairman, Comrades, I want to address my remarks specifically to the section we are debating in relation to the Prices and Incomes Policy.

We meet after a further 12 months' experience by the movement of what this policy means. The movement accepted the need for an incomes policy on the basis of an equalisation of income, and the lower paid worker would have a steady levelling up of his income and, therefore, his standard of living. What are the realities? The realities are that during this period of the Prices and Incomes policy 2,500 million pounds increased taxation has been taken from the wages and salary earners, and £1,500-million has been given in increased subsidy to big

business. We have to ask ourselves what it was all for.

The results of share capital investment were to give us the planning necessary. Once again, what is the reality? In fact, comrades, the 80 per cent of the economy in private hands—despite these massive subsidies I have already mentioned—accounted for only 50 per cent of the capital investment in this same period. The other 50 per cent came from the nationalised industries. So despite the tremendous amount of subsidy by us, and it is us, to big business, there has not been an equalisation of incomes but rather a widening gap between the capitalist class and the working class.

Last Friday, *The Times* reported quite clearly a 4½ per cent increase in average profits. There have not been many 4½ per cent increases in average wages.

This morning, Comrade Jenkins made reference to the suggestion that selective imports may solve the problem and rejected them. Comrades, I agree with Comrade Jenkins, I have no doubt he is very pleased. But I also say to Comrade Jenkins, in this situation let us be honest. When you talk about cuts in consumption, what you mean is cuts in the living standard of the working class of this country.

Comrades, we had a demonstration here of the miners. You know, this is the reality of our policies. This is the reality of the economic policies being pursued by the Government. We believe our Party must and, we hope, will reject the concept of a prices and incomes policy within a capitalist system. You know, the two will not meet; it is an impossibility. You cannot control what you do not own, you cannot plan what you do not control. Comrades, this is a fundamental lesson for all of us. (*Applause.*)

You know, you think that private capitalists would be grateful for the amount; but you know, Comrades, they are not very grateful. They have used the measures that our Government have put into operation to discredit the name of socialism and in fact used some of the loot they have gained to subsidise the Tory Party.

Where are our priorities, Comrades? It is only by returning to the ideas based upon the constitution of our movement, it is only by building an economy based upon the Clause 4 aspect of our policy and constitution that you can hope to plan.

I end with these words, Comrades. You cannot plan what you do not control and you cannot control what you do not own. Equally, I would say to those delegates who are at this stage wondering which way to vote that they should support the Transport

and General Workers' Union in its opposition to the prices and incomes legislation. Thank you, Comrades. (*Applause.*)

Mr. T. Jackson (Union of Post Office Workers): First let me say, Chairman, how grateful we are for the opportunity to speak in this debate, for the Union of Post Office Workers believes that an incomes policy has a vital part to play if real wages are to increase and if we are to have economic expansion without inflation, and if the weakest are not to go to the wall.

We are, however, violently opposed to the present legislation on wages for two main reasons. These are, first that legislation creates an inflexibility, which is the hallmark of bad industrial relations, and secondly the effect which legislation has upon the need for a real incomes policy.

Before I deal with these points, however, let me say that the Union of Post Office Workers does not believe that the penal clauses are worth discussing. The operation of this clause would create more problems for the Government than it solved, and in any case we do not believe that the Government dare to implement them. Sooner or later their bluff will be called and the penal clauses will be seen for what they really are, which is a hollow sham designed to placate those who have no common cause with the Labour Government but who seek to destroy free trade unionism in Britain.

Let me, then, turn to the first reason why our union is opposed to legislation. Legislation makes wages bargaining inflexible, and this is to the detriment of the nation as a whole. We in the Union of Post Office Workers have always been subjected to Government policy as far as our wages are concerned. Yet those with whom we bargain had always a degree of flexibility which allowed eventual final agreement to be reached. Now, however, wages bargaining is beset with outside influences. There is an absent party at the negotiating table. We are not afraid of exposing our arguments to critical discussion and analysis, but now we never see, or get to argue with, those who make the final decision, and we say that no committee or external advisory body can be expected to know and to understand what is in the long-term interests of a particular industry; to know and understand the nuances of a particular situation.

We have a second reason, and that is that we believe there is an urgent need for a real incomes policy. We believe that given time the T.U.C. will be able to develop such a policy. We are certain that legislation merely gives an excuse to those who want to see the

T.U.C. voluntary scheme abandoned. It has transferred the whole emphasis of the debate which was taking place on incomes policy from that which could be real and permanent to that which is unreal and which is temporary. It is a self-inflicted wound which is destroying the healthy relationships which ought to exist between the two wings of this movement.

It is imperative that the Government should realise that it has made both sour and bitter the way many trade unionists feel about the Government which we helped to elect, and for many it is only the remembrance of what was and the hope of what still might be that helps to sustain our current loyalty.

We in the U.P.W. believe that when the historian looks at wages legislation it will be seen to have been irrelevant in its effect upon the economic life of this country, and yet extremely damaging to the Labour Party, the trade unions and the political life in this country, and it is for these twin reasons that the Union of Post Office Workers supports the T. and G. motion. (*Applause.*)

Mr. H. Scanlon (Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers): Five minutes is not a long time to deal with this subject. Certainly every rank and file member of the Trade Union movement, and most of the members of this great Party, completely reject the whole conception of the present prices and incomes policy. They also know that every defeat at the by-elections, our loss of municipal seats, the general air of frustration, and all the so-called despondency, is attributable, as no other single piece of our activities is attributable, to this question of the legislation attached to the Act.

We reject the philosophy which suggests that Britain's undoubted economic ills stem from the fact that our workers are overpaid or lazy. (*Applause.*) We would support a policy which really aims at redistributing the nation's wealth, which redistributes it from those who live by owning to those who by hand or by brain, manual, technical, administrative or supervisory, make a useful contribution to society.

In a few short days this country will face its greatest, its gravest, industrial crisis. After 12 months of negotiations, during which we have tried persuasion, argument and logic, all to no avail, we are now faced with using the only ultimate weapon left to us, and that is to use our industrial strength.

But what sort of socialist thinking is it that allows and perpetuates a labourer in the most prosperous industry in Britain to try and exist, let alone live, on a wage of

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£10 17s. with very little opportunity at all of improving above that figure (*applause*), that allows and perpetuates our women members even with piecework being unable to reach that figure, which allows and perpetuates a situation where a skilled man, having served five years at his trade, having gone to night school and day courses the better to master the growing techniques, if he has to live, without piecework and overtime, on a rate of £12 17s.?

Can I say this to Barbara: the conditions that are being asked and attached to the very meagre offers of improvement make her productivity deals look like an offering at a harvest festival. If to perpetuate these things is the aim of the so-called intelligentsia of our party, then they are adding stimulus to the idea that an intellectual is one who is educated above his intelligence, and the sooner we recognise these things the better it will be for all of us. (*Applause.*)

Employers, with certain notable exceptions, never needed any encouragement to say no. The only reason in our case why we continue in these difficulties is the solace and support that they receive from the Government and from this iniquitous Act. We ask this Conference to reject the whole conception, to get rid of it before it gets rid of us. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. Douglas Jay (*ex-officio* M.P., Battersea North): Madam Chairman, I hope it is not too unfashionable at this Conference to say I think we should give the Government credit at least for those things for which it can justifiably claim it. I do not think we can reasonably blame the Chancellor for introducing a tough budget which was clearly necessary, and I do not think we can blame them for at least attempting some control of incomes and prices, without which the whole advantage of devaluation would be thrown away. Do not let us forget that this year the Chancellor has introduced statutory dividend limitation in this country for the first time in British history, and also a special supertax on unearned incomes. I hope myself that he will keep up this good work and we shall have more measures of this kind in future budgets.

We are now, I understand, promised a more regular wealth tax, but I do ask why we should have to wait for that, apparently, until after the general election. Surely we are in power now and could have some of these measures immediately.

I also ask why, if we are going to move towards a more progressive tax system, are we simultaneously still trying to join the

Common Market, which would impose on us a much more reactionary tax system, with the main tax burden falling on the consumers and the wage earners? Even for a government as skilfully led as this one, it is a bit difficult to move purposefully in two opposite directions at the same time.

I am fascinated and encouraged to find that the N.E.C. in its new declaration of intent, called Progress and Change, this year makes no reference to the Common Market whatever. I regard that as both change and progress. (*Applause.*) I would like to be sure, however, that it was left out on purpose and not by mistake. I hope this omission means that this obsession is now being abandoned and it certainly would increase confidence in the sincerity of all the other things the Government says and the sort of thing we heard from Roy this morning if it would now abandon the discredited attempt to join the E.E.C., which would in fact ruin our progressive tax system and make it impossible to solve our balance of payments difficulties at all.

A year ago we were told we could solve all these economic difficulties by joining the E.E.C., but just lately one member of the Cabinet has said that there is not any economic case for joining at all, and that there never was, but that is all a matter of what he called politics and psychology. I would regard that as change and progress also. Next year I really do not know what we will be told on this particular front, but I do think it really is time that we all admitted, whatever our views about this issue have been in the past, that the attempt to join the E.E.C. is just not a practical one and that it is not going to come off in the foreseeable future. Indeed, there is nobody in Europe now outside the British Foreign Office who believes that it is the least bit possible or likely.

It seems to me that if we really are going to achieve full solvency and recovery, which is what Roy spoke of, we need much more than just tough budgets and unpopular incomes policies. We need an international policy which will keep our cost of living and above all our food prices down and not push them up. Then you may gain control of your incomes policy. We need a steadily widening market for our exports all over the world and not just one corner of it. Therefore I believe that the right policy for the Government now is to admit the gross mistake we made in this Common Market application and invite all nations who are willing, particularly the E.F.T.A. and Commonwealth nations to aim at forming a free trade group

of countries with no supranational institutions that would take our tax policy out of our own hands, which was free for all to join and with special privileges for the undeveloped countries.

I say finally, Madam Chairman, if we could do something on those lines I think it would show that the British Labour Government still had some vigour and some vision and a great many people in this country would be heartily thankful to see some positive action which would enhance the reputation of this Labour Government and of this country in the world. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Ashton (Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Bassetlaw): I do not know why it is, Madam Chairman, but whenever there is a by-election in a Labour-held seat we seem to have a pit closure, and last Thursday was no exception when Firbeck Colliery announced it was to close. But what the people in Bassetlaw cannot understand is why less than a year ago three or four hundred miners from the north-east and Scotland were brought down into the area, why extra houses had to be built for them which ruined the existing rent structure, and resulted in big rent increases. It is this sort of bewilderment that we are trying to appease in people's minds when we go round on the doorsteps.

The average Labour voter is not against planning. He realises we have got to have the right men in the right jobs, but what he cannot understand is why it always seems to be him who has to bear the cost and not the Arnold Weinstocks and shareholders and other people who organise these things. He accepts it is a case of the right man for the right job, but he queries the question of the right timing of this. Sometimes it seems the timing is decided not by the Government but by the state of the Stock Exchange and the existing market.

Of course it is impossible to plan economically without affecting people's lives and without affecting people's jobs, but to expect people to accept this when the amount of workers' participation and workers' control we have today is almost non-existent is just beyond what people are going to stand for.

Our policies with regard to development areas, redundancy payments and unemployment benefits are first rate, but basically they are a bribery. They are an inducement for people to accept change.

There does not seem to be any sort of firm, responsible control. If these policies do not succeed—and there are signs in a lot of areas that they are not succeeding—we are entitled to ask for more definite Government control.

Everybody accepts what Roy Jenkins said this morning about the Government's answer to the problems of productivity, but you cannot get productivity if the man in the pit or the man on the shop floor thinks that he will be out of work next week because (a) he is doing it too fast or (b) he is making too much profit and somebody will step in and pinch the factory.

When we go round the doorsteps at Bassetlaw, we find that there is still solid, fundamental support and faith for the Labour Party. They will still vote for us and support us in the by-election—they have told us this—but, for God's sake, we want it to be a vote from understanding and not a vote just from faith. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to wish our standard bearer every success. If any of you with cars, or any of you, want to do a bit of canvassing, you have had a very good look at him now and you know where to report.

Mrs. Judith Hart (*ex-officio* M.P., Lanark): I come in at this stage because I want to refer back to an extremely well moved resolution this morning, the one which was moved by Roxburgh on the question of a minimum wage and the needs of the lower-paid workers. I do so because, as Minister of Social Security, we have to have clearly an integrated, combined economic and social approach to the problem of poverty in our time. Therefore, it is good that the Labour movement is discussing how next it can move forward to deal adequately with the problem of the lower paid in our society.

Therefore, I want to draw attention, if I may, to the nature of the problem of the poverty that results in part from the fact that we have in our economy today some whose wages are, as the delegate from Roxburgh quite rightly pointed out, below the level which the State now guarantees in social security benefit.

He said this morning, and his seconder said, that we must not allow pressures from those outside our movement to seek to persuade us that we have not been absolutely right in raising the standard of social security benefits in order that those who are old, who are sick, who are unemployed may be lifted out of poverty. This is one of the prides of this Labour Government that in our social security provision we have achieved a lifting of the level of those for whom we need to feel sympathy and compassion, and we must continue to be proud of that and to move even further.

We nevertheless have the situation in which there are those who are in work, living on low incomes with family responsibilities, who have now fallen behind the standard that the State has set. What is the answer? Of course, the answer must lie partly in economic policy. Of course, the answer lies partly in every higher percentage increase within incomes policy that is achieved for the lower-paid worker. And, of course, it is the case that one welcomes the concern of the trade union movement itself to achieve for the lower-paid worker, within incomes policy at present, a higher percentage share in the wage increases that are achieved.

But, equally, it is true that the poverty gap must be filled also by this Government's efforts in the direction of lifting the social wage. This is the aspect which really brings me to my feet, because it has not been mentioned enough in the debate so far.

When, for example, the Labour Government, as it has done, increases family allowances in a new way by combining them with tax adjustments in order that the lower-paid, with family responsibilities can have extra income, this is a direct and terribly important contribution to the problem of the low-wage earner.

Indeed, let me give you the figures of it. A man with £12 a week, with four children, not an exceptionally large family—we are not talking here about the very large families that the Tory Press has a lot to say about; we are talking about the average family, the family about whom Beveridge said so many years ago, but he would still be right if he were saying it today, that you get a poverty gap in family responsibilities out of kilter with wage levels. For that man on £12 a week, with four children, we have by the increases in family allowances increased his standard of living by between 10 and 12 per cent. For the man with three children, a lower-paid man, we have increased his standard of living in this last year by 8 per cent. You have to add that social wage to the actual earnings that the man is achieving.

But there is, of course, a third element in the strategy to end poverty, and this is the one with which the research in my Ministry is now so deeply concerned: that is, looking at the particular problems of minority groups—men, for example, who are partly disabled, who have a weak heart or chronic ulcer and whose ability to earn will continually be limited by incapacity. This is a third strand of the strategy to end poverty in this country.

But, comrades, I end by saying this. When you discuss this question of the lower-paid, whether in terms of the social wage or of the

need of the lower-paid for the emphasis that the Government have given within an incomes policy upon their need, you are discussing the basic question that faces our movement. You are discussing the question of a fair distribution of wealth and of greater equality. There can be no more important subject for us to discuss, because, if we in the Labour movement do not find the answer, there is nobody else in this country who can. (Applause.)

Mr. J. Brooks (Cardiff South-East C.L.P.): My constituency party passed a resolution condemning the statutory restrictions on wages. We agreed to withdraw this resolution in favour of Resolution No. 22, and I would appeal to all the delegates here to support this resolution.

My constituency party moved this resolution on two grounds: first, that the policy would prove to be of dubious economic benefit; and secondly, that if the Government persisted in it, it would drive a wedge between the industrial and political wings of this movement.

Despite Roy Jenkins's clinically brilliant speech on the economic situation this morning, he said nothing which persuaded me—or you, I am sure—that the Government's restriction on the Trade Union movement and their methods of carrying out the traditional wage bargaining procedures had had any effect whatsoever on the economic situation of this country.

The second part of our resolution had to do with, as I said, the relationship between the industrial and political wings of this movement.

I address my remarks now not to the trade union delegations here or to the majority of the constituency parties, who, I know, will support the resolution. My remarks are addressed to members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and particularly the 1964 and 1966 intake. It seems to me that some of these young professional people who came into Parliament at that time just do not understand the facts of life.

If you look at *The Times* of yesterday, it had an article which had to do with the situation in some of our constituency parties. The situation there was described which is indicative of the attitude of some of our younger Members of Parliament. It says that when the trade unionists attack the incomes policy, they encounter stern opposition from the young lecturers from Leeds University. 'Yes, we support the incomes policy in general,' said Mrs. Grine; 'you see, I do not suppose it affects us as much as it affects

some of the others.' She supports the incomes policy.

Madam Chairman, all our constituency parties have been given a Dictionary of Achievements. We are told to go into the factories, on to the building sites and into the wards and constituencies and laud the achievements of the Government. Certainly much of the information contained here we can use, but a lot of it, particularly that which relates to incomes, is absolute nonsense.

There is a section here which has to do with the Companies Act which says that firms of the private sector are now more open to public scrutiny; for example, how much they pay their top men. They may know what they are paying their top men, but they are not doing anything about it, and *The Times*, of all papers, reports that the drafting of the Companies Act, 1967 has let a coach and horses go through, in particular on the subject of direct share holdings and pay, and then it reports that the G.E.C. chairman had been given a 100 per cent salary increase. This policy was not sold to us to solve the balance of payments problem, it was sold to us on the grounds that it would be fair, but it is demonstrably unfair, and I would ask all delegates here to support resolution number 22. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Michael Foot (*ex-officio* M.P., Ebbw Vale): Madam Chairman, I should like to try and reply, if I can, to the speech which Roy Jenkins made this morning, and certainly it was a speech that deserved a reply. 'Help us to make this country independent, help us to pay our debts,' he said.

Some of us have been seeking to help the Government in that purpose for quite a long time. Some of us proposed four years ago that we should make the decision to withdraw East of Suez which was made in January, 1968. (*Applause.*) And if we had made that decision when the left of the Party was proposing it, the country's position and our debt situation would be very much better today.

Some of us on the left of the Party said for years, particularly after the experience of 1964 and 1965, that it was madness that this Government and this country should continue to be crucified on the old parity rate, but we are told that was a gimmick by Jim Callaghan last year. Now it has become a major implement in the Government's export policy. (*Applause.*)

The best way, and the best Socialist way to pay this country's debts, to make us independent, is to plan for full national

production, and we are not doing that now. The deliberate policy of the Government is not to plan for full national production, and that is why the unemployment figures stand up at the high total they do at the present time. This winter this country is not going to plan for full production under their present policies, under Roy Jenkins's own Budget.

I say, as a socialist, and as I believe everybody in this Movement would say, we are not prepared to tolerate the scourge of unemployment at the rate we have had it over these years. (*Applause.*) We are not prepared to tolerate it for socialist reasons and for economic reasons, and particularly when we see that some of the fiercest burden of that unemployment falls on the areas that have to bear the heaviest burden of industrial change at the same time. That is why you had the demonstration from the miners this morning. So as long as the Government is not planning for full production, do not let them tell us that they are carrying out a socialist policy.

Of course, there are some people who are against full employment, against planning for full production, some people who openly say they want a large margin of unused resources. Those are the words of the Governor of the Bank of England, never repudiated by Jim Callaghan, never repudiated by the members of the Government. (*Applause.*) This is one of what Roy Jenkins called the malevolent, what some people might call the benevolent, quirks of the bankers, and some of us might use less delicate language. The banks do not believe in full employment, and the people who have lent us the money do not believe in full employment as their policy. The remarkable fact is that those people who do not believe in the policy still give approval to the financial policy that the Government is operating.

Governments must choose. That is what Barbara keeps telling us, quite rightly. They must choose between an old orthodox deflationary policy and an updated, full employment, socialist policy. This is what the Government has to choose about, and so far it has made the wrong choice. Do not let them tell us that there is no other choice. Let them read the document produced by the T.U.C., one of the finest documents ever presented to the British Labour Movement. (*Applause.*) A document which sets out the alternative policy. Some of the alternative figures were rejected by Roy Jenkins from the platform today, but because they were rejected from the platform today it does not mean to say they will not be the official

policy next year because we have seen that several times before. (*Applause.*)

One thing Roy Jenkins is certainly right about is that the debates we have today, here this morning and this afternoon, govern the rest. What we do about economic policy governs all the rest. All the humiliations and indignities that we have had to suffer during these years—the prescription charges, the cuts in school milk, the compulsory wages policy in defiance of all the pledges we were given—all these things derive from the Government's apparent settled determination to pursue that old, orthodox, conservative, financial policy. And it would not be any good at all voting for the conservative financial policy at the beginning of the week and hoping we could put it all right at the end.

Remove the heart on Monday and they will give you a new one on Wednesday. (*Applause.*) It would not be the best way of doing it, even though the surgical operation may be conducted by the steady hand of George Brown. (*Laughter.*)

Anyhow, do not let anybody imagine that you can rebuild the fortunes of the socialist movement in this country without adopting and applying and putting into practice the socialist policy on which we were elected. That is what we have to vote about today. That is what this Conference is about. If you vote for the conservative policies today, you will not get the changes that you want; even if you vote against them you may not get them, but we shall have to look out for this as well.

What we have to do is to use this Conference as one of the great instruments for persuading our movement to readopt the socialist policies on which we were elected, the socialist policies which can most quickly make this country independent, the socialist policies which can reinvigorate our movement and enable us to win the next election instead of submitting to defeatism which is all around us at the present time. I say we can break out of it, but we will only break out of it if we have faith in our own principles, not in the principles of Edward Heath. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Mr. Alex Lyon (*ex-officio* M.P., York): Madam Chairman, it is of course the privilege of any member of this Party to follow Michael Foot to the rostrum; it is a privilege but a very great liability. We in the Parliamentary Party have on occasion shared criticism of our own Government. There have been times, rare ones indeed, when Michael and I have been in the same lobby together, but we have one freedom that is denied to those who are members of the Parliamen-

tary Labour Party, fellow socialists and members of this Party who carry for us the real burdens of office in Government. We have the freedom of the back benches to criticise without ever having to carry the responsibility for our decisions. (*Applause.*)

It is the easiest thing in the world to criticise when tomorrow you do not have to pick up the consequences of your criticism. This is the real test for this movement. Can it at this stage in our economic developments, when those who are members of the Party and as convinced Socialists as any of us here, have to deal with the real difficulties of that economic situation, can we, in trust and in faith, allow them to do the job, or are we going to cripple them at this decisive moment?

I listened to Frank Cousins this morning come with his usual assurance to this rostrum and tell us about his Achilles heel. He was concerned that we might be confused that there was in this battle between employer and employee, there might be said to be a third Party, unnamed, undefined, no one knew who he was until we got that Comrade who came from Dorset South to move the next resolution.

He claimed that he was inarticulate, Brother you spoke so eloquently. You said what millions of people in this country know deep in their hearts, who are not members of Union delegations, not Members of Parliament, not members of Government, that in the free-for-all that has gone on for years it is the consumer, it is the old age pensioner, it is the person on fixed incomes who has been defenceless and who has reaped the whirlwind.

When you talk about there still being people on low wages—damn it—we have to see by every means in our power that this is put behind us. Anybody would think it had never happened before the Labour Government introduced a Prices and Incomes Act, anybody would think that there never were disparities, there never were injustices before we passed the Prices and Incomes Act.

So I come to the speech that I really think does need answering, the speech that was delivered so ably by the delegate from the Union of Post Office Workers.

He says, 'Yes, we want a prices and incomes policy. Yes, we believe that it is necessary, but we do not believe that it can be helped by legislation.' Well, who is kidding whom? Do you really believe that if there had been no legislation, if there had been no longstop position, which the Government could have insisted upon, that we would have got as far in implementing a Prices and Incomes policy as we have?

The Prices and Incomes policy, it has been said, is a total failure. It is not a total failure at all. Every negotiation now which goes on in industry has to take account of increased productivity, and the role of the lower paid worker. Now that is an enormous step forward on the position which obtained before we began to implement a prices and incomes policy. The prices and incomes policy has coloured all negotiations, and it will colour all negotiations in the future. This is the priceless asset that we have in fact obtained, and we only obtained it because in the final analysis there was the power in the Government, if need be, to hold the ring.

That is all it does. All that this famed legislation does is to delay the matter for three months, not to bring the Government actually into the negotiations, but to hold the ring for a little while longer. As a result, Comrades, we have made an advance. Now you want to throw it all away so that the Tories can come back with the only alternative possible, and that is unemployment at levels you never even dreamed of.

The Chairman: I am sorry to have to disappoint many of you, but I will now have to call on Barbara to reply as time is moving on, we have five votes to take and a great deal more business pressing on us.

Rt. Hon. Frank Cousins (Transport and General Workers' Union): Madam Chairman, on a point of order, I am not quarrelling with you when you terminate the debate, but I would be interested to know whether those of us who moved resolutions will get an opportunity to reply to some of the comments made.

The Chairman: Frank, you know it has not been the practice of our Labour Party conference, for a purely physical reason, to do this. If everyone who moved had the right of reply it would cut out so many other delegates and I have no choice but to call on Barbara now to reply. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Cousins: Could I say that, of course, I accept your ruling, but we could have saved time by not having two Ministers in one debate.

The Chairman: I will now call on our one and only Barbara, a regiment in herself.

Rt. Hon. Barbara Castle, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and comrades, I gather from today's Press that no-one is under any illusions about the toughness of the job I have to do this after-

noon. And indeed, after this debate no-one could have been left in any doubt about the passionate feelings and the passionate divisions that there are on this question.

I just want to say this: one paper this morning carried the headline, 'Jennie saves Barbara'. You know, it is not a question of saving Barbara, or any other members of the executive or any member of the Government. What we are debating today is how to save our movement from tearing itself apart. And so I hope you will be patient with me if I try and do justice to the innumerable points that have been raised in the debate.

Now, listening to the debate and to all the speeches, I have been trying to disentangle the threads of the argument. Take the support for Composite 22; we had Frank first of all explaining that his composite had only to do with legislation, and he said, nothing to do with the argument as to whether we need a prices and incomes policy. Jack Cooper came along, and said his union would support it, yet believed that we must have a prices and incomes policy. But finally we had Hughie Scanlon coming along, rejecting the whole philosophy of what the Government was trying to do.

Now Danny McGarvey said he hoped he would not have any double talk from Barbara. May I, with all respect, say in reply, Danny, that I hope we are going to get rid of some of the double thinking in this movement of ours. Because, you know, if the Government is to have a meaningful dialogue with the trade unions, we have really got to get clearer than we have at the present time just what policy it is that the vast majority of trade unionists want us to pursue, and quite frankly I do not think this has emerged clearly from today's debate.

Now, do we or do we not stand by the economic analysis and the economic aims that underlay the declaration of intent? I gather from what Frank said that that had been discarded.

Yet he said he wanted a prices and incomes policy. There was a three-pronged aim in that declaration of intent. Its purpose was to get a policy which would safeguard real wages by keeping rises in incomes in line with output through a vigorous drive for increased productivity.

Is Conference saying that it wants to repudiate those aims, that it wants to repudiate any attempt to set up a machinery to achieve those aims? Or is it merely saying: 'Look, you have had your chance. You have not achieved them, and your prices and incomes policy is responsible'?

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We have been told this afternoon that it is the prices and incomes policy of the Government that has cost us support throughout the country, that has led to a wave of unpopularity, that is going to lose us the next election. Frankly, you know, comrades, I do not believe it. I believe we are having a difficult time in the country because we have to remind the country and force it to face up to the hard, harsh economic facts which the Chancellor spoke of today.

Why did we adopt the prices and incomes policy in the first place? I really do think we ought to put our minds back to this. They were fresh in our minds after the election of 1964. I should think so, because we fought the election on them. We adopted this policy because for years under the Tories this country was falling behind industrially. This country was investing its surplus wealth overseas instead of in its own industries. This country was getting a diminishing share of world trade.

And yet we were at the top, or nearly at the top, of one league. We were consuming more of our national production—66 per cent—than any of our major competitors. There was one simple and straightforward result of that, comrades, that we have all been kicking against today and we will go on doing so throughout the whole of the Conference. The result was that this country was lending long and borrowing short to give ourselves a standard of life that we had not earned. I really would say, you know, to those who hate our dependence on foreign bankers that there is one simple way out of it: we had better stop borrowing money from them.

But, you know, delegates complain 'All right,' they say, 'we accept your facts, but your policy has failed.' Let us have a look at which of the three elements, and they all go together, has gone wrong. Prices, incomes, or production? If we do have a cold, hard, objective look, we find something that I have not heard any recognition of in this hall today. We find that real wages have advanced every year since this Government came into power. (*Applause.*) There is no disputing that, comrades. There is no disputing either that it is production that has lagged behind.

The Transport and General Workers' Union in its resolution complains that it is prices and incomes policy that has hindered economic expansion. We had that wonderful rhetorical display from Michael. He wants us to have a plan. He saw the need to have it. Was it prices and incomes policy that hindered economic expansion in our first 12 months?

The first Prices and Incomes Act had not been passed then and unemployment was running at 1.3 per cent. That was a perfect setting for what you said you want to achieve. What happened then? In the first 12 months of the 1964 Government, from October, 1964 to October, 1965, the hourly wage rate index rose by 7.3 per cent and the retail price index by very, very much less. In other words, we paid ourselves in wages and salaries an increase of £1,300 million, whereas we earned by increased production only £600 million.

That was before any interference by prices and incomes policy and that led directly to the July crisis, comrades. Michael might argue: 'Oh, yes, the planning takes a little time.' Of course it does. Any policy takes a little time. We had not got any time. We had only got a load of debts.

I can understand those who say we should have devalued instead of deflating in 1966, but what I cannot understand is that they now refuse to face up to the consequences of the devaluation for which they asked.

Frank said that the Prices and Incomes Board itself had shown up the irrelevance of the prices and incomes policy because it calculated that it had had only a 1 per cent effect in holding down wages and prices. But, you know, the Prices and Incomes Board did not say that because of that the policy was not worth while.

After all, how rich are we? How airy can you get? Because even 1 per cent, you know, makes a difference of £200 million on our costs, which is crucial in a period of the kind of difficulty which we knew in October, 1964, we had inherited. And the Prices and Incomes Board said this—if you are going to quote one bit, quote another—'We are faced with the paradoxical position that the act of devaluation makes a prices and incomes policy more necessary than before, while also making its execution more difficult.'

Now why is it so important to the success of the devaluation era? Because again, as the board points out, there is not any other way of acting directly on costs.

Sometimes speakers in the debate—I heard it in the T.U.C., I listened very attentively to the debate there—object to being asked for their alternative. Frank did have the courage to produce an alternative. He said he would rather have a taxation increase than have the prices and incomes policy. But, of course, that really would not get to the heart of the matter because no method of taxation or monetary management can restore export competitiveness; all it can do is create unemployment by reducing

demand, and it is only by a direct influence on unit costs that we can retain the export competitiveness that we have endured devaluation to achieve.

Do not let us run away from it. We face the consequences, so let us face the facts. This is where we have been failing. According to the figures published by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research wage costs per unit of output fell in France, Germany and Italy between April, 1964, and April, 1967, and in the United States they rose 5 per cent. In this country they rose 11 per cent, and this is the sort of basic industrial problem to which the Government is facing up.

We have heard a lot today that perhaps you would tolerate the policy if it was only succeeding on the prices side, but, you know, as the figures I have given show, faced with the inflationary pressure of the last few years, the success of our prices policy has been nothing short of miraculous, and it has been achieved by hard slogging, often unsung, work by the Prices and Incomes Board and by my colleagues in the Government.

I would like to say to the mover of Resolution 23, we like your resolution and I ask conference to accept it, but with one reservation: it really is not possible to re-establish the price regulation committees of World War Two.

We cannot have the detailed control of prices that you can have in war-time for the simple reason we have not got rationing; we have not got utility schemes, we have not got the detailed controls over production and over quality.

But this does not mean to say we are impotent in this field. Since the Prices and Incomes Board was set up it has handled no less than 48 price references, where in a number of cases most of you probably never realised, reference has been followed by agreement to defer or reduce the proposed increases, including gas, the bulk supply of electricity, bread, flour, cement, newspapers, some domestic appliances.

And are we to get no thanks from this audience for the fact that the price of beer has been stabilised in the past two and a half years? (*Laughter.*) You would not have had that, comrades, without the early warning system. You would not have had that without the detailed discussions and negotiations that have been going on in the Government.

My colleague, the Minister of Agriculture, will be announcing this afternoon—and I have no doubt this will secure us the vote that we want—that as a result of long discussions he has been having with the

brewers it has been agreed that 90 per cent of public bar beer prices are going to be stabilised for another 12 months. (*Applause.*)

But, you know, these references constitute only a tiny fraction of the cases that have been dealt with administratively. Since July, 1967, nearly 1,000 proposals for price increases have been dealt with by Government Departments, of which over a fifth had been rejected or modified in the light of prices and incomes policy. And do not forget this: manufacturers are very careful now not to put propositions to us which they know will not pass our detailed scrutiny.

But the main tenor of complaint has been the extent to which prices have gone up in the past few months. Of course they have. What else do you think devaluation does? We have never hidden the fact that this year prices would go up by 5 per cent as a result of the increase in import prices and the Budget increases on purchase tax which, may I remind you, were very carefully tailored by the Chancellor to fall on the less essential goods.

But what we did say, and this is not only what I said but what the Chancellor said—there is no division of policy here—was that we would wage relentless war on unjustified increases. Have we succeeded? Judge for yourselves. Since devaluation, November last year to August this year, hourly wage rates have risen just over 4 per cent, average earnings 4.9 per cent, prices 4.4 per cent. So what nonsense all those resolutions are that say we have had a wages freeze in this country while prices have been allowed to get out of hand.

I wonder if some of you realise what that 4.9 per cent—that is what the figure was in July: it has gone up since no doubt—increase in average earnings means? My heavens, we have practically hit the T.U.C.'s own ceiling in its economic review, and the fact is, comrades, of course, that we are barely holding the line in the relationship between prices and incomes that we have set ourselves this year.

Indeed, once again we have proved that there is a more successful prices side to the policy than incomes side.

Do not make any mistake about that. We spend hours on this. The kind of tough negotiations we had over the price increase of Mallory's Hearing Aid Batteries, where, as a result of negotiations, we brought the increase down by 33½ per cent.

Let us take one item vital to all families, to which they devoted 27 per cent of their family expenditure in 1965—food.

I want to pay a tribute here and now to my colleague the Minister of Agriculture,

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Cledwyn Hughes, and to his predecessor Fred Peart, because they have got a little set of figures of which they are very proud, and I think rightly. Those figures are 5, 3 and 2: June 1965/6, a 5 per cent increase in food prices; June 1966/7, under 3 per cent increase; June 1967/8, less than a 2 per cent increase, and if you think that is easy to achieve with import prices rising, you just come in and try your hand at it. (*Applause.*)

Are we really expected at a Labour Party Conference to endorse the canard about the 4,500 price increases drawn from *The Grocer*? Good heavens, that is a figure the Tories use which we challenge almost every day in the House of Commons. Do not we know yet that *The Grocer* lists separately every brand, type, size and flavour? So that if three manufacturers each produced three sizes of blancmange in eight flavours you have got 72 price increases. (*Applause.*)

Now I just say this to you, colleagues: you know, there is one thing guaranteed to send prices above our ceiling and that is the rising pressure of wage increases, above all those wage increases where the unions say, 'Never mind productivity, I want my increase without strings.' Madam Chairman, I know of no more classical example of cutting off your nose to spite your face. For heaven's sake, are not trade unionists consumers too, and have they not certainly got wives who care about the consequences of price increases?

Now, Madam Chairman, of course the prices and incomes policy will never succeed if it is negative and in this post-devaluation phase it is challengingly positive because there is one claim I make for the prices and incomes policy which is irrefutable: it has made the people and workers of this country, and management, more productivity conscious than ever before. Is this movement of ours, which has complained so often of the backwardness of British management, going to throw away this opportunity the Government has given it, my new department has given it, to achieve so many of the improvements in the running of industry for which it has asked for so long?

Recently I read a comment in *Tribune* which, frankly, Michael, made me want to weep. I quote: 'Productivity means the fewer the better', trying to suggest that productivity is intended to create unemployment. Michael quoted at the rostrum the philosophy of the pool of unemployment, which he said had been expounded by the Governor of the Bank of England, and that the Chancellor had not repudiated it. Well, I repudiate it. (*Applause.*)

Do you think, Michael, that I would have

left my job at the Ministry of Transport—where I occasionally got a very favourable byline in *Tribune* from time to time—to take on this job simply to create unemployment and to lower the standards of working people? (*Shouts of Yes.*) All right, if you want to believe that you can, but I must have changed very radically in the last few months.

No, Michael, when I read that sentence in *Tribune* I wondered how Luddite you can get. I thought of the Rootes factory in Linwood from which I have drawn George Cattell, the head of my new productivity department. Linwood is in a development area of Scotland where we have been fighting to bring down the level of unemployment, and I am glad to say beginning to succeed because unemployment fell 4,000 there last month, but of course unemployment there is still intolerably high. That is why the productivity deal they have negotiated at Linwood was so vital, because by increasing the production of cars by 350 a week with the same manpower it has enabled the company not only to continue its operations in Scotland but to hold out the prospect of expanding there so there are more jobs, not redundancies.

It is not a question of the fewer the better, Mike, but of the better the more. That deal ran into a number of snags, but I am thankful to say it looks as though they are being ironed out because there is very little doubt that otherwise the plant would have had to close. Incidentally, the deal gives average wage increases of £2 a week in the first year, to be followed by similar increases in following years.

I say to Conference that some of the best minds in the trade union movement are now concentrating on searching for these opportunities, men like Jack Williams, of the Transport and General Workers, David Basnett of the General and Municipal, Len Edmundson of the A.E.F. and George Cooper, who with go-ahead representatives from eight other unions have worked out with management a productivity guideline agreement covering nearly 60 chemical factories. And there are hundreds of trade unionists who are capturing this productivity enthusiasm.

The busmen in my constituency of Blackburn, Frank, asked for and got experts from my department to help them work out the sort of local productivity deal with which both you and I would agree. (*Applause.*) You know, I have never said I did not want the busmen to have their pound. By heavens, I think they deserve it. All we have ever said is that the pound must be linked, as other

deals, with increases in productivity.

Of course, all this is not new. I am not pretending that it is new. Of course, many trade unionists here have been working on productivity deals for some time—at Shell, Esso, British Oxygen, ICI, Petrochemicals, CWS, the electricity supply industry and many more. But the process has not gone far and fast enough, and it is desperately urgent that we apply the best practices of the few over the whole of industry.

What about the redistribution of income, then, you say—prices and incomes policy has not helped to redistribute income. But, comrades, wage increases followed by price increases never help to redistribute anything. As the T.U.C. said in its economic review, 'No incomes policy can carry the whole burden of removing the inequalities of incomes and living standards. Fiscal and social policy must carry a large part of the responsibility for this task.' This is the answer I would give to those who have been looking, and rightly, to the Government for a redistribution of incomes policy.

I would just say this. Of course, we must use fiscal measures to ensure that any sacrifices we ask for from working people are shared equally. Dividends and profits have not been doing well over the past two years. They have lagged behind. I admit—(Laughter.) Just a minute. I have the figures here if you want them. From 1965 to 1967, dividends fell by 5 per cent. Undistributed company incomes fell by 14 per cent. I am not pretending for a moment that now, as activity increases, profits are not beginning to rise fast—of course they are; I quite agree. But in addition to the dividends policy of the new Act the appropriate place for dealing with these is in the Budget.

And I want to say this. I for one would never have been a party to advocating the new Prices and Incomes Bill to Parliament if it had not been accompanied by a Budget which, for the first time, made a levy on investment incomes of £100 million. I say this to colleagues, too. Quite clearly, if we are to continue this policy, it must be accompanied by a redistributive budgetary policy.

The real answer to the critics who say that the policy has done nothing for the lower-paid is that the opportunity is there, in our policy, if only the trade unions care to take advantage of it in any wage settlement. There can be above-ceiling increases for the lower-paid provided that the settlement as a whole is within the ceiling.

Far from hindering this process, as some have suggested, my department has been actively encouraging it, as we did, for

example, in the case of the settlement for non-industrial civil servants in November, 1967, and as we do in the case of wages councils settlements.

There are cases fresh in the memories of trade unionists in this hall where increases above the 3½ per cent ceiling have been approved for lower-paid workers in the leather goods and glass container industries, in railways and road haulage. Only in the last few weeks I have approved increases above the ceiling in four wages council industries and, in the case of their women workers, well above the ceiling.

Take the Laundry Wages Council Order, for instance, that we have just made. The increase for those at the lower end of the scale is 4.7 per cent for men and 5.5 per cent for women, so there is plenty of scope under the prices and incomes policy if we care to make use of it. But when you are talking about the lower paid, you are talking predominantly about women.

I expect you were all shocked by the revelation in the recent Government social survey on women in employment, that 31 per cent of working women earned less than 4s. an hour, and over 53 per cent less than 5s. an hour, but these figures were for 1965, before the prices and incomes policy came into force, so that is the product of years of free collective bargaining. (Applause.) The figures have improved since then because, as I have pointed out, it has been perfectly possible for the women to catch up by above ceiling increases so long as the men were prepared to stand back and let them catch up a bit.

There is still a long way to go. Today, for instance, whereas only 1 per cent of men earn less than 5s. an hour, 35 per cent of women still do so, and this brings me to Composite No. 35 because it links up closely with the question of the national minimum wage and of equal pay and all the other items spelt out in this composite.

Since our last Conference when we also had a debate on a national minimum wage the Government has been giving a lot of serious thought and study to it. I do not know what kind of ogres you think we are, whether you think that we are not responsive to the sort of problems that Judith Hart outlined and that we have not also in the wages field been thinking desperately hard how we could improve the relative position of the lower paid—whether a national minimum wage would do the trick and if so whether it should be statutory and what form it should take.

We have carried out a very detailed study

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of the implications and possibilities, and a very interesting fact emerges from this study. We are up against our old friend, the language of priorities. A national minimum is perfectly feasible if we are prepared to give it overriding priority, but just added to the normal wages bill it is impossible. The T.U.C. has talked about a £15 minimum earnings guarantee for a 40-hour week. On the basis of an equal minimum for men and women—and I do not think Conference would want it on any other basis—it would cost something like £1,400-million, equivalent to almost the whole increase in the wages bill between 1965 and 1967, even if nobody else got any increases at all. But if everyone else insisted on maintaining their differentials, and who of you doubts that they would, the cost would rise to the astronomical sum of £3,700-million, the equivalent of everybody's wage increases over the past four years.

So the T.U.C., being realistic, has suggested we make a gradual approach, but so vast are the differences between the earnings of men and women that any lower figure would benefit the women overwhelmingly. A £12 a week minimum, for instance, would lift the standard of 3½ million women, but only ½ million men would benefit. And the truth is, if you know, if you want to make an attack on low wages you have got to start with the women first, as the Americans did. And that is why the Government has taken an important step forward towards the achievement of equal pay.

As I told Parliament last June, the Government believes the time has come to fix a definite phased programme for implementing it, and I have already started talks with both sides of industry, and I am glad to say that the T.U.C. has welcomed this initiative, and I hope we shall have concrete decisions to announce before too long. And, of course, to the extent that we lift women's rates, we shall have moved along the road towards wiping out some of the lowest rates. But the whole of the national minimum wage is even more costly and complicated, and we clearly ought to have more time to discuss it with the trade union movement.

Therefore, in accepting Composite 35, I must do so with the reservation that we cannot commit ourselves at this Conference to a statutory national minimum. But we can commit ourselves, and do commit ourselves, to the setting up by the N.E.C. of a working party in which jointly with ministers and our trade union colleagues, we can study all the implications, financial and otherwise of a national minimum wage and report to Conference.

And therefore, comrades, I ask you to

accept Composite 35, with those reservations. As for Resolution 108, I am asking the delegates to remit. We are not opposed to the spirit, but clearly the details of what they have in mind need further consideration. Resolution 109 I must ask you to oppose, to reject, for the reasons set out by the Chancellor.

What, then, about Composite 22? What about this point that has been raised by one delegate after another? 'It is not the policy we object to,' they are saying, 'It is the legislation.' Now, as Conference knows, the Government has deliberately curbed its power to continue the current legislation beyond the end of 1969. If we want to continue statutory powers we have to get a fresh Bill through Parliament, and comrades, I believe that this knowledge should concentrate the minds of us all wonderfully. In less than a year from now, we shall all have to face up to the decision: do we want the Government to continue with the prices and incomes policy at all? And if so, in what form?

Now, the Government has made it clear that it has reserved the right to continue some legislation, if the economic situation makes it necessary. But, you know, even statutory powers can take different forms. How many of you, I wonder, would really welcome the death of the Prices and Incomes Board?

If tomorrow the Government were to announce that it was going to scrap the whole policy, the whole machinery in a year's time, would not most of us feel a curious sense of letdown, as though our movement had precipitately abandoned an experiment in a far-reaching new form of economic and social relationships? And much as you kick against the policy, how much more would you kick against the old alternatives?

Might not the abandonment of the whole effort to achieve a more just and rational system of rewards pave the way to that swing to the right which we can see happening in so many parts of the world?

As Nye Bevan used to quote, a man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for? Clumsily, perhaps, inadequately no doubt, the Government has been reaching for something better than crude industrial power politics, whether practised by industrial tycoons or trade unions. If you kill that without being clear what you put in its place, then you will share a very heavy responsibility.

I want to invite you this afternoon to share the task of decision making, a much more difficult job than just passing resolutions. I

have already, in my new job at the Department of Employment and Productivity, set up a working party to consider the future of the prices and incomes policy, when the existing powers run out at the end of 1969. But let me make one thing clear: those powers endorsed by Parliament, however reluctantly, as an integral part of our whole economic strategy, will and must continue in full force until Parliament decides otherwise.

But, you know, it is by no means too soon to start thinking about the sort of legislation, if any, we want to have when those powers run out. I do not believe this is the sort of decision we should take in isolation in Whitehall. It is too important for the future of trade unionism in this country for us to make it without the closest contact and consultation with the trade union movement.

Therefore, Madam Chairman, I want to issue an invitation to our trade union colleagues to join in this forward-looking study now. I invite the trade unions through the T.U.C. to send their representatives to take part in this joint study of what should follow the current legislation when it expires at the end of 1969. Let us all meet together to pool our ideas without prejudice and without enmity on one of the most important aspects of our economic policy.

For that reason, Madam Chairman, I think it would be a pity if the Transport and General Workers' resolution were to be pressed, because Frank knows as well as anybody in this hall the vital need for increased productivity; and he knows, too, that the Government cannot repeal its legislation on one part of its policy at the instructions of a Conference that has not got responsibility for what would then have to take its place.

So if it is pressed I am afraid I shall have to ask Conference to reject it. If Conference votes for this Composite 22, it will be doing so against the background of the offer I have made and in the knowledge that this composite brings together people of widely differing views of what ought to follow the current Prices and Incomes Act. Therefore, in asking you to oppose this resolution I also ask you to think very carefully of the significance and the impact of your vote. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Thank you, Barbara, I have had a note sent up saying that large numbers of ballot papers have still not been collected.

Now we proceed to vote, but before doing so I am anticipating that there may be one

or two card votes. May I read carefully to delegates this point of procedure: 'When a card vote is to be taken a notice showing the number of the particular vote will be displayed on the platform. Each delegation has a card vote book which contains a for and against card for each vote number. Delegates should tear from the book either the for or the against card bearing the number of the vote being taken. This card should be placed in one of the ballot boxes which will be circulated by the tellers. Should a card bearing the wrong vote number be placed in a ballot box that vote will be void.' The last one is very important: 'During a card vote all delegates must be in their correct seats and should remain seated until the vote is completed.'

I am now putting to you the vote on Composite 22. The N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose. *(Cries of 'Card Vote'.)* All right—card vote. We will go straight into it. This is card vote No. 1.

Composite resolution 22 was carried.

For ... 5,098,000.

Against 1,124,000.

The Chairman: We go on now to Composite 23 and the N.E.C. recommendation is to accept with the reservations that Barbara indicated. *(Cries of 'Vote'.)*

Can we have a show of hands? Those accepting the recommendation of the N.E.C. to accept with reservations please show. Those against? I think that is carried.

We now come to Composite 30 and the N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose. *(Cries of 'Card Vote'.)*

Point of order: Madam Chairman, could you make clear whether this vote now is on Composite 23 or 24?

The Chairman: It is on Composite 30. *(Laughter.)*

Point of order: Then, Madam Chairman, on the other composite a card vote was called for before the show of hands, and I would like to ask that that card vote be taken on that composite.

The Chairman: Let us get this clear. On Composite 23 I asked for a show of hands and I think overwhelmingly the N.E.C. recommendation to accept with reservations was carried. Do you insist on a card vote? *(Cries of No.)*

We are now on Composite 30, card vote number 2. The N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose.

Composite resolution 30 was lost:

For ... 2,921,000.

Against ... 3,282,000.

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The Chairman: We will now go on to Resolution 108. The N.E.C. recommendation is to remit, and, of course, the constitution is that if it is not remittable we will have to ask Conference to vote against, so I am asking the mover and seconder of Resolution 108 if they would agree to remit. (*Agreed.*) Thank you. Does the Conference agree? (*Agreed.*) Thank you.

Now Resolution 109. The N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose. Can we have first a show of hands. Those in favour of the Resolution 109, to support the Resolution 109, please show. Those against. The resolution is lost. (*Shouts from the Floor.*) We do not need another card vote. Resolution 109 was lost. (*Laughter from the Floor.*)

Composite 35. We ask you to accept this with reservations as explained by Barbara. Those in favour of accepting the N.E.C. recommendation to accept with reservations? (*The resolution was carried by a show of hands.*) Thank you very much, Comrades.

Now, I am going to call on Ian Mikardo who will present the statement on Industrial Democracy for the National Executive Committee. (*Applause.*)

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Mr. Ian Mikardo, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, I am happy to commend to Conference this statement by the National Executive Committee, of which you have all got copies, on Industrial Democracy. (*Statement on page 344.*)

It is, as I think you know, based on the report of a working party, the Study Group Report of a Working Party, set up by the N.E.C. under the chairmanship of Jack Jones.

Madam Chairman, we in this country pride ourselves on living in a democratic society, but no society is fully democratic if its political democracy is marred by industrial authoritarianism. Every one of our citizens has the right to choose the governors of his country and the governors of his city. He has got the right to tell them what he wants them to do, and he has got the right to sack them if they do not do it.

But the same man spends 40 hours every week in a very different sort of society, one in which a handful of people whom he has not chosen can decide unilaterally, whether he likes it or not, what he shall do, and how he shall do it. Democracy stops at the factory gates, and within those gates there exists a social order as backward and as feudal as

England in the days of King John and his Barons.

Madam Chairman, workers are no longer prepared to put up with this glaring and unjustifiable contrast between their rights as citizens and their rights as workers, and that is why the demand for industrial democracy is growing.

It is also growing because of the structural changes in the concentration in British industry which are putting an enormous volume of economic power into an ever smaller number of hands. It is growing because of technological changes in our industry which are making the workers ever more vulnerable. It is growing because people recognise that industrial democracy can make an enormous contribution to raising efficiency, and it is growing, Madam Chairman, because the old myth of the omniscient manager, the manager who is so clever that one ought never to question his decisions, is evaporating, and evaporating fast.

When anybody tells me that workers cannot participate in management because very few of them have been trained for it, my answer is that very few managers have been trained for it either. I have always said this when I see a manager facing a group of workers' representatives, as happens all too often, and blinding them with jargon or bluffing them with bull.

Madam Chairman, one of the troubles about industrial democracy is that it is a subject which has been bedevilled by jargon on both sides of the argument, and bedevilled by slogans on both sides of the argument. It needs some careful definition, and daringly I am going to have a shot at defining it.

I begin by saying what industrial democracy is not. To begin with, it is not a substitute for proper, overall economic control and for the public ownership of the commanding heights. It is not a substitute for strong and effective trades unions and shop stewards. It does not consist of cosy lunch-time chats two or three times a year between a board of directors and a handful of national trade union officials.

It does not consist of appointing a retired trade union official or an about-to-retire trade union official to a board of directors on condition that he then cuts himself off from all accountability to, or even contact with, the men he is supposed to represent. That is just about as daft as electing a man to Parliament on condition that thereafter he never talks to his constituents.

And, finally, industrial democracy is not the so-called joint consultation of the tycoon who takes over a company, declares 5,000 of its workers redundant and only then

starts to consult about how to operate the redundancy. That, Madam Chairman, is the joint consultation of the hangman, who consults his victim about making the noose a bit more comfortable around the poor devil's neck before dispatching him into eternity.

Madam Chairman, all that is what industrial democracy is not. In this report we spell out in some detail what it is. To start with, it is based on giving the worker a proprietary right in his job as clearly established by law as the proprietary right of the shareholder or the proprietary right of the state. If the owner of the equity needs protection so does the worker.

Take again this question of the effects of company take-overs, and on it I quote shortly from page 19 of the Working Party's Report, which says: '... the impact of "rationalisation" following such take-overs may fall harshly and arbitrarily upon large numbers of workers... For the shareholders concerned there is the protection of company law, for consumer interests anti-monopoly statutes, but for the workers concerned no statutory protection...'

Under industrial democracy every worker has the right to participate in the making of every decision at national level, at district level, in the plant, to participate in the making of every decision that directly affects him, decisions on the utilisation of his labour, on tooling, on methods, on production programmes, on selection policy, employment policy and promotion policy, and on the choice of his supervisor. I hold that in this area everything is negotiable and nothing must be pushed off the table on the specious plea of so-called management prerogative.

Behind these rights there must always stand, of course, the fundamental right of trade union recognition. On this I quote again from the Working Party's Report, this time at page 44. In what I think is a powerful passage it says: 'It is invidious that workers—and this touches on some of the things we have been discussing all day—should be asked to exercise moderation and restraint in their demands upon the economy who may not have secured to them even the formal right of recognition, let alone the wider framework of workers' rights that we envisage. It is even more invidious, indeed intolerable for social democrats, that firms denying workers these rights should be entitled to receive enormous sums in economic subsidy from the community.'

Finally, Madam Chairman, as to implementation, this statement of ours puts forward 22 specific proposals for turning

the theory of industrial democracy into practice. Amongst them it demonstrates that industrial democracy cannot be successful unless those who represent the workers have their rights as clearly provided by statute as the representatives of the shareholders already have under their statutes.

In particular there are three of these rights. First, the workers' representatives must be given the facilities set out in this report, time off due to union work and reimbursement for loss of earnings, training facilities and release to take advantage of them, office facilities, access to members and facilities for conducting ballots, holding meetings and other means of communicating with their members.

Secondly of these three things, they must have the same access to the company's books and records, to the same books and records, as the management has access to, and we spell that out in detail on pages 2 and 3 of the report.

Finally, there is the suggestion on page 3 of the statement of the development by relevant Government departments of specialist consultancy services available to the trade unions as an aid to productivity bargaining at plant level.

Fellow delegates, one last word: the N.E.C. believes and I believe that this statement which I am putting to you represents a great step forward, but nobody thinks it is the last word. We must look forward from this step to the next step, which is full control and direction of the industrial operation by groups consisting of managerial workers and operative workers together.

In the N.E.C.'s proposals which you had before you at a past conference for the nationalisation of the ports we set out in detail exactly how that would work. When the Government does nationalise the ports—and I hope that will be soon—we all expect to see those original and exciting proposals for workers' participation in management carried out in full without any attempt to water them down.

Madam Chairman, I commend the report to conference. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Will you now turn to Composite 17 on industrial democracy? The mover is from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers.

Mr. R. W. Wright (Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers) moved the following composite resolution (Composite Resolution No. 17):

This Conference calls upon the National Executive Committee to press the Govern-

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ment to act on the report 'Industrial Democracy,' and to further press the Government to amend existing legislation and introduce new legislation which may be required to improve the industrial relations in Britain and make industrial democracy a reality.

*Conference urges that all government-controlled industries should give a lead, by introducing with trade union approval, schemes for greater worker participation; thus involving them in the progress towards socialism.**

He said: I move the composite resolution on behalf of my union and in doing so welcome the remarks by Ian Mikardo in regard to the report produced by the Working Party. I think it is clear that one or two background situation descriptions are necessary in looking at this subject.

First, from the time of the industrial revolution, and from the time of the growth of the trade union movement in industry, our members have suffered from exploitation, from the operation of vicious management practices from which the trade union movement grew, and of course the struggle of the workers themselves evolved in the development of the shop stewards' movement in industry.

From this time I would suggest that one of the greatest movements that we have ever known, that has done more than anything to build this Party and to build the trade unions, has itself begun to set the pace for the setting of what we now describe as industrial democracy. It is true that the shop stewards are in front of the movement on this subject of demanding the right not only to be consulted when management have made decisions but in fact to take part in the making of those decisions and the implementation of them. In many facets strong trade union organisation has eaten into the position of managerial function in industry today.

I am one of those people who believe, as my union does, that we could never fully operate industrial democracy in privately-owned sectors of industry because the very motivation of those industries is the profit motive. This can only be in conflict so often with the real desires of worker protection and the position of protecting our people's jobs, and so on.

So that we look at this on two sides. First, if we gain political power—and I mean political power in a socialist sense—then it cannot, as Ian Mikardo said, isolate the workers from claiming the very rights that

**Resolution carried. See page 161*

we would demand politically in our social and economic life from also being illustrated and demonstrated, at least on the factory floor. Once you pass through those gates, you cannot shed the results of political development and economic right that the workers will demand.

We have seen over this long period of time, particularly in the post-war period, the struggles developing whereby trade unionists in the factory have resisted redundancies. Trade unionists have resisted the right of management freely to hire and fire to the point where, in disputes in the period from 1940 until 1960, 32 per cent of industrial disputes were about money, 29 per cent were in resisting dismissals by the employer and 39 per cent were on other issues where management were imposing changes which were resisted by the workers.

We quite rightly, within the Working Party Report, accept this as a good foundation to the need for legislation, and I would like to spell out one or two requirements that the trade unions would want to see, as we understand it, within any such legislation. First, whatever the form of representation, whatever the form of participation, it must be effective and not consultative. Second, it must be strictly related to trade union organisation, and not another structure set up apart from the trade unions, which will in many cases act in conformity with the trade union industrial structure. These are prerequisites to such legislation.

We would also desire to see that there should be requirement, when we are faced with mergers, with take-overs and with the kind of situation that is now developing in GEC/AEI and English Electric, that not only should the workers, plant by plant, be consulted prior to decisions being taken, but that the unions at national and local level should be brought in with all the ingredients of the purpose of takeover being laid before them, and should have the power to resist if that is necessary.

We would recognise—we are not Luddites—that there would be time of change, but that change must be motivated by the interests of the nation, by the interests of the workers who have helped to build those industries. They are not the property of the shareholders and the Weinstocks and those. They are the property that our people have worked all their lives to develop and, whether they are owned privately or not, we would claim our full part in determining the future.

Can I say this on publicly-owned industries. It is really a tragedy that in many of the publicly-owned industries the level of

participation is worse at this time than it is inside some sectors of the private industries of this country—and we can name them.

In railways, I believe we have got an archaic machine which does not meet the situation of the requirements of the industry. With all the change that has taken place affecting the railwaymen, the engineers and others, there has not been the level, particularly at local and district level, of any form of consultation that has been effective. And, of course, we have seen the resistances that have developed from that. It is not satisfactory that we should at this time have to criticise those industries which we took into public ownership.

Therefore, as the document suggests, the pattern of development of industrial democracy—perhaps 'workers' control' is a better term to use—should be developed in the publicly-owned industries; and, of course, all aspects of policy, all aspects of re-manning, all aspects of change and, of course, issues which concern the development of industries should be the subject, at the various levels, of full consultation.

The one thing that we are saying today—and I know the significance of this, and my organisation certainly does—is that such a policy spells the end of managerial functions; and in many agreements that were imposed on the trade unions 50 or more years ago those words are still prominent. Employers still demand, at national and local level, the right to determine these claims in the interests of their shareholders only. It is this that this movement has got to grasp, to tear up any of the accepted philosophies of managerial function, and it can only be on this basis that we really move into a new era in industry, industrial democracy and workers' control.

I have pleasure in moving the composite resolution. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Thornley (Bedford C.L.P.): I second the motion. I, too, am a 'new boy' at my first Conference, so please do not expect me to be as professional as most of you are.

In seconding the resolution, I would like to endorse all that the A.E.F. delegate has said, and to add this. If we are socialists and believe in a socialist state, we must pass this resolution, for without democracy in industry there can be no socialist state. If we are to harness the enthusiasm of the British people in the drive for economic stability, they must be encouraged to take their full part in the running of industry.

It may be argued that the workers have not the know-how or the expertise to do this, but let me say this. All over Britain

people are controlling the lives of workers simply by virtue of the number of shares they hold in industry. If the workers have no more expertise than these, then heaven help us all.

I believe that true industrial democracy would be a far better incentive to the working people of Britain than any incentive the Tories could offer. How otherwise can the workers gain the full reward from the profits they produce? Therefore, I say that democracy in industry is the only way to socialism.

Without this worker control, we get some curious situations. Take the classic case of the engineering concern which declared a 39 per cent dividend—and I believe that the directors had a nice increase in salaries—while the workers were working overtime for nothing, in the misguided belief that they were working and backing Britain. If the workers at this plant had been in possession of the true facts, would they have been so eager? The workers want to know—indeed, have a right to know—where the profits they create go to.

Is it a case of fleets of works' limousines that the workers will never use? Is it still a case of champagne in the boardroom while the producers drop their coins into robots for plastic cups of instant tea?

Without workers' representation on the boards, without access to information as to costings and profits, the workers are bound to feel frustrated. No wonder they are apathetic.

I heard, in Composite Resolution 23 this morning, a call to the Government to see that industry is run efficiently in the interests of the people. Do you think this can be done without the participation of the workers in the running of it? I sincerely do not think so. That is why I second this resolution, in the sure knowledge that you will accept it, for, after all, this is socialism. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: May I appeal to you? We have had a splendidly courteous Conference, with all the high tensions of today, but it is becoming impossible for anyone to come to the rostrum without a great deal of restlessness in the hall, and talking and interruptions on the promenade behind. If you want to talk, please do it when you go out and not when you stay in. This is a very important debate.

Mr. J. Jones (Transport and General Workers' Union): Madam Chairman, there is a crisis of disbelief in statements in this

Party, but I believe that statements are meaningless unless they are implemented quickly, and I hope that the Party and the Government will implement this statement on economic democracy quickly. I welcome it, and I welcome the statement made by Ian Mikardo in support of it. The statement is a bit late in the day. It is insufficient, but it has got the main ingredients right. What distinguishes this statement on industrial democracy from the conceptions of the Liberal Party and the far from satisfactory code of determination policies operated in West Germany is that it is based on the need for strong and effective trade unionism at the place of work. For this reason it is correct not to give priority to the idea of workers sitting in isolation without power on the boards of directors.

The statement and the working party report placed emphasis on the shop stewards, the trade union representatives, carrying the workers' point of view upwards to wherever management decisions are made and forcing them to be negotiable. We want to see trade union representatives being able to invade the powers of the bureaucrats in industry, limiting the dictatorial and unilateral authority of management and, above all, involving the workers through their unions in the decisions which affect their working lives. I believe that this is the spirit of the statement, and I am glad that the N.E.C. has accepted it. I want to see it achieved in practice quickly.

Delegates should know that we had the Unions Act which was a terrific job in moving even a little way in the steel industry, a very little way indeed. We got even less in passenger transport. Only the other week the Minister of Transport announced the appointment to the London Transport Board of a young man aged thirty-five, a financial expert. Would that not have been a wonderful opportunity also to put a worker on the Board, to put a busman on the Board with practical experience of running the industry? (*Applause.*) If you give young men a chance, give working men a chance. That is what industrial democracy means.

Very shortly we shall be facing the problem in the docks industry, for in this discussion we have in front of us not only the statement before you today but the working party report and also the report of the study group on port transport which Ian Mikardo referred to and which he and I were on. That was a blueprint in considerable detail for the extension of industrial democracy in the docks. Was our work wasted? We shall see.

Let me make this quite clear to Con-

ference. The docks is an industry where we in the unions have already established a measure of joint control, but there is a desire to extend on this. The dockers and their union, my union, are pressing for public ownership because we see it as an ally at a time of great difficulty and anxiety for the industry. But we do not want bureaucracy, either public or private. We do not want an Act of Parliament that merely enshrines the limited gains we have achieved up to now.

We want to see real progress in workers' authority and control, and they are entitled to it in dockland. The obstacles can be very quickly, in my view, overcome if only we can face up to the issues together as a trade union movement and as a Labour Party, and when we come to the question of worker directors we are, of course, examining something that should have priority in publicly owned industries.

There are those, including some Ministers, who argue against the principle, who say that workers should not be directors because they have their own vested interest which they would have to push in the board room. Why should the workers be singled out in this way? After all, most major boards have men from big insurance companies and other financial institutions, many from competing firms. All of them look after their own, and yet remain on the boards. Even the nationalised industries have big employers on their boards, some of them with interests which run parallel to the nationalised undertakings they are helping to control. In fact, a person appointed recently had 21 directorships in industries competing with the nationalised industry he was joining.

I would make the point that I have made previously. Have we no trust in our own people? Do we have to have university professors or big business men before we can be trusted to play a part in running an industry? Surely our Party and the unions together should find a way in which working people can play a part in running industry, can participate in decisions, can decide their own future and, in the process, improve the dismal record of British management, improve a situation where, in the last 15 years, we have had a 50 per cent increase in the number of managers. Parkinson's Law has run rife.

We want to see new drive, new energy, in the board rooms which shop stewards and workers' representatives should give, can give. We do not need to rely on business men, accountants or even Members of the House of Lords. There is a great reserve of

intelligence, knowledge and enthusiasm amongst workers, men and women. Industrial democracy means releasing that energy, and its adoption by the Government would show faith in the workers and their unions so badly needed at the present time. (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. Spruhan (National Union of Seamen): We of the Seamen's Union wholeheartedly support this resolution because we see in it the opportunity which unfortunately our Government have not taken. In your report today from the Executive there is not one mention of shipping. A resolution that we tabled for an economic committee to investigate shipping has been accepted, but we will not have the opportunity of discussing it. Having said that, I will get to the resolution.

I trust that when legislation is drafted, due account will be taken of the peculiarities which exist in shipping. Shipping is a major industry, but you have to remember that it is broken up into thousands of small units. In other words, the individual ship. We also trust that when legislation is passed it will not be overlooked that every ship is a self-contained unit and that the legislation which will apply to industry as a whole will apply to the individual ships.

I want to stress this because, as no doubt many of you are aware, the seaman has to serve his life on board a ship under a particularly antique piece of legislation, namely the 1894 Merchant Shipping Act. We hope and believe that this Government are sincere in the promises they have made to us, that time will be found in their life to pass new legislation, but even with new legislation we accept the fact that there has to be discipline maintained on board a ship. Here in this industrial democracy resolution we sincerely hope that written into the legislation the seaman on board the ship will be afforded the opportunity of taking part in the disbursement of that discipline because at the present time the Master is the judge, jury and executioner, and there is no appeal against his decision.

Without taking more time at Conference, I would urge those who are responsible to look at the peculiarities of shipping and not to overlook the fact that each ship is an individual unit of industry. (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. B. Seabrook (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers): We were supporting both the composite and the report, but I would like to put a straight question to Conference. What form does industrial democracy take in a grocery,

butchery, footwear, menswear or furnishing shop, employing a manager and two, three or four staff? There are 400,000 such shops in this country, and for the people who work in them, that is what paragraph 7 on the first page of the document calls their workplace.

This report advanced a number of very useful proposals, but a number of questions are far from clear when we visualise its application to the kind of conditions U.S.D.A.W. is wrestling with. The Multiple Grocers' Association, with whom we have a national agreement, represents 100 firms employing between them 100,000 managers and staff. But one single firm may operate 1,500 shops, stretching from Lands End to John O'Groats, employing 10,000 people, a sizeable number.

All together in one establishment they could generate considerable power and influence; dispersed over the whole of the country in 1,500 work places, it is a very different kettle of fish and the same can be said for all the other sections of the multiple trades. But are not workers employed under such circumstances as these also to have a greater say in the running of the companies for whom they work? And if they are, how shall the principles and policies set out in the report be applied to them and be made to work?

We are very well aware, and none more so, that as the document says, in the second paragraph on the last page, many trade union problems arise today not from strength but from weakness. How can there be any form of industrial democracy without trade union organisation? And yet there are—and we all know this—millions of workers in this country who are not yet members of any trade union.

Whilst in our own field we strive to increase and strengthen our own membership, we shall also welcome any steps that can be taken, and the sooner the better, to translate and reinforce the present moral right to organise into a clearly defined legal right, with legislation to compel recognition from the still large numbers of firms who victimise and intimidate those who actively associate themselves with us.

When a member of ours, employed in a shop of one of the largest firms in the multiple tailoring trade, on his day off went with an organiser to shops of the same firm in a couple of neighbouring towns, to help recruit staff into the union, he was told by the district supervisor of the firm not to do it; a disgraceful form, in my view, of intimidation.

We are engaged at this moment in dis-

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cussions about a recognition and procedure agreement with one of the fastest growing firms in the grocery trade. In the facilities it is prepared to give us, the firm is streets ahead of its competitors, as it is in many other shops. And yet, when we suggest to it, as part of the agreement, that it should recommend all its employees to join the union it refuses to do so.

Modern conditions surely require employers to be something other than hostile or neutral; they should actively encourage their employees to join the unions. In the absence of such encouragement the sooner the legislation promised in the report is on the Statute Book and in operation, the sooner we shall be able to take some real steps forward in our search for greater industrial democracy.

The Chairman: As it is quarter to five, I must now call on Willy Simpson to reply.

Mr. W. Simpson (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, what we have been doing here today is to try and spell out as a movement first of all why we want industrial democracy, and secondly what we want. As on most problems that we face as a movement, we are much more successful in stating why we want things than exactly what we want and how we seek to do it. So that although the document lays out in some detail why we want industrial democracy, what we want, is a problem in the document which is stated in much more general terms.

This is why I have to say to the National Union of Seamen delegate and to the U.S.D.A.W. delegate that the executive have not considered in detail some of the problems which they have brought up today: the problem, for instance, of shipping; the problem of small retail establishments, these have never been considered by the executive, in the context of industrial democracy.

But by and large what the speakers have done today is largely to endorse the thinking which is contained within this N.E.C. document, and let me say that I share the feeling of Jack Jones here that it would have been much more beneficial to the movement had this debate taken place not three years ago but many years ago, indeed somewhere around 1946 or 1947.

You see, I believe passionately that it is wrong that as soon as a works gate closes behind a worker the portcullis also comes down on his rights as a citizen. I think it is wrong, when he punches his card, that he

also knocks for six some of his basic elementary rights that he has outside the factory. Bob Wright is correct when he says that implementing the principles contained in this document means rolling back the frontiers of managerial function. We must do that if we are to extend government by consent in industry.

The N.E.C. document, in my opinion, breathes the very essence of democracy. Speakers have also said that technological change also demands this type of approach, and this is absolutely true. The force of technological change is banging at the factory gate; job insecurity, the need for flexibility of labour, requires an overhaul of the present procedures by which industrial decisions are reached so that work people can have an opportunity to fashion out their own industrial destinies.

Let us remember this, that technological change poses other problems for us as well, that job satisfaction in industry drops when men and women become machine minders. As a movement, what we should be concerned about is that even though industrial technology may demand that workers are minders of machines, our task is to ensure that they do not have minds like machines. One of the ways to guard against this is by allowing them to take part in running their industries.

I say this, I have a great trust in the ability and initiative of the workers of this country. I believe that there is a vast reservoir of latent productivity lying idle in the minds, and the skill and experience of the workers at all levels in our industry. This cannot be released without a change in the master and man relationship.

Now the reasons spelt out in this document as to why we need industrial democracy are the same reasons that the early socialists based their case on when they talked about workers' control and the common ownership in industry. They are just as valid today.

But might I deal with one of the main things that has been raised from the rostrum today and one of the main points of the document. You see, joint consultation has been a flop. It has been a flop because we have sought to put into two separate compartments the business of consultation and the business of negotiations on wages and conditions. In this situation shop stewards who tried to do both jobs suffered from industrial schizophrenia and they simply 'jacked in' the business of joint consultation.

Our only chance of success in this field is to combine both negotiations and consultations in a single channel procedure so that when we sit down as workers to discuss how

machines are manned, how overtime will be worked, dismissals procedure, shop or factory investment programme—as we discuss these things we should also be able to discuss the rewards for bringing about these changes. I believe that there is a job here for the trade unions to do. This is something that the Government can't do for us—that is, to decide the steps by which we realistically plot the way towards what we want in this particular field.

I think we have got to tackle this in four steps. First of all, as a movement we have got to accept that the single channel procedure is the way to discuss these affairs in industry. Secondly, before a meaningful dialogue can take place we have got to obtain the necessary changes in company law so that adequate information is available.

Thirdly—and I take both Bob Wright's point and Jack Jones's point here—representation from the workers' side has got to be firmly based on membership of the trade unions.

Fourthly—this is something which has not been done in the document—we have got to work out in detail the structure of management/worker representation at shop, plant, and, where necessary, national level; and in doing this we must recognise that we cannot do everything in industry by a show of hands and that some checks and balances have got to be built in to your representational structure at all these levels.

Now this is not an easy task for us, but it is something which we must get down to as a trade union movement, and I certainly do not believe it is an insurmountable task as far as we are concerned.

May I just conclude by saying this, Madam Chairman—that if you feel, as I do and as the executive does, that such changes are fundamental to the development of workers' rights and progress towards a better and fuller life, then it means that we must be prepared to accept some change in

the trade union functions to achieve these ends. When we have done some of the tasks which I have outlined today, then we must as quickly as possible certainly make a start in the public sector.

The National Executive are recommending that you accept Composite Resolution No. 17. We also are asking you to register an overwhelming vote for the N.E.C. document. Your N.E.C. have given a lead on this question. The document is positive and forward looking, and I commend it to Conference. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I am now asking for your support for the N.E.C. statement on Industrial Democracy. Will those who accept this show by raising their hands . . . Against? . . . Carried almost unanimously.

Composite 17—the N.E.C. recommendation is that you accept. Those in favour of Composite 17? . . . Those against? . . . Again, carried overwhelmingly.

Mr. C. Lynch (Essex Federation of Labour Parties): Point of order. I have just gone to submit an emergency resolution on Rhodesia and have been informed that Standing Orders is shut till nine o'clock tomorrow morning. This is disgusting. We have a right to submit emergency resolutions. Can we please have an opinion on this?

The Chairman: That is not a point of order. The N.E.C. will be discussing further matters next Wednesday. I am sorry, but you cannot raise this as a point of order. You must go to your Conference Arrangements Committee.

We have finished our business for the day, Comrades. Thank you very much. I hope you will make an effort to be here promptly at 9.30 tomorrow morning.

Conference adjourned for the day.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1

MORNING SESSION

Conference reassembled at 9.30 a.m.

The Chairman: Good morning, Comrades, I am calling now for the report from your Conference Arrangements Committee.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT

Mr. G. Williams (Chairman, Conference Arrangements Committee): Madam Chairman, Comrades, will you turn to page 73 of the Agenda—Housing and Rents, Resolution No. 283 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Page 94, The Ombudsman, Resolution No. 415 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Emergency Resolutions: a further emergency resolution on Rhodesia has now been received from Hampstead C.L.P. This is similar to the resolution which Conference decided yesterday not to accept as an emergency; the principles contained in this further resolution are covered by Composite 36. For these reasons the Committee does not accept that this is an emergency.

The Committee has met the delegates of the seven organisations which have submitted the emergency resolutions concerning Czechoslovakia. The six organisations agreed to withdraw their resolutions in favour of the one submitted by the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party. The Committee considers that the points raised in the emergency resolution dealing with the protest against the action taken against Czechoslovakia are fully included in the N.E.C. statement on Czechoslovakia. For this reason the Standing Orders Committee is unable to accept the Liverpool resolution as an emergency resolution for discussion by this Conference.

The business for this morning. The Standing Orders Committee has reviewed business for this morning and recommends that items to be taken after the scrutineers' report shall be the Parliamentary Report and the debate on the machinery of government and the devolution for Scotland and Wales. Development in grey areas cannot be taken in view of the time factor, but should Thursday afternoon not be required for private session, the Committee gives an undertaking that the subject of the development of grey

areas will be debated in the public session that afternoon.

The Chairman: Thank you. Is the report approved?

Mr. A. Soutter (Hampstead C.L.P.): I want to challenge the Standing Orders Committee Report on the subject of the emergency resolution on Rhodesia. The resolution which we submitted referred specifically to the talks, or rumours of talks about talks, that are going on at the moment. There is no mention of these talks in the composite resolution on the agenda, and I therefore submit that the Hampstead emergency resolution is competent to be discussed as an emergency.

Mr. G. Williams: In the composite resolution, this point is covered in our view, and it can be made if and when this composite resolution is taken.

I might say we have had two further emergency resolutions down for this morning and we have not had an opportunity to examine them, but we are quite satisfied, in our own minds, that this point can be made if and when the resolution is taken.

Mr. E. Loyden (Liverpool Borough Party): I want to raise a point that in view of the fact that seven emergency resolutions are before the Standing Orders Committee and six organisations withdrew their motions in favour of the Liverpool motion, I want to move the reference back of this report and test this Conference on the question of whether they want to establish at this stage that they want to deal with the Czechoslovak situation as a separate entity from N.A.T.O. and other matters. I move the reference back. *(Applause.) (Formally seconded.)*

Mr. G. Williams: It is not the job of the committee to argue on the content of the resolution, and we were satisfied that this point of protest against the invasion is made in the N.E.C. statement and, therefore, there was an opportunity for you to debate it and make any other points when it is taken.

The Chairman: The reference back has been moved and seconded. Those in favour of the reference back please show. Those

TUESDAY MORNING: N.E.C. BALLOT

against? That looks very even to me. (*Cries of 'Card vote'.*)

By a card vote—2,695,000 to 3,454,000—reference back was lost. The arrangements report was accepted.

RESULT OF CONFERENCE BALLOT FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS

Mr. R. Driver (Chief Scrutineer) presented the result of the ballot as follows:

DIVISION I	
TRADE UNIONS	
(12 members)	
Gormley, J.	5,145,000
Lane, F.	5,053,000
Mulley, F. W.	4,904,000
Simpson, W.	4,643,000
Chalmers, J.	4,499,000
Forden, L.	4,399,000
Cunningham, A.	4,248,000
Padley, W. E.	4,095,000
Bradley, T. G.	3,938,000
Diamond, J.	3,718,000
Chapple, F. J.	3,208,000
Kitson, A. H.	2,335,000
<i>Not elected</i>	
Stagg, N.	2,216,000
Forrester, J. M.	2,141,000
Jenkins, C.	2,072,000
Hawley, G.	1,115,000
Simmons, F.	983,000
Heapy, J.	683,000
Hazell, B.	472,000
Smith, C.	405,000
Thomas, T.	255,000
Brown, J.	233,000

DIVISION II	
SOCIALIST, CO-OPERATIVE, AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS	
(One member)	
Skeffington, A. M.	Unopposed

DIVISION III	
CONSTITUENCY AND CENTRAL LABOUR PARTIES AND FEDERATIONS OF CONSTITUENCY	
LABOUR PARTIES	
(Seven members)	

Castle, Mrs. Barbara	528,000
Mikardo, Ian	475,000
Benn, Anthony Wedgwood	461,000
Allaun, Frank	444,000
Driberg, Tom	429,000
Lestor, Miss Joan	415,000
Greenwood, Anthony	374,000
<i>Not elected</i>	
Heffer, Eric S.	202,000
Orme, Stan	187,000
Mendelson, John	166,000
Dunwoody, John	159,000

Jenkins, Hugh	139,000
Ennals, David	134,000
Atkinson, Norman	121,000
Whitaker, Ben	103,000
Maxwell, Robert	92,000
Dalyell, Tam	74,000
Hamilton, W. W.	74,000
Davies, Harold	73,000
Wellbeloved, James	57,000
Mackintosh, John	45,000
Winnick, David	34,000
Mitchell, Rosslyn	25,000
Meacher, Michael	23,000
Molloy, William	21,000
Scott-Batey, R. W. J.	19,000
Kissen, C. B.	7,000

DIVISION IV	
WOMEN MEMBERS	
(Five members)	
Braddock, Mrs. Elizabeth	5,284,000
Lee, Miss Jennie	5,239,000
White, Mrs. Eirene	3,975,000
Bacon, Miss Alice	3,689,000
Jeger, Mrs. Lena	3,225,000
<i>Not elected</i>	
Williams, Mrs. Shirley	3,105,000
Turner, Mrs. Muriel	2,001,000
Hart, Mrs. Judith	1,464,000
Kerr, Mrs. Anne	1,242,000
Short, Mrs. Renee	477,000

TREASURER	
Callaghan, James (Elected)	4,039,000
Foot, Michael	1,449,000

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE	
(Five members)	
Williams, Glyn	5,672,000
Corfield, A. J.	5,569,000
Gladwin, D. O.	5,415,000
Chambers, G. W.	5,316,000
Conway, J.	4,555,000
<i>Not elected</i>	
Knowles, R.	798,000
Jackson, P.	376,000
Johnson, W. H.	300,000

AUDITORS	
(Two members)	
Bleackley, James	Unopposed
Smith, F. A.	Unopposed

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT

The Chairman: I must now ask you to turn to pages 54 to 110 of the N.E.C. Report, and I am calling upon Harold, our Prime Minister, who needs no further word of introduction. Harold, the floor and the Conference are yours.

Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, M.P. (Leader of the Labour Party): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, thank you for what the BBC, if they are true to their usual form, will tonight describe as a hostile reception.

This is the Conference they will look back on and say: 'That was when Labour came back fighting.'

This has been a rough year for all of us in this movement. A rough year for those who have worked their hearts out in by-elections only to see the Party go down. It has been a year of bitter disappointments in the local elections. We have suffered the loss from our civic life, for a time at any rate, of the services of many hundreds of councillors, with a lifelong record of selfless work for their local communities.

It has been a year in which an opportunist Opposition, backed by the special interests which support them, have thrown everything at us. Politically, personally, the lot. And in all these months I have not replied. Not yet. I shall choose my time.

But we have come through. We have not lost our nerve and we are stronger for it. We shall need this nerve, this determination, this comradeship, in the period still ahead of us, when all of us know there can be no relaxation, no let-up if we are to achieve all that we have set out to do, and all that will stem from it. One thing; we know now the worst they can do to us. And they know it, too.

The Tories know that time is not on their side. Whatever brave show they put on in Blackpool next week, the truth is that they have already started their cruel post-election inquest on what went wrong.

And the reason they know that time is not on their side is because they have an uneasy and growing fear that Labour has got the measure of the problems—the problems not that your Government only is facing but that Britain is facing. The problems not of four years past, but of forty. The problems of moving forward from Imperialism to a modern industrial society. They can see that a pattern is emerging.

It is precisely because they sense this that only a few weeks ago they made that carefully planned, much heralded act of desperation, their campaign directed to suggest that a final and overwhelming economic crisis was only days away. They must have known that there were many in the City, and still more abroad, who, hearing these warnings and believing them, might well have been led to endanger Britain's recovery with an artificially induced flight of capital.

Not for the first time. Next week here they will parade their patriotism. But it always comes off second-best wherever they see a prospect of party gain.

Labour seeks to unite the nation in support of the policies of change which are needed. The Tory Party seek only to divide and destroy.

Not one word of what they are saying is relevant to the pattern which is emerging and which will be the main theme of this Conference.

The emerging pattern of post-Imperial Britain, of the new Britain in a fast changing world. Change made necessary by the economic sacrifice and disruption caused by two world wars and Britain's sacrifices in those wars. Changes whose roots go even further back to the turn of the century, when Britain lost the industrial primacy which she had won in the age of coal, steel and cotton.

Britain under Clem Attlee's post-war Labour Government made a brave attempt to reconstruct the economic damage of the war and to begin to come to terms with the post-Imperial world. Under the Tory Government Britain lost her way precisely because the Government of those years failed to recognise the shape of the world that was emerging. Instead of building on the industrial achievements of the post-war Labour Government, all we had was Edwardian nostalgia and drift.

Instead of refashioning an industrial structure that could compete with the new and more dynamic economies of East and West, we lost ground year by year. In those 13 years Britain's share of world trade in manufactures fell from 21 per cent to 14 per cent—by a third.

Over the same years the Tory Government's refusal to come to terms with the facts of our world position meant that our overseas Government expenditure, mainly defence, got out of control.

In 1959 overseas Government spending was £270 million. The year we took over, 1964-5, it was £477 million. Over £200 million more. And still rapidly rising.

Their achievement was this—to narrow and weaken our economic base at home while widening the superstructure of military commitments abroad which their ever-weakening base had to support. The economic strength that Britain can put forward can never be greater than what Britain's industry can produce and sell.

While they neglected Britain's industry, they gloried in the role of world policeman and world bankers. They neglected every

chance to reduce our sterling balance and the vulnerability of sterling as a reserve currency. They borrowed short in order to lend long because doctrinaire financial imperialism and the prestige of the City demanded they lend long.

In October 1964 we took over the role of world policeman with an intolerable rate of overseas military expenditure; just as we took over under-equipped fighting services stretched beyond endurance to meet Duncan Sandys' ill-defined commitments. And equally in 1964 we took over the role of world banker, a 1914 role in a world where because of two wars we had lost the assets and the investments which half a century earlier had made the role practicable.

Britain was facing a double problem; first, the vulnerability deriving from a weak industrial base. And, secondly, combined with that, an excessively committed sterling position. Our predecessors shirked it—hoped it would go away by pretending it wasn't there. We faced up to it. By 1966 we had reduced the balance of payments deficit from over £800-million to £89-million. But, even so, our vulnerability because of sterling's reserve role and the vast accumulation of sterling balances drove us into a crisis.

That was what our inheritance meant; four years have shown the emerging pattern of what we have done to deal with it.

It is the mark of a Labour Government that we distinguish between the short-run measures, which may often have to be harsh, on monetary and fiscal management, and the more fundamental measures of industrial reconstruction which are the basic determinants of our economic strength.

I do not need to remind this Conference that in Swansea four and a half years ago I warned about the short-term measures which would have to be taken, to enable a Britain, not yet master of its own affairs, to meet the economic storms to which we were so vulnerable. The measures of July 1966—the only response a Government could make to the strike of capital we were facing. The fiscal measures in Budget after Budget, high interest rates, credit squeeze. The economy measures I announced last January covering every aspect of Government expenditure from defence to the social services. An incomes policy which by the very nature of things requires statutory backing.

No responsible Government could have acted otherwise. No Conservative Government would have had the guts.

Your Government will take full note of everything that was said in yesterday's debate. I am proud of the fact that we could

have a debate like yesterday's. That this mature Labour Movement could debate issues so deep and so fundamental without for one moment losing sight of the basic comradeship that has brought all of us here. I was not surprised at any of the views expressed. When the decisions were taken by the Government which were so strongly attacked yesterday my colleagues and I knew and sensed what every delegate who spoke yesterday was feeling.

None of us have changed. We were debating policies that are unpopular but which we believe to be necessary and right. If because of the views expressed yesterday we were now in midstream to abandon those policies, there is no-one here who would respect us for such a decision. To abandon now the policies that we believe to be right would be just as cowardly and in the long run as destructive of this Party as to have shirked bringing them in.

All these short-term measures, 'distasteful' as they are, had to be taken while the basic measures of industrial reconstruction were taking effect. And we had warned that those industrial measures would take time. But whatever measures we have had to take even against these overwhelming difficulties, they have been tempered by compassion.

Everything we had to do was necessary while our industrial measures were being given time to work.

That is what I warned this movement about in July and what I have to warn you against today. We know, and every objective commentator on British industry knows, even the Tories know, that while we need many months more of resolute economic measures, increasingly our long-run industrial policies will deliver dividends in exports and economic performance which, provided only we hold firm, will produce their own political dividend. What I was warning the movement about in July, and I do it again today, is any weakness or lack of resolve which will enable the Tories to garner, to reap, the fruits of the industrial reconstruction we are putting through with such pain and at such cost.

In presenting last year's Parliamentary Report, I summarised the progress of the Government in re-structuring and modernising British industry.

We began our frontal attack on the problems of British industry on the day we took office. The results are now beginning to come through. And they will come through in increasing measure next year and into the Seventies.

It has taken time. The industrial controversies of 1964, 1965, even last year, have

receded into the past. And, as the Tory speeches gather dust, their authors would like to forget they ever made them.

There were those early gibes about the establishment of the Ministry of Technology, which was even then saving and then building up a distinctive, indigenous British computer industry, and planning the reconstruction of machine tools, ship building, micro-electronics, and the heavy electrical industry, among others.

All the work of those days is bearing fruit today in export order after export order, headlined almost daily in the financial and industrial press. Before the last election, throughout the election and after the election, our opponents fought to prevent the establishment of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation. Now they praise it. They scoffed at the enquiries we set up into industry after industry—enquiries which I promised you at Brighton two years ago would be followed by action. The whole structure of the shipbuilding industry has been revolutionised on a high productivity, low cost basis, no longer losing orders but gaining them from the rest of the world.

The motor industry has been reorganised with Government help and today faces the prospect of a greater security based on a spectacularly stronger export position. We are now in process of creating an electrical industry complex which will enable us to meet on equal terms the giants of Europe and even of America. The aircraft industry—it seems a long time since the aircraft employers paid their workers a day's wages and chartered trains to come and demonstrate in what some commentators were pleased to liken to the hunger marches of the past. Last week's headlines splashed the words of their own trade association—£800 million of export orders this year. The Rolls Royce American aero-engine order, the largest export order in Britain's history, and designed to be a forerunner of still larger contracts.

In the atomic energy industry, the fundamental reorganisation announced by Tony Wedgwood Benn a few weeks ago. A reorganisation designed to ensure that Britain's research lead in the civil uses of atomic energy can be matched by a corresponding success in sales of multi-million-pound nuclear reactors abroad. Here again we are creating what five years ago at Scarborough we planned to create. Great new science-based industries with public enterprise not only providing the science base but participating through a major shareholding in the industry which is being created to exploit the results of that research.

The three great new import-saving aluminium smelters foreshadowed in my speech last year, now given the green light in three development areas—English, Scottish and Welsh. Computers—the industry the Tories were allowing to die, now under I.R.C. sponsorship a great £100-million complex outside America, now poised for an aggressive export sales campaign in the markets of the world in contrast to countries not very far away which tamely allowed their industries to submit to the American invasion.

These examples I have given are part, but only part, of the far wider emerging pattern in Britain's science-based industrial revolution. And all of this could have been started not in 1964 but ten years earlier if we had not then had a Government whose industrial posture was unconcern and abdication. Men who were prepared to wash their hands and see British industry decline in relation to that of almost every other advanced industrial country. Men who left vital industrial decisions to the haggling of the market place and the clamour of take-over bidders whose motive was not, as I.R.C. are insisting in the mergers of today, greater industrial efficiency but the exploitation of some under-valued piece of property or tax manoeuvre. Even today, four years after, they have not learned. Our conception of a powerful, streamlined modern industrial base. Their leadership—look at last week's speeches—seem incapable of raising their eyes above the level of a tooth and claw price war in a street-corner shop.

I know that industrial reconstruction on such a scale causes grave anxieties amongst many here as we see new industrial giants developing in private industry. Yes, many of them as a result of deliberate Government purpose. Where industrial reconstruction leading to larger integrated units creates greater industrial efficiency based not only on size but on an associated management revolution, the Government believe that this process should be not only tolerated but actively encouraged. I emphasise the motive of efficiency and export power, in contrast to those takeovers whose motive is purely financial and bears no relation to efficiency. And particularly in contrast to those where, after a perhaps unwholesome series of financial manoeuvres, the industry concerned is left saddled with an insupportable burden of financial commitments.

This is why, following the totally inadequate consultation which attended the GEC/AEI merger, I insisted in the House of Commons on a code of conduct providing for full consultation. Barbara's department

took charge of this and published the new agreed code this summer—effective in the case of GEC/English Electric.

So far, I have dealt with reorganisation in what are predominantly growth industries. Reorganisation means change and change is painful. We are a Party of change and because of this we have always put in the forefront the measures needed to ease the effects of change on those most likely to be hurt. The Government took early action through redundancy payments, wage-related benefits, a rapid extension of industrial training facilities and in other ways, so that as industrial reorganisation gathered speed, those least able to defend themselves could be protected.

Most of the industries to which I have referred, most of those where industrial restructuring is taking place, are growth industries. That restructuring, whatever the short-term painful effects, is the best means, through increasing our competitive power, of providing real security for workers in the future. Restructuring is the condition of growth, and growth is the condition of job-security, not for these industries alone but for Britain. I remind this Conference of what Barbara said, dealing with these matters in her speech on Sunday at the Eve of Conference demonstration, when she said that the question was not how many would lose their jobs if mergers took place, but how many more would lose any hope of a job if we were not pressing on with the restructuring of industry.

It is the industries where change is associated with contraction which create the biggest human and social problems. The railways, the coal and cotton industries and, in certain sectors, steel, are industries where rapid technological change means redundancies; where, in very many cases, there is little prospect or re-employment within the industry.

The Government realise what this means both for individuals and for whole communities, many of them in remote areas. That is why in the case of coal we have provided machinery for thorough consultation at national, regional and local level. That is why the Coal Industry Act of last year makes provision on an unprecedented scale at a cost of £133 million to soften the impact of economic change. For example, for redundant men over 55, for whom other work is not available, it provides three years' guaranteed income equal to 90 per cent of their previous take-home pay.

That is why we have insisted on expanding the facilities for training both in our rapidly

extended Government Training Centre programme and in Government assisted training within industry. Government training centres alone—there are today three times as many in operation as there were five years ago when the Tories had been 12 years in office. But we still need more places, particularly for retraining those who have lost their jobs through industrial change. Last year I emphasised that all we are doing in industrial training will be wasted if we cannot end the local trade union obstruction to the employment of men who have been trained in new skills.

That is why, too, we have over the past year produced still more powerful incentives to aid regional development with new, unprecedented help for the new Special Development Areas—areas where, because of the closure of a colliery, because of remoteness from other industrial centres, an intolerable rate of unemployment results.

In my speech a year ago, I referred to regional development as Britain's new frontier. It is not for me today to set out in detail all the further actions we have taken. Let me give you one fact. Special—discriminatory—assistance to the development areas this year, including the additional investment grant differential is running at £250 million compared with about £150 million last year, and a mere £18 million in the last year of the Tories.

A streamlined, powerful, efficient, industrial base in Britain—that is what the British people are building with the aid of the policies I have just described. But this industrial reconstruction, while it is an essential condition for putting Britain right, cannot succeed unless our people are prepared to accept Britain's new role in the world for the later 1960s and the 1970s. This is not easy. It has not been easy for any of us to readjust to the new situation. Two years ago I told this Party that never again would Britain engage in any war, other than self-defence, except on a basis of collective security. Our whole defence policy has been based on the rejection of unilateral, go-it-alone, do-it-yourself, military adventures, the rejection equally of Suez imperialism, and the delusion of the so-called independent deterrent.

Reshaping of our defence commitments began as soon as we took office; it has been a continuing process, culminating in this year's defence accounts. As part of the comprehensive statement on Government expenditure which I announced in January, I made clear that following the evacuation of Aden, our defence planning would be based on a

withdrawal of all our forces from our principal Far Eastern bases and from the Persian Gulf, to take effect by the end of 1971. I said further that we recognise 'that our security lies fundamentally in Europe and must be based on the North Atlantic Alliance'.

I do not intend to anticipate today the debates they will be holding next week on our firm announcement to withdraw from the Far East and the Gulf. On the one hand, the official leadership is committed by speeches from Canberra to Cornwall to the proposition that we have to spend hundreds of millions maintaining a phantom military presence in the Middle East and Far East. While even the right wing Guru from Wolverhampton recognises that you cannot promise the country sweeping cuts in Government expenditure while pouring hundreds of millions into maintaining in the Far East a military establishment which is increasingly irrelevant to Britain's emerging role in the modern world.

Defence, then. And if even with the strengthening of the industrial base which we are achieving, we can no longer afford the role of world policeman, equally we can no longer afford the role of world banker.

I have told you how the prestige policy of borrowing short and lending long has made Britain vulnerable to the shocks of world capital movements, even when our trade and industrial base was improving. Last year a crisis in the Middle East led to financial turbulence and panic withdrawals of sterling balances. The rapid improvement in our balance of payments was halted and this was a major factor in driving us to devaluation.

In 13 years they were increasing not only Britain's military overstretch, but also our monetary overstretch. We have sought consistently for a revolutionary change in world finance. This is now beginning to show results. If there can be no defence policy for Britain except on a collective basis, still more is this true of Britain's overseas currency position. We are all members one of another. The lessons for all of us in the sterling area, and, more widely for the world financial community, have been underlined by the Basle Agreement.

Monetary chauvinism is as out of date for Britain as military chauvinism. Following Basle, we now have a collective international role for sterling. And we must go on from there. Our economic role in the world depends much more directly on the efforts we ourselves make to put our house in order.

Your Government accepts this challenge. And again I repeat, we shall hold firmly on the course that the Government has set. We

shall expect the full support of this movement in carrying this through.

And we have the right to ask for this. Because, while our industrial reorganisation and our financial reorganisation have had of necessity to be a slow and painful process, there is one part of our policy, and a part very close to the hearts of the members of this movement, on which we have gone ahead of the schedule we put to the British people in 1964.

The economic strength we are earning the hard way is being built up not for the purpose of statistical satisfaction, not even for economic independence; it is the necessary condition of still further social advance here, and of our aid to hungry nations overseas. That is what socialism means. Speeches and resolutions will not earn that advance. Only work—and the painful processes of change.

Last year I gave Conference the figures for each of the social services, showing the tremendous increase in the resources the Government had by that time made available compared with the last full year of our Conservative predecessors.

In the year since then, expansion has continued in every area of the social services. In that year—I take the latest figures—we have completed an all time record of almost 420,000 houses. In that year we have completed an all time record figure of 821 primary and secondary schools and over 375,000 school places. Remember the Tory 1964 election posters '—Sh! Don't tell the Labour Party the Conservatives are chalking up 10 new schools a week.' Now over this past year we have been building not 10 schools a week, but practically 16. Sh! The Conservatives don't want to know.

Again in that year we have invested another all time record figure of £109.7 million in hospital building, providing for a record number of modern hospital beds. In that year we have completed a record number of health centres. Three times last year's completions.

In human terms again this autumn we shall have some 203,000 students starting a new term at university; 111,000 starting a new term at colleges of education and 205,000 students starting a new term to study advanced courses at colleges of further education. We are, in 1968, ahead of the Robbins' target for the number of full-time students in higher education for 1971. (Flashback to Scarborough 1963.)

Again, the best available figures show that in our hospitals we had 130,000 whole-time nursing and midwifery staff, 23 per cent more than four years ago. This means, just as

much as our all time record hospital building programme, better treatment, better comfort for the sick.

In cash terms, the retirement pension, widow's pension, flat rate unemployment and sickness benefits, have all been raised to a new record level of £4 10s. per week for a single person and £7 6s. for a married couple. Supplementary benefits, raised in October last year, go up again next week. The extended provision for rate rebates, for families in greatest need, comes into force today. To relieve what has now become the greatest problem of poverty in the country, the problem of large families, family allowances next week will stand at 18 to 20 shillings per week, against 8 to 10 shillings a year ago.

I know family allowances are unpopular with very many of our people. I know that payment of family allowances is subject to widespread criticism and even more widespread misrepresentation. But if you accept that the duty of the community is to eliminate poverty, then we cannot turn aside from this great problem of poverty in our families.

This is why we have acted. Explain it. Stop apologising. Stop defending. We have a duty to the least privileged in our community. We have to do what is right simply because it is right.

In January, the Government's action to curb rising rates of expenditure from defence to the social services has, I know, caused great concern to every delegate here. Deeply repugnant decisions had to be taken, desirable and urgent reforms postponed. But to say that, and feel it, does not mean, in the words I hear so often, that we have cut the social services. We have not. What we have done is to restrain the rate of future increase. But this year's expenditure on the health and welfare service is planned at £38 million more than last year, over 50 per cent above the last year of the Tories. Next year it is planned to rise by a further £63 million; and it is planned to go on rising. This year's expenditure on education is running at a rate of £77 million more than last year, and next year it is planned to rise by a further £93 million, with further rises in later years. Expenditure on social security is £176 million above last year and next year it is planned to rise further.

Last year I compared our total expenditure on the social services with our total expenditure on defence. After the January decisions, the social services will be rising and defence expenditure will be falling still more sharply than we planned a year ago. Today, for every hundred pounds we are spending on defence, we are spending £364

on the social services. Next year for every hundred pounds we are spending on defence we shall be spending £376 on the social services. This proportion will grow year by year.

You have made clear, at every level in the Party, your feelings about one or another of the January measures. That is the right of every member of this Party. That is why we are a great movement. Having done that, now it is equally our duty to go out and proclaim our achievements. (Yours, too, if I may say so.)

For they are great achievements and they are your achievements. These figures of financial provision, of bricks and mortar, and hospital beds and school places are the munitions of the social revolution. Year by year they represent an emerging pattern of an approach to social problems and social need which is based on priorities, inevitably changing priorities.

We inherited a great problem of poverty we were pledged to eradicate. We began where that poverty was then most severe, but now the priorities are changing as we are finding resources to deal with the problem I have spoken of, the problem of large families. As we move from one area of the social services to another, from flat rate to earnings-related benefits, this is to be crowned by the plan which will soon be put before the country, the completion of our comprehensive review of social security, our great plan for National Superannuation, yes, the end of the Tory swindle.

Changing priorities in education. The urgent provisions we had to make for primary schools and for better teacher training facilities. Education is opportunity and, year by year, we are tackling on a priority basis those problems, from slum schools to shortage of teachers which deny opportunity. But, more clearly than ever, is emerging the great guarantee of educational opportunity—the widespread adoption of comprehensive education.

Changing priorities in housing over four years. Freedom from eviction, fair rents. More houses built to let. The attack on the slums. Option mortgages and 100 per cent mortgages for lower income families wanting to own their own homes. And as we come to terms more and more with the inherited problem of the slums, growing provision for a new priority—the improvement of older but structurally sound houses.

Our socialism is not measured in material progress only. When, before 1964, we charted the path that Britain would follow under a Labour Government, we spoke of a new concept of freedom, the broader

freedom without which social democracy would be meaningless. Freedom from contempt, the enhancing of the dignity of man.

This is the only answer to the violent society. We in the Labour movement oppose the importation of violence; equally we oppose the importation of authoritarianism to meet that violence. Some public figures provoke the one, and then invoke the other to deal with it.

This problem of violence has become a world problem. It is associated in many countries with a swing to the right. Only the forces of reaction, it is urged, have the will and the ruthlessness to stamp out the cult of violence which their words and policies have incited.

The words of the Swedish Prime Minister at our demonstration on Sunday are the answer. An answer not in words only, but backed by one of the greatest election victories in his country's history.

We shall meet the appeal to reaction here in Britain as Swedish Social Democracy has met it, not by complacent assertions that it can't happen here, but by asserting our faith that social grievances require social solutions—by positive social action by the State. By what the Swedes in their election called the Strong Society.

We reject equally the apostles of authoritarian violence on the one hand and negative violence on the other. Both are essentially and profoundly anti-democratic. Both seek to destroy. The Conservatives at home and abroad seek to destroy the defences we have built for the weak against those who abuse economic and social power. The nihilists in their despair seek to destroy the very fabric of organised society.

We assert that the challenge of violence can be met only by a strong community responsibility to protect the individual against the insolence of economic and social power.

We are the Party of human rights. The only Party of human rights that will be speaking from this platform this month. Human rights: this has been the central theme of this Government's actions from the day we took office. In my first speech as Prime Minister I got embroiled with the Tories over Smethwick. In our first international statement, we issued, in the strongest terms, a warning against racial extremists in Rhodesia—a warning of what we should have to do when faced with an outbreak of racial extremism in Rhodesia—a warning on which we had to act—followed by the assertion of the six principles on which we stood and on which we stand.

For the struggle against racialism is a world-wide fight. It is the dignity of man for which we are fighting. If what we assert is true for Birmingham, it is true for Bulawayo.

Last May Day, I said that this moral law was equally binding whether we were talking of Birmingham, England, or Birmingham, Alabama. But this is not a moral law that is binding in respect of race alone. It is binding for all issues involving freedom and democratic institutions.

If ever there were a condemnation of the values of the Party which forms Her Majesty's Opposition, it is the fact that the virus of Powellism has taken so firm a hold, at every level; that last April those who sought to disembarass themselves of the man felt constrained to claim that they were not dissociating themselves from his doctrine but only from his phraseology. That it was all a matter of words. That was April. In September even the words didn't matter any more.

Four years, then, have seen an emerging pattern. Britain's response in terms going far beyond money and materials, to the challenge of a world which is rapidly changing, to the challenge presented by the fact that Britain's role in that world has changed. It is a response marked by the qualities which history will ascribe to this Government—resolution and determination in economic recovery and reconstruction, even if this has meant standing firm against deeply cherished attitudes of the past. In economic affairs and more widely the quality of resilience and a willingness to accept change, indeed whatever the short-term costs, to harness change to our purposes. Above all the quality of compassion and concern, the concern for the material wants of those here and amongst us and throughout the Commonwealth and yet wider; and, transcending material wants, concern for the right and dignity of men as individuals.

These emerging themes were based on predetermined principles. And within those principles a strategy which has meant responding to changes in the nature of the problems we have had to face. We have never been afraid to learn from our own experience, even though the lessons have, sometimes, been bitter. The Conservatives have shown, and predictably will show here again at Blackpool next week, that they have learnt nothing even from their own experience; that this rapidly changing world—a world of excitement and opportunity as well as challenge—is a world they shrink to enter. Not only are they unable to appreciate the

basic character of the problems that have to be solved, they have not even grasped yet what the problems are. We shall hear nothing from Blackpool next week except an attempt to solve the problems of yesterday by the methods of the day before yesterday.

We here can see the emerging themes of our comprehensive attack on the problems which we have inherited. Behind the themes, the strategy for the future. There is no party political strategy. There is only the strategy for Britain.

And the strategy for Britain means continuing to pursue the economic policies that are necessary, regardless of popularity, whatever the pressures, until we are paying our way and have achieved independence. At the end of the road, Britain will reap all the dividends from the industrial change which at such pain, at such cost, we are forcing through. This industrial change is the economic miracle of which independent commentators were beginning to write and speak in the spring, the commentators whom I quoted at Newtown.

I warned then at Newtown that if we were to let up now, if we allowed anything our opponents did to cause us to lose our nerve, it is they, and not we, who would reap the fruits of all we have done. I said then, I repeat today, that is not going to happen. I quoted the words of Nye Bevan—words spoken from the Opposition front bench—when he said that the Tories were reaping the fruits of the trees we had planted. It has been a backbreaking job planting those trees. I intend to see they are not going to gather that fruit a second time.

And this means we continue in the policies the Government have laid down. For today, as for four years, we have to face the conflict between what is right in the long-term and what is necessary in the short-term.

The short-term measures we have taken, first in defence of the pound, and now to make devaluation work; the long-term measures towards the restructuring of industry and the initiation of an incomes/prices policy; these measures have been devoted in the first instance to working with the system we have inherited. What we have yet to see are the results of the changes in the system which we have set in train, particularly those directed to broadening and modernising the industrial base on which our whole economic future depends.

For three of these four years we were engaged in the battle to defend the pound. It was right to fight that battle, and for a great part of that fight our rapidly diminishing deficit suggested that it could be won.

Had we won it, we could have restored what had not been bequeathed to us, independence and freedom of action, at less cost to the lower-paid workers and those who in the past have always paid the price of economic crisis.

Every devaluation in other countries has meant a heavy price for those least able to defend themselves. This is why we never regarded it as an easy way out when siren voices were pressing it upon us as a panacea for all our problems. It has not been an easy way out. The need for stricter control of expenditure, public and private, is greater than ever. The need for a sane, planned prices and incomes policy is greater than ever. Above all the paramount need for increased productivity is greater than ever.

Everything for which we have fought before devaluation we are fighting for now. Our policy is the same policy pursued with more drastic means. Devaluation was no easy way of dealing with our problems. It meant inevitable sacrifices and inequalities—sacrifices and inequalities we have fought by special measures to protect those relying on social security and to protect the larger families on lower incomes. To accept the logic of a free-for-all economy, a free-for-all in wages would mean that the lowest paid would suffer.

For we came to power to put the balance right. The balance between those who suffered and those who gained in the Tory free-for-all. The balance between private and public expenditure.

We have gone through a great deal together in defence of everything we stand for, against everything they are capable of throwing at us. But we have come through. And we are now on the attack again.

I have set out the task of this Party as we go forward from defence to attack. 'It is the job of every member of this Party to join with their Government in defending the bastions we have won from those who would seek to drive us out for their own gain. It is for every member of this Party to join us in attacking the false and empty doctrines of those who, having failed the nation, now seek to exploit the problems of change in order to get back into power to control the destinies of a nation whose problems they do not understand.

'How many of our members, bewildered by the barrage of misrepresentation, have even failed to defend us against the attacks of an unscrupulous Establishment? But it is not a defensive posture for which I ask. I charge you now to go over to the attack, yes, attack them on all the things we have had to do to strengthen the economy, attack

them above all on the positive things we have done, which they have opposed, and which even now they are seeking to undermine—not least the programme of social advance of these last four years, but indeed the Welfare State itself.’

For us clearly the emerging pattern shows us the way forward. It is still not an easy way nor shall we offer you an easy way. It is still not a time for complacency and over confidence, but we are now setting out on the decisive year. A year in which what we all do can decide the future of this movement, the future of this country. Let us hammer out together the way forward for this crucial year.

Let others divide. We have something to fight for, something that is worth all the attacks, worth all the toil, worth all the work we still have to do. The future of Britain and the future of our children. A future for which we must go out and fight, a future which fighting we shall win.

Mr. Wilson received a standing ovation.

The Chairman: Thank you, Harold. After that soldier’s speech—soldier in the most important fight in all the world—I hope that we can proceed quickly to the machinery of government, Composite 41. We have before us the Parliamentary Report, but it contains material that we have already debated and are going on to debate, and because of the pressure of time I hope I have your agreement in now proceeding to Composite 41. Composite 41 will be moved by Hornchurch C.L.P. and seconded by Blackpool North C.L.P.

I want to make clear that Conference has agreed that we pass on—you are not raising any point of order about the Parliamentary Report. (*Agreed.*)

Mr. V. Rumsey (Hornchurch C.L.P.) moved the following composite resolution (Composite 41):

*This Conference calls for the immediate abolition of the House of Lords.**

He said: Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, as representative of the Hornchurch Constituency Labour Party, I have been asked to move this resolution, a product of several dealing with this particular subject, and composited on Saturday.

The question of the abolition of the House of Lords has been in the minds of socialists for many, many years, ever since probably the creation of the Labour Party in the days of Keir Hardie, and of latter years has

**Resolution remitted. See page 186*

appeared regularly, or more or less regularly on the agenda. Sometimes it has even been discussed. Nevertheless, in Hornchurch we thought that this particular resolution should appear again, and surprisingly enough I have the opportunity of bringing it before this Conference. Of course, I do hope that you will give it your full support, as I think it has been coming up so many times, it is about time we reached the proper solution.

We know that steps have been taken over many years to alter the whole construction and conception of the House of Lords, and with the introduction of life peers by Labour, a great difference has been made in the voting strength of the parties. I feel that the whole principle of the House of Lords is wrong. We talk very freely of democracy and democratic institutions in this country, but we should be prepared to see that this applies to one of our greatest, or even our greatest, institutions—the government of this country. We are living in a climate of very rapid and great change. People today, particularly young people, are questioning many of the practices and institutions that have been with us for centuries.

One of the institutions in question is, I feel, the House of Lords, and I feel that its abolition would solve another one of these problems. The Labour Government, apart from inheriting great economic problems, also found itself saddled with plenty of out-moded ideas and institutions. I feel that as well as tackling the balance of payments, etc., it has tidied up, if you like to put it that way, many of the old-fashioned ideas. Barbara Castle on Sunday night said, ‘We are a revolutionary party’. I heartily agree with her. Do not let us become a part of the establishment. I believe that one of the ways to be revolutionary is to abolish the House of Lords.

I do not propose to speak much longer, because I am sure that many delegates have plenty to say on this particular resolution. I sincerely trust that you will agree with me that the Labour Party must retain its revolutionary spirit and press forward against old-fashioned prejudice and institutions. I therefore have much pleasure in moving this resolution. (*Applause.*)

Mr. I. J. Taylor (Blackpool North C.L.P.): Comrade Chairman, comrade delegates, the House of Lords has been regarded as requiring drastic, radical change for more than a century. Political theory for over 100 years has run contrary to the idea of hereditary privilege. Since 1911 there has been on the Statute Book the declared intention to reform. Yet, comrades, the Lords is still

with us and the hereditary principle is built into that House now more strongly than ever it was, and it is still the sole basis of its power.

There is no case for the House of Lords save as a method of ensuring that one Party and one section of the community shall govern. No-one who examines the legislative record of the House of Lords, however predisposed he may be towards it, can see in it anything but a consistent fight for the interests of wealth. Their attack has always been directed against a progressive Government. No Tory Government has ever had anything to fear from the House of Lords. The Marquess of Salisbury, speaking once on the House of Lords, said: 'They will always accept the considered judgment of the nation when once that has really been ascertained', but he then went on: 'It requires considerable training and experience to know what is the considered judgment of the people. They'—that is, the House of Lords—'have that tradition'.

Comrades, can anything be more undemocratic than this philosophy that the peerage knows best what is in the interests of the British people? Yet in fact consider the monstrous damage that has been done to public policy by that body. They have embittered Anglo-Irish relations. But for the Lords, Irish home rule would have come in 1893. Thus what might have been given to the moderate and constitutional Irish Home Rule Movement in 1893, what might even in 1913 have formed a basis of Anglo-Irish friendship, had eventually to be granted to a revolutionary committee. The intervening years of bloodshed are the responsibility of the House of Lords as an institution and the peerage as a class. In the 1930s they successfully delayed the granting of independence to India, and in 1968 they are continuing the tradition by their open and defiant attempts to resist the establishment of democracy in Rhodesia.

Madam Chairman, the only thing more surprising than the fact that the Lords were still in existence in 1964 is that they are still in existence in 1968. I say to this Conference that one of the greatest services that this Government could perform would be to take off the back of the British people this medieval hindrance to progress, and my constituency of Blackpool North have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Now we come to Composite 42, to be moved by East Surrey Constituency Labour Party and seconded by Coventry East Constituency Labour Party.

Mr. M. Reardon (East Surrey C.L.P.) moved the following composite resolution (Composite No. 42):

This Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to set up a committee to examine ways of reforming the machinery of Government in Britain so as to provide:

- (a) *More effective participation in decision making by the people and their elected representatives;*
- (b) *more effective control of the Executive by the legislature, to render the specialist all-party committees a reality and to extend their application;*
- (c) *true devolution of power to local democracy, bearing in mind that decisions should be controlled democratically by those whom they will affect, and*
- (d) *statutory safeguards of the rights and freedoms of the individual.*

This committee drawn from all sections of the Party, shall, if possible, report back in time for consideration of its recommendations by the 1969 Annual Conference. Conference calls upon the Government to explore all avenues for widening democratic participation in industry, commerce, the social services, local government and government sponsored bodies.

He said: Madam Chairman, Comrades, recently throughout the world we have seen much violence, much disturbance—in France, in the United States, and Czechoslovakia. These are particular examples. This has been the result of people wanting to take a greater interest in and a greater control over the things that affect their lives. This has not been granted. We have seen in France the terrible destruction that can come from this. We have seen in the United States the terrible reaction—the Wallaces and the Nixons—that arises from this. We have seen even in this country the dangers of Powell and populism that arise through frustrated people who feel they no longer have any control or any say in the things that affect their every-day lives.

The solutions that have been advanced so far are very poor. They are these populist ideas—the authoritarian governments, on the one hand, and the quiet, reassuring but totally false fireside chats, on the other hand.

What is wanted is to go to the people of this country and say, 'It is your future. It is your life. It is your country. You must be allowed a say in the way it runs'—not only a vote every five years to put your M.P. into Parliament, but a method of making sure that he is effective when he gets there. And not only Parliament but in the factory, in the workshop, when you go shopping in the supermarket, and when you go to college and University. You must be allowed to say what you want to see and to have some note taken of your voice and to feel that you as a member of this community count and what you believe counts, for this is democracy and this is socialism. (*Applause.*)

We are putting forward to the N.E.C. a four point programme. We ask them to form a committee to report to us on the ways in which this programme may best be implemented. We want to see more effective participation in decision making by ordinary people, more effective participation than the works councils that discuss how many toilets you have, how many towels you have and what colour they shall be. We want to see more effective control of these faceless civil servants by our elected representatives and an extension of the all-party committees. We do not want to be ruled by a civil service we can never see. We want to be ruled by the people we elect to rule us. (*Applause.*) We want to see a true devolution of power, a true involvement of people in the things that affect them.

We want to see decisions taken where the decision is needed, not away in Whitehall or in the City of London or by some gnome in Zurich, but by the people who are going to be affected by these decisions. Not only in this way will you get democratic decisions but you will get better decisions.

Also we want to see, with this increase in democracy, some safeguard for the minorities, for the poor, for the coloured immigrant, to make this society what we want, a socialist society, a democratic society.

So we ask the N.E.C. to do this for us, and we ask the Government to do this, to move forward and take your policies out to the people, to convince the people and move forward with the people into a socialist democracy. I beg to move. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Cunningham (Coventry East C.L.P.): In seconding this resolution it is felt there is a need to involve the ordinary individual of this country in a wider and more democratic participation in industry, commerce, social services and local government and government-sponsored bodies.

We have heard the Prime Minister this

morning talk about new Britain. Well, surely in this sphere this is part of the new Britain, of the social change of the new Britain. Therefore there is a danger that without a wider and more democratic participation by the individual or by his representatives he will become more isolated and will resort to undemocratic means of achieving his aims.

The Chairman: Composite 8 is moved by Edinburgh Leith C.L.P.

DEVOLUTION FOR SCOTLAND AND WALES

Mr. R. King-Murray (Edinburgh, Leith C.L.P.) moved the following composite resolution (Composite Resolution No. 8):

*This Conference realises that it is essential for the welfare of the people that the United Kingdom should remain a single economic unit and congratulates the Government on its efforts to encourage industrial development in areas that have so far suffered from lower wages and disproportionate unemployment, but it calls on the Government to recognise the desire of the people of Scotland and Wales for elected assemblies which would enable them to determine matters that are purely of concern to Scotland and Wales, a form of devolution which would in no way impair the position of the 71 Scottish and 35 Welsh M.P.s at Westminster and would, by removing present grievances, strengthen the unity of the country as a whole.**

He said: Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, the first part of this composite rightly stresses the essential economic unity of Britain and the success which Labour Government action has had in reversing the economic drift from our remoter areas, a success story of which we can be proud. The remainder of the resolution calls for reasonable devolution for Scotland and Wales, while retaining the overall British Parliament in Westminster.

If we pass this resolution we shall go far towards challenging the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists on terms which will carry the battle into their territory. Let me dispose of two delusions. Those who support this resolution are not seeking to out-bid the Nationalists or to yield to them. We are only reaffirming basic Labour policy which has been left aside.

Keir Hardie, who was certainly not a narrow nationalist, had home rule for Scotland in his election manifesto in 1888; it

*Resolution remitted. See page 186

was adopted as national policy at the first British Labour Party conference in 1918; it was repeatedly reaffirmed at Scottish conferences right up to the 1940s. A watered-down equivocal version of the policy, recommending the maximum possible self government for Scotland within the U.K., was passed by a Scottish conference in 1958 and, in substance, reaffirmed this year. Had we kept to a stronger statement on the lines of the present composite the rise of nationalism might well have been averted.

Secondly, we are not advocating any kind of separatism, let me make that clear. We firmly believe the prosperity of Scotland and Wales and, indeed, of England, depends on socialist planning for the whole of Britain. (*Applause.*) We cannot afford to divide or fragment the British economy.

Why nationalism now, you may say, and why in Britain? Did we not fight German nationalism under Hitler, and have we not fought and conquered British nationalism in the form of imperialism? Scottish and Welsh nationalism are symptoms of quite different ills, partly economic, partly social. To some extent they emerge because it is so easy for the English to identify Britain with themselves. After all, most English institutions are also British. The English chose the Union Jack as the British flag, rather than the flag of England, as their world cup colours. Luckily for them they won. This easy self-identification is not open to the Scots, the Welsh or the Irish, because they belong to distinct national communities which really do exist, not just as football internationals but all through the year.

Perhaps they should not exist, maybe it would have been better if our forebears had forged an entirely new British state and abolished the constituent nations. But they did not do that and nobody proposes to do it now. The one man who tried was Cromwell, and he is not too popular. So it is no use talking about Scotland and Wales as mere subordinate or insubordinate regions, they are living national communities. A political party which does not face this fact today is unlikely to win seats in Scotland or Wales.

But much of the nationalist support comes not from any desire for total separation or for national aggrandisement, but simply from the wish to have their distinctive identity recognised and allowed for in building the Britain of the future.

Nor do the reasonable claims of Scotland and Wales carry any threat to internationalism. It is the big nation states that are liable to advance from reasonable patriotism to unreasoning, narrow

nationalism, conscious of their dependence on their neighbours. Small national communities, conscious that they cannot stand alone, are the building blocks of true internationalism. The Czechs and Slovaks, two peoples in partnership, are bearing witness to this truth now, with their lives in their hands.

There is another powerful current of events from which nationalism is profiting, and reference has been made to it in regard to Composite 42, which I think is in the spirit of this resolution. Also it is the modern trend towards regionalism and the fuller involvement in the democratic process. Workers want more participation in industry, and we passed a statement about that; students want a better say in their education; local government needs more local interest; the regions want a bigger part in the decisions which affect them. The interest in Scottish and Welsh self-government is part of this intellectual ferment. Redistribution of wealth alone will not achieve socialism, there must also be redistribution of power to the people.

This is the message of the half-term manifesto—I nearly called it the half-time score board.

The planners are unanimous that regional governments will work best if the component units are natural rather than artificial. Scotland and Wales are natural communities. The Scottish border, for instance, is no arbitrary line hallowed only by history, it marks an obvious geographical division and demarcates a community which is distinctive in history, education, language and literature, which has its own national institutions—its own health service, for example. It also has its own developed law and legal system and its own central government departments. There is thus a Scottish Executive and a Scottish Judiciary, two of the three organs of constitutional democracy. Can it be democratic to omit the third and not to subject the other two to the continuing scrutiny in Scotland of an elected assembly of the people?

The Government's decision to have meetings of the Scottish Grand Committee in Scotland is a step in the right direction, but by itself it will not increase the time available for necessary Scottish legislation, and to elect an Assembly, as proposed in the resolution, could do that. These objectives, as I pointed out, can be achieved without economic or political apartheid.

Beyond this, the Scottish Nationalists are a monumental irrelevance. In details of policy they are divided and massively naive. When elected, they discover they have neither

the policies nor the time to carry out the public duties for which they volunteered. They sell a preconceived solution without any detailed knowledge of the problems it is supposed to solve. The tragedy is that they are bringing in votes from electors who never voted before. The blind leading the blind. Indeed, an S.N.P. candidate in my own city, who won a council seat in May, confessed on a public platform that although she had been an elector for many years she had never voted in local elections.

Of course, whenever there is serious talk of devolution the same old, threadbare unionist Tory argument against reform are trotted out. One old faithful is that nothing should be done because the economies of Scotland and Wales would collapse if they were not shored up with subsidies from England's wealth. This carries the appalling implication that for over 250 years of union with England all that has happened is to reduce Scotland to a mere regional parasite dependent on English charity, and nobody in Scotland or England could be happy with that.

It ignores the fact that devolution would help rather than hinder the economies of Scotland and Wales by involving the people more directly with the problems and their solution.

But first of all the argument rests upon assumptions for which there is no evidence. A full statistical account of Scotland's contribution to the British economy was called for 30 years ago. The figures are still not available. I noticed in Monday's *Guardian* that an anonymous ghost-writer produced some shadowy figures about this without giving their basis or source. I am convinced that Scotland does pay her way. Scottish earnings are 26s. per week below the British average yet exports per head are higher and imports per head lower than the British average, and savings per head in Scotland are 50 per cent higher.

The hard fact is clear: that the economy of most of England overheats while the economies of Scotland and Wales and some parts of England are supercooled. Apposite economic remedies are required. If our constitutional machinery does not provide for this, let us at least consider changing the machinery.

In conclusion, let me repeat that the supporters of this resolution wish to strengthen Britain, not dismember her. We are not anti-English. We are not anti-British. Indeed, we want to improve British solidarity, and all trade unionists know that there is more strength in solidarity than in suppression.

We want Britain to be a healthy unity, with real life in all its limbs. We do not seek to amputate Scotland and Wales because of some fashionable theory. We seek to revitalise Scotland and Wales so that all talk about amputation can be seen to be silly. I move the composite. (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. Hinchliffe (Cardiganshire C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, comrades, first let me say, on behalf of my Constituency Party, that we warmly welcome the steps which have been taken from 1964 onwards in giving Wales a much greater say in her own affairs, and particularly the appointment of a Secretary of State for Wales; and, secondly, that we welcome also the sincere and courageous attempt to tackle the economic problems which face Wales and which have been tackled through the advance factory programme and the creation of the development areas.

But unfortunately the success of this programme, which was outlined in the 1964 'Signpost for Wales' document, and which received the overwhelming support of the Welsh people in the 1964 and 1966 elections, seems almost as far away as ever. The unemployment rate in Wales is still lying at 4 per cent and is still almost twice the English level.

The second point I should like to make is that the Welsh Office figures on the creation of new jobs by 1971 mean that the work force in Wales will remain about stable, and this means that there will be still considerable emigration from Wales.

The result of this partial failure of policy has been disillusion of Welsh Labour Party supporters and the demand for greater popular participation in running their own affairs. This has been shown by the Western Mail opinion poll which showed that 59 per cent of the Welsh people want a separate Parliament, but that in spite of the Nationalist popularity which has been shown in successive by-elections only 18 per cent of the people want total economic separation from England.

I want to say to this Conference that now is the time to meet this rising demand. There are two aspects to this demand. First of all, the recognition of Wales as a nation. Now, I speak as a Yorkshireman working in Wales, and I am unable to bring to this the passion which many of my Welsh colleagues would bring to it, but I know I should disappoint them if I did not press their demand that the existence of Wales as a nation should be recognised, not only by the existence of a

Secretary of State for Wales but also by the creation of an elected body to deal with matters which particularly affect Wales.

As the previous speaker has said, there is nothing strange in this position for the Labour Party. He has mentioned Keir Hardie, and successive Party Conferences in 1918, 1929 and 1945 have all supported demands for home rule in Wales and Scotland.

The second aspect of this is the urgent problem of the growing centralisation of power, and one of the reasons, I feel, for the Labour Party's present unpopularity is the distance of decision-making from the electorate. Things which vitally affect the well-being of people are now happening to people as a result of decisions of remote organisations such as the National Coal Board, British Rail and the Water Boards in Wales. And I would like to say these bureaucratic tendencies must be fought and there must be an attempt at much greater participation of the people in matters which concern them.

The solution to this problem is the creation of an elected Council for Wales, and to this council could be devolved the powers at present held by the Secretary of State, and in addition further powers to this could be added which are at present exercised by various separate, and very often not elected, bodies. And under the elected Council for Wales could come the various functions of education, agriculture, health, transport, tourism, police, and a water board, which is particularly demanded.

Finally, let me say that the initiative must soon come on this issue from the Labour Government, because it cannot afford to try to oppose the rising tide of demand for control over their own affairs of the people of Wales and Scotland, and no matter what the positive balance of the economy may be before the next General Election, I say to this Conference that this would be lost unless we are able to give our supporters in Wales and Scotland a clear programme of devolution of power and responsibility. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Thank you. We will now go on to the general debate.

Mr. L. Paul (Cardiff West C.L.P.): I want to speak on Motion 8 and I want to oppose the motion as it stands. I do not oppose the sentiments of the mover and the seconder but I oppose the motion in the way it is phrased. It is a dangerous motion. It is true, as the mover and the seconder said, that there must be greater participation in the affairs of regions, but this is true not only

of Scotland and Ireland and Wales but of Cornwall, of Yorkshire, of Lancashire. We must involve people in participation in the events which control their day-to-day lives, but this motion does not do that. It is true that people in Wales are demanding a greater say in their own affairs. They have asked for a Parliament of Wales, but they have asked for this on emotional grounds, and I would hope that this Conference would be very very careful before passing a motion which would set up a Parliament for Wales.

If we look at the next motion on the composite agenda, Motion 9, this spells out a warning for all of us, because the pattern that would evolve if this motion were carried would be that of Northern Ireland. There is already a Parliament for Northern Ireland, and is this a glorious success? Do the North Irish people believe they have a greater say in their own affairs? Is not unemployment greater? Is not the country divided? Is not the Parliament in Northern Ireland second-rate? This would be a danger which would confront aspiring politicians in Wales and in Scotland.

If there were a Parliament for Wales, would they stand for this or would they stand for Westminster? If they stood for Westminster, the best would go to Westminster, the second-rate would remain in Wales. Vice versa, if they decided to stand for Wales, the second-rate would go to Westminster and then the first part of this composite motion, which asks for a single economic unit, would be defeated because the pressure for Wales would be reduced.

There is disappointment. We know that in Wales unemployment is higher; we know that the general economic standing of our peoples—incomes—is lower; we know that while in Britain the problem is immigration, in Wales it is emigration. We lose more teachers than we import; we know that coal is running down; we know 31 out of 41 advance factories have been let, that the remainder are still empty. All these things we know, but how do we resolve this problem? Not, I suggest, by setting up a Parliament for Wales.

I hope this Conference will ask the mover and seconder to remit this motion to the National Executive to examine very carefully the implications. How can we meet this demand for participation? Not, I suggest, by passing a motion calling for a Parliament for Wales, but by asking the National Executive to examine all the implications, to examine examples which are already before us. As an immediate step, I would hope the Government would further

strengthen the Welsh Office, that they would pass to the Welsh Office responsibility for other administrative units which they have not got already—transport, education and so forth.

I would hope that the Council for Wales, which at the moment is an appointed body by the Secretary, could become an elected body. This would give us greater involvement, greater participation. Then the people in Wales would believe that they had a say in their representatives. At the moment they believe that this body which is appointed by the Secretary may be the best body available but nevertheless it is appointed.

So for these reasons I would ask this Conference, if the mover and seconder are not prepared to remit the motion, to defeat it.

Mr. James Hamilton, M.P. (Constructional Engineering Union): Madam Chairman, this motion, No. 8, is the one to which I want to refer. It is my experience that so far as we in Scotland are concerned we have been rather diffident about telling the Scottish electorate what this Government has done for them since they were elected in 1964.

Many reasons have been put forward for the upsurge of nationalism, not only in Scotland but also in Wales, and if I may take this as an analogy, in England when we lost many of our elections it was because most of the electors were opposed to Government policies but were not prepared to support the Tory Party. In Scotland, to fill the vacuum, they voted for the National candidates, and unfortunately those of us who are in responsible positions failed to tell the Scottish people that the Scottish Grand Committee and the Scottish Standing Committee—which in the House of Commons, of course, discuss wholly and solely Scottish matters—were put on the statute book by a former Secretary of State for Scotland.

When we read this resolution, the first part of it congratulates, quite correctly, the Government of the day. Let us pose this question—and do not let us pose the rhetorical questions which are being posed by the Nationalists throughout the length of Scotland, they pose the questions but they do not give us the answers because they themselves do not have a policy—are the Scottish industrialists or the Welsh industrialists prepared to invest money in their countries?

The answer is most emphatically no. When one considers the number of advance factories which have been built in Scotland

and the number of industrialists who because of Government inducements have come to our country, one finds now, much to the amazement of the pundits and of course the emissaries of the Tory Party, that the unemployment figures in Scotland have not reached the gigantic proportions which were forecast by the pundits of the Tory Party when they go on to public platforms.

I would ask the mover of this resolution to remit this to the National Executive because I cannot under any circumstances understand what they are talking about when they mention a Scottish Assembly, because the other party who have been putting forward, quite possibly, this point of view we now discover are shilly-shallying; they are advocating their own party's responsibilities in an attempt to do a deal with the Nationalist Party.

I do not think that we in the Labour Party require to have any misgivings; we do not require to have any inhibitions about what we have done for the people of Scotland, and I am convinced that if we go forward from this Conference not, as it were, as a party on the defensive, but a party on the offensive and spell out to the people of Scotland what in essence separatism means, what we have done for the people of Scotland, what we intend to do for the people of Scotland, then I have no fear that, come the next general election, because of my implicit faith in the Scottish people, they will once again rally back to the Labour Party and return Labour Members of Parliament. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Ednyfed Davies, (ex-officio M.P. Conway): I would like to remind you that the thought of devolution has become very much part of our political thinking. I would remind you also that we are these days dealing constantly with the region. Since the war, we have seen an enormous increase in Government activity and most of this has been dealt with regionally—the administration of welfare services, regional hospital boards, the nationalised industries, regional boards and economic planning. We talk in terms of regions.

And yet we are talking here about activity in a field where there is no such thing as a democratically elected body. We have allowed activity to grow in that gap between central and local government which is the field of the bureaucrat and nominated officials and nominated boards. We need elected bodies here. That is an administrative argument. I have no doubt that the Royal Commission on Local Government will put

that argument to us in the very near future.

But when we look at Composite Motion No. 8 and Wales and Scotland, here there is something different because the other argument applies to Britain as a whole. There is need for some regional devolution. But Wales and Scotland are also nations. As a party, it is at our peril that we will forget this, because there is a discontent growing and it is more than worry about unemployment and things of this kind. It cannot be explained away in this way. Basically, it is a desire less, perhaps, for participation in decision-making than for a feeling of communication. It is a sense of remoteness.

When students are on about playing a role in university affairs, what they really want is not the right to take decisions, but to be heard and to feel that they are being heard. The same is happening in Wales and Scotland.

You must have links, a feeling that there is a democratically elected body which is your voice, which can indeed make some decisions which deal with your problems in Wales and in Scotland. The Labour Party has gone a considerable way in this direction. A long time ago there have been steps in this direction in Scotland. During this Government we have seen such steps in Wales—a Secretary of State for Wales. This new office has been mentioned before. It is a good start. But the climate now is making it possible for us to go further.

I am not talking about narrow nationalism, and I do not want it to be confused with this. But the claim for complete separatism is very small in Wales. I can assure you of this. What people are really after is the sense of communication.

I think that the question we need to ask is why our people, who are not narrow nationalists, people within our own party, have been voting for nationalist candidates. We lost Carmarthen in Wales. We came close to defeat in Rhondda and again in Caerphilly, when we consider that those were safe Labour areas. Something is happening that has to be taken into account.

The National Executive has a study group on the regional question. I am very happy to be a member of that study group. We have to look at this. We fought the last election in Wales, many of us, on the argument that it was the Labour Party that could give Wales what it wanted. That does not just mean roads and factories. On that level, our record has been excellent. I make no apology. In view of the restrictive period we have been through, we have done very well. But, now, something more is being

asked for, and we must lend our ear to it.

Enoch Powell argued recently that there was no such thing as a halfway house, that either it was complete separation or tight unity within Britain. The fact that Enoch Powell makes that argument is a strong *prima facie* case for its falsity. There is such a possibility of something intermediate. An elected assembly is a reasonable demand. What is mentioned in the motion is highly reasonable. There is an administrative case for it. There is an emotive case for it. The people of Wales and Scotland want it. If we refuse this motion, I assure you—I warn you—the people of Wales and Scotland may well reject us.

Mr. A. M. Donnet (National Union of General and Municipal Workers): I am speaking to the Scottish content of Composite Motion No. 8. I think it is a little bit unfortunate that my predecessor at the rostrum mentioned the fact that he is a member of the study group and finished up with the kind of recommendation he did.

This composite motion is clearly in two parts, the composers of the motion are to be congratulated in that separatist policies are rejected. There is also a clear recognition that although Scotland does have economic problems, separation from the rest of the U.K. would not solve these difficulties. Many of the problems that Scotland has are common to other areas of the country, including the North-East of England and Northern Ireland, where, we are told, considerable political autonomy already exists.

There is, too, in the first part of the motion, a well-deserved acknowledgment that our Labour Government has taken a considerable number of steps to help Scotland. But more could, and should, be done to help the Scottish economy. In my opinion, this is one of the best ways to cope with the high tide of Scottish prejudice present in nationalist propaganda.

The second part of the motion is a horse of a different colour and it begs all kinds of questions. It clearly assumes that it is a very desirable political objective to transfer political powers exercised by the central Government to a Scottish Assembly. I would agree that detailed consideration must be given to this matter. I would agree that a decision should be made before another year has passed. But today is too early for a decision, and we should avoid any commitment at this stage.

Both the Scottish Council of the Labour Party and the General Council of the

Scottish T.U.C. are presently engaged in an exploration in depth of the whole situation. Both those bodies feel that it is relevant to the situation to have some idea of the nature of the recommendations from the two Royal Commissions on Local Government. In particular, they will wish to see what they say about the size, the finance and the functions of the local government units. It would be much more appropriate to exercise a judgment after these explorations have been conducted than before they have been completed.

I would therefore support my earlier Welsh colleague in appealing to the Chairman to ask the movers of the motion to remit it to the National Executive. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Donald Anderson (*ex officio* M.P., Monmouthshire): As they say, many are called but few are chosen. I am delighted, Madam Chairman, to be one of those chosen today. I would like to support Composite Resolution No. 8, although I share the misgivings which people like Jimmy Hamilton and the last speaker mentioned—that the motion does not give a full view. It is a piecemeal motion. It just talks about an elected assembly.

What I would like to see this Party do is to give us a policy statement from the N.E.C. showing, in all detail, what are the implications of the giving of greater powers to the regions, what would be the implications for local government, for central Government finance, and so on, because the people are asking for this. So far, we have not yet made up our minds. The motion, if we were to support it, would only show the sympathy of the Conference for the feelings that are now at work in Wales and in Scotland.

I remember that three years ago at this Conference, nobody mentioned devolution. It was not a talking point at that time. Yet clearly the message of by-elections, the message of local elections, has shown that forces are now at work in Wales and in Scotland which were not at work at that time.

We have to come to terms with them. We have to take a much more imaginative stance than so far we have taken. We have to beware of those who think that an elected assembly is some sort of magic wand and when we wave it all the problems of Wales and Scotland will disappear.

One of our comrades mentioned Northern Ireland. Well, that shows, I think, not only in the political structure but in the unemployment rate, that regional assemblies, elected assemblies, are no magic wand.

I remember, in Scotland recently on holiday, seeing the slogan of the Scottish nationalists, 'Scotland First'. They had better beware lest other people in England start saying, 'England First', with the effect that will have. *(Applause.)* One must beware certainly of the false codes, the magic wand, 'Scotland First'.

I certainly know from contact with industrialists just how far some of the things the nationalists are pushing for run directly counter to all our Government is trying to do in terms of regional development, that what the nationalists are doing is stirring up often anti-English sentiment. We have seen the effect, too, in bombs and other things, that this is running directly counter to the regional development policies of the Government.

If industrialists say they are not liked down there, if in schooling policies our children are not looked after, they are hardly likely to run gladly to Wales and Scotland. The problems are large enough.

There is also the feeling that somehow the problems of Wales and Scotland are unique. Having just passed through the North East and passed through Bishop Auckland, let us get the problem of unemployment in perspective. I am a Welsh Member, and I will certainly push for my own region.

Let us say these new forces are at work. So far we have not come to terms with them. People are asking us for answers—What is the Labour Government view on new power to Wales, to Scotland?—and we do not have an answer. We can point to the Secretary of State. We have pointed to the measures so far in regional government, but this is not enough. So far we have just given the impression of being a centralising Government—this is what many say. We have to come to terms with the problems of the Seventies, and when people ask, as they will at the next election, what is the policy of the Labour Party on our legitimate aspiration in wanting more power, we have to have a policy, and that is why what I hope for is a reasoned, coherent statement from our executive which we can fully debate at the next Conference. *(Applause.)*

Mr. N. Price (Berkshire Federation L.P.): Madam Chairman, on Motion 42 the Government has given, quite rightly, its first priority to reorganising industry, but the time is now ripe to have a good look at our institutions because I think many of the difficulties that we have had in these past few years have been administrative rather than political because the Government machine has not been able to respond quickly enough

to the events that are happening and to technical change particularly.

The four main instruments of Government, the Civil Service, local government, the legal system and Parliament itself, were given their present forms in the last half of the previous century, and they are substantially the same today. The Victorians built well, perhaps too well, and their institutions which have lasted until now have become part of the fabric of this nation.

Really our problem is that we have to combat a society which is impregnated with a hundred years of conditioned thinking, and it is our job as individual members to realise that we have to change this climate of opinion. We have to get out and persuade people that these changes are necessary and that we need a Civil Service which, instead of exercising a judicial function which is remote and does not answer for its decisions, is active, is involved and is answerable, a Civil Service which is numerate as well as literate so that it can deal with the scientific and technical problems increasingly flowing upon us.

Again, local government is still in the age of the horse and carriage. The boundaries are ridiculous, the powers are confused and people are not satisfied with this. We have a particular responsibility here because so many of us are involved in local government, and when the time for change and reform is put before us we have to be prepared to accept the need for change and to look beyond the boundaries of our own particular local authority, beyond our own council, and be prepared to accept change which may not be to our personal liking but may be necessary in order that the organisation and structure of this country can respond to the needs of the day.

We have to define the jobs that we have to do and see to it that we give the means. The Government has made a good start in this. We have the Fulton Report which forms a good basis for reform of the Civil Service, and we are waiting for the Royal Commission, and these two reports, the Fulton Report and the Maud Royal Commission, should be regarded as two sides of the same coin. They are distinct but interdependent.

If you can free the Civil Service of some of the detail, some of the work which more properly should be done in the regions and at local level, then the Civil Service itself will become more effective. You must remember always to free people who are involved in running the country, the people who have a job to do, and give them the opportunity to use their talents to the full.

Let us create a much more open society

so that people can move in and out of local government and the Civil Service, so that anybody who has the necessary aptitude and ability can get in, rather than have it based, as it is at present, too much on a particular form of education and so on. We have, in fact, been dragging this country slowly and reluctantly into the second half of the twentieth century. Let us all go out and expedite and accelerate this process. I ask your support for Motion 42. (*Applause.*)

Mr. T. Clarke (Coatbridge and Airdrie C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, like Jimmy Hamilton and Alec Donnet I should like to ask that Composite 8 be remitted, and I do this because although I agree that there is discussion and there is sentiment in Scotland for Scottish people to have a larger say in Scottish decisions, I think it would be a mistake at this Conference, as it would indeed have been at the Scottish Labour Party Conference, for us to take a decision before the full facts are known in 1968.

I agree that in Scotland we have suffered setbacks. We have suffered setbacks in Hamilton and in local government where some of our finest colleagues have lost their seats. But I say this, comrades, is this the time to compromise? Is this the time to jump like Jo Grimond onto a bandwagon before we have established that the bandwagon really only has one wheel? Are we to agree that the Scottish Nationalist Party which has offered no real policy, no real alternative beyond perhaps Scottish policemen wearing kilts, be accepted into an aura of respectability by the British Labour Party?

Madam Chairman, this morning the leader of the Party called on us to go out and fight and tell the people the facts, and I say that no more than in Scotland should this be done. We have in Scotland the Secretary of State, Willy Ross, who has come under fierce attack not least from the *Scottish Daily Express*, and our job is to tell the facts about what is going on in Scottish industry, in Scottish housing, in Scottish education and so on. Of course there are problems, but do not let us forget that when we discuss the problems of housing and immigration and jobs in Scotland, it was the Scottish Labour Party which first brought these facts to public attention.

And do not let us apologise for our solutions to them. I think it is right that we should be clear and positive in our approach, I think it is right that we should call for local government reform. As a young man in local government, of course I have become frustrated, as we all do, about the lack of progress in this field. But what we dare not

do is to say that at a time when nations all over the world are becoming outward looking and international, Scotland should cut itself off from the mainstream of national British opinion. I do not believe that this is what the Scottish people want.

Of course, in elections they have voted for Nationalist candidates, but is it not also true that all over Britain, in England and in Wales, and to some extent in Northern Ireland, people have voted for opposition parties rather than voting clearly for the Conservatives?

So I say finally, Madam Chairman, certainly let us be clear in our policy, but do not apologise for our achievements in Scotland. Stand up and be counted, tell the people the truth, and I believe that the Scottish people will once again go the way they have always done on the bandwagon of the British Labour movement.

Mr. John Morris (*ex officio* M.P., Aberavon): The Labour Movement in Wales will expect this Conference to register awareness of its political situation and to take action to ensure that we as a radical socialist movement lead the way to ensure that our machinery of government is updated to satisfy the aspirations of a people.

Now, what is the background today in Wales? Industrially, we are in the throes of the second industrial revolution, and tackling its problems. But people like yesterday's miners are naturally impatient to see more of the fruits of twentieth century planning, and this is a feeling shared with Scotland and the North of England.

Constitutionally we have done more in Wales with the setting up of the Welsh Office in four years than in the previous 40. We should proclaim what we have done, and as the first in our order of priorities we should build and expand upon it. But the consciousness of nationhood in Wales has survived not four years, not 40, but 400, and it would be a tragedy if in our wish to rebut the nonsensical case for separation, we failed to recognise the real need for Welsh and Scottish institutions, and allowed instead frustration to fester.

This is the other side of the coin. We see today the malignant growth of violence bred on the muck heap of anti-English sentiments and of bitter personal attacks.

There is, however, Madam Chairman, a deep-seated feeling in Wales which, however good our economic record will undoubtedly turn out to be, will not be washed away; the feeling that London is too remote, that there are many things that could be better done within Wales and not outside it. It

would be a rash member of this Party that would slam the door to such views and say, 'Never'.

The Tories learnt their lesson in Cyprus, and I cannot for the life of me see how we could differ in our approach to all the old colonial territories where we have such a proud record, with whatever is the wish of Wales.

We have a choice, to do nothing, saying that anything we do will only feed more extravagant demands; or, in the light of the recognition of nationhood, examine how best its aspirations can be served and perhaps too, on a more local basis, we can get a deeper and more permanent socialist society.

People everywhere want to be involved in and become part of decision making. In our time, local communities have lost control over gas, electricity and hospitals. There is a plethora of nominated bodies who are too remote to be touched by those that elected us, and in transport we have begun to correct this.

People suspect that the Man in Whitehall does not know best, and if that mistrust is not removed, how much stronger will it be whenever we get into the Common Market against the Man in Brussels? The message should go out loud and clear from this Conference: we reject separation; we reject the separate foreign policies, the separate armies and the seat at the United Nations, and the other extravagances of the Nationalist Parties. Instead, we are determined to emphasise not separation, but partnership, partnership based on a proper recognition of the needs of both parties. Wales and Scotland need England, and England needs them too, and that is the answer to Enoch Powell.

Therefore, I hope that the National Executive will be forthcoming in understanding these resolutions which demand and need a deep, thorough and searching examination.

The Chairman: Comrades, I think you will agree that the voice of Scotland and the voice of Wales have been heard, I hope I will be forgiven if England feels it has not been represented. I have no choice now but to ask Jim Callaghan to reply to the debate.

Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman, comrades, fellow delegates, this has been one of the most serious and comprehensive debates we have had on the political relationships that exist in the British Isles in the 25 years that I have been coming to the

Party Conference, and I ask myself why.

There are a number of reasons for it: in Wales we have a party which constantly calls us the London dominated Party. Madam Chairman, I doubt whether anybody would ever dare say that you are London dominated. Our Vice-Chairman comes from Flintshire; the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee who, as we all know, has great influence in determining how much time we give to these debates is also from Wales. I would not like to say what constituency I have represented for some time.

But, these things do show the shallow thinking of those who talk about a London dominated Labour Party, when you hear the accents, when you hear the regional approach that is made by all the delegates who have spoken here at this Conference this morning. Of course, the unity of the British Isles has been established for many years, and it has brought untold benefits to the peoples of all the countries that make up these islands. It would be a very foolish man indeed who would rush into a destruction of those existing constitutional arrangements in deference to the very active propaganda that is going on at the present time.

What is needed, of course, as a number of speakers have said, is a very detailed examination of these matters, and I shall come back to that in the light of what Alec Donnet had to say at a later stage.

Madam Chairman, there were also other issues that were introduced into this debate, which has focused on the machinery of government and on our institutions. I think this is extremely important. I liked the delegate from Edinburgh, King-Murray, who said that distribution of wealth is not enough, distribution of power is also important, and he is right, because the Labour Party, with its great accent on the need for economic realities and the control of our economic destinies has always responded, and indeed led the call for political independence and political sovereignty for the people of this country.

We are now examining our institutions on a very wide basis. This debate is going on at a number of levels. There is the major debate on the recognition of Wales and Scotland as nations. There is the debate that is going on about regionalism in England. There is the debate that is going on among the students about the need for more communication, which was referred to at this rostrum this morning.

There is a tiny group, to which Harold Wilson was referring in his speech this morning, who believe that by violence they

can destroy existing institutions without replacing them by others; and that tiny, infinitesimal group, which represents practically nobody in these countries, can create the very situation to which the Prime Minister referred and to which we have to respond through our democratic processes. It is on all these levels that the debate is taking place, and I welcome it.

I would like to turn first to the question that was raised by one delegate—that many of our institutions were born in the great days of the Victorian era. It is quite true. There were a number of institutions created then. The Civil Service is a child of the Victorian era. So is local government. So, indeed, created by the workers of this country themselves, is the trade union movement. We have always created—and people will always create—new institutions where they feel either that institutions do not exist which represent their interests or that institutions have become so ossified that they fail to represent their continuing interests.

Our predecessors built up the trade union movement to represent our interests. It is now in the process of modifying itself. The Government itself, with the aid and acquiescence of the trade union movement, set up the Donovan Commission to review how far and in what ways the existing trade union structure should be considered again to see whether it was fully serving the best interests of its members.

So there is no reason why any of us should complain if other institutions come under review. The review which was made by Fulton of the Civil Service has come up with a series of proposals for modernising it, making it more efficient and making it more accountable, and these have been accepted by the Government. We are waiting for the report of the Maud Commission on Local Government to see to what extent local government needs to be adapted and modified.

Indeed, Madam Chairman, what the Government can claim is that in the political field of our institutions it is continuing the same searching review at all levels as it has begun in the economic and industrial fields; and the two clearly go together. Indeed, in our own parliamentary system there have been, as is well known, a number of reforms and improvements introduced.

It is against that background that I turn to the first motion that was moved calling for the immediate abolition of the House of Lords. Madam Chairman, our Party Manifesto was quite clear about his. In 1966 we said specifically: 'Legislation will be introduced to safeguard measures approved

by the House of Commons from frustration by delay or defeat in the House of Lords.' That was in the manifesto. It was on that programme that we were elected. Let the Conservatives and the other Parties understand that there is no doubt about the Government's right to act.

There are two reasons why we put it in the manifesto, two reasons why we shall act. The first is this. I need not say it here this week but, as Harold would say, I might have to say it when the Tories are here next week. A democracy repudiates the privilege of a man sitting in an upper chamber legislating on matters that vitally affect every citizen, merely because he is the son of his father. The second reason is that it is intolerable that any political party should have a permanent built-in majority in one chamber which it can use irrespective of what happens in the other and can use it to threaten or to destroy the policy and the programme of the duly elected Government which is fully responsible to the people of this country through the House of Commons. *(Applause.)*

Madam Chairman, this is the only country in the world which has a hereditary second chamber. Some people were lulled into thinking that the threat of the powers they have would not be used. If they were so lulled then they were undeceived last June when the Tories in the House of Lords—most of them hereditary Tories—sought to prevent a Labour Government from carrying out a policy approved by the House of Commons; but even more than that, from fulfilling that Government's international obligations. The hereditary peers in the House of Lords, if they acted in this way, either on principal or subordinate legislation, if they acted in this way again, could paralyse the whole process of legislation. And I say now that the Cabinet will not tolerate this situation, and in our view it must be ended. *(Applause.)*

Following the Queen's speech last year, the Prime Minister authorised talks with the Opposition parties, to see what their reaction would be to the clear mandate that we had secured in the last manifesto. We broke them off after the House of Lords vote in June and every member of this Party will believe we were right to break them off. Now the initiative lies with the Government.

The National Executive Committee, for whom I am speaking this morning, is content that it should lie there for the time being; it is for the Government to put forward proposals that will be their own, but which will naturally reflect the details of lengthy conversations that have taken place. They will be taken into account, but I can under-

take to the conference that the purpose of these conversations so far, and the purpose of the radical measure that the Government has been considering are to meet the pledge made in the election manifesto to eliminate the hereditary basis of membership and to cut the powers of the upper chamber.

(Applause.)

So what the Executive asks this conference to do, in the light of that very clear assurance, realising that the Government itself will have to decide, against the background of the statement made by the Prime Minister in June, when he said that radical proposals would be put forward, that it is for the Government to decide the time and how and when and in what manner—and that is not a phrase to push it under the table, it is a pure question of the mechanics of this matter. I ask the conference if they will agree with the Executive Committee that we should remit this resolution at the present time, in order that the Government may have a completely free hand in whatever proposals it decides to put forward, following on its review of the current situation.

So I would ask that Resolution 41 should be remitted.

As to Resolution 42, this the Executive Committee is ready to accept. There are one or two mechanical reservations I would make.

Some members who have spoken here this morning have referred to the fact that there are already National Executive Committee sub-committees in existence, both on the question of regional policy and on the question of further participation in government and on the question of the relationship between our various institutions. I think it might delay the conclusion of that committee's deliberations, which are now at an advanced stage, if we were now to set up yet another committee drawn from all sections of the Party.

I can indicate to the conference that the existing sub-committees have, in fact, been so drawn from all sections of the party and, therefore, in accepting this resolution, I would ask the conference to not press the Executive to set up yet another new committee, but to allow the existing one to conclude its work, so that the report, which was asked for by a number of delegates, can come back to us next year without any particular delay.

Now I turn to what the major part of the debate has been about, namely the problems of devolution for Wales and Scotland. Every speaker here this morning, I think, has recognised the need for a single economic unit, and speaking as a Member for a Welsh constituency I have no doubt at all that it is

of basic advantage to the people of Wales and to the people of Scotland that the United Kingdom should be regarded as one basic economic unit. (*Applause.*)

Well, Madam Chairman, the resolution recognises this, but then it goes on to matters which, in the eyes of a number of delegates, were more questionable. It calls for the Government to recognise the desire of the people of Scotland and Wales for elected assemblies which would enable them to determine matters that are purely of concern to Scotland and Wales and a form of devolution which would in no way impair the position of more than 100 Scottish and Welsh Members of Parliament who sit in the House of Commons. This raises a number of questions.

It raises, as somebody said, the question of what the position of the English Members would be here, for example, in relation to regional government. And this, as I think has been recognised by a number of speakers, is not a simple issue. What this problem needs—and I want to say that we accept entirely the spirit of what was said by the representative of the General Municipal Workers' Union and by other constituency delegates—is a detailed comprehensive study.

The facts need to be established on economic, social and political levels. There is a great deal of propaganda at the moment. What we need—because this is a real problem and there is deep feeling about it—is to establish the facts so that all those whose minds are not closed in Wales and Scotland will see what are the consequences of the policies that they are being asked to adopt. I take the view myself that a country, even if it is established that the consequences of its total separation from another country will result in a lower standard of life for it, is still entitled to choose it, if it wishes to do so. But, Madam Chairman, we had better not betray the people in those countries until we have established what the facts are about it, until they know what they are voting about. (*Applause.*)

How far, for example, would these Parliaments be meaningful unless they have control of taxation? And how far, if they had control of taxation, would they have control of the expenditure that arises from it in the form of social benefits? Nobody can answer the question up to the present, leaving the constitutional issue on one side. Nobody can yet answer the question as to whether the people of Scotland and Wales would be worse off in those circumstances or better off. I have my own hunch. I think I know

what the answer is. There are many people more bold than me who are ready to proclaim their answers. But, Madam Chairman, what we owe to the people of the British Isles as a whole is to establish what the facts are about this particular matter, and I know of no-one who can give an assured answer to this, based on facts at the present time.

It is the National Executive's view that such an answer should be authoritative and that the people of Wales and Scotland should know what they are being asked to choose between: whether they are being asked to choose between political independence at the expense of a lower standard of life—they might still prefer it, although I doubt it—or whether they are asked to choose, on the other hand, that there should be greater devolution from the centre to the circumference.

The Prime Minister has authorised me to say that the Government is at work on the problem as to how far and how best the facts and the alternatives can be established. There is every reason why we should examine our basic institutions once again. There is no need to shy away from an examination like a number of frightened aunts. They have stood for a long time—they will not be easily thrown over—and they have stood because they are worthwhile. But no choice should be made in ignorance of the full facts.

So the time, Madam Chairman, the time for the sloganising by the Nationalists has gone. Let us get down to the facts. Let us know exactly what the proposals are that are being made and let those proposals be subjected to keen and critical scrutiny, and let the proposers be examined on their proposals in public.

Now, I think this would be a well-worthwhile enterprise to be undertaken, and it is the view of the National Executive Committee that it is along these lines that we should move.

Now, it has been said here this morning that the doctrines, slogans, that are being put around now are particularly attractive to young people. That has led some of our comrades to become a little nervous about the Government's proposal to give the vote to young people at 18. I repudiate that approach. Our job is not to suppress young people at that age but to argue with them, to discuss with them, and to win them to the Labour Party by means of sheer, rational argument. The case has not yet been put. (*Applause.*)

So what I ask you to do, Madam Chairman, in face of the Executive Committee's

study groups on this matter, in the face of the way in which we believe that the problems should be discussed, in the knowledge that the Government is actively considering the machinery for probing these problems more deeply, on a Great Britain basis, and maybe even wider, that you should not force a vote at this stage giving a definite opinion one way or the other.

We believe that the drawing-room revolutionary who talks about direct democracy in Edinburgh has no concept and no knowledge of the way in which the machinery of Government and of participation is being developed at the present time. We have no doubt at all that if this case is argued out we can sustain the basic economic unity of the United Kingdom, but I would like to see the case properly argued out and the facts supplied.

There is one further point and then I conclude. It is this: The Labour movement was conceived in the sense of a body of people who were determined to feel that they were the economic and political masters of their own fate. I agree with those delegates that because of the growing complexity of our society there has been a feeling developing that the great juggernaut of a centralised state is likely to roll over the individual. The Labour Government has in my view not only attempted to counteract this but has created many institutions to reverse that process.

I speak, for example, of the Ombudsman. I speak, for example, of the way in which he is able to review decisions that are taken by Governments, by Ministers, to see what goes on behind office doors, to expose them and to give his own view on them. In this and many other ways the Government has endeavoured to meet the growing complexity of civilisation, of society, and the effect it has on the individual, by creating compelling forces in the other direction. This process must continue.

Our society is going to get even more complex, even more centralised in some ways than it has been, by the sheer momentum of industrial development. It is the Government's aim, it must be its constant preoccupation, as it is of the National Executive Committee, to create countervailing forces in the political world to meet this so that the individual shall feel, as he felt when the Labour movement itself was created, that there are in existence these forces that will enable individual dignity and individual freedom to survive against the inevitable development of our complex industrial society.

It is along these lines that we shall examine the desires for greater participation in such

matters as the Health Service, in such matters as regional development, as we have done yesterday in that statement on industrial democracy which Ian Mikardo moved and which was accepted by the Conference.

It is along these lines, whilst preserving the essential unity of our people in these Islands, that we shall move. And the Socialist movement, which has always placed the dignity of the individual as the reason and the underlying basis for its economic actions and its economic policies, will continue so to do by creating the political forum and the political machinery that is necessary to achieve that end. *(Applause.)*

The Chairman: Thank you, James. After that reply from the platform, we now come to the vote. Composite Resolution No. 41: the N.E.C. recommendation is to remit. May I ask Hornchurch and Blackpool whether they would agree to remit? *(Replies of 'Yes'.)* Thank you. Does Conference accept? *(Agreed.)*

Composite Resolution No. 8: the N.E.C. recommendation is to remit. Would Edinburgh and Cardigan agree? *(Replies of 'Yes'.)* Does Conference accept? *(Agreed.)* Thank you.

As you know, the afternoon session will be a private session, which only delegates, agents and ex-officio members are entitled to attend.

Conference adjourned at 12.28 p.m.

PRIVATE SESSION

Conference reassembled at 2 p.m.

APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL SECRETARY (N.E.C. Report, page 3)

The Chairman: You see on page 3 of the Report that at a special meeting on 24 July of this year the National Executive Committee decided unanimously to recommend Annual Conference to elect Harry Nicholas as General Secretary of the Labour Party and I have much pleasure in moving the acceptance of this recommendation.

Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, M.P. (National Executive Committee) formally seconded the recommendation.

The Chairman: I am now asking for your support for this paragraph. Will all those in favour please show hands? Against? Thank you, comrades. And now I am sure in welcoming Harry to a very difficult post

TUESDAY AFTERNOON: PRIVATE SESSION

that we will want to send our best wishes and greetings to Len Williams. (*Applause.*)

Mr. H. R. Nicholas: Madam Chairman, delegates, I shall be very brief. May I just say thank you very much indeed for the confidence that you have shown in me. I realise that it is going to be a very difficult task, and I make no promises, but I will give you the promise that to the best of my ability I will see that the organisation in the Party is worthy both of its traditions and of those who now support it. I hope that we will all work together in unity to ensure that we have a Labour Government returned to power at the next election. (*Applause.*)

AUDITORS' REPORT

Mr. F. A. Smith (Auditor) submitted the Auditors' Report (pages 35, 41-53) which was approved.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(N.E.C. Report, pages 35, 41-53.)

Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, M.P. (Treasurer) moved the adoption of the Financial Section of the Report and the accounts for the year ended 31 December, 1967. He gave a comprehensive review of the income and expenditure and warned Conference that there was a need to improve income and that next year a recommendation would be made regarding an increase in affiliation fees.

AMENDMENT TO PARTY CONSTITUTION

CLAUSE VI.—THE PARTY CONFERENCE

Section 2 reads as follows:

2. *The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows:*

- (a) *Delegates duly appointed by each affiliated Trade Union or other organisations to the number of one delegate for each 5,000 members or part thereof on whom affiliation fees and by-election insurance premiums were paid for the year ended 31 December preceding the Conference.*
- (b) *Delegates duly appointed by Constituency Labour Parties (or Trades Councils acting as such) to the number of one delegate for each 5,000 individual members or part thereof on whom affiliation fees and by-election insurance premiums were paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Conference; where the individual*

and affiliated women's membership exceeds 2,500 an additional woman delegate may be appointed; where the membership of Young Socialist Branches within a constituency is 200 or more an additional Young Socialist delegate may be appointed.

- (c) *Delegates duly appointed by Central Labour Parties or Trades Councils acting as such in Divided Boroughs not exceeding one for each Central Labour Party provided the affiliation fees and by-election insurance premiums have been paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Conference.*
- (d) *Delegates duly appointed by Federations not exceeding one for each Federation provided the affiliation fees have been paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Conference.*
- (e) *Ex-officio Members of the Party Conference as follows:*
 - (i) *Members of the National Executive Committee.*
 - (ii) *Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party.*
 - (iii) *Parliamentary Labour Candidates whose candidatures have been duly endorsed by the National Executive Committee.*
 - (iv) *The Secretary of the Party.**Ex-officio Members shall have no voting power.*
- (f) *Any special Party Conference shall be called on the same basis of representation as that upon which the last Annual Party Conference was convened.*

Mr. W. Simpson (National Executive Committee) moved the following amendment:

AMENDMENT

Section 2 (a), line 2: After 'fees' delete 'and' and insert comma.

Line 3: After 'premiums' insert 'and any levies due'.

With corresponding amendments to subsections (b) and (c).

(d), line 2: After 'fees' insert 'and any levies due'.

With corresponding amendments to Standing Order 2, Sections 2 and 4.

Mr. F. Chapple (National Executive Committee) formally seconded. Conference approved the amendment.

The Financial Section of the Report was approved.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON: PRIVATE SESSION

**PARTY ORGANISATION
AMENDMENTS TO PARTY
CONSTITUTION**

(N.E.C. Report, page 7; Agenda pages 7 and 8.)

CLAUSE XIII.—ALTERATION TO CONSTITUTION AND RULES

Clause XIII reads as follows:

The existing Constitution and Rules or any part thereof, may be amended, rescinded, altered or additions made thereto, by Resolution, carried on a card vote at an Annual Party Conference (in manner provided in the Standing Orders appended hereto) held in every third year following the year 1956, unless the National Executive Committee advises that amendments shall be specially considered at any Annual Party Conference. Notice of Resolutions embodying any such proposals must be sent in writing to the Secretary at the Offices of the Party as provided in Standing Orders.

Mr. J. Gormley (National Executive Committee) moved the following amendment:

AMENDMENT

Clause XIII, line 3: After 'hereto' delete 'held every third year following the year 1956, unless the National Executive Committee advises that amendments should be specially considered at any Annual Party Conference'.

He explained that the amendment meant that organisations could submit either a resolution on any subject or a resolution to amend the constitution each year.

Mrs. Bessie Braddock, M.P. (National Executive Committee) formally seconded.

After discussion, a card vote (No. 4) was taken. The amendment was carried: For 3,800,000; Against 2,320,000.

STANDING ORDER 2.—AGENDA

Standing Order 2, Sections 1 and 3 read as follows:

1. *Notice of resolutions for the Annual Party Conference, not exceeding one resolution on one subject from any one affiliated organisation shall be sent in writing to the Secretary at the offices of the Party not later than twelve clear weeks before the opening of the Conference, for inclusion in the first Agenda, which shall be forthwith issued to the affiliated organisations. At any Annual Conference at which Amendments to the Constitution are to be considered each affiliated organisation may submit one Resolution in addition to a Resolution*

proposing to amend the Constitution. In the case of a Special Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such notices shall be sent to the Secretary.

3. *Notice of amendments to the Resolutions in the First Agenda, not exceeding one amendment on one subject from any one affiliated organisation (consequential amendments to a main amendment shall not be counted), and nominations for the National Executive Committee, Treasurer, Auditors, and Party Conference Arrangements Committee, shall be forwarded in writing to the Secretary not later than six clear weeks before the opening of the Conference for inclusion in the Final Agenda of the Conference. In the case of a Special Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such notices shall be forwarded to the Secretary.*

Mr. J. Gormley (National Executive Committee) moved the following amendment:

AMENDMENT

Section 1, line 2: After 'subject' insert 'or one resolution proposing to amend the Constitution.'

Line 5: After 'organisations' delete 'At any Annual Conference at which amendments to the Constitution are to be considered each affiliated organisation may submit one Resolution in addition to a Resolution proposing to amend the Constitution.'

Section 3, line 1: After 'Agenda' insert '(except for Resolutions proposing to amend the Constitution).'

Mrs. Bessie Braddock, M.P., formally seconded.

A card vote (No. 5) was taken, which resulted as follows:

For 3,779,000.

Against 2,249,000.

The Party Organisation Section of the Report was approved.

N.E.C. REPORT

Composite Resolution No. 19 on Publicity was remitted to the National Executive Committee after discussion. The remaining pages of the N.E.C. Report were adopted by Conference.

Conference adjourned at 5 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2

MORNING SESSION

Conference reassembled at 9.30 a.m.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE'S REPORT

Mr. G. Williams (Chairman, Conference Arrangements Committee): Madam Chairman, Comrades, first of all I am asked to make an announcement. There is a Welsh Night for delegates and friends from Wales to the National Conference to be held at the Imperial Hotel, Blackpool, tonight from 8 p.m. till 11 p.m. I am assured on this that there will be plenty of community singing. Please note that it is 3s. 6d.—cheaper than the Scottish Night.

Now we will turn to the Agenda, page 24: Proposed Amendments to Rules for Borough Local Government Committees within the Greater London Area. The amendment is withdrawn.

Page 38: Broadcasting of Parliament. Resolution 70, with the amendment, is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Page 73: Housing and Rents. Resolution 282 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Page 74: Tied Cottages. Resolution 290 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Page 75: Land Tenure. Resolution 293 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Page 75: Building and Construction Industry. Resolution 298 is withdrawn in favour of Composite No. 10.

Nationalised Industries. Composite Resolution No. 13 is remitted to the National Executive Committee.

Will delegates turn to Composite No. 21 and note in the last but one line the word 'immediately'. This should be deleted.

Then turn to Composite Resolution No. 37. There is a printing error in lines 8 and 9. In line 8 are the words 'other National Health Service charges on prescriptions and to phase out', which have been repeated in line 9 and should be deleted.

Social Security. Delegates from the following organisations are asked to meet the Standing Orders Committee at 10.45 this morning: Union of Post Office Workers, Aberdeen South C.L.P., Eastleigh C.L.P., Blackburn Trades Council and Labour Party,

Spelthorne C.L.P. and Nottingham Central C.L.P.

The Physically Disabled. The delegates from Canterbury and Rutland and Stamford C.L.P.s are asked also to meet the Standing Orders Committee at the same time, that is 10.45 this morning.

Rhodesia. Emergency resolutions have been received from the delegates of five Constituency Parties and one from the Federation of Labour Parties. Conference has decided on two occasions that emergency resolutions in similar terms are not emergencies and that the points contained therein could be dealt with should the composite resolution on Rhodesia be reached.

Business on Thursday afternoon. At the start of this afternoon's session the Standing Orders Committee will present its recommendations for business to be taken on Thursday afternoon. I move, Madam Chairman.

The Chairman: Is that accepted? (*Agreed.*) Thank you. (*Cry of 'Point of Order.'*) I am afraid the Report has been accepted. It cannot be a point of order on that.

It is now my pleasant privilege to call upon Mr. Herbert Kemp, Chairman of the Co-operative Party, who is coming here to bring fraternal greetings to us, but, as many of you know, he is bringing greetings to himself as well because for forty years he has been a dedicated and active member of both the Labour Party and the Co-operative Movement. I have very much pleasure in asking you, Comrade, to address us. (*Applause.*)

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

Mr. H. Kemp (Chairman, Co-operative Party): Madam Chairman, delegates and friends, for the fourth consecutive year I have the pleasure and responsibility of bringing to you fraternal greetings on behalf of the Co-operative Movement, together with our best wishes for a successful Conference.

This annual expression of goodwill by us to you in the real spirit of fraternity is a long-standing tradition which I hope will long continue, for our two movements each tend to get immersed in these difficult days in their own problems with perhaps at times insufficient appreciation of the problems confronting and concerning comrades in other sections of the Labour Movement.

And this I believe to be unfortunate, for in my view neither of our two great movements can ultimately be successful in achieving its main objectives without the goodwill and practical aid of the other.

The Co-operative Movement still operates in what I have often described as the jungle of distribution. Co-operation is the only major challenge to large scale capitalism in the consumer trades. (*Applause.*) It is the only section of the distributive trades which has for many years given 100 per cent recognition to and support for trade unionism. (*Applause.*)

We in the Co-operative movement are experiencing and facing up to major economic problems. The reorganisation of the two Co-operative Wholesale Societies as the major suppliers to the movement has made good progress and we are now beginning another major task, designed to result in fifty large regional societies instead of the present 600 local units. Many difficult decisions have had to be taken in recent months but most would not have been necessary had we consistently had the practical day-to-day support in the shops from our members and yours which we always knew we needed and generally considered we merited.

'Tis not in mortals to command success. But we'll do more—we'll deserve it.' So said Cato in a celebrated soliloquy, and so say I to you today.

Socialists, whether housewives or trade unionists, surely have a special responsibility to help Co-operators to demonstrate that public ownership and control works efficiently and effectively, for distribution is a major part of the British economy and affects the cost of living of all our people.

Co-operators note with special interest the current thought within the Labour Party on industrial democracy. For very many years Co-operative employees have shared in the control at board room level of both productive societies and local retail societies, and our experience in these spheres of operation may well be of value to the Labour Party. Certainly if we can help in this forward move we will be pleased to do so, and the continuing growth in mergers in industry and commerce, for example, by bankers, brewers, electrical manufacturers, and in the distributive trades, emphasises the need for more thought to be given to an extension of industrial democracy.

In the international field we very much share your concern and that of the T.U.C. at recent events in Czechoslovakia. Here as elsewhere democracy appears to be in real danger but our faith in a better way and

our efforts to bring about that better way, both at home and abroad, must not be lessened by such setbacks. Rather should they be intensified.

We do not underrate the size and complexity of the problems facing the Government. The success or even partial failure of their economic policies inevitably affects the purchasing power of many of our 13 million members. We have good reasons, both theoretical and practical, to hope for the success of these economic policies.

Similarly, we acknowledge the substantial contributions made by the Government in the field of social services, for again many of our members and their children are affected and indeed are beneficiaries.

Our major criticisms of Government policy, Madam Chairman, are well-known to the Government in particular and the Parliamentary Labour Party generally. They lie in the field of taxation and other revenue-raising activities which all tend to increase the cost of living. Our opposition to SET continues unabated and unchanged and we are now pleased to have the support of the Trades Union Congress added to the opposition of the Co-operative Congress to this particular policy of the Government.

We share the desire you, Madam Chairman, expressed so effectively to the T.U.C. for unity throughout the Labour movement if the Government is to be successful, but can effective unity be achieved and maintained when two-thirds of the Labour movement are in opposition to a major issue of policy? I strongly urge the Government to give much more attention to the views of their major supporters, in the interests of the Labour movement as a whole. (*Applause.*)

By decision of the Co-operative Congress, the Co-operative movement is now engaged in reassessing its participation in politics and this reassessment is due in no small measure to Government policy. I have every confidence in my party's case, but I say to this Conference that any lessening of active commitment and participation politically by Co-operators could have widespread and adverse effects elsewhere in the Labour movement.

Nine years ago I attended your Conference for the first time and you were then very much engaged in something like an inquest. I also recall, however, what appeared to be an obvious gap between the delegates and the voters. Today, in my view, another and perhaps more serious gap exists, the gap between the Government and the voters.

Government policy, however necessary, is neither understood nor accepted by increasing numbers of those on whom the actual

future of governments depends. You know and I know the nation needs a Labour Government if those who comprise the nation, the people, are to have a full life, free from economic cares and with adequate provision for those in need. But Co-operators engaged as they are in business know full well, as do the Government, that accounts must be balanced and that what is spent has to be earned.

We hope, therefore, that this Conference will make its contribution not only to policy but to reviving the faith and understanding of our own people in our own policies. We also hope for the success of the Government's economic policies, for as in the Co-operative movement so in affairs of state, we must succeed first in economic affairs or all our dreams of progress towards a socialist state will remain just dreams and others may well succeed where we have failed.

We in the Labour movement have the right principles and the right ideas. We have the men and women convinced that our way is the best way. We have the capacity within our ranks to govern effectively and equitably. I hope this Conference, Madam Chairman, will strengthen our resolve that, despite present difficulties, we fight on, all of us, together. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, comrade, for those challenging but generous fraternal greetings. We know very well that our colleagues in the Co-operative movement, like our friends in the trade union movement—and that is really ourselves divided into three unequal parts—we know the strains of the present time. We are glad to hear your Progress and Change report, and above all it is marvellous that in spite of all the strains and tensions that your great movement is being subjected to, we never lose sight of the fact of our underlying common purpose. Thank you for your greetings. (*Applause.*)

We now move on to the document which delegates ought all to have had since Monday, the N.E.C. document on Progress and Change, and I am calling upon George Brown to introduce this document on behalf of the N.E.C.

BRITAIN: PROGRESS AND CHANGE

(Document on pages 339-343)

Rt. Hon. George Brown, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman,

one of the tremendous things about being in the Labour movement is the kindness that people will show you, in the way you have just done. One of the others is the tremendously personal way in which our friends down here, immediately below me, always present everything. I think the nicest headline I saw this morning was the one which said, 'George Brown making a come-back speech'. I was not conscious myself of having gone away!

My job, as you say, Madam Chairman, is to invite Conference to look at, to study, to argue about the kind of things we have tried to raise in the document which we entitle, Britain: Progress and Change. The document itself mirrors our own debates this week.

We are, of course, a movement which hates any sense of self-adulation. Therefore, we tend always when we meet to elevate our criticisms of ourselves. If they do not exist, we invent them. But we never think that there is any point in having a meeting simply to pat ourselves on the back. We think, if we have a meeting, there must be something to criticise—and, of course, there is always. And there is a lot of good sense in what we do.

On the other hand, we can carry this so far that people outside, people who are not accustomed, as we are, to the niceties of our habits, see only the criticisms and hear none of the achievements.

What we say, first of all, in this document is what the Prime Minister said yesterday. All right, let us now take the criticisms of ourselves for granted and let us now start proclaiming the achievements. In doing so we will get the thing in much better perspective and people outside will be able to understand much more what we have been doing and what we have achieved and, therefore, the base from which we can now go on.

Let us remember where we started in 1964. Let us remember how unlikely it was that we could have got as far as we have got by now, in 1968, and let us establish the new situation in the country. The reason I am saying this is not so much because I want to score political points or party points, but because I think we need to get our own minds clear about what is troubling people.

There is still in this country, regrettably, a minority of people who are badly off. Those we must take care of. There are still things in the way of social provisions we must do better for some people. But let us get quite clear in our minds that most of

our people are immeasurably better off in material terms than when we came to power. (*Applause.*)

This leads to a number of considerations. Because they are immeasurably better off, they are less concerned with material issues than we are apt to think they are. People talk about the disquiet, people talk about the unrest, people talk about cynicism with political parties and with politicians. People talk about folk thinking that many of the things we talk about are irrelevant.

There is a lot of truth in all this, but why is it? It is because, I think, we are failing to recognise the extent to which, by putting right people's material wants, we have given them the opportunity to concern themselves with other issues. It is the other issues that we ought to be talking about now rather than the old issues which we came into being to correct.

We are living in a society where many people's working week is getting shorter, where people's capacity for spending is getting greater. In that society people want to take an interest outside of themselves. We cannot win a battle in which we are always trying to give somebody a pound a week more than he got last week; that battle can never be won.

You can have fridges and tellies and cars and carpools, and then you want a dinghy or a motor cruiser or whatever it is. You go on and on and on, and always you are committed up to the hilt. The battle to make people happy on that basis can never be won. We shall always be chasing from outside, and my experience of young people, my experience of my own children, is that it is not these issues about which they want to be talked to.

That is why we move on in the document from having said what we have achieved, having established that it is a different society now, that it is basically a well-to-do society in Britain now, to try to look at what the issues are that we ought to be thinking about for the future.

I was a young Minister in the Government that lost power in 1951, and I remember the frustrations of all of us who were young Ministers in that Government, the sense of having run out of steam, the sense of having run out of ideas, the sense of having lost touch with a world that was so different from the one we started with in 1945. We were thirteen years in the wilderness—more—because we devoted no time to looking at the changes we had ourselves helped to bring about, and the purpose of this document, the purpose of this debate this morning is to say we are determined

that that shall not happen this time. (*Applause.*)

We will now spend two years looking at where we are and looking at what we want to build on that so that, come 1971, far from this being a Government like the one of 1951 which had run out of ideas, we will be a movement and a Government which has the next set of horizons and ambitions in front of it.

With all that in mind, we have tried to indicate the seven major issues that we think people are likely to be concerned with in 1971. We are not in this document trying to set out considered and detailed answers. In the past we always worked that way round. The Executive, in my experience, has worked out in sub-committees and among itself detailed proposals before there has ever been a debate inside the movement about the issues.

Of course, this is a thing you cannot win on. If you produce the detailed proposals, then you are accused of being dogmatic. If you produce the issues before the detailed provisions, you are accused of waffling, and one has to accept the criticism. We here set out what the issues are for you to debate, for you to add to if there are others we have missed, for you to make proposals on to us on the basis of which, in the course of this next two years, we can produce the manifesto on which we go to the country.

What are the issues that we think people may have in mind or certainly will have in mind by 1971? I said just now that most of our people are better off, but this does not mean that most of our people by any means are content with our present society and the way in which it is organised. There is still too much privilege in too few hands (*Applause.*)

One of the things we really must tackle is how and where we get rid of this sense of unfairness; how we get rid of the sense that some people, not so much have too much of the wealth, as have too much of the things that in the past wealth only could buy. I am not bothered that my neighbour is richer than I am, but I am very bothered if because he is richer than I am his children can get access to things that my children have a right to as well (*Applause.*)

Although we have done many things that we have set out here, and I do not think Jim sitting alongside me has been given nearly enough credit for the radical tax changes that he made in his period as Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Applause*)—although we have done many things, we still have to get rid of these inequalities and the privileges that these inequalities can buy.

Of them all, the educational inequality is the worst. I disagreed with my colleagues about a number of things before I left the Government, and it is no use my pretending I think this is the best possible Government. It may be the best we have had up to now, but if I were to go further and say it was the best possible Government, you would ask, what the hell did he leave it for? (*Laughter.*) So, if you will forgive me, I will not go quite that far.

But I disagreed with them about a number of things before I left, and I think nothing angered me and upset me so much as our decision about the school leaving age. (*Applause.*) Therefore, in the document we indicate that one of the things we really must do is to make the comprehensive system of secondary school education really effective, really valid and really universal (*Applause.*)

This is a matter in some part of providing more money, and I am sorry the Chancellor is now a long way away, but I see the Chief Secretary sitting over there, who can no doubt convey to him what I am saying. It is in part a question of providing more money, more resources so that the buildings and so on, and the apparatus can be put there. But it is also more than that, because you could still provide buildings, beautiful buildings, wonderful apparatus in them, label them 'comprehensive' and yet still have them really an extension of the old selective grammar school education. (*Applause.*)

Therefore, I say not only to my ex-colleagues in the Government but to my colleagues on the platform, to people in local authorities, to people on education committees: remember, comprehensive secondary school education is as much an idea, as much a concept as it is a matter of buildings, and we must see that it is the concept that remains and stays, and is advanced. If we do that, then I think we are well on our way to removing one of the greatest senses of unfairness that exist in this country. There are many other ways of dealing with unfairness in Britain at home, I will not detail them all now, you know many of them yourselves. One of them is, of course, in industry.

I will not reopen old sores. I will not go back to Monday's debate. But if we do it, we literally have got to change the balance between the lower paid and the higher earning people in this community. (*Applause.*) If you think that the road on which I and some others started in 1964 is the wrong road, all right; you are entitled to say that; but you have also got to tell us what is the other road. (*Applause.*)

It is no use, with respect to everybody,

talking about the other road if by that you mean a situation in which the people in the West Midlands, for example, go still further up and the agricultural workers and the laundry workers stay where they are. (*Applause.*) This is a basic inequality, it is a basic unfairness that people feel. This also is one that we have to tackle, and we have to show that we are ready to tackle, and we have to produce proposals for between here and 1971.

Then in the document we switch from looking domestically to looking overseas. I believe there is far more concern with what we call here world poverty, with the inequalities and unfairness between nations—there is far more concern about that in the minds and the hearts of our people than perhaps we ourselves tend to reflect. People are aware, as we say in the document, that for every three who are alive today there will be seven in the year 2000, which is not far away, 14 in the year 2035, and 25 for three only 100 years from now.

This raises an enormous problem, because most of them are in undeveloped—underdeveloped—territories. Most of them are in places where they have little chance of having the kind of standards of living to which they are entitled, let alone the one we have.

Those of us who went to the parish church on Sunday will recall that remarkable sermon that was preached there, drawing a distinction between what we eat, even the poorest of us, in the West and what the average man in these territories eats. It was a terrifying, frightening reminder that was given us on Sunday morning.

People care about this. We hear about the hippies; we hear about the flower people; we hear about the student rebellion and all that. My experience is that many, if not all, of our young people are in fact as keen to do something about this problem of world poverty and world inequality as they are about anything at all. It just happens we hear more about the hippies and the beatniks. (*Applause.*)

But this is not something we have just got to talk about. We have got to show that we have ideas for it. The first requirement is, of course, to get our own economic strength up, because you cannot deal with this by words. You have got to be able to make resources and to make people available. You have got to be able to make know-how and machines available. In many cases you are going to have to do this without immediately getting paid for it. Therefore, you have got to be economically strong enough to do it.

We must somehow stop talking of aid as though it is either charity, on the one hand, or merely an appendage of trade, on the other. Just as it is our business—has been our business—to raise the standards of the less well off in our own country, not for what we shall get out of it, but because it was actually right to do it, so it is our business to raise the standards of the underdeveloped peoples of the world, not for what we can get out of it, but because it is our business to do it. (*Applause.*)

And so we ask the movement to consider the kind of ways in which we can make for Britain the developing of a less unfair world one of our absolute priorities in the years immediately ahead of us, and I think we will, incidentally, spark off something in the minds and hearts of many of our people.

Then we select another one and turn back now to home. The question of enabling our people to feel they are taking part in what is going on. We use this wonderful jargon, participation in the health of democracy—it really simply means my daughter, my son-in-law, not only doing well, not only living well, but feeling that in what is happening around them they have an effective finger, an effective role to play.

You know, the trade unions, Parliament, local councils, have all got to look at themselves here. Admittedly anybody can get to Parliament, admittedly anybody can join a union, anybody can play his part in the branch committee, but not all our people feel it is worth trying to do it. There is too much of a sense of a juggernaut in the whole business; that you will get steam-rollered, you will get clobbered, it ain't worth going.

You can, of course, just end up by saying, 'Why do they feel like that? It's damn silly, we can't do anything for them.' But the fact of the matter is, unless I sadly misjudge the mood in the country at the moment, the fact of the matter is that more people feel like that than feel that they are part of what is happening.

There is a tremendous distinction in people's minds between 'them' and 'us', and 'them' are the people like you and me who happen to be in authority, in whatever part of society we are in; 'us' are the great mass of people who think we do not really either take them into account or allow them to effectively participate.

It is easier to state a problem than to find the solution, but the solution has to be found, and the first thing to do, of course, is to make it quite clear that we understand the problem exists.

How do we replenish ourselves? How do

we establish that we also have to disappear from the scene? How do we establish that you sometimes need a revivement? There is no future in somebody saying, 'I've held my seat—I've held my place—for the past 25 years.' There is something in the system other countries have, where every now and again you go off—some of our unions have it here—where every now and again you go off to allow yourself a bit of time to replenish the engines and allow somebody else a bit of time to bring a new mind to the problems.

This is worth thinking about. There are many ways this can be done, but it has to be done, and it has to be done at every level of society, otherwise we shall get 'us' the permanent establishment, totally derided by 'them', the permanently unestablished. (*Applause.*)

I do not think I wholly agree with Jim; I do not think I wholly agree with some of my colleagues about their assessment of nationalism in Scotland and in Wales and elsewhere. I frankly think that what we are seeing, not only in these countries but in England too, is a protest, a protest by people who feel out of things. In Scotland and Wales you can protest by voting Nationalist, in Britain you protest by not voting at all; but it is the same protest going on, I think, throughout the country. (*Applause.*)

And then we raise another issue which, I think, is tremendously important and which again must not be clouded by old slogans: what we call the communications issue. It is very easy to say that what is the matter at the moment is that commercial interests control too much of the media by which people get their information. There is a good deal of truth in it, I do not deny it; and a very limited group of commercial interests are controlling more and more of it, and it is exceedingly dangerous. That itself has to be dealt with.

But there is something much more important, we suggest, than that even: that is, the extent to which the technological breakthrough has enabled those who control the media—for this purpose it does not matter whether it is commercial or non-commercial—in fact to influence and impact on people's thinking and people's attitudes without their even being aware of it.

The developments that have gone on in the last five years in this business of bringing ideas and alleged information to people without their knowing you are bringing it is absolutely fantastic. The extent to which somebody, because of the development of space and all that, a long way away, with

no real concern with our problems, could in fact ensure that every home in Britain saw it the way they wanted to present it at any one moment is frightening.

And the fact that you stop commercial interests from controlling that would not please me an awful lot either, because Governments can also be pretty dangerous if they can control that kind of impact on our homes and on our minds, and especially on our children's minds.

Somebody said to me the other day that our children are much better educated and when I queried the words they said they were certainly much better informed than we were at the same age. I am sure that is true. I am sure my grand-daughter of 3½ is much more aware of what is going on than I was at 3½. But is that really a comforting thought? Because what she is aware of is what people want her to believe is going on, rather than what necessarily is going on. (*Applause.*)

We have got to address ourselves as a Party, as a Movement, that intends to be the Government after 1971, to what steps should be taken to control and limit the capacity of this kind of media and how we ourselves use it and how we ensure that it is not only the others who make use of it but that we ourselves can turn it to our own advantage.

Then there is the whole question of the technological advance: the impact that that is making on our modern industry. I will not go into the technological side itself. I want to say, though, something about the kind of industry that we shall require in the years ahead and what we are doing about it.

I saw the other day—I say this in passing—a headline or a by-line in a newspaper which suggests there is something different about this document because we had not mentioned the blessed name 'nationalisation' and there was some suggestion we had therefore departed deliberately in this document from our past thinking on this subject. Let me, therefore, make it quite plain that I take the view that for as long ahead as any of us are going to be bothered with it we shall have, like everybody else, what is called a mixed economy.

We shall have sectors in public ownership, we shall have sectors in private ownership, and we shall increasingly have sectors which are neither in public nor in private ownership but a mixture of both. One of the great innovations for which I think I can claim to have been largely responsible and of which I am very proud was the Fairfields shipyard at Glasgow. (*Applause.*)

It was not just rescuing it from certain

death, it was the beginning of a new kind of enterprise, of a new kind of partnership; to see whether you could make it work, whereby the unions and the capitalists and the Government could all combine both in owning the equity and in the making of decisions.

I trust that more and more of that will develop. The boundaries between public and private enterprise will change; they will move. We will have them all, all the different systems, and what I think we have to do is more of what we have begun to do and to be a little less shamefaced about it.

I strove, with the help of my colleagues, for the setting up of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation. To do what? To speed up the re-structuring of British industry so that we had enterprises of the size and nature to compete with those overseas. I was not so much concerned with size and I never look at a merger proposal to see how big the ensuing beast will be. I look at it to see whether it provides the kind of organisation, from the raw material to the outlet, which will enable us to compete with European giants, Continental giants, American giants.

You cannot any longer go out into the world and get yourself a contract, let us say to build a dam or to build a bridge. You have to go out and show that you can build it, of course; you have to go out and provide the people who can describe what it is that they want; you have got to go out and show you can find the finance. The whole thing is a great complex and the Americans have got far ahead of us in this.

This is the kind of re-structuring of British industry that we need, at all kinds of levels. I hope therefore we will not shy off just because it does produce giants. Equally, I hope we will not think this is only a question of producing giants. We have far, far too many industrial enterprises in this country with under 500 people. It is these who could really boost our export drive. The top few are probably doing as much as they can do. It is in this other vast area where we could get a boost. They do so little of it. It is from this area that our import substitution could really come, if they were more efficient, if they were better organised, if they were more together. Therefore, the whole question of the re-structuring of industry on which we have begun, in which we are now having success, we ought to applaud to the skies and we ought to carry through.

Well, Madam Chairman, I have had my time. There is much more, obviously, I would like to say, but I believe that, as we

say in the last heading, the great debate should now start. We must assume Government success in its economic strategy and, as Roy said when he spoke to us, there are very many reasons for thinking that that assumption is sound.

It looks as though the strategy is working now, that we have, as Erlander put it, enough time ahead of us for the strategy to pay off before 1971. But whether that is right or wrong, that is an assumption we clearly must make. The carry-over from that to the next five years and our purpose in producing this document is to begin the great debate, to ask you to take part in it, to ask you to contribute ideas.

Let us for a minute drop the luxury of telling each other what has gone wrong. Let us even drop the luxury, if you will, of telling each other what has gone well. Let us now get down to the job of telling each other what we want to do. I go round, I suppose, as many regional conferences as most people and at every regional conference I go to I am struck by the irrelevance of much that goes on there; I am struck by the sense of frustration which the delegates have who come there. (*Applause.*)

I know why regional conferences cannot become policy making places. I understand why there can be only one place where policy is made and only one place where it is carried out between times. All that I know, and that is a problem. But I do not see any reason why regional conferences, now that the great debate has started, should not spend a good deal of their time talking about these major issues instead of the seemingly endless resolutions that never get anywhere, or see the light of day, once they have been nagged about.

They tell me that ward parties and local party meetings these days are boring places. All right. Just read last month's minutes, leave it at that and go on to debate the issues, either the seven we have ourselves chosen or any others you want to put down. Then, let us have the relationship between the Executive and the Party in the country that means that you will influence our thinking, and maybe we can influence yours. And at the end of the day the Party can make up its mind in, this time, a considered way where it wants to go from here.

It is for the Executive to ensure that our liaison with the Government is sufficiently close that Ministers are not going off on one tack while we are going off on another—and that, I think, can be done. There is no terribly great difficulty about that. As I now have a totally undivided loyalty, I will do what I can to help. But the liaison between

us and the Government must be close. That is clear.

But this is basically a Party job. This is basically a question of how do we want to project ourselves as 'the Party'. Governments, as I well know from experience, and Ministers from day to day, have decisions that they cannot escape making. But in making them, they inevitably impose some inhibitions about Party thinking and thinking ahead. I think that this is the distinction between us. They carry a responsibility. We do not. We must respect that and understand it. On the other hand, they must respect and understand that that leaves us, perhaps, a bit freer than they are to think about the future and the tasks ahead of us and the desirable things we want to achieve.

I think, therefore, we have a wonderful chance now to start the Party off on a real job of work, a job of work which will pay off in terms of what we can achieve five years, ten years, from now, a job of work that will keep us all too occupied to go on through the misery of the past year.

Madam Chairman, I commend the document in that sense, and I ask all our comrades in the country to help us to work it through now into real, specific decisions. (*Loud applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, George. The great debate is well and truly begun. I have, as you know, as Chairman a plan of the Conference in front of me, and I will do my best, having been deluged by requests, to try to get as representative a debate as is possible in the time.

Mr. Eric Heffer (*ex-officio* M.P., Liverpool Walton): Madam Chairman, comrades, I think that Conference will agree that the speech that we have heard from George Brown this morning, like most of the speeches from the platform, was an excellent speech, dealing with many of the vital problems that we are faced with, but great speeches alone do not solve the problems with which we are faced.

George said, quite rightly, that the task before us as a Party and as a movement is to get rid of the power and privilege of that section of society that has had it far too long and that still has it even now, despite the fact that we have a Labour Government. How are we going to do it? That is the central question. How are we going to take that power and privilege away from that class that has dominated this country for so long?

George touched upon it. He said that as

far as he was concerned, we would have a mixed economy for a long time. I hope that is not going to be the philosophy of this Labour Party, that we will settle for a mixed economy. (*Applause.*) I say that we have to have, and this is the great weakness in this particular document, a definite extension of public ownership, but not necessarily the public ownership in the exact form that we have had it in the past. (*Applause.*)

We have had public ownership in the past which, unfortunately, first has not always been responsible to the Ministers in Parliament, but has also been dominated by the bureaucratic boards, and I believe that we as socialists have got to get back to the ideas of people like James Connolly and others in our movement in the past who pointed out that socialism was public ownership plus, and that means public ownership plus democratic management and control of the industries by the workers who work in those industries. (*Applause.*)

I want to say this. I accept that public ownership in itself does not solve all the problems. We have to have the right type of efficient management, and I believe we also have to have many more diverse forms of public ownership and we need to do a great deal of thinking along those lines as far as this movement is concerned. We could take, for example, the lessons of much of the Italian public ownership. There are many ideas which we have not yet even begun to explore, and I think the time has come when we should do this and even sometimes have a bit of competition. I know that is a bit of heresy, but we could have a bit of competition even between publicly-owned industries in order to get some healthy efficiency in these industries.

Comrades, yesterday we had a fine speech from the Prime Minister, and again this morning George Brown referred to the great victory of our comrades in Sweden. I think we all applaud that great victory, but I also want to point this out, that the Swedish Social Democrats won their victory because they went to the Left in the last election, because they opposed the war in Vietnam (*Applause*), because they also decided that they were not going into N.A.T.O. and believe in a security pact as far as Europe is concerned. So if we are going to adopt the Swedish ideas, let us adopt them in their totality. Do not let us just pick certain parts of their programme, let us pick them all.

Comrades, this really is the beginning of a first class debate in our Party. We must look to the future. We have to win the next election because the Labour Party is the only party worthwhile in government, but

let us see that we get the right policies for the Party to be pursuing. (*Applause.*)

Mr. W. Harry (National Union of Mine-workers): I want to refer, Madam Chairman, to a particular part of this report on the first page. At the end of that page, listing our priorities in this report, it says, and I want to quote these few words because they have a bearing on what I want to say afterwards, 'This job is not yet finished. But major programmes now in hand are transforming older industries—steel, coal, gas, shipbuilding, the docks, railways—and parallel reforms elsewhere (computers, nuclear energy) . . .' The point I want to make is this. In this report, you have separated coal from nuclear power and it is a very dangerous thing to do. I want to remind this Conference that all through the 13 years of Tory rule and since, this Conference has passed policies asking for a national fuel policy, or, better still, a national energy policy.

We were told that coal would play a vital role in that policy, in the energy requirements of this nation. What has happened? Under this Party, coal is rapidly declining. I am looking at the miner's delegation, and there has been no more loyal delegation than the miners' group at this Conference. (*Applause.*) As a matter of fact, I think we have been a little bit too loyal, but South Wales are gradually moving along to the Left, I am glad to say.

The oil magnates, the international oil combines, are taking over the energy requirements of this country, and it is at the nation's peril. You watched the demonstration here on Monday morning of the miners who crossed down those steps, and it was a demonstration of which you ought to take notice. We, the South Wales area of the National Union of Mineworkers, have a lobby at the House of Commons. We lobbied with the Tories. I remember Nye Bevan in 1959 saying to me, 'Don't come to me, Bill, with your problems. Get after the Tories, they are the Government of the day'.

But what happened when we got power? Still further contraction of the industry, and I think the miners must change their strategy here. It is not a case of asking for more jobs; the whole industry is vital to this nation as an economic base for the future in the next 30, 40 or 50 years because the more we become dependent on oil, the more the oil magnates will be able to determine the price of that particular fuel.

I am connected with local government on the Monmouthshire County Council, and I

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know that when estimates are put in for the installation of fuel, oil versus coal, the oil boys will deliberately put in a deflated price just to get the oil in, and that has happened in Monmouthshire.

George Brown, I am glad to say, has made an important commitment here today. He has said, as Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, that this is going to be the policy-making conference—we cannot decide it at regional level, but we are going to decide it here. I am glad George Brown said that.

I want to conclude by saying that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., two diverging and different economies, are rapidly expanding the coal mining industry. This has been a year of political quotes from Hugh Scanlon and the T.U.C. I will make a shorter one: in view of the expansion of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. coal industries, go thou and do likewise. I say that to the Government, because it is at your peril if you allow the coal mining industry to run down, not just for the sake of the miners, but for the sake of your nation.

Mr. G. Cole (Bristol Central C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, friends, I speak here as one of the youngest members and delegates to this conference. I warn you that any pre-occupation at this point in our movement with old hat problems like nationalisation will get you nowhere with young people. *(Applause.)*

The real problem in the coming decade, and that is what we are planning for now, that is what the debate is about, is one in which a realistic attack on world poverty must be made, and the young people, believe it or not, do care about that. *(Applause.)* If they do not come into the Labour movement, it is partly, I assure you, because the Labour movement has not, up till now, shown a great concern for world poverty. The lead in this conference has come in this document, and it is one lead that we must take up.

I would say to you that the concepts of left and right for our movement are not very important any more. I would give you a new dimension, it is up and down: up where the intellectuals are, those that can keep to the practical issues, and some of them can; and down are the people who are most concerned with such things as profit for themselves, and their own class; and also down are the people who are appealing to basic human faults such as racialism.

I would say to you that if you look at this dimension of up and down, instead of left and right, you will get a clearer picture, you will be thinking in terms of a concept of up and

down: up, where the idealism is, and down, where basic nasty human faults are. If you do this, you will find that all the socialist principles which we stand for are up, and all the rotten principles that Toryism stands for are down.

If you are going to appeal to the young people, and if you want the young people in your movement, the young people who are all getting a better education than was ever possible before, then this is the appeal you must have, the appeal of idealism.

I would say to you, as a last remark, that the people who drafted this document are up. This is a practical document, because it does consider world issues, it considers national issues, and it puts our future debate on an intellectual basis which we must keep to. It keeps to the practical issues and recognises that the people who drafted this document, the people who are leading us, are up, they are the tops; and the people like Enoch Powell are the bottoms of this world. *(Applause.)*

Rt. Hon. Reginald Prentice (*ex officio* M.P., East Ham North): Madam Chairman, I want particularly to welcome the section of the manifesto that refers to world poverty, and I believe absolutely with George that this is an issue which is concerning more and more people in this country, especially young people. I welcomed the speech just made by the delegate from Bristol Central, and this will become an increasing factor in public opinion in the years ahead.

Having been Minister of Overseas Development for the last year or so, I have been well aware of criticisms of the other kind of selfish, short-sighted people who talk the language of the *Daily Express*, and who say, 'Why should we spend money on developing countries when we have troubles of our own?' But I believe there is also a growing opinion, admittedly a minority, but a growing minority of people, who see the importance of this thing, both because it is right that we should do more in this direction, and also because it is in our own enlightened self-interest that we should do more as well.

Let me make one or two brief comments on what is said in the manifesto. First of all, looking at the population figures, it is very easy to be overwhelmed with a sense of hopelessness. It is very easy to feel that poverty has been with us for so long, is so aggravated by the population explosion, that we shall never be able to cope.

One thing I want to get across is that there are many things happening in the developing world which really give us cause for hope. There are developing countries today who

are doing far more for themselves and achieving rates of economic growth faster than ever before in world history. There are nine of the developing countries who will have doubled their living standards in the 1960s, and therefore, I believe, looking ahead, that we can win the race between the growth of food resources and other resources, and the growth of population. That is providing those developing countries continue to do well, and providing we in the developed world are able to help them to help themselves.

My next point is that the manifesto says it is not merely a question of providing more aid. That is absolutely right. There has to be emphasis on many other things: emphasis on family planning, emphasis on more and better ways of organising world trade. But it is also a matter of providing more aid. At the moment, we in Britain are providing in development aid just over £200 million a year, just over 1s. 5½d. a week from each of us. We are about average in the league table of western donor countries, and there are reasons why we cannot do more.

Obviously what we can do is related to our own economic performance, it has to be. But one thing I think we have to recognise is that as and when our economy improves, then we ought to do more, and we ought to call on other developed countries to do more as well. The reasons for that are mainly reasons of principle, moral reasons that we should accept as social democrats.

But also I think we need to understand and persuade our fellow citizens that there are reasons of self-interest as well, we are a trading nation, we have a vested interest in the growth of the world economy; from the flow of development aid our workers get orders, they get orders from other countries' aid as well.

I believe if there had been no flow of development aid in the last 10 years, there would be now a worse balance of payments situation. There would be more unemployment on the Clyde, on the Tyne and on the Tees. Therefore, this is an issue on which our own self-interest marches in step with our idealism. The motto of the International Labour Organisation is that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere.

The other side of that coin is if the world economy can grow it can benefit all the peoples of the world, both those in the poorest countries and those in countries like our own. It is an open question as to how this thing will move in the years ahead. There is in many countries a growing cynicism about all this, there is a tendency for the richer countries to look inwards, to be so

obsessed with the money they owe each other that they are inclined to turn their backs on two-thirds of the human race.

It is up to us in this party, and people who think like us, to reverse that trend and to fight for a bigger effort in this field, because it is right, because it is in our own long-term self-interest, and because it is essential to the future peace of the world. (*Applause.*)

Mrs. Audrey Wise (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers): Many of the points that George Brown made of course were valid. Those points about education, about frustration, about lack of participation—of course they were valid; of course we all agree wholeheartedly. But I would suggest, Madam Chairman and comrades, that George Brown was dealing with symptoms this morning. What we have to do is identify the disease.

I would suggest, old hat though it may sound, that the disease from which society suffers still is that we live in a basically capitalist economy which is run for private profits. (*Applause.*) Of course we need to get a sense of participation, but what sense of participation do the workers in G.E.C.—the 11,000 of them in Coventry where I come from; or, in the town of Stafford, the workers of English Electric—what sense of participation do they have in relation to the merger which has taken place?

Our people see an intensification of capitalism now. We are told it is a transformation, but I believe the true word is 'intensification'. It is making giants. George Brown is not worried about this, but I say that our people feel crushed by these giants. They feel really at the bottom of the pile as much as they ever did. In distribution, my own trade, where we have many, many, many small shops, we still have our giants. Those small grocers' shops, small shoe shops, are mostly owned by retail giants.

I would suggest that these problems and the problems of world poverty are linked. The society in which we live is so irrational that we are being told constantly that we must export more and import less—and so, Madam Chairman, is every other working class in this world being told that—export more and import less.

We in the rich nations are competing madly with each other to sell cars—America to sell cars to us and us to America—while half the world is starving, and this is the way the world is run. That is the way the British economy is run, and until we start attacking this disease by really taking this economy for the people, then we will suffer

from these horrible symptoms that George Brown so ably dealt with.

This document talks about an improvement in regional balance. We are getting an improvement in regional balance, yes. We are now at a situation where the summer unemployment figures for Coventry were very similar to those for Merseyside. This is no help to Merseyside. It is no help to Coventry. (*Applause.*) In Nuneaton, in the prosperous West Midlands, the July unemployment figures were over 5 per cent, higher than anywhere in a development area. This is not the improvement in balance we want. We want a net reduction in unemployment.

Our people are not better off. We know this, because we are living it. We do not get our figures on the cost of living by studying the cost of living index. (*Applause.*) We get them by going to the shops and knowing that our money does not stretch. (*Applause.*) The cost of living index excludes tax. It excludes the National Insurance contributions. These things have gone up. The improvement in real wages which is claimed is not factual—and we know, because we live it. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I am in the embarrassing position that we are running badly behind time. I see so many hands up. I am going to be murdered by my parliamentary colleagues, among other things. I am afraid this will have to be the last contribution before I call on Tony Wedgwood Benn to reply; but remember, this is only the very beginning of this great debate.

(A point of order was then raised from the floor.)

The Chairman: We are doing our best. You will find that it evens out during the debates.

Mr. A. Allen (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers): May I say in making my contribution to this debate that the issues today which this Conference is asked to face up to are as serious as any which have faced a Labour Party Conference. Because of that, I personally approach these problems that have been highlighted yesterday by the Prime Minister and today by George Brown in the knowledge that no-one—the Government, the employers or the trade unions—has a monopoly of knowledge or wisdom, nor have the pundits who give us the value of their subjective judgment on how this Government

should operate and how the trade union movement should conduct themselves.

I want to say here that until the speech by the Prime Minister yesterday, followed by George Brown, I felt that there was a great danger that this Conference would find itself today merely providing arguments for those at home and abroad to seriously question whether we have either the will or the capacity as a movement to manage our own affairs. I am happy that the answer to that question has been given in most forthright terms by the two speakers we have had.

I want to say this is a crucial debate. It is crucial because it is about relationships between our movement and the Government. It is about relationships between the Government and the people whose support they must hold at the next election—the community generally. Because of that, I believe we must bring about a greater sense of involvement between the people, the trade union movement and the Government. There is much to do in that regard today.

I believe we must go out and the Government must go out in far greater force than they have done up to now to tell the people why it is, in detail, this country had to devalue, why it is we have to have an incomes policy, why it is we have to indulge in mergers in order to compete competitively with Europe and those who are our competitors abroad.

We have, too—with the Government giving the lead, our Party giving the lead—to do more to remove misunderstanding from people's minds about the long-term, least of all the short-term, objectives of the Government. We have to remove the inertia of fear, cynicism and suspicion—and there is plenty of that about at the present time.

I want to say to this Conference and to my colleagues in the trade union movement: where there is no vision, we perish as a movement. I believe we have to restore the lack of commitment to do better for ourselves, better for the Government, and, above all, to do better for our country. We have to look after the weaker sections of our community. We have heard how this is being done and what it is proposed to do in the future through the medium of social security, but, you know, there is no one person in this hall who would object to that. Indeed, we applaud it. But in moving up social security we have to ensure that people who are lowly paid do not remain below that minimum benefit. That is a situation which we are faced with at the present time.

So I believe that if this Conference is going to do anything at all it will from today go

out and tell the people—and not only tell them, but it must be by Government policy and trade union response—that we are concerned with social inequalities, social injustice, and that this movement will repair them instead of involving ourselves in a dialogue which perhaps too often is orientated towards the debunking and the knocking.

The Chairman: I am sorry, Comrades, but seven out of the eight delegates I am calling later today are constituency party delegates. I have no choice at the moment except to ask Tony Wedgwood Benn to reply.

Mr. J. Coveney (Heston and Isleworth C.L.P.): Point of order. You did promise that all sections would be represented. We have one delegate in the corner from an under-developed country. May I ask that he should be heard.

The Chairman: I am taking your point, I have my eye on the turban, and he will get his turn along with the rest. I have been keeping the score, there were more Constituency representatives on Monday than trade unions, so please do your summing up on Friday and you will find it will work out fairly equally. I will do my best.

Rt. Hon. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, M.P. (Minister of Technology): I hope this conference will agree that, although this debate has been a short one, it has justified the decision of the Executive in publishing our mid-term manifesto.

The main theme that has emerged from all the speeches we have heard today has been that in a mature democracy people want to be invited to participate more fully.

The theme of this debate has been the necessity for this Party to present its achievements, its problems and the issues of tomorrow in a way that is respectful of a mature democracy. Our objectives have been three-fold: first to invite people to join in an assessment, a balanced assessment of our record; secondly, to try to bring back into prominence the themes that dominated our 1964 manifesto, many of which have been submerged by the mass of detailed measures we have introduced to implement them and, thirdly, as George said, to identify the issues that lie ahead.

I believe that the spirit in which this debate is to be launched is at least as important as the content of the document itself.

This is no confessional. But we know, as a Party, that the disappointment of millions of people was written ten feet high in by-election and local election results over the

course of the last year or so. And, indeed, Ministers being human too, were disappointed at the time scale which we have discovered has been necessary to correct the fundamental weaknesses of the country we took over four years ago.

I want to illustrate that time scale by describing the time it has taken to achieve the success that we have already had. I want to take three brief immediate examples. Eric Heffer talked about public ownership. Two weeks from today a brand new public enterprise is born in this country, the GIRO. The work on it began four years ago. It was announced in 1965, the site was picked immediately afterwards in a development area, the computers were acquired from a company in which we now participate, the British International Computers Limited, and when this service begins in two weeks' time it will be a brand new public banking service available through 25,000 post offices, all done without nationalising a single private asset, without paying a penny of compensation.

By 1970 the GIRO will have a million accounts and a million transactions every day. But it has taken four years to bring it to fruition.

Let me take another example—George referred to it: the shipbuilding industry. The Geddes Committee set up in 1965. George Brown saved Fairfields in 1966. The Shipbuilding Industry Act passed in 1967. The technological agreement with the Russians signed—and you will see the relevance of this—in 1968. The Upper Clyde Shipbuilders established, with Fairfields in it, in 1968, and now, as we read, multi-million orders for ships from the Soviet Union are now being negotiated. (*Applause.*) But, my friends, it has taken an awful long time.

And if I give my third example, I do it because it connects with what Reg Prentice said. You remember, Harold Wilson in his Scarborough speech quoted the phrase about making two blades of grass grow where one before had grown. Take de-salination, de-salting of water. Frank Cousins, when Minister of Technology, asked the Atomic Energy Authority to divert some of the best scientists on to this problem, and last year not only did Weir Westgarth, with whom that authority had worked, win every single order that went to world tender for which they bid for de-salting equipment, but also this brought water to under-developed countries; and jobs for Scottish workers. It confirmed the purposes which had inspired our policy. But it takes a very long time.

We often think—and hearing Bill Harry from Tredegar, it reminded me—of technology in terms of contracting job oppor-

tunity. But, you know, it is the job of a Socialist Government to make jobs, to make technology to make jobs.

That is the task which we have undertaken, and when we are working on a long-term project of industrial reorganisation, or when we are giving a research contract, or when we are planning for something that will lead to a big machine tool contract from Russia or aircraft orders from Rumania or earth satellite tracking stations from Kenya, or aero-engines for America, it is not the scientific novelty of what we are doing that excites me: it is the jobs we are creating for people of this country and the service that we are providing for those that use our goods.

I mention these examples because sometimes we forget that out of the many themes which we developed in the 1964 manifesto—public enterprise, regional policy, overseas development, industrial reorganisation—come such success as we have achieved and our real opportunity to serve the people of this country.

We sometimes hear delegates speak as if the experience of Ministerial office will convert any Socialist to Tory views. I would invite anyone who thinks that to come and occupy my chair in the Ministry of Technology. I assure you that anyone observing, as I do, what is happening in British industry today would, if he were open-minded at all, be converted to the need for public enterprise and public accountability, not only in the public sector, but in the private sector as well.

Most of the issues that George spoke about today are issues that arise directly or indirectly from the impact of technology upon our society. Technology can lift humanity above the poverty line or destroy the world by nuclear war or destroy us individually by some form of industrial tyranny. And what we have done in the document, and what we want the debate to do, is to open up politics again after too many years when people have thought of politics as being only about last month's trade figures, or trade unionism as being only about this month's wage negotiations.

We want to open up again what it was that brought the movement into being: the need to create an environment in which ordinary men and women and children could realise their opportunities to the full.

Most trade union leaders know very well that however objectionable some Government policies may seem to be the real threat to their membership lies not in what Barbara Castle may do, but in what may at this moment be being planned in some laboratory

which will render a whole industry obsolete within a period of five or ten years. Here is the dilemma: if we do develop these technologies we face the uncomfortable facts of change and if we do not, and others develop these technologies, then our employment is threatened by those who have.

It is a tradition of the Labour movement to think of the purity of a Socialist Government being interfered with by the bankers in Wall Street and Zurich. Well, we had a word about that on Monday. But I assure you that the problem that I am speaking about is quite different from that. Even if we had hundreds of millions of pounds of surplus every year, even if the Bank of England vaults were overflowing with gold, we would still, in the world we live in, find our future decided by what is happening in Detroit and Tokyo, Dusseldorf or Milan, because—and I think few people, still, realise this—the inter-meshing of international industrial activity is getting tighter and tighter and tighter. This is a problem that will not be pushed away, even when we have achieved the solvency to which we have set our hands.

This is the problem of the mammoth company, and, you know, you cannot solve that problem by nationalisation alone. If you have an international company and you nationalise the British component in it, you would still have not have got control over the destiny of that company. We have got to think, as a movement, internationally, not only in terms of peace and war or brotherhood but internationally in industrial terms. It may well be that we shall come to the point when mammoth international trade unions will become necessary in order to defend the interests of the world community of workers.

This brings me, Madam Chairman, to another major theme brought out in the document of the relationship between these changes and institutions. Just as military technology created the United Nations, so civil industrial technology calls too for new institutions. When the big companies in Europe have reduced the national frontiers to nothing more than parish boundaries we will have to find institutions there capable of safeguarding the interests of the rest of us.

This Government has begun a series and a programme of institutional reforms of the very greatest importance: machinery of government, Fulton on the Civil Service, parliamentary reform, regional government, local government, and industrial democracy which we discussed today. Above all, the great educational reforms—also institutional

—which are necessary to help people to acquire the skills they need and to enjoy the leisure they need as well.

Do not under-estimate the political battle we are engaged in in this field of privilege, of educational privilege. The Tories would have you believe that they have accepted—or some of them would have you believe it—the comprehensive school, but, the truth is that just as we are throwing the 11-plus out of the front door they are trying to bring selection back in the guise of guided parental choice by the back door (*applause*), and this is wholly unacceptable to the Party.

If institutional issues seem rather academic, do not forget that many of the students who demonstrated this year were demonstrating on institutional issues, the right, in that case, to have some part in the running of their universities. And when a worker feels oppressed, as one delegate from Coventry said, of course he is oppressed by the institutional pressures of working for a large company.

What we have to do is to try to create machinery in this generation, comparable to the machinery the Labour movement created in the last generation, capable of giving people the opportunity of influencing the lives they lead.

I come now to the role of the Party in all this. What is the role of the Party to be? I think one thing has emerged quite clearly from this debate and our other debates this week, and that is that the fundamental formula of the Party, the alliance between the trade unions, the Co-operative movement and the Political Party, is of critical importance for this country.

But, you know, our Party is an institution, too, and it would be very surprising if the creeping obsolescence which we have been so quick to spot in every other institution were not in danger of infecting the Party as well. If not, how else do you explain this?

Here we are, a democratic Socialist Party, in a world where most people would give their eye teeth to have what we have achieved, and at this very time we are told, and see, that people are losing confidence. They are cynical, they are disillusioned, they are apathetic.

This is the paradox, the problem and the puzzle for the Party. It is that at a time when there is more interest in politics than certainly at any other time in my life, we see a country, apparently, more critical of the Party than it has been for some time.

Some of the reasons for this are described in our document. As the issues raised in it move into the centre of politics, we have got to re-establish contact with the new forces

of change, including the young—who were spoken for by the delegate from Bristol—in order to channel their energy from protest into constructive political effort. We have to do it at a time when the old, blind loyalties to political parties have finished.

I believe that people today are getting sick of name-calling and slanging matches as a substitute for political argument. What people want are serious issues to be discussed seriously. They want the facts marshalled, the arguments deployed, the choices identified, and they want to have some part in it. They are not satisfied any more just by the vote at the five-year general election or, if I may say so, just by the vote at the annual Party Conference. That is not sufficient for the partnership that we have to create.

I wish that, looking ahead, I could see an easy world for us even beyond the two-year hard slog. But when I observe a world where the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer, where the real lower-paid workers work in India, and where the world is armed to the teeth and torn by racial conflict, I do not believe that for me or my children or grandchildren we are ever going to see easy times, in that sense, lying ahead.

It is common in politics, or it has been, to think that the great 'we' and 'they' divide has been only between, if you like, Cabinet Ministers and the general public. But I am not sure, as I look round, particularly from the seat I occupy, that the new divide is not a different divide after all. It is a divide between the people, on the one hand—all of us—and the enormous sources of power that, with our skill, we have created.

What we have got to do is to create a partnership of responsible people able and ready to control that power. That, of course, is what this debate is all about. It is a debate in which we want to hear more from people with something to contribute. This is even more important than the ill-considered vote of a man who thinks that we can work miracles, which we cannot.

What we want is to get through to the millions of people who want us to succeed and to the millions of people who, looking at Paris in May or Chicago in August or Prague or Athens, want to see a Labour Government succeed in this country.

This document is at least as much a challenge to our supporters as it is to ourselves. The truth of interdependence is this, and let us get it clear. Without the Party, the Cabinet is powerless, and without the people the Party is powerless. And—and here is the message—without the Party the people

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of this country are powerless to control their destinies in the age of technology. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Tony. Thank you, comrades. This document, you know, is merely for you to note. It is for you to take home to your trade union branch, to your Constituency Party, to your women's section and anywhere you like, but take it home and discuss it. We hear a lot about this word 'participation', but this is surely how we participate. My apologies to those we could not call. We now have pressing in on us a series of debates—housing and rents, tied cottages, building and construction industry—and I am going to ask the delegates responsible for Composites 25, 26, 5 and 10 to be ready in turn to come to the rostrum. I think there is a point of order.

Mr. J. C. Binns (Greenwich C.L.P.): George Brown spoke about participation, and believe George. The Minister of Technology has just read a speech which was written before the debate and he gave that as a reply to the debate. No wonder comrades are disillusioned . . .

The Chairman: That is not a point of order. I am sorry, but we must not obstruct the opportunities of other delegates to talk about other things with which we are eager to get on. I now call Composite 25.

HOUSING AND RENTS

Mr. K. Stewart (Liverpool, West Derby C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 25 as follows:

This Conference rejects the Prices and Incomes Board's report on rents (to cover historical costs and subsequently economic costs). It therefore asks for a housing rents policy to be defined for consideration by Annual Conference.

Conference condemns the enormous rises in council rents taking place throughout the country, and declares this is due to the burden of interest rates placed on local authorities, whereby the money-lenders and financiers receive interest on loans amounting to approximately 16s. in every pound spent in building council houses.

It demands that the Government honour its pledges to provide facilities to extend council building by imposing an immediate freeze on rents and providing interest-free loans to build houses as part

of a National Plan, of at least one million houses per year.

It declares it is the task of the local Labour Parties in conjunction with the trades councils to take upon themselves the task of providing a lead in fighting the attacks on tenants.

Conference calls for:

- (a) *The rejection of all so-called rent rebate or differential rent schemes, as attempts to extract even more from tenants under the guise of equity and as a means test;*
- (b) *the immediate taking over of all the empty properties of the rich and empty office blocks, in a crash programme to house the people;*
- (c) *the Government to stop in its entirety the rate support grant payable to that council should any local authority deem it desirable or necessary to cut out the whole or part of the housing rate proportion of their general rate;*
- (d) *local campaigns to be part of a national campaign, to organise and fight against rent increases, for the nationalisation of all building land, the building and supply industries.**

He said: Madam Chairman, comrades, in moving this resolution I would draw Conference's attention to the Prices and Incomes Board White Paper on rents. This document was analysing the situation, but fails completely to tackle it and goes nowhere to meet the needs required. Therefore, we ask for the housing rents policy to be defined by Conference. Local authorities with major housing problems have reached a position where approximately 75 per cent of the rent yield is swallowed up in interest charges to money lenders.

You know, comrades, Christ turned the money lenders from the temple just on two thousand years ago. This is a continuing process which would indicate that in the future the position can only worsen in view of the continuity of building, the increased capital debt followed by increased building charges. Whilst the ceiling of 4 per cent on the charges was intended to lessen the burden, the facts are that it only affects new building and leaves the remaining problem of accumulated debt which attracts high interest rates. This makes the 4 per cent completely inadequate.

In the framework of present policy, building is influenced by rents. The increased cost of building has to be borne in the main by tenants, so that higher rents would have the effect of slowing down or reducing the

**Resolution lost. See page 219*

housing programme. Some tenants are paying as much as 25 per cent of their earnings in rents, and it is obvious that no more could be squeezed from tenants in rents. It has also risen beyond all proportion. Harold Wilson said yesterday that the responsibility for poverty was the responsibility of the community, not a section of the community. Part of the policy should include an immediate freeze on rents, provide interest-free loans to build houses as part of a national plan to build a million houses a year.

All delegates here who represent areas with housing problems realise that local Labour Parties and trades councils will have the responsibility of providing a means of fighting a tax on tenants. Rent rebates and differential rent schemes are not accepted on the grounds that, once again, it is the actual tenant who will have to find the means of financing such schemes. A family will pay increased rents in order to subsidise a lower-paid worker. Whilst we would say this is correct and appears correct, it would only be acceptable if applied universally. Immediate programmes should include the taking over of all the empty properties such as empty office blocks as a fair step to house the people from the slums as part of a crash programme.

It is understood that these steps are to deal with the immediate problem. It will be essential in the long term to carry out local campaigns as part of a national campaign against rent increases by finding the only solution to the problem.

Housing is an important part of the wealth of our nation and as such should be viewed as a basic social need and should call for the nationalisation of all the building land and the building and supply industries. Madam Chairman, I move. (*Applause.*)

Mr. M. Wallis (Ealing North C.L.P.): A recent national building agency report states that there are over two million uninhabitable homes in this country. This, combined with the figures published by our own Party, means that we should have to continue building at our present rate for over 10 years to clear up our present backlog of much needed homes. I am therefore suggesting that in this bread and butter field of housing, as a nation we are still ten years out of date.

Harold Wilson said yesterday that we had increased the absolute number of homes that we built. We have. But does he not know that the demand has also increased and therefore we are hardly capable of maintaining the status quo in this field? Even capitalist West Germany is capable of

building more homes than we are, and the Soviet Union builds more homes than the whole of Western Europe and the U.S.A. combined each year.

Consider that before the war, with a population of twelve million less people, we were building half a million homes. What starts have we got, then, of being able to begin to tackle our problems? We have the labour, we have the expertise and knowledge, we have the land, but what we also have are the bankers, the financiers and the speculators whose interest it is to maintain this imbalance between the supply and demand in the housing field.

The only answer is to nationalise under workers' control, bringing in the experience of the trade unions, the building industries, the supply industries and the land itself. These are not 'pie in the sky' policies, these would be possible, we could have a form of selective compensation according to needs.

George Brown asked for an alternative to the 1964 programme. I ask you to accept this composite and to indicate to him exactly what that alternative is. I beg to second.

Mr. B. A. Le Mare (Hendon South C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution No. 26:

This Conference condemns the sale of council houses which reduces the number of houses available for letting, and urges H.M. Government to take all necessary actions to increase the building of local authority houses to provide houses for the many families still without reasonable accommodation at a fair rent.

*Conference also urges that the Local Government Act, 1933, be amended to ensure that Housing Revenue Accounts are not debited with welfare and other costs including the buying of land for redevelopment.**

He said: Madam Chairman, we have had this morning yet another great speech from the commanding height of the National Executive Committee. We have started the great debate so that I and my comrades speaking on housing are speaking in an atmosphere which is somewhat of an anti-climax.

However, I am not at all dismayed about this situation because I know that housing is one of the things to which we are really dedicated and are really concerned about. Everyone will listen to a discussion on housing. I am not so concerned about the programme or the record that this Government has as the last speaker was. I do not think this is a bad one, considering.

*Resolution carried. See page 219

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I would disagree with him because we have not got the land all that easily; it is getting more and more difficult to buy land in urban areas. But to have brought the rate of building up to 420,000 houses a year is no mean thing, and it is coming up towards that target we set ourselves in 1964 of half a million houses a year. This may not be attained, but we are getting very near to it.

My composite resolution is concerned with one or two points which are of vital importance to the establishment of good local authority housing.

There are three points: first, the sale of council houses; secondly, land is being hived off to private development; and thirdly, the housing revenue account which is loaded unfairly with extraneous matters not strictly housing, tends to put up the rents.

With regard to the sale of houses, I know that Tony Greenwood has done something about this, and we thank him for that. But it is a matter which needs continuous attention. He has said that houses should not be sold, or only a very limited proportion of houses should be sold. This only applies to urban areas, we do not want the sale of housing to go on. I would like to quote to you some figures, very small ones, because they apply to the miserable achievement in a Tory borough. The London borough of Barnet has a population of 320,000 people, it has a 5,000 waiting list; last year, 1967, they built 267 houses. This is a shocking record. But in this appalling situation they are proposing to sell houses.

Housing land is being hived off to private developers. The Greater London Council is building a new town called Thamesmead which in 15 years' time will have a population of 60,000; there will be 20,000 dwellings.

When Evelyn Dennington was the chairman of committee, it was decided that in order to get a balanced community, and I think one must recognise in new towns you want professional people like architects, lawyers—perhaps not too many lawyers—doctors and others, bankers and so on, there must be a chance for them. It was therefore decided at that time that 25 per cent should be developed by private enterprise.

When the Conservatives came to power, they doubled that figure, an *ad hoc* decision, not based on any social science survey or any deep thinking, and they said 50–50, that looks pretty fair. In Barnet also there is a joint project between the G.L.C. and the Barnet Council to develop the old Hendon aerodrome. This should have a population of 10,000.

Now again, under Evelyn Dennington it

was suggested that there should be about 7 per cent private development, housing associations and so on coming in, but it was a joint enterprise. Barnet, Tory controlled, said, 'We want more', and so the socialist L.C.C. gave way, and it was decided to have 15. But again, when the G.L.C. Conservatives come into power they put that figure up to 25 per cent. All this means that the development by local authorities is being restricted.

The selling of council houses means that the housing stock is being reduced. We cannot afford to reduce the housing stock. There is always movement in housing, under-occupation, over-occupation, these things have to be solved. We must have a large housing stock for this sort of thing, and to help also, of course, with the mobility of labour.

The final point I want to mention is the point about the housing revenue account. A number of councils are very concerned about this matter because this account is loaded with various things, such as the welfare buildings and land which lies idle, waiting for development. We think that the housing account should be pruned of all this deadwood, this extraneous matter, and it should be used purely for housing purposes.

Mr. P. Caswell (Bromsgrove C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, comrades, in seconding Composite 26 I want to concentrate on the words 'all possible action', and to suggest some possible courses of action that the Party, through the N.E.C., should encourage the Government to take.

I want first of all to raise the case contained in the original Resolution 273 from West Ham North, which is now part of this overall composite. We think that local authorities should be able to borrow money at service rates of interest. We all know how the crippling burden of rising interest rates here, as elsewhere, has prevented local authorities from expanding their house building programmes.

During the time of the post-war Labour Government, the rate was 2½ to 2¾ per cent, and then during the Tory years, this rate rose inexorably, year by year. In 1956 it went to over 5 per cent, and we may remember the statement of the then Tory Chancellor, who said that local authorities ought not to be able to get away with cheap loans, they ought to pay the market rate.

We may also remember, Madam Chairman, the Labour cries of usury that went up in response to that statement, but nevertheless the rise continued. In August, 1962,

the interest level on the Public Works Loan Board rate went up to $6\frac{7}{8}$ per cent and the high rate continued into the Labour Government. Until 12 months ago it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Hence the urgent need for our suggestion that only the service rate of interest should be charged in order to further help local housing authorities.

Next, Madam Chairman, we want the N.E.C. and the Government to look very seriously at the implications of public ownership and control of building societies. We in Bromsgrove, and many people in the Labour movement, believe that it is fundamentally wrong that the funds for housing our people should be in private hands. This is a public problem, a social problem, and it is only right that such resources should be controlled publicly.

Report No. 22 of the National Board for Prices and Incomes, on mortgage interest rates, exposed some of the ridiculously wasteful aspects of the current proliferation of building societies in this country. There are now about 600 of various sizes and the report told us of one town with a population of 150,000 which has 64 offices and branches of building societies. Now, Madam Chairman, one does not need to be one of Hugh Scanlon's intelligentsia to realise that this is a frightening waste of resources. The Prices and Incomes Board was rightly shocked at the situation and proposed large scale amalgamations as the answer.

Laudable as this may be, it still does not provide the answer that we as socialists should be pursuing—the public ownership and control of this sector. This is as justifiable in this sector of our life as is the public ownership and control of other essential services.

Finally, Madam Chairman, I would not like to end without congratulating the Government, and Tony Greenwood in particular, for the Housing Subsidies Act, 1967, which is giving help to local authority housing programmes. This is yet another 1966 election promise fulfilled and yet another achievement which goes unsung in the national Press. We are all justifiably proud of this, but the ideas that we have put forward in Composite 26 are, we think, further necessary steps in the direction in which Tony Greenwood is leading us. I beg to second. (*Applause.*)

Miss J. Maynard (Thirsk and Malton C.L.P.) moved the following Composite Resolution No. 5:

This Conference urges support for the policy of the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers regarding tied

houses in agricultural areas.

*Whilst it appreciates the assistance the 1965 Act has given in delaying evictions it has not got rid of a true anxiety and fear in regard to the tied cottage system as it operates in agriculture. Therefore, Conference calls upon the Government to implement their promise as outlined in the 1964 General Election Manifesto.**

She said: I must say, comrades, that I feel it is a scandal that we still have to come to this rostrum to move a resolution on tied cottages. (*Applause.*) I say this because since 1945 the Labour Party has been promising to rid us of this evil system, but unfortunately it is still with us. Today there are 800,000 occupants of tied houses, agricultural and otherwise. I believe that the tied cottage system is spreading, but in no industry is there such a record of bitterness as there is in agriculture.

Why is this? It is because of the pressure which the farmer puts on the worker. In the ultimate, in some cases he evicts the member, his wife and family and his home on to the streets. But no matter whether there are 800,000, 800 or 80, as a socialist party we should not be prepared to tolerate the kind of injustice which people have to suffer who get caught up in the tied cottage system.

Today 50 per cent of farm workers live in tied houses. As the number of workers in the industry has dropped, the percentage in tied houses has gone up. Because, comrades, tied cottages are bound up with wages, too, they help to hold men in the industry. It is certainly not the wage which helps to keep them there.

As I say, once in the grip of the system it is very difficult to get out of it. By retaining workers in the industry who would otherwise leave, it helps to keep wages down. It is, I say, the farmers' secret weapon and a very important weapon to them, and this is why they fight so hard to retain it.

We are a little tired of promises and we want some action on this matter. We hear a lot about loyalty to the Labour Party and to the Labour Government. Many of us have given many years of service and loyalty to the Party. We point out that loyalty is a two-way system and we now want some loyalty for farm workers and the pledge which we received in 1964 carried out.

Now, comrades, what does the tied cottage system mean in practice to our people? I just want to use two cases to illustrate my point. I went to court with a family just over a year ago. The judge, in giving the court's decision, said to our member, 'It

*Resolution carried. See page 219

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may seem a hard thing for me to say to you, but land is more important than people. I give you three weeks to get out.'

Are we, as a socialist Party, really prepared to tolerate this kind of thing to any of our people? That house today, after more than a year, is still empty. It is not the house that the farmer wanted, although he said he wanted it on this occasion. What he wanted was to retain the power which the tied cottage system gives him over the men. This is what he really wants. The judge in giving judgment for the farmer against the worker indicated once again that county court judges are not notorious for their sympathy with my people but for their sympathy with the other class. (*Applause.*)

The other case I want to quote is this, comrades. It is that of a young man and his wife and young children who is now laid off with a back injury through persistent and heavy lifting at work. He can no longer work in the industry. So he has the loss. He is ill. He has no job. He needs to be retrained. At this time pressure is being applied for him to get out of his house.

Is this not a shocking and inhuman system? The effect of all these three on him is to make his health worse rather than better. He and his wife cannot sleep at night for worry and both of them are on tranquillisers. They have been told by their boss that they should store their furniture and go and live with relatives. How much longer are we going to tolerate this system?

Now, comrades, there is nothing unusual about these two cases. They are typical of cases we deal with nearly every day. I should not have to come here to argue, to appeal and to entreat the Labour Party to help us to get rid of this system, because all socialists can only have one answer to it, and that is to get rid of it.

Now I want to quote Tony Greenwood speaking at the Annual Conference of the Association of Municipal Corporations. This is what he said: 'No man is free if his choice of employment is restricted to considerations of accommodation.' I agree with Tony; he is right. I ask him to carry this principle into legislation for farm workers and to free them. (*Applause.*) For tied cottages belong to the feudal system. They make farm workers in fact bondsmen.

Agreed, Comrades, the 65 Act has reduced the number of evictions, but evictions are merely the tip of the iceberg. What we wish to remove is all the suffering which is underneath—the suffering, the anxiety and the fear which our people suffer under the shadow of the tied cottage system, because this thing is held over the head of the farm

worker. It is always there as a threat. It is not important whether the farmer uses it. The important thing is that it is there always as a weapon for him to use. Farm workers have suffered under this system for too long, and we shall not rest until in fact it is got rid of.

Now I want to tell you about the decision of the Trades Union Congress last month, when they decided unanimously to support us in asking the Government to carry out its pledge 'that no farm worker shall be evicted without suitable alternative accommodation being provided'. I now ask you—this Conference—to support the mighty trade union movement in this country and to carry this resolution unanimously. I ask you to do more than that. I ask you after the Conference to help us, those in the constituencies and the N.U.A.A.W., to get the Party to carry out this promise. I appeal to the miners, the engineers and the transport workers to help us to get the Government to carry out their pledge made to us in 1964 'that no farm worker shall be evicted without suitable alternative accommodation being provided'. (*Applause.*)

Coun. E. Canham (Yarmouth C.L.P.): In seconding the resolution, may I point out, as a building trade craftsman, that the agricultural worker is the only craftsman, and I repeat craftsman, that is suffering the conditions related to a feudal system, but this iniquitous industrial blackmail also affects the employee whose job is subject to a service tenancy.

Throughout the centuries the tied cottage has been the scourge of the agricultural industry. We waited patiently from 1945 for some amendment to be made to the ancient practice of evicting the worker after dispute or at the whim of an employer. After 1951 it was a certainty that a Conservative Government would not move to legislate, but hope was restored in 1964 when George Brown, at Great Yarmouth, pledged to the agricultural workers that a Labour Government would give the protection against eviction from the tied cottage.

When the Labour Government was returned in 1964 it proceeded with the new Rents Act, which became effective in 1965, and it was Clause 31 of this section of the Act which promoted the original resolution. The Act, whilst an improvement to the previous position, does not go far enough so as to prevent eviction, though possibly curtailing it.

Unless the worker is fortunate enough to find accommodation during the delaying

action exercise by a court, eviction takes place.

The Minister may, if he replies, in his reply say that the evidence at hand shows that in the past 12 months probably a dozen or so evictions have taken place. I would say that there should be no evictions. (Applause.)

Are you aware that agricultural workers threatened with eviction have split up their homes, stored their furniture and are living with a son or daughter? These are cases one does not hear or know about, they do not get to the courts. This has happened to families where the breadwinner has had 30 or 40 years with one employer.

Young married couples have also been split up under this system. I am aware of a case where a worker was evicted because of ill-health. Both he and his wife now live with their daughter and three children in a small private house, constituting and creating an overcrowding condition.

Let us remember, comrades, the next election is not too distant, and the agricultural worker is looking for the same freedom afforded to other workers. Their memories are good, they will remember the pledge made in 1964 when they put their crosses in 1971. I am appealing to you to support this resolution for the abolition of this pernicious Act. Thank you. (Applause.)

The Chairman: I now call on the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers to move composite number 10, Building and Construction Industry, seconded by Glasgow City Labour Party. After that the debate will be thrown open.

Mr. J. Heapy (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) moved the following Composite Resolution No. 10:

This Conference believes that the importance of the construction industry to the future of Britain is such that we can no longer accept the inefficiencies with which the industry uses its labour, its resources and its neglect of technical developments including industrialised building.

Conference calls on the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the Secretary of State for Scotland so to co-ordinate the house-building plans of local authorities, that by long-term planning and in a spirit of co-operation, it will be possible to plan for the production of large numbers of houses over a period of years, thereby ensuring that investment in industrialised and/or factory

house building becomes a viable proposition.

*Conference also emphasises that the construction industry depends on the public sector and government for a large part of its work, and accordingly calls on the National Executive Committee to urge the Government to establish public intervention and public accountability in this vital sector of industry by all means at its disposal. The National Executive Committee is also asked to give urgent consideration to the inclusion of all necessary measures for increasing efficiency in this key industry in the next election programme.**

He said: Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, motions similar to this one have appeared on the agenda of this conference on many occasions in the past, but my organisation makes no apologies for raising the issue again, for we believe that the efficiency of the construction industry is a matter of considerable importance to the future well-being of us all.

I am reminded of some words of Rudyard Kipling in *A Truthful Song*, which illustrates in simple terms what appears to me to be the kernel of this composite motion. They go like this: 'I tell this tale which is strictly true, just by way of convincing you, how very little since things were made things have altered in the building trade.'

Since those words were written, of course, many attempts have been made to alter things in the building industry. A whole series of working parties and commissions have reported thereon, but all the evidence would suggest that most of their recommendations have been studiously ignored.

In 1945 a book was published entitled *Rebuilding Britain, A 20-year Plan*, the main aim of which, according to the author, was to try to make clear what were the conditions under which an outstanding success could be achieved. The shortcomings and inefficient practices in the industry were critically analysed and positive proposals were made for the much-needed improvements which were necessary if we were to secure an efficient, well-organised industry capable of dealing with the immediate post-war building programmes and those for many years to come.

Delegates must judge for themselves to what extent the advice offered in this book has been heeded by the industry or by the Government, and I believe they will be drawn to the conclusion that we are still

*Resolution carried. See page 219

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trying to provide the building needs of the 20th century with a 19th century machine.

The construction industry is undoubtedly the most enquired into industry that ever was, and the ink is hardly dry on the latest report, that of the Phelps-Brown Committee, which, apart from the section on labour-only sub-contracting and self-employment, appears to have done a useful job, when we are informed by the Minister of Public Building and Works that it is intended to set up yet another committee to produce, in his words, workable proposals for the registration of Britain's builders. Anyone can call himself a builder now, said the Minister, and it is hoped that we can bring order out of chaos and protect the genuine firm from the activities of the jerry builder and the fly-by-night.

One can only hope, Madam Chairman, that these two committees will prove more effective than those that went before, and that their findings will pave the way for the efficiency and organisation the industry needs and the nation demands.

Our colleague from the Glasgow City Labour Party will be dealing with the second section of this composite, but I feel compelled to say that long-term planning, the greater use of industrialised techniques, and the co-ordination of the house building plans of local authorities, will be of no avail unless they are backed by an efficient industry revitalised by a measure of public intervention and public control.

The construction industry is, of course, a very complex and fragmented one, and we do not underestimate the task of endeavouring to bring an industry of this nature into public ownership; it is possibly the most highly labour-intensive industry there is, and its 1½ million operatives are spread over 82,000 firms, 67,000 of which employ less than a dozen men.

There are also some 150,000 so-called self-employed in the industry, and the loss to the nation in the evasion of selective employment tax and income tax is counted now in millions of pounds. One in ten of the male working population of this country is engaged in construction, and the industry now has a turnover in excess of £4,000-million per annum, most of it derived from the public sector, and it spends a miserly 0.3 per cent on research and development.

My organisation therefore believes that the case for public intervention is overwhelming, and we fully supported the original proposals for the nationalisation of the industry published by the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives in 1950 and 1951. It was, perhaps, under-

standable that the Labour Party was not very enthusiastic about those proposals at that time, and the rejection of the whole series of motions on this subject was not entirely unexpected.

In recent years, however, there has been a considerable shift in the thinking of building trade unions, and in 1959 the General Council of the Trades Union Congress examined the case for public intervention in the building industry and issued a memorandum which argued briefly that the wholesale acquisition of an inefficient industry would be costly and wasteful and suggested instead that a national building corporation controlling local building corporations should be established with power to acquire firms by agreement.

This, then, is the official policy of the building trade unions, and many of us were greatly encouraged in 1963 when Arthur Skeffington appeared to be advocating similar policies. Replying to a motion from the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, he informed the Conference that the N.E.C. had set up an important working party composed of experts and specialists to consider how the building and construction industry could best be organised.

He went on to outline the provisional recommendations of this working party, including their belief in the vital part that could be played by a national building corporation. We were soon to be disillusioned, however, when in 1966 a motion, again from the A.U.B.T.W., calling for the setting up of a public building corporation was remitted on the grounds that it was a vital piece of legislation and was not included in our 1964 and 1966 manifestos.

Madam Chairman, this is just not good enough, and my organisation believes that it is high time the political wing of the Movement came into line with the industrial wing. We call upon the National Executive Committee to give urgent consideration to all the necessary measures that will help to transform an antiquated and ramshackle industry into a modern, efficient contributor to the wealth and well-being of our country and to include them in our next election programme, because the construction industry in its present form has been tried and it has been found wanting. I beg to move. *(Applause.)*

Mr. P. McEachran (Glasgow City Labour Party): Madam Chairman and Comrades, in Glasgow, as indeed in Scotland, we are concerned at the continued rising cost of building new houses. Let me make one comparison. In 1920 a motor-car could be

bought for £250 and a two-bedroomed or three-apartment house for the same, £250. Today a reasonable car can be purchased for £1,250, and a three-apartment house in Glasgow today is costing £3,250. And in case you should think that the increased cost is due to the increase in labour costs, let me remind you that in 1920 a building trade worker's wage was 1s. 7½d. per hour and today it is 7s. 8d. or thereabouts—less than five times the 1920 figure.

Is there any other major industry in Britain where costs have risen so astronomically? And this is a major industry vital to the rising living standards, to the happiness and well-being, of the whole community. Yet what steps have been taken to modernise building methods? The traditional house lives up to its reputation. A worker at the beginning of the century could easily take his place on a building site today and about the only thing he would miss would be a hod carrier. Perhaps he would find it strange to have a bulldozer.

There have been changes in the building industry. Efforts have been made to standardise items such as window frames and toilet seats. There is, too, what is referred to as industrial building. There are various methods of prefabricating slabs for outer shells of buildings, but from official returns it would appear that such industrial building as there is is more costly than traditional building.

Why has there been no serious attempt to adapt factory building methods to housing, at least on a serious scale? This is not a new idea. Remember the temporary prefabricated houses of the after-war years. That emergency exercise, with all its defects, proved the practicability of such a development. Modern transport facilities by rail and road, which can cater for freighted liners, would seem to be able to cope quite easily with transporting a bedroom, a kitchen, or a bathroom, and the engineering techniques of today would ensure the proper fitting together.

Of course, this would call for toning up of the industry, and the cost involved is such that it could not be undertaken unless the industry were assured of larger and continuous orders. And this is surely a strange observation to have to make in a country where the apparent demand for new houses is so very great—40,000 houses per year in Scotland alone, and in Britain between 400,000 and 500,000 houses per year, for the next ten years as a minimum estimate, to make even a serious impression.

However, so long as there is competition between district councils, borough councils

and county councils to get houses built by the available building contractors, then just so long will there be no incentive for the building industry, not only to reorganise but also to take a completely new look at itself. In the meantime, local authorities up and down the country are being hamstrung by housing costs, and no effectual effort has been made to co-ordinate their requirements. Each is jealous of its own autonomy. There are groupings of authorities such as in the West of Scotland—S.L.A.S.H.—but their impact on housing costs has been negligible, and the time taken to complete houses from start to finish does not appear to have been seriously affected.

According to the returns, there are about 1,700 housing authorities in Britain, and each of them with their 50,000 houses per year or their 5,000 per year is competing one with the other.

What in our opinion is required is the setting up of an agency, somewhat on the lines of the Scottish Special Housing Association, which will consult with the various housing authorities, which will centralise the ordering and will encourage the authorities to plan their requirements in the years ahead. This same agency will be in a position to encourage the building industry to fit itself out, to reorganise itself, to produce the large number of houses required over a period of years at a much more realistic cost. Madam Chairman, I commend the resolution to you.

The Chairman: Comrades, the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee has asked me to announce that the National Union of Mine Workers wish formally to report for the record the following alteration to their delegation: delete Mr. Haywood of the Miners' Office, Coalville, Leicester; insert Mr. Ryan of the same address. Now we go on to the general debate.

Mr. R. Pope (North Kensington C.L.P.): I feel it would be a disgrace if this Conference were not to include in its discussion on this subject of housing the plight of the most under-privileged people in our community, the people who suffer the worst housing conditions of all, those who live in privately-owned furnished accommodation.

Unfortunately we do not have the opportunity to vote on this, but I am hoping when Tony Greenwood replies to the debate he will give some undertaking to bring in action on the part of the Government to improve their lot.

In our area last summer a comprehensive survey of housing conditions was taken, and

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it was found that people living in furnished accommodation were paying rents ranging from 50 per cent to 100 per cent above those living in other types of accommodation, and they were paying this not for plush housing but for the worst housing in the area, crumbling, over-crowded housing which was a disgrace for people to have to live in. They were not doing this from choice but they were doing this because of the great pressure on housing in Central London.

A further element comes into this: our Government to our great pride brought in last year legislation to outlaw racial discrimination, but the biggest economic disadvantage that black, working-class people suffer in this country is in this precise field, that it is among the people living in furnished accommodation that we have the largest concentration of black people.

Delegates will notice the very small number of black faces that we have at our Conference, and this is some measure of the extent to which we are failing to organise these people whose interests are surely overwhelmingly with our party. The thing which deters them most from supporting our party is this failure to do anything for their plight. Not only do they have to put up with conditions so dreadful and to pay such high rents and suffer all the disabilities which high rents coming out of low incomes mean to them, but they are denied the prospect of rehousing.

We have in our area substantial redevelopment schemes, but excluded from rehousing rights under these schemes are the people who live in furnished accommodation. They may have been there for years. They have paid enormous rents. They have been in the area and have been associated with it, but when the house they have been living in is pulled down they have no rights; they have to go into temporary welfare accommodation if they are not able to get something more suitable to their needs.

I hope when Tony Greenwood replies to this debate he will give us some undertaking that action will be brought in by the Government as a matter of urgency to deal with the plight of these terribly under-privileged people.

Lord Collison (National Union of Agricultural Workers): Madam Chairman and Colleagues, I come to the rostrum to support Composite No. 5 moved by Thirsk, and I would like to record my appreciation of the fact that the Thirsk resolution supports the campaign my union is making to seek the abolition of the tied cottage.

For many years my union's policy has been to establish a situation under which no farm worker can be evicted from a tied cottage unless there is suitable alternative accommodation for him. We were pressing the Party before they came into power, and at that time we did get an assurance from the Party—given by George Brown at a meeting in Norfolk and then confirmed by the platform here—that when they came into power they would institute measures to bring about what we wanted.

In the event this did not happen. In 1965 the then Minister, Dick Crossman, called us to him and explained what the Government proposed to do. They were going to introduce a Rent Act and appropriate sections of that Act would require judges, in dealing with cases for possession, to take into account three things. The first was that there should be suitable alternative accommodation. That was fine, but of course the N.F.U. was also consulted, and as a result of pressure from that quarter there was another condition which judges had to take into account, namely, that the proper working of the holding should be considered. Then there was a third consideration: comparable hardship.

Now, at that time Dick Crossman assured us that he thought if the Government did this the tied cottage problem would be resolved, in the sense that there would be no more evictions without suitable alternative accommodation. My delegation told him at the time that we did not believe that this would be so and in the event we have been proved right. In 1967 there were in fact 12 evictions but that, of course, is not the whole story.

If I may, I would like to emphasise the point made by Joan Maynard. It is not only the eviction that causes hardship. Considerable mental hardship and suffering is caused because people live under the threat of eviction. We know all about this. We know of people who have been driven almost to suicide because of this situation. Of course, that part of the problem will not be resolved until it becomes patently clear that not a single person can be evicted unless he has a house and home to go to.

Now, colleagues, quite apart from that there have been problems about the operation of the Act. We do not feel it is working properly. It is a common saying that it is the judges that make the law, and they have interpreted the law quite differently in different cases. In the same sort of case they have given in some cases less than a month and in some cases more than a month, but the average is a month. It is also a fact that

some judges fall back on the old Common Law and are not using the new Act in order to determine their cases.

I have very little time left and that is a misfortune, but I do ask Conference to back this motion. I just want to add that at Aberystwyth, at our Biennial Conference, the Prime Minister attended a rally and promised that the whole matter would be looked at again. Subsequently we have heard this confirmed by Tony, so the Government are going to consult us again. They are going to consult our organisation, but I do most sincerely ask the Government to take the plight of the agricultural worker to heart and to remove this last vestige of the feudal system.

Mr. William Molloy (*ex-officio* M.P., Ealing North): We are this morning discussing the most fundamental issue for any ordinary family in this country, namely, that they should have a decent house to live in. One of the most savage crimes of the Tory Party over their long dreary 13 years was that this was one of the problems that they deliberately neglected. Indeed, if the momentum which had been created by the first Labour Government from 1945 to 1950 in the field of housing under Nye Bevan had been maintained, we would have been in sight today of achieving that desideratum of a decent home for every family in this country.

The Tories during their period not only cut council building, but they savaged the standards of council houses. They failed to clear the slums, the most repugnant part of our ancient architectural leprosy. The resources of the construction industry were never developed to try to meet the task ahead.

As for the racketeering in land which played such an important part in this whole question of housing, under the Tories this racketeering went on to such an extent that it would have made Chicago Dillinger look like a delinquent choirboy.

Then we had the contribution from Enoch Powell, who produced from what he is pleased to call his mind the 1957 Rent Act, which was going to solve Britain's housing problem. We all know what happened under that Act. All that the brains of Powell did was that through the thousands of evictions he reduced to ignoble and degrading status thousands of Britons, making them refugees in their own land.

But the failure and neglect has been corrected by this Labour Government. The provision of houses over the past couple

of years has in each instance been a new record. The new minimum housing standards have indeed been the most encouraging. But, regrettably, the Ministry of Housing has smudged that record. They have smudged it because they have allowed the Tory G.L.C. in London, and many other London boroughs controlled by the Tories, to raise the rents of their council tenants in a most abominable way.

This is causing very great bitterness indeed (*Applause*)—because the biggest item in any ordinary family's budget is the rent. There is bitterness particularly at this time, because whilst paying the rent is always a big problem in ordinary times, people are very bitter that these rents should be allowed to go up during a period of restraint. How can they respond to Barbara and to Tony Greenwood? This is what we have got to face.

Of course, with all this has been resuscitated the vulgar and hoary Tory myths of the vast subsidising of council tenants when, as we all know, as Dick Crossman has said in the House of Commons, as statistics have proved, the average owner-occupier gets £4 a year more in subsidy through tax relief than council tenants.

Now we have to deal with all these millionaires who live as council tenants with their three and four children, who, when they are 18, 19 or 20, are all bringing in wage packets. They will not work for nothing. Nobody wanted to know anything about them when they were 8, 9 and 10 and the family were having to struggle to bring them up.

But what is the truth about these facts? Let us tell the nation clearly that these are vicious meannesses, because the Milner Holland Report on London housing showed that the average council tenant has a larger household and a lower income than the private one.

We have also to face the problem of interest rates. I have been the leader of a council where we have built a small, two-bedroom flat. Taking into calculation all its costs, it was £5,000. When we have paid for that and the interest rate, we will have paid £25,000. Must we put that increase on the backs of the council tenants?

But above all, let us not allow the temporary Tory moguls in our town halls to frustrate the social decency of Labour's national housing policy. What is more important, we must not allow them to get away with this evil dogma of pitting council tenants against owner-occupiers or what they are pleased to call ratepayers. This is really a form of apartheid, which we must tell people they must resist.

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We must have a policy which will see that there are fair shares in housing as well as in anything else. Do not let ordinary people, whether they are owner-occupiers, council tenants or the general ratepayers, be split and divided by the vicious ugliness of Tory policy. Tony has got to fight this, and fight it with all the 'guts' he has, because we have a policy which is striving, and indeed beginning, to bring justice not only to private tenants, council tenants and owner-occupiers, but we are aiming to see that everybody in this land has a decent home. In so far as they are all ratepayers and, what is more important, they are all British families, they are entitled to it. They will only get it through the simple, social justice in the field of housing which can only be brought about by a Labour Government. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, we have time for one more speech only before lunch. We are resuming the general debate, so please be in your places punctually at 2 o'clock.

Mr. Brian Slack (Stockport Borough C.L.P.): I wish to address myself in the main to Composite Resolution No. 25 and in doing so to make reference to one aspect of the P.I.B.'s attitude towards what I believe are politically motivated rent increases, which Harold Wilson spoke about some months ago when he said, 'We will watch it. We will see that there are no politically motivated increases and we will do something about them.'

Harold Wilson seems to forget that the Tories, I believe, are far more politically conscious at times than we are. In fact, they are always motivated by class instinct, a hell of a sight more than we should be.

Increases which have been put through by Tory local authorities in the main—I am not speaking of the London area now, but in the main—have been based on the argument that the estimated deficit—and, quite honestly, anyone who has worked with borough treasurers should know from experience that they are never damned well right.

For instance, in Stockport we have got a Tory policy now being pushed through which we resisted, up to last May when we were thrown out. But this increase overall is £80,000 that they are putting on the backs of corporation tenants. The actual deficit for last year is £13,000, and the P.I.B. can approve increases of up to 7s. 6d. in Stockport just like that. There is no evidence that they need that increase, no evidence at all. It is an estimate. On the £13,000 which

I have just mentioned, it was estimated by the same borough treasurer 12 months prior to that at £104,000, and it turned out to be £13,000. Obviously the P.I.B. should start looking at some of these facets when these politically motivated increases are put before them for approval. By the way, they knock our feet right away from under us at elections and when we are backing the tenants up.

There is one final point. Twelve months ago I challenged Tony Greenwood over a drink somewhere in a bar about his argument for rent rebate schemes. He said that he would have to write to me and put it to me. He does not need to write. The argument against them is quite simple.

The point is this—here is the argument in a nutshell about rent rebate schemes. If we argue that a widow in a certain estate living in a council house needs another 15s. a week, then let us give it to her, but do not put the burden on the rest of the tenants. It should be universally applied and everybody should chip in. It is small wonder that Tories have fallen in love with rent rebate schemes, because they can get the burden of the private sector in housing in local authorities, and they can lump it on the backs of council house tenants. We should kick all rent rebate schemes right in the teeth. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, comrades, and remember the official instruction from the platform. Whatever you do, do not move right, but be back promptly at two o'clock.

Conference adjourned until 2 p.m.

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Conference reassembled at 2 p.m.

The Chairman: I will call on the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee to make a statement.

Mr. G. Williams: The following resolutions have been remitted to the N.E.C.: Page 61, No. 196 on employees' entitlement; page 68, No. 249, and the amendment; No. 250 on the physically disabled; page 68, No. 251 on social security, and on page 71, No. 267; page 74, resolution No. 287 on housing and rents; page 91, resolution No. 393 on sewage pollution.

We promised this morning to give you the business for Thursday afternoon: the committee recommends that the following subjects be taken in public session on

Thursday afternoon: fraternal address by Lord Wright on behalf of the T.U.C.; development and grey areas; national fuel policy, together with paragraph on fuel policy and study group on page 28 of the N.E.C. Report; and the resolution on the National Hydrocarbon Corporation. We will also take discrimination, and Rhodesia.

The committee considers that it would be helpful to inform Conference of the resolutions on these subjects which it recommends be called. Delegates who wish to raise points on these recommendations are requested to see the Standing Orders Committee instead of taking the time of the conference on points of order. The resolutions recommended are: Development and Grey Areas, Composite 48; National Fuel Policy, Composite 2; National Hydrocarbons Corporation, on the agenda, Resolution 176; Rhodesia, Composite Resolution 36, and the amendment; discrimination, Composite 38.

We have tried, in accordance with the promise made earlier in the week to get as much as possible on the agenda for Thursday afternoon, which will now be taken as a public session, and we appeal to all speakers to be as brief as possible. I move the Report. (*Agreed.*)

The Chairman: We will now get on with the debate. I indicated I was going to call on people, but I am under orders that I must call Tony Greenwood after the next speaker, as other important subjects are going to be crowded out.

Mr. L. Hancock (Brigg C.L.P.): I was born and bred in the country, therefore I want to say first of all a word regarding tied cottages. That is a misnomer altogether; it is a question of the tied man and his family. Having put that right, I also want to say that we must look at this question in its perspective. There are many hill farmers and small farmers who would suffer great hardship if they were not able to offer accommodation to the workers whom they require to help them run their sometimes one- and two-man establishments.

Therefore, we must remember when we are looking at this question that it is not all black and white. There are other factors that have to be considered.

The only real answer to tied cottages, either for agricultural workers or for anyone else, even our own Party agents, is for us to be able to offer the basic fundamental right of every man—that is, a proper roof over his head. That we can only do by ensuring that we have a proper building

programme so that we can offer to every man and woman in this country that first fundamental right.

The next thing I want to come to is Composite Resolution No. 10. You know, in the building and construction industry we are still living fundamentally in the days of the ragged trousered philanthropist. Make no mistake about that at all. It is time that we thought in terms of humanising in this industry and stopped all the casual and semi-casual labour that is employed in it. Moreover, the big cancer of labour-only contractors—let us get that out of our system and then we can start to make an industry worth while.

I think that is where the Government can do a lot to help us if they themselves stopped letting out to sometimes doubtful contractors much of the work that they do, even from the point of view of office cleaning. In the supply industry there is a terrible lot of work that goes out to private contractors which should never be let out at all, also in design and development. Much of this work should be undertaken by a national building corporation.

If we had that, not taking over bankrupt establishments but a proper national building corporation, they could promote—I emphasise that, without any question of taking over and paying for it—they could promote, perhaps through the local authorities and the co-ordination of these people, local people doing local building, so that men in the construction industry could live with their families and not be expected to live like gypsies (with all due respect to the real gypsies), having to move round the country looking for somewhere to live, on the basis of paying higher and higher prices.

If we had a national building corporation, it would be on the basis of proper trade union representation and the organisation that this brings. Let us do all we can to really promote a national building corporation so that we can have the co-ordination that is really required. If we also get the satisfaction of trade union organisation, the people working in the industry will feel much more secure and safe and they will more readily co-operate with the kind of programme we should have in mind.

The Chairman: I must now call on Tony to reply to the debate. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. Anthony Greenwood (National Executive Committee): Comrade Chairman and comrades, the Executive's recommendations are that you should accept Composite

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON: HOUSING

Resolutions 5 and 26, subject to what I am going to say; that you should accept Composite No. 10 and that you should reject Composite No. 25.

When Harold Wilson moved me to the Ministry of Housing I set myself three aims. First, to see that we build more houses and better houses, available at rents that were fair. Secondly, to put an end to the seedy squalor of the mean streets which are the debris of the industrial revolution. Thirdly, to protect the loveliest countryside in the world against vulgarity and greed.

In replying to this debate I want not only to take up most of the points which have been raised but also to tell you of the progress that we have made.

As the delegate from North Ealing very properly pointed out, the need for houses is still severe. When each month I announce the housing figures I think, not of the splendid new houses up to Parker Morris standards. I think, rather, of the tragedy of those who still live in conditions of almost indescribable degradation, many of them the immigrants to whom the delegate from North Kensington referred who have come here to keep our hospitals open and our transport running.

I think of the houses where there is no facility for the children to do their homework. I think of the cold, damp rooms unfit for old people. So there is no complacency in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. But we should, as a Party, claim credit for what we have achieved.

The delegate from Bromsgrove referred to the fact that so often our achievements are ignored in the Press. On 23 September I announced the completions for the first eight months of this year, which were 268,000—15,000 more than the record figures for the first eight months of last year. There was not a mention, comrades, in most of the national daily papers. There were seven lines in the *Guardian*, 11 lines in the *Daily Telegraph*, 36 lines rather ironically, in the *Financial Times* and, 24 hours late, seven lines in the new swinging *Times* newspaper.

I once asked the editor of a national paper why he had ignored our record house figures. He said, 'My dear Tony, every month you announce a new record and it has ceased to be news.' It may not be news in Fleet Street, but it is very good news in Salford, Sparkbrook and Tower Hamlets.

So let us, to start with, put three facts on the record. By the end of August, comrades, more than 1½ million houses had been built under the Labour Government; that is 300,000 more than the Tories built during

the same period. Second, last year we were building four houses for every three that were built, on average, in the last 10 years of the Tory Government. Third, already we are 15,000 up on last year, which was the first year that we have topped 400,000, and we are heading for a new record this year.

During this year too we have moved in on the sale of council houses by Tory local authorities. I have argued all along that the sale of a council house means one of two things, either you do **not** replace it, in which case you lose a house to the general housing stock for renting; or, secondly, you **do** replace it at a much higher cost than the house that you have sold, and that was why I advised local authorities against what I think to be a deplorable practice.

I am afraid Tory councils in many cases ignored the advice that I gave them and, therefore, I have restricted sales of council houses to one quarter of one per cent in the four largest conurbations.

The delegate from South Hendon was right when he said this is a matter which does need constant attention, and Tory local authorities must realise that I shall move in too in any other areas where sales threaten to erode the housing stock; that is what Composite Resolution No. 26 is asking for.

We have, therefore, protected our existing stock of houses and have added substantially to it. I wish we could add still more, but I am afraid that the million interest-free houses every year, for which West Derby ask in Composite No. 25, is utterly unrealistic, and I must ask conference to reject it. Once you give Barbara the productivity she wants and give Roy Jenkins the financial resources he wants, then Willie Ross and George Thomas and I will give you all the houses you want; but you cannot have one without the other.

But we can, of course, and we shall, maintain new house building at a high level. And we shall go further. We shall start upon the rehabilitation of the decaying areas of the country on the lines set out in *Old Houses into New Homes*, the White Paper which the magazine *Ideal Home* said ought to be a best seller.

Under that policy, we propose in the next few years to double the number of houses that are improved every year, to provide also for improving the environment, and to increase slum clearance by 50 per cent, at last making full market value compensation available to owner-occupiers whose houses are cleared. That will remove a great injustice.

I do not think we can exaggerate the

importance of the proposals for improving the environment. It is not enough only to give people a decent house in which to live. We have got to see that when the housewife looks out of the kitchen window she has got something better to look at than industrial dereliction all around her, and the Government's proposals for improving the environment are, I think, an important step forward.

I welcome, and the Executive welcome very much, the Woodworkers' resolution, Composite No. 10, which Jim Heapy moved. I can assure you, comrades, that we certainly try to work in the spirit of that resolution. And I welcome very much the emphasis that it places on greater efficiency. As Jim said, in some respects the industry is still in the 19th century. We therefore accept Composite Resolution No. 10, but we do not consider the steps demanded in Composite No. 25 to be required. But, as a National Executive Committee, we shall certainly look into the long-term implications of Composite No. 10.

Already a great deal of work has been done in Transport House, and also in Government Departments. We must not underestimate the progress that we have already made. We have, for example, hit our target of having 40 per cent of the houses and flats in the public sector built by industrialised methods well ahead of time. With the National Building Agency we are working on rationalising industrialised building systems and on getting more standardisation of plans and components. And meanwhile we have started urgent consultations on the Phelps-Brown Report, to which two of the delegates referred.

It is not only, comrades, that we are building more houses. We are also building better houses than has been the case in the past. At the end of this year, the Parker Morris standards are going to be mandatory in respect of space and heating. By the end of this year, too, about nine out of ten of the houses in the private sector will carry the National Housebuilders' Registration Council's guarantee of good workmanship, and although one does not want to be overconfident, I think we can say with some assurance that the jerry-building to which Jim Heapy referred is at least on its way out.

Now, comrades, let me turn to rents. I think it is interesting that this year only one resolution on the agenda refers to the Rent Act. A few years ago there were a large number, and I hope that this is evidence that the Act, even if imperfect, is working much better than many of our comrades feared would be the case. But I wish that more people in the lower bands of

rateable values would take advantage of the opportunities that the Act provides.

We have, during the year, amended the Act so that increases in rents can be phased. Harassment and illegal eviction, although not completely eradicated, are largely things of the past.

So we do make progress in that respect. But there is one aspect of security of tenure, comrades, which does worry the Government and the National Executive, and that is the question of tied cottages, raised in Composite Resolution No. 5. I have had many discussions with the National Union of Agricultural Workers and nobody could ask for better comrades than Harold Collison and Joan Maynard. This is an extremely difficult problem. Over the last two years we know of eight or nine evictions which have resulted from the courts' refusal to extend suspension. In six of those cases the person concerned was quickly rehoused by the local authority. So if one looks at it **statistically**—and I emphasise that, comrades—the incidence of evictions is small.

But the real point, of course, is the point that Joan and Harold both stressed, and that is that there is constantly a threat hanging over the heads of farm workers and people in other industries who are in tied houses. There is no doubt at all that there would be more cases of eviction if it were not for the vigilance of union officials and also officers of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

As Harold Collison said, we are at present reviewing the Act to see how the remaining weaknesses can be removed. I expect to start discussions with all the interested parties probably later this month. Let me remind you once again that this is not simply an agricultural problem. It does apply to a lot of industries and the last speaker, I thought, made a very valid point in highlighting some of the difficulties that we have to resolve. It is not easy, but the Minister of Agriculture and I will do our utmost to find a solution, and in that spirit I ask you to accept Composite No. 5 which we will certainly take into account in the discussions that we are going to have.

Now let me turn to the question of rents for council houses. I am afraid that the approach of Composite No. 25 does not seem to us to be very practical. With rising costs and with extremely high interest rates some increases in rents are unavoidable, in spite of the subsidies that the Government has made available. Let me remind you, comrades, that the housing revenue account has three elements. It has the amount that comes in through rents from the tenants. It has

any amount that the council may put in from the rate fund. Thirdly, it contains the Government subsidies, and if you are faced with rising costs one or more of those components must go up.

We as a Government have certainly done our part. The average subsidy on a three-bedroomed house has gone up from the £24 that the Tories were paying to the £85 that the Labour Government has made available. Let me tell you too that there are many, many flats in London where the Government subsidy works out at over £150 per year, so nobody can say that the Government has been stingy in that respect. But if we are helping I think we are entitled to ask for the co-operation of local authorities, and some local authorities—some Tory local authorities—were making increases which seemed to us to be harsh and unwarranted. We therefore referred council house rents to the Prices and Incomes Board and subsequently we legislated in the Prices and Incomes Act. Our aim was to moderate and phase any unavoidable rent increases.

Our general working principle has been that the average increase should not exceed 7s. 6d. a week and that the maximum increase should not exceed 10s. a week. Most local authorities have, in fact, kept within that ceiling. Let me emphasise that this is a ceiling, and not a floor, and not a norm. It is a ceiling. We have had to take formal action in the case of 30 local authorities, getting them to moderate and to phase any unavoidable increases. But informally, of course, we have also been able to secure reductions.

Although I listened with interest to what Bill Molloy was saying today about rents in London, I think I can claim some credit for the fact that, through informal approaches, the G.L.C. reduced their average increase from 11s. 7d. to 7s. 6d. and their maximum increase from 22s. 6d. to 10s.; and in the case of Teesside, the average increase was reduced from 12s. 7d. to 6s. and the maximum increase from 29s. 5d. to 7s. 6d. So the Act is working.

But for all of this, as you would expect, I am severely criticised by Conservative local authorities. My back is broad enough to stand that, but I do ask my Labour friends in local authorities to remember that I cannot protect the public against all the consequences of their folly in electing Conservative councils. (*Applause.*)

Some of the resolutions refer to the absolutely vital problem of the Housing Revenue Account. I do not want to go into that in detail this afternoon. It is a highly complex subject. It has been studied by the

Prices and Incomes Board—and I notice that some of the quotations from the Prices and Incomes Board have been highly selective. We are reviewing the report that we received from the Board.

We have also had our own working party in the Ministry of Housing. The report of that Working Party on the Housing Revenue Account is now with the local authority associations and we are discussing the implications with them.

But also, comrades, we are studying the whole basis of housing finance. We have got to take a long-term look at how we finance the housing of our people. That is one of the studies that we have undertaken. In deciding our policy we will take Composite Resolution No. 26 into account. On that basis, we accept the resolution.

I think I should say just a word about rates, because rates are a bugbear to many millions of people in the country. As I have said before, nobody likes rates but nobody yet has produced a viable alternative. In the meantime, we can only do the best we can to protect people against what can be an extremely regressive form of taxation.

We have done two things for which I would like to see us take credit. Whenever I go and speak to a local party, I tell them how many people in the area of their authority have benefited from rent rebates and how much they have got. Almost inevitably, a local councillor comes up to me afterwards and says, 'Could I have those figures? I did not know that was what had happened.'

We do not take nearly enough pride, comrades, in the things we are doing. The first thing is that every domestic ratepayer in this country is 10d. in the £ better off thanks to the Labour Government. (*Applause.*) The second thing is that last year a million people at the lower end of the income scale benefited through rent rebates, an average of £15 per household. Now, there are another half a million people who will be eligible this year and who can benefit on the same scale. There are one and a half million people in this country for whom an average of £15 is waiting, thanks to the policy of the Labour Government.

So, comrades, I face this Conference and this debate today not in any apologetic mood. No doubt we have not done everything. We do our best, but we must fail in some things; there must be some things that prove impossible, but do please remember what we have done.

I should like to leave you this afternoon with 10 points which show what a Labour

Government can do in the field of housing and local government.

One, we have introduced the first major planning Bill for 21 years, giving that participation by the public to which George Brown and Tony Benn were referring this morning. Two, we have passed the Country-side Bill to protect the greatest heritage that our people have. Three, we have helped the tenants of private landlords and also of the councils. Four, we have given substantial help with rates. Five, we have built more and better houses than any other government in the history of this country. (*Applause.*)

Six, we have worked out a plan for improvement and slum clearance which will transform the older areas of our industrial towns. Seven, we have embarked on an ambitious New Towns policy. Eight, we set up the Land Commission, which is now getting into its stride. Nine, through option mortgages and leasehold reform we have made home ownership possible for hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens. Ten, and not least important, we have at last breathed some common humanity into the handling of our homeless families.

That, comrades, is a proud record, and I believe that history will say that you and I between us, through our Labour Movement, have left Britain a fairer and a better place than we found it. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Tony. You had a word of encouragement which you deserve.

We have four composites before us, and we will deal with them one by one. The N.E.C. asks you to accept three, and to oppose the fourth.

For Composite 25 the N.E.C. asks you to oppose, but I must ask you. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . There is no doubt at all about it, composite 25 has been opposed. (*The resolution was lost.*)

Now we come to Composite 26. The N.E.C. recommend that you accept it. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . Thank you. (*The resolution was carried.*)

Composite 5. The N.E.C. recommend that you accept it. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . Thank you. (*The resolution was carried.*)

The last one is Composite 10. The N.E.C. recommendation is that you accept. Those for the resolution? . . . Those against? . . . Thank you very much indeed, Comrades. (*The resolution was carried.*)

Now we have to go on to the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation—you all have copies. This is

the second and final report of the committee, and it was presented to the National Executive Committee in July, when it was decided that the report should be published immediately, and presented to Conference for debate. The National Executive Committee has not yet discussed the report, no decisions will be made this afternoon, but the N.E.C. will consider the report in the light of the discussion and where they wish to recommend major departures from present practice or action involving changes in the Constitution, they will make proposals to the next Annual Conference. So nothing has been decided, it is all in your hands, and I am calling on Mr. Willie Simpson, who has done so much work on the organisation, to present the report.

PARTY ORGANISATION

(Report on pages 362-380)

Mr. W. Simpson (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and comrades, we move now from building houses to, I hope, building a stronger Party. As the Chairman has explained, this is the second and final report of the committee which was set up in 1967 to deal with this question. It is the same procedure as last year—no vote will be taken on this report at this Conference.

I want to start off with a confession, because they say it is good for the soul—because we were anxious to get this report out quicker than last year, there are three errors in the report with which I will deal when I come to the particular sections in the report.

I want to emphasise the fact that the priority items were dealt with in last year's report, and that all these items have been approved by the Executive and some of them have already been implemented. I mention the first report to tickle your memory, because this report lacks the smack of the first report. This is inevitable because the priority items were dealt with in the first report. But our job on this committee was not to make news. Our job was, we hope, to make sense.

The seven subjects in the final report are detailed there, and on three of these, regional organisation, the women's movement and the youth organisation, we set up three working parties. But I want to deal with each item in the order in which it appears in the report.

First of all, we have the role and structure of Party Conference. The Committee of Enquiry looked at the Conference as it is now, and we also looked carefully at the part which television is starting to play in

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the Conference. This has tended over the last few years to turn the Conference into more of a rally than an assembly which takes decisions. What we had to weigh up here, frankly, was whether we should build and encourage this development or should we alter the representation and character of the Conference to fit in with this. If we did that, it would mean Conference would no longer be a policy-making body and there would be no need for any National Executive Committee, something some of you might be in favour of.

However, we came to the conclusion that most people in the Party wanted it to be a policy conference, and therefore in the report you will see that we have decided to keep the place of the Conference and the purpose of the Conference in the Constitution.

The size of the Conference depends upon what sort of representation you want, how many people you want to come, what opportunities you give to the various sections of the Party to come here. We feel, bearing in mind all the difficulties, that the size of the Conference is about right, but it needs leavening with more women and more young people. (*Applause.*)

We are proposing in the report that there shall be an additional woman delegate from the C.L.P.s for 1,500 members instead of 2,500 as at present. As far as the Young Socialists are concerned, they may have an additional delegate for 100 members instead of 200 members, as at present. This gives both these groups the opportunity to increase their numbers at Conference.

We next turn to the role and structure of the National Executive Committee itself. We examined the powers, functions and composition of the Executive, and decided that there was no need for any alteration in its powers, and that its size was roughly all right. The N.E.C. has to be of a certain size and it has to have a certain kind of representation if it is to man the sub-committees and do the job it has to do according to the Constitution.

Where we are suggesting an alteration, and quite a fundamental one, is in the method of electing the N.E.C. Here I come to what is probably the most controversial section of the report. I want to make it clear that this decision was not a unanimous decision of the five members of the Enquiry Committee, but I also want to make it clear that I am not talking with my tongue in my cheek. I am in favour of the proposed alteration.

The N.E.C. is elected by this Conference, and at this Conference only three sections of the Party are directly represented: the trade unions, the socialist organisations and

the local Parties. We believe that the election and composition of the N.E.C. should be based on this representation at the Conference. The section of the N.E.C. which is not related to this representation is the section which has the five women's seats, so that is the first reason why we feel the women's seats on the N.E.C. should be abolished.

The second reason is a more fundamental one. We feel that it is an anachronism, out of time and out of place, that the ruling authority of the socialist party which stands for women's rights and equality of the sexes should have this separate section on our N.E.C. I regard this as a condescension to the women in our Party. I believe that they can get on this platform on their own merits and abilities and some of them have already done so. (*Applause.*)

Having taken this decision, and having decided that the size of the N.E.C. was just about right, it meant the Enquiry Committee had to face up to the problem of how to allocate the five seats between the three sections of the Party which I have mentioned. There is no case at all for the socialist organisations having another seat, so the argument was between the constituency Labour Parties and the trade unions. We have decided to allocate in our report three of these seats to the trade union section, and two of these seats to the constituency Labour Parties.

I have heard a whisper that some would like all the five seats to go to the constituency Labour Parties. (*Applause.*) But I must tell you, although there is not so much shouting about it, there are some that feel the five seats should go to the trade union section (*Applause.*) What I want to say to you today is that there is no logically correct answer to this—it is a question of how you feel the N.E.C. should be balanced.

Let me tell you that it is not just a political argument, because the divisions on the N.E.C. are not what they used to be. But think of this: in terms of the people who would probably be elected, giving the five seats to the constituency Labour Parties would give you an N.E.C. with at least 16 Members of Parliament on it out of 28, and a probability of 18. That is what we have roughly at the present time. If you want the N.E.C. weighted in that way, then you will give the five seats to the constituency Labour Parties.

I know the constituencies think they do all the work, and this entitles them to parity with the trade unions on the N.E.C., but remember that the constituency Labour Party members are trade unionists as well, and it is not just a question of simple parity so that it makes it look nice and tidy with 12

seats to the unions and 12 to the constituency Labour Parties. You cannot ignore the overall balance on the Executive, nor can you ignore the importance of the financial reasons why the trade unions should be the largest section on the N.E.C.

But there are other reasons as well. We often prevent, in the interests of objectivity, some of the battles which are fought in the House of Commons from being rehashed and refought all over again on the N.E.C. Our industrial experience and our basic contacts with our members, who are both trade unionists and affiliated Labour Party members, are valuable.

You just need to have a look at the work of the Home Policy Committee over the last two years and see that it has dealt with port transport, the Civil Service, industrial democracy, North Sea gas, the National Hydrocarbons Corporation, textiles, fuel, the industrial aspects of race relations. All these things make the current industrial experience of the T.U. section of the Executive vital. We may not be, as a bunch, as glamorous as the Members of Parliament but we do play an effective role on the Executive. End of commercial!

So for these reasons the majority—and I stress this—on the Enquiry Committee have decided to allocate the five Women's Section places on the basis of three to the Trade Unions' Section and two to the local Parties. We feel, on the basis of representation, finance and the work of the Committee, that this is a reasonable suggestion.

I now turn to the question of regional organisation. This was one of the subjects upon which we set up a working party. What we discussed here, first, was whether there was any need at all for regional organisation as we know it in the Labour Party today. There have been some suggestions that we could do without the regions, that we could perhaps find some form of area or district organisation which would be smaller and closer to the constituencies. After having weighed up this background carefully, we decided, with the talk of moving things from the centre to the regions, that there is a need for political organisations in the regions.

Then we discussed whether the boundaries of our regions were right. We discovered that, apart from the South-East, all our regional boundaries almost coincide exactly with the Economic Planning Councils; and this could be very important in the future. We do, however, realise here that the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government may change our minds on how our boundaries are drawn, and the recom-

mendations of the report may well have to be reviewed after we receive the report of the Royal Commission on Local Government.

There were, however, some pressing problems that we had to find an answer to fairly quickly because of the reorganisation arising from the setting up of the Regional Council for Greater London. Because there are 100 C.L.P.s in the new region, this left the Eastern Region with 29 constituencies and the Northern Home Counties organising region with 25 constituencies, both too small to be regions on their own.

We have no regional council at the moment for the Northern Home Counties and we looked at various suggestions which were sent in, including the suggestion to set up a new region covering Oxfordshire, Berks and Bucks, but we decided eventually to recommend the abolition of the Northern Home Counties Region as it is at the present time and to return the constituencies to the regions where they were previous to the creation of this particular unit of organisation. You will see the distribution of the constituencies on page 6 of the report. We have also proposed some change in the location of the sub-offices in the Eastern Region and in the Southern Region.

Then we dealt with the use of our regional organising staff. Here one of the main things we had to think about was: how did our regional organising staff fit into the new National Agency Service? It may have been possible to do away with the assistant regional organisers altogether and merge them in some way into the new National Agency Service, but we decided that there would be so many C.L.P.s not in the National Agency Service and so many without full-time agents that there was a job to be done in these C.L.P.s by the assistant regional organisers. However, we do not believe there is an urgent need for some specialising in the duties of the assistant regional organisers, and I will deal with this a bit later on.

On the functions of regional councils and annual meetings, we are proposing no change in the functions of the regional councils and no change in the scope of the annual meetings. But I agree very much with what George Brown said from the platform this morning, that the regions should be used more in the field of policy conferences and for finding out the views of the Party on various things. There are certain regions that have much to contribute to policy discussions of the Party on certain specialist subjects, and we propose that more regional conferences should be called and used in this way.

On the question of affiliation fees for

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regional councils, these were fixed a long time ago and we are suggesting here that, if required, the fees should be allowed to go up by not more than 50 per cent.

Then we examined the grass roots organisation of the Party, the organisations in the C.L.P.s and the ward committees. Let me say here that we examined closely the arguments put forward by Socialist Commentary and also by Plan for an Efficient Party. We realise that they are friends and that they are trying to be objective. Some of the arguments which they put forward were very attractive at first glance. They said that the ward committees should be abolished because they were elaborate, they were dull, and they did not function.

Two of these charges are untrue. It is not elaborate to have a unit of organisation which fits in with an electoral unit. If wards were abolished, all the work would have to be centralised in the C.L.P., and this might work O.K. in some constituencies but in scattered constituencies it would mean there would be no Labour Party life in certain small villages at all.

The charge that the ward committees do not function also it not true. Some ward committees do function very well. The charge that ward committees are dull may be true, but this is not a fault of structure, which is what we were being asked to alter. It is not a fault of structure if the ward committee meetings are dull. It is a fault, in the way in which the meeting is run. If the ward officers—the chairmen and the secretaries—make meetings more attractive—and they will get some guidance on the conduct of meetings from the Political Education Report—I think we can get over this business of ward meetings being dull.

Remember this, people come into this organisation of ours, not because they are interested in the technicalities of organisation. They come in because they are interested in politics. We have got to run the ward meetings and the constituency party meetings to reflect this as well as dealing with the organisation of the Party. We certainly would like to see at regional, constituency and ward level this aspect of a Party awareness being improved.

May I come now to the Women's Movement. Here let me start off by drawing your attention to two corrections in the Report. On page 10, in the section dealing with the Women's Council, paragraph 55, line 4, I want you to delete 'annual meeting' and insert 'Executive'. On the same page, in the section which is headed 'Two Years' Service', in the last line of paragraph 56 I ask you to take out all after 'procedure' and add:

'The National Labour Women's Advisory Committee shall be elected through the Women's Council votes weighted according to the women's membership in the area covered'. I do not expect you to get all that down. It will be in the printed report of the Conference, and that is the main thing.

In dealing with the women's movement we decided that there is a need for a special section for women in the Party and that we had to take note of the growth of fringe activities. The coffee circles, the tea afternoons, the luncheon and the supper clubs—all these have got to be brought in in some way to our women's organisation. We also recognise that there has been a link established between the work done by the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee and the surveys they have done and other interested women's organisations. We feel that the new unit of organisation which we are proposing here—the women's councils—is one way in which we can bring these various interested sections of women together.

We are, therefore, proposing to set up women's councils and they would replace the constituency committees and the federations. The remainder of the proposals on the women are fairly well detailed in the report.

Turning now to the question of Young Socialists, let me say that I regard this as an extremely important section of our report, especially in view of the fact that there seems to be a move towards votes at 18.

Our report gives the Young Socialists more power to run their own affairs. The Enquiry Committee might be criticised as being soft, and some people might say we have been through all this before, and it should be something of a worry to us, as a Socialist Party, that we have not had a conspicuous success so far in organising young people in our movement. But I think that we face a very special challenge on this.

You see, if you are trying to organise young people in a left-wing party you are organising them to fight for a cause. They come into this Party because of their rebellious attitude to things around them, because they believe that certain things should be changed, and after they come in they have to learn certain things; they have to learn that it is no use having political ideas unless you intend to get power to put them into practice, not unless you want to be a fireside or a bar-stool socialist, in which case I recommend they join the S.P.G.B. or the Socialist Labour League. And if you want to get power to put your ideas into practice you must organise, and

if you have an organisation you have to have rules, and if you have rules you have to have penalties and discipline.

So many young members in our Party have to learn these lessons and learn them quickly, at a time in their lives when many other things are competing for their attention. We have had our difficulties on this, and I do not think it right to blame it all on the N.E.C.; it is a difficulty which is inherent within the Party and the special challenge we face.

As far as the Enquiry Committee is concerned, we believe that the period of convalescence for the Young Socialists is now over, we believe the Young Socialist movement is well again. The National Committee of the Young Socialists is constructive, the only thing that this N.E.C. has asked from the Young Socialists is that they must have a basic loyalty to the Labour Party if we are to develop a youth movement which will be a forcing house for Socialist thought and endeavour among the young people.

We believe it is time now to ease some of the restrictions that were placed on them, and that is the reason for the recommendations in this section of our report. I will not go over them all, but let me deal with one of the most important ones and that is, our proposal that we do appoint a National Youth Officer at Head Office who will not have the same status as the Assistant National Agent, but who will be in the same age group as the Young Socialists at the time of his appointment.

Let me tell you this, that the Enquiry Committee have accepted all but three of the recommendations which were sent to us from the working party on this. The three recommendations we did not accept were that the Young Socialists' working party wanted two Young Socialists on the Executive. But having taken the decision that it was wrong to have a section which discriminated on the basis of sex on the Executive, we could not very well agree to have a section which discriminated on the basis of age.

They also said that in view of the fact that they were asking for two seats on the National Executive they did not want the National Committee. Well, since we rejected their recommendations to have two members on the Executive, we also believed they should still hold on to their National Committee.

The other recommendation which we rejected was on the question of area organisation. I say this to the Young Socialists, the Enquiry Committee have reaffirmed their faith in you, and I am con-

fident that this time you will not let us down.

We would have liked to have included in the report this year a fairly detailed section dealing with re-organisation of the Labour Party in Transport House. We did interview all the heads of the departments at least once, we had documents prepared on every department, we also saw the representatives of the Staff Council, but we decided not to include any recommendations on Transport House for the following reasons: first of all, we did not have the new General Secretary or the new Deputy General Secretary elected at that time, and we believe that they should have some say in how Transport House is reorganised. He has the responsibility for this, and the work we have done and the documents that we have prepared will be valuable to him when he gets down to his new office.

We also know that the organisation we want in Transport House can depend on the type of duties we give to the Deputy General Secretary and, more important than that, is that the way that this N.E.C. does its business does influence the way in which Transport House is organised, and at the May meeting of the National Executive we did decide to change to three sub-committees instead of the seven sub-committees we have at the moment.

We would have one sub-committee responsible for policy, one sub-committee responsible for organisation and one sub-committee responsible for publicity, propaganda and political education. This change in the sub-committee structure on the N.E.C. may well require some departmental changes in structure in Transport House, so we decided to leave it alone, except for one thing—we do feel we cannot afford to ignore the role that publicity will play between now and the next election, and here the need for publicity in the regions is clear.

We would like to be able to put a full-time publicity officer in each region, we cannot do this, but what we are recommending, as an alternative to this, is that one Assistant Regional Organiser in each region should be selected and trained in this work. We have made plans for a residential training course on this of two weeks, and a week-end course could be attended by these A.R.O.s, probably once per month during the year, and part of each day should be allocated to the A.R.O. who has been given this task to perform in each region. We know it is second best, but there is no reason why it cannot be damned effective.

The next part of the report I want to turn to now is the part dealing with the Hastings

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Agreement. Here, before the agents get hot under the collar, might I draw your attention to a correction on page 15, the last line in paragraph 88. If you delete 50 per cent and insert 'these percentages' this makes that last line in conformity with the Hastings Agreement, as it applies at the moment.

Now we looked at the Hastings Agreement which sets out the financial arrangements covering the payments that candidates and constituencies and affiliated organisations in the considering of candidates. We looked at this because the National Union of Labour Organisers, the agents' union, asked us to do so. They put some proposals to us which would have had the effect of raising all the minimum payments laid down in the Hastings Agreement. We have had to reject this, basically because this agreement is essentially a limiting agreement, it fixes maxima not minima, and it does this for very good democratic reasons; it does it so that a wealthy candidate has no overwhelming advantage over the not so wealthy when it comes to selection conferences and choosing who is to represent certain seats. It stops the buying of seats, and it also has the same effect on sponsored organisations.

The effect of the agents' proposal would have been to stand this agreement on its head, and we had to reject this proposal for the reasons I have given.

The final part of the report deals with the setting up of a Labour Party Property Company, and here I must tell you that the N.E.C. has already accepted the establishment of a Trustee Company.

So the next step is the establishment of a property company, and let me say here that the primary object of this is not to make money, or save money even. The primary object of this is to provide a service to the constituency Labour Parties. Constituency Labour Parties are continually getting into difficulties with trust deeds that are not drawn up correctly or that are not transferred on the death of one or more of the trustees. They run into difficulties as far as capital debts and repayment terms are concerned. They blunder into some of these things. They get into difficulties with the Inland Revenue on them. And our idea is to set up a property company which will give advice and provide service on this.

But we also intend to go further, but only if Parties will allow us and will transfer property to us. And what we intend to do for a start, if the N.E.C. agree, is that we will set up a Labour Party property company. We have some property at the moment. We will use this as collateral for borrowing

money, and with that money we will start to build and develop and maintain Party premises. We hope the company will grow in time. You know, from little acorns spring mighty oaks. And we might be eventually able to provide premises at a rent Parties can afford. And more than that, we might be able at last to start building Party premises that we can be proud of.

And so we outline some of the suggestions in the Report, but we have gone into this in a great deal of detail. It is feasible proposition. It is 'on' as far as the Enquiry Committee is concerned.

I come now to the conclusion of my report, fellow delegates, and here I want to say this. It is the end of two years' work by the Enquiry Committee, and I want to thank all the working parties and all who wrote or gave oral evidence to the committee. I want also, from this platform, to say a big thanks to someone who is not here today, and that is Len Williams, now Sir Len, because he is now Governor-General in far off, sunny Mauritius. Len did a fine job on this Committee, and he provided much of the factual information upon which the Report has been based. *(Applause.)*

I want also personally to say thanks to the committee, to Frank Allaun and Harry Nicholas, who served on the committee for the last year, and to Alice Bacon and Joe Gormley who have been through the whole grind over the last two years. They have all done two years' hard labour for Labour.

Let me say this: I was very conscious that this was not the ideal time to be carrying out an enquiry into party organisation, because the political climate influenced much of the evidence which was presented to the committee. And the political climate also has an effect on the Party finance which is going to be available. It is plain that the future of this Party is tied up with the future success of Government policies. We are now getting to striking distance of the Opposition, and in this situation organisation counts.

It has been a difficult job doing the enquiry because it is difficult to suppress your political bias when you are active politically within the Party. But I believed throughout this enquiry that the purpose of the enquiry is not to confirm your prejudices but to try and examine objectively all the aspects of Party organisation. I have tried to follow the dictum of Mark Twain on this, and he said: 'Do what is right: you will please some people and you will astonish the rest.' *(Laughter.)*

So we have tried to carry out this task as honestly as possible, and I hope by doing

this we have laid the foundation of a healthy and efficient Party. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, by your applause you have indicated that you know there are some jobs in our Party that may not get a great deal of limelight but they require an enormous amount of devoted, detailed service.

Willie has paid a compliment to his committee and to Len, who helped him so much. I think you have also shown that you recognise that you want to thank not only the committee but Willie, who has headed the committee. They have done a fantastically difficult, detailed job for us all. (*Applause.*)

Mrs. J. Gould (Leeds North East C.L.P.): Comrade Chairman, comrades, I would like to deal with the part of the report that refers to the Women's Movement, and as a member of the National Committee of Labour Women I welcome the fact that the committee has accepted that full equality has not yet been achieved, even inside the Labour Party, and that many women still feel the need for the continued existence of the separate women's sections within our movement.

Only when women feel that all the inequalities have been abolished and they can contribute at all levels of the Party, freely and unhampered, will the need for women's sections disappear. Many of us look forward to that day.

Look at the delegates at this great Conference. Particularly look at the trade union delegates—hardly a woman to be seen. (*Applause.*) The women trade unionists have the same problems as the women members of the Labour Party. They also see the need for a women's section of the T.U.C.

And let me dispel the myth that the Labour women themselves are in favour of the abolition of the sections. This suggestion was defeated when it was raised at the Women's Annual Conference last year.

Although in many areas the women's movement is the only section of the Party that attempts to organise an educational programme for its members, the document does recognise the fact that many advisory councils do need revitalising. Many women trade unionists and councillors must be attracted and encouraged to participate in the activities. Merely an artificial change in the constitution is not going to be sufficient, and I hope consultations can take place between the National Committee of Labour Women and the officials of the trade unions with women members.

The proposal for the creation of regional

advisory committees within the women's movement is also welcomed by the members of the National Committee. These could, by co-ordinating and extending the educational and propaganda programme of the regions, show that women do have a role in our Labour Movement apart from the traditional and hard-dying one of tea mashing and fund raising.

The much maligned women's conference will be strengthened by the suggestion that women Labour Members of Parliament and candidates should be ex-officio members of this Conference. The women's conference deals with the bread and butter issues of political life, whilst not forgetting the wider problems of this country and the world, and it is here that the voice of the ordinary woman in the street, the average elector, is heard.

The document reminds us once again that women form more than half the electorate, a fact this Party has all too often tended to ignore in the past. It is only right and proper, therefore, that our Members of Parliament should be present and should be aware of the views of the women's conference.

After this week's deliberations, the most controversial aspect of the document will be the proposals dealing with the alteration to the composition of the National Executive Committee. Elsewhere in the report it is stated that equality has not yet been achieved, yet in a remarkably inconsistent manner it is proposed to do away with the women's sections on the National Executive and to redistribute its five seats as if we had already achieved the euphoric state of equality. Let us not be fooled by the glib words of Bill Simpson.

Look at the composition of the N.E.C. in the constituency section and in particular the trade union section. It becomes apparent that not only do women find it difficult to get elected but they find it difficult to even get nominated. There is not one nomination in the trade union section.

It could be argued that the women's section of the N.E.C. is not truly representative of the women's movement, yet we in the women's movement would like some guarantee before this section is abolished. We would like to see a position reserved in the N.E.C. elections for statutory women. Government bodies and commissions must have women members; so should the N.E.C. of this Party.

It will probably be pointed out that there is no need for such a person as a statutory woman in our movement, that women do not have difficulty in achieving top status

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in the party. Attention will be drawn to the fact that we have a woman Chairman in Jennie Lee and a vice-chairman in Eirene White, but their positions are only a facade which hides a great deal of prejudice against women in our movement. Not only is it difficult or impossible in some areas to get a woman candidate adopted; I know of areas where women are discouraged from attending their own local general management committees. One would have thought at least in our parties these Victorian ideas would have died long ago. I fear, and the women's movement knows, that they still exist.

Finally, comrade Chairman, when discussing this excellent document, can I ask the N.E.C. to bear in mind the following points: the obvious difficulties and the lack of equality to be found within our movement, and the wider role being played by women at grass roots level in the party, doing every job, educational, organisational, political, without acknowledgment for anything but the annual bazaar and the social. Will the N.E.C. give some undertaking to the women's movement that their plea for the five places on the N.E.C. will remain or alternative arrangements made for women members to be guaranteed? We have been attempting this week with some success to get our political perspectives right. This document will enable us to look to our organisation and plan for the future of the party. (*Applause.*)

Coun. J. C. John (Pembrokeshire C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, colleagues, on behalf of the newly-constituted Pembrokeshire C.L.P. (*Applause*)—it was finally formed on June 22 last—I would like to draw the attention of Conference to the paragraphs relating to the Labour Party properties, and more particularly to the proposal to form two companies, one designated a trustee company and the other a property company.

The Pembrokeshire Party has received some national publicity recently in the stand it has taken to resist the takeover bid of extremely valuable Labour properties by their Member of Parliament and his coterie of sycophants. (*Applause.*) This resistance culminated in a High Court action and on behalf of myself and of my colleagues I would like to express my deepest thanks to the National Executive for the way they have supported us in every respect, in every regard, both morally and financially, during the difficult period through which we have passed. In this too I would like to express our deep debt of gratitude to the officials of Transport House, particularly Miss Sara Barker and Mr. Reg Underhill, and also the

Welsh Regional Officer, Mr. Emrys Jones, for their guidance and support and for the excellent work they have achieved in reforming and revitalising the Pembrokeshire Constituency Party from the ashes of the old.

I am happy to tell you, Madam Chairman, that at our last meeting on Saturday last, a management meeting, in weather conditions similar to those we have experienced in Blackpool, there were nearly a hundred members present in the hall. And I am also happy to tell you that I am here in Blackpool representing something over 3,000 members. (*Applause.*)

Our experience has been such that we accept the need for research into the control of designated Labour Clubs and particularly the protection of the rights of trustees, regularly appointed by the Constituency Party. We had been at great pains to ensure that annual meetings of club members did not remove the overall control of the constituency executive and the secretary/agent of our Party was, by virtue of his office, the secretary of the club's organisations. These steps had been taken on legal advice. What we did not bargain for was that the secretary/agent himself would defect from the Labour Party and join the expelled Labour Member of Parliament. The protection of the rights of bona fide Labour trustees in this recommendation is supported wholeheartedly by my Constituency Party.

The Chairman: We are delighted with the information you have given us but it is a bit out of order.

Coun. John: That was a preamble, Madam Chairman.

The second proposal, the formation of a property company, is a coat of a different colour, however, and I am instructed by my Constituency Party to ask for the reference back for further consideration of this very important matter. We ask for the reference back for the following reasons: one, it appears to us to be completely unrealistic to expect constituency parties to hand over valuable properties to the directors of another company based in London, for nothing other than the receipt of some loan stock of doubtful value, and in addition to this to be expected to pay high rents for this doubtful privilege; two, ownership and management of these clubs would be centralised in London, thereby continuing the process of government from afar in a field where the particular need is local in character. The need for local participation is essential if clubs are expected to flourish and prosper and make profits.

The Chairman: Out of order. We cannot have a reference back at this stage, but we take the spirit if not the letter of all you have had to say to us, and good luck to you. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Mason (Nantwich C.L.P.): Funnily enough, I would like to refer you to the Young Socialist organisation, mentioned in the report. We in the Labour Party Young Socialists want the Labour Party to make a tremendous impact on national affairs. We want to help in making this impact by increasing our membership and by increasing our activities. With this in mind, our National Committee prepared a report on the future organisation and structure of the Labour Party Young Socialists, a copy of which you will have seen this morning. It is on the basis of these proposals from our National Committee that the future of the Labour Party Young Socialists should be planned.

The recommendations in the report of the Committee of Enquiry into Party Organisation go a long way in recognising the urgent needs of the Young Socialists, but on some points we feel that we must urge adoption of our own National Committee's proposals in preference to the recommendations of the report into Party organisation.

I would like to point out just two of these differences. Our National Committee recommend the appointment of national and regional youth officers devoting their full time to Young Socialist affairs. Due to their many other commitments at present, these officers can only afford to deal with the Young Socialists in their spare time.

Also, representation at Labour Party Conference. Our National Committee proposes that two Young Socialists from each region be delegates to the Conference, whilst the report into Party organisation proposes that branches with more than 100 delegates should have an additional delegate. This will encourage branches to concentrate on social activities in order to increase their membership.

The Young Socialists always have been, and always will be, a political organisation. I would ask you to remember also that the proposals of the Young Socialists' National Committee received unanimous support from our National Conference this year, and this wants bearing in mind when considering future organisation. If you believe, as I do, that whilst our official age limit is 15-25 there is no such thing as an old socialist, and if you will give us the opportunity to serve

the Labour Party to the utmost of our ability, I do not think you will be disappointed. (*Applause.*)

Mr. N. Turner (Knutsford C.L.P.): I would like to continue what the previous member was saying regarding the Young Socialist organisation and particularly with regard to a member of the Young Socialists on the National Executive of the Labour Party. In his report, Mr. Simpson said that if we were having to get rid of the women's section of the N.E.C., it was impossible to have a member from the Young Socialists on the N.E.C. But these are not really two comparable units of the Party, because while the women have their full life to get known within the Party and to get elected on to the N.E.C. of the Party, the Young Socialists have an effective life span of only 10 years at the very outside and it is virtually impossible for anybody to get nationally known in the movement and to get elected on to the N.E.C. Therefore, it is impossible to compare the two.

The committee also recommended that the voice of the Young Socialists should be heard at the regional executive council. Normally, at the moment we have one member on this, but they want to increase this to two. I cannot honestly understand the logic of this. If they want us to have two members on the regional executive committee and give our voice there, why cannot we have a voice on the N.E.C.?

There is one other point I would like to raise regarding area structure of the Young Socialist organisation. The committee rejected the National Committee of the Young Socialists' recommendation that there should be area organisations. The regional committees of the Young Socialists—and I am a member of the North-West regional committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists—are not really effective in dealing with the structure of the Young Socialists within the region because there are not enough members on this from each branch to get a good social coverage. Obviously, if you are going to have one member from each branch on the regional committee, it would become far too unwieldy. This is just impossible.

But what we would really like is to split the regionals down into areas of smaller units and get each branch within the area with a member on this small area federation, if you want to call it that structure—whatever it is called; it does not matter. This would give us a chance of each branch organising itself within its own small area.

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It is no good having the regional committee trying to organise something for the region.

In the North-West we have branches in Barrow and Crewe. It is impossible for them to organise themselves on a regional basis. But there are many branches in Cheshire—Nantwich, Knutsford and Crewe, for example. All these could get together. But at the moment, with only one member on the regional committee, there is no real structure.

So we would like you to refer these two points to the N.E.C. We hope they will change their mind and that we will have a member on the N.E.C. and have area structures so that we can have an effective Young Socialist organisation. (*Applause.*)

Margaret Evans (Kingston-on-Thames C.L.P.): On a point of order, Madam Chairman. I realise that this report is very important, but I would like clarification from the Chair whether you will allow sufficient time to debate education.

The Chairman: You are hindering us. We are trying to get on to that.

Mrs. E. Yatt (Edgbaston C.L.P.): I want to speak in favour of the recommendation to abolish the women's section on the Executive. Speaking as a woman—which, I hope, is obvious—I do not wish for a moment to denigrate the work of the specialist women's sections, but in pleading for equal rights for women I feel it is only proper that women should have to take the same amount of trouble to get on to our ruling body as any man has and an equal right to stand for election if she wants to.

Women are perfectly able to take part in the active life of the Labour Party without the protection of a cosy in-looking organisation of their own. They are able, of course, to take part in that if they wish. But if they want to take an equal stand with men they should not have a special, protected position. I think it is likely that if women play their full part in constituency work, we shall find at some time that there are more women on the Executive than men. So it is up to you, brothers, to see that this position does not arise.

I would, however, plead for the five seats to go to the constituencies, because it is in that area that women are able to play an equally active part in the work of the Labour Party. (*Applause.*)

Mr. N. Dinning (Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers): I want

to make it clear that my organisation have not discussed this, and I come to the rostrum on the basis of the statement that it has not been adopted by the N.E.C. but detailed consideration will be given in the light of the debate. I also want to make it clear that my divisional committee in the A.E.F. carried a resolution on this very question, and I want to inform the previous speaker that that committee was also for the five seats to go to the constituencies. I am trying to make this a purely objective statement.

The reasons why the circle of trade unionists who discussed this question arrived at this consideration were that one of the bugbears, one of the irritants within this movement over a considerable period of years, has been the attitude of the constituency parties to the block vote. And therefore we believed that in allocating the five seats to the constituency parties we would be evening up, giving a more correct balance than the three-two that has been suggested. Let us be very clear about it, on this big aspect—the fact that the trade union vote is so terrific in relation to the abysmal figures of the constituency parties.

When it came to the election for the women's section, it was the trade unions that were deciding that question, so the trade unions did not actually have 12, they had 17. In giving a further three, you are giving them that three without the battle of the overwhelming figures they have. If, however, we recognise the equality of the two sides of the movement so far as the trade unions and the constituency parties are concerned, then we have to be concerned to eliminate this criticism of the block vote because there is nothing wrong with a block vote—it is the way it is used that has been wrong. (*Applause.*)

In order to give a better understanding to the constituency parties, again I repeat that my organisation have not taken a decision on this; I am putting it forward for consideration for the whole movement, the question of equality between constituency parties and trade unionists can be very well served here by eliminating that which in the past has been the greatest irritant, the block vote. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Jones (Transport and General Workers' Union): I want to support what Norman Dinning has just said. (*Applause.*) Willie Simpson said he thought there was a whisper that some sections of the Conference wanted the five women's representatives transferred to the constituency party representatives.

Well, it was not just a whisper, Willie, it

was in fact proposed and is in the printed agenda from the Transport and General Workers' Union. This is for the very solid reason that we want to see an end of the division between constituency parties and the unions. We believe this can be and ought to be a united Party. (*Applause.*)

To elect more constituency representatives is one expression of democratic change—one, but nevertheless an important one—and we think it will stimulate more discussion, more political discussion, within the Executive. It is needed. It should also provide the opportunity for bringing the individual member's point of view more directly to the leadership, and that is also needed.

If Willie is concerned about the number of Members of Parliament on the Party Executive, let us remember that the existing five women elected by the unions are all Members of Parliament, and I think we should have some trust in the constituency parties. I think they have grown up, and if they want to elect other than Members of Parliament, given the opportunity they will do that if the additional number of representatives are accorded to the constituency party section.

We are saying to the Executive that on this part of the report they should give favourable consideration not to the special committee's idea of three additional constituency people and two additional trade union people, but the whole of the five to go over to the constituency parties, and the trade unionists will be able to stand on their own feet. (*Applause.*)

Incidentally, that was a point of view which I pursued when I was a member of the special committee of which Willie was the Chairman, so I am not doing something today that I did not do when I was a member.

I want also to take up another point which I tried to pursue when I was on the committee until a year ago, and that is the question of improving the organisation within the country. George Brown this morning said there was a need for improving the relationship between the leadership and the Party in the country. I happen to think that a lot of things ought to be done in order to improve that relationship apart from organisation, but organisation is important, and we take issue and I took issue when I was on the committee, with the view that the existing region machinery should remain intact. We think it is disastrous from two points of view.

First of all, the regional organisation, covering an enormous number of constituencies, tends to be remote. It throws up a rigidity and a bureaucracy that is not good

for the Party. We should like to see the development of district organisation using the existing office, away from the regions, developing them into districts and, round them, district committees representative of the trade unions and the constituency parties—closer to the grass roots, as someone said, and involving the shop stewards, building a liaison around the work people in the factories and the people in the streets through the constituencies and the factory organisations and the unions that can only be good for the Party.

I ask the Executive, when looking at the report, to consider these aspects. Really, the regional organisation has outlived its usefulness. We should spread it out to bring a closer link between the mass and the leadership through district organisation. (*Applause.*)

Mr. C. Connelly (Colne Valley C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, I represent the Colne Valley C.L.P. which, you may remember, is the only seat we lost in the 1966 General Election. I am glad you called me because I think it is time that we from that valley were making ourselves felt once again in this Party.

I want specially, however, to refer to paragraph 75 in this report which talks about the need for a national youth officer. I sense an air of unreality about it all, and I speak as one who for more than 20 years has been engaged professionally in further education and youth service.

What tremendous changes there have been during those years. What began as a bunch of well-intentioned amateurs has now become a corps of highly-trained professionals. We offer courses in many of our training colleges. We have a national training college for youth leaders, and it is, I believe, from this professional source that we should look for professional leadership in our Young Socialist Party, and not from any amateur who, because he has the right kind of nomination or sponsorship, is put up for the job. (*Applause.*)

Furthermore, may I say that the job will involve not only socialism, it will involve the highly developed knowledge of modern group method techniques. Modern educational method is the way in which we shall get ahead in our Party.

I promised to be brief, and so I shall, but will you look again at paragraph 75 and ask yourself, Madam Chairman and delegates, do we really mean to appoint a high level man or woman because, if so, we must go to the professional market and get the fittest we can. (*Applause.*)

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Mr. C. D. Lindley (Oxfordshire Federation): When the N.E.C. committee on organisation was set up two years ago, many of us speculated on whether this was a Transport House ploy to emasculate the plan for an efficient party. You all remember the groundswell that was so evident at Brighton. I suggest this report confirms these suspicions. If this, at the end of two years' deliberations, is intended to be the blueprint for the Party's organisation for the future, God help us.

What are the recommendations on finance? Is this movement for all time to depend on massive union handouts? If the constituency parties are ever to be more than a make-weight, to be switched on and off by unions at the Conference and in the controlling counsels of this Party, there must be some parity in providing the Party's finance. Apart from the letter of the Constitution which I believe has been transgressed in the notes on the front of this report, which says it has not been adopted by the N.E.C. but will be given detailed consideration by the committee in the light of the debate. I believe this is unconstitutional because I understood Willie Simpson's opening comments to say it had been decided that Conference would remain an instructing body and not a rally.

Surely, Conference should give instructions to the N.E.C. and not the N.E.C. decide its policy, based on the debate at Conference.

I would restrict my final remarks to the question of regional boundaries. You heard Willie Simpson speak about Oxfordshire and the consideration that had been given to keeping the Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire counties together in one corporate entity, and that this had been discarded. Well, our protest about this is that there was no consultation, in fact at any level, as far as we know.

We, the Labour groups on these county councils have locally for years been working for a Thames-side scheme. This makes a lot of sense to the local parties. Now Transport House, or this committee, at one fell swoop have cut the ground from under our feet, and there is a very strong feeling about this locally, and about the fact that the efforts of many worthy individuals at county council and local council levels seem to have been wasted, because the Labour Party organisation is going to be on a separate boundary to so many of the other organisations which have evolved in that area.

I would finally like to say that we ask the committee to reconsider this question of the boundary alterations, and perhaps the

question of consultation might be considered. It would certainly be very much appreciated at local level.

Rt. Hon. Alice Bacon (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and delegates, I am going to do something which is most unusual from this platform—that is to waive my right to make a speech of any length. I know that it is getting late, the education debate is coming on, and I have some interest in that debate. Also, I think Bill Simpson made an excellent and most lucid introductory speech and explained the whole of the document.

The whole purpose of this debate this afternoon was that we on the National Executive Committee should hear what the delegates had to say. The N.E.C. has not only not endorsed this document, it has not yet considered it. Therefore, we are not asking Conference this afternoon to accept or reject it; we have taken note of everything that has been said. I would dearly have liked to have commented on many of the things which have been said, but I can promise you that we shall probably have some lively debates in the National Executive. We shall come back next year with our decisions which you can then discuss.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Alice, we shall hasten on to education, Composite 31, to be moved by Southport and seconded by Wokingham.

EDUCATION

Mr. W. Wilkinson (Southport C.L.P.) moved the following Resolution (Composite Resolution No. 31):

This Conference deplores the opposition in various parts of the country to the Government's plans on comprehensive education. Local education authorities in some areas are not only using delaying tactics, but are rejecting the whole principle of comprehensive schools.

*In view of this, Conference urges the Government to introduce as quickly as possible a new Education Act which will produce a Charter for Education in the fourth quarter of the 20th century for the whole of the country, and prevent doctrinaire local authorities from destroying or delaying the introduction of comprehensive education.**

He said: Madam Chairman and comrades, Composite 31 asks for a new Education Act.

*Resolution carried. See page 214

We, of course, believe that the 1944 Education Act which brought an enormous development of educational potential in this country, has been outdated by new thinking, particularly in the introduction of comprehensive education, instead of the tripartite system at the secondary stage and because of the enlightened reports that have been made in recent years on junior, secondary and further education. The 1944 Act is now nearly a quarter of a century away and the Act prior to that was 1918, a quarter of a century earlier.

Government can legislate on the individual aspects of education such as the raising of the school leaving age and can try to persuade L.E.A.'s by circulars and the issue of reports, but if we do not want a hotch-potch system of education with the quality varying from authority to authority, now is the time for the Government to introduce a major Education Act that will carry us forward into the fourth quarter of the 20th century, an Act that will ensure pre-school education in a nursery system, implement the recommendations of the Plowden Report for primary education, and raise the school leaving age.

These matters I think are going to be discussed in later resolutions, so what I would like to speak about is comprehensive education and the abolition of the 11-plus selection. We want an Act that will make it obligatory on local authorities to prepare schemes for genuine comprehensive education and not some of the half-baked schemes that have been prepared and now go under the name of comprehensive education. We are told in the Parliamentary Report that two-thirds of the 163 local authorities have comprehensive school plans either implemented or approved for the whole or part of their area. How many, I wonder, are genuine comprehensive schemes?

My own authority has an approved scheme. What the difference is I do not know. We still appear to have selection. Three weeks ago the quota still went to the grammar schools and the secondary modern schools. We still retain selection. Whilst we retain selection the paragraph in the mid-term manifesto which reads, 'Educational divisions and privilege abound, and the comprehensive school system we are now establishing is far from full achievement. It will require a stronger impetus to prevent it ossifying into a still selective bilateral system' must remain imprinted on our hearts.

What better way to implement that paragraph than a major Education Act? Two of the largest authorities in the country have

refused to submit schemes. They are the Inner London and the Birmingham authorities. Owing to local election reverses over the last two years, Labour lost control of many authorities that may have produced schemes. But do not let us delude ourselves into thinking that all the lagging authorities are Tory-controlled. Some Labour-controlled authorities are equally backward.

Till the tripartite system is finally dead, there can be no equality of opportunity and the system will not die under present legislation. Only new legislation will ensure the equality of opportunity that we have paid so much lip service to over the years, legislation that will bring the independent and public schools, if they are still with us, into the teacher quota system. Teachers must be available to go into a comprehensive system.

Whilst one small section of the education system still takes its unfair share of the teachers available, there will never be enough to go round a live State comprehensive educational system. I would remind you that a great many of these teachers have been trained at public expense.

Anthony Crosland said a few weeks ago that he thought the time was approaching to think of a new Act. George Brown spoke only this morning of comprehensive education. Why not a new Act now that will give us an educational system that will be second to none and one that will be the envy of the world? (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. Carter (Wokingham C.L.P.): Comrades, I would like to open my remarks in seconding this resolution with a brief recall of George Brown's remarks to us this morning about the comprehensive education that we were trying to put into effect. George was in good heart this morning and he outlined to us this marvellous concept we have as a Party and as a Government of giving all children, regardless of background, equal opportunity in terms of education. But I think he would be the first to admit that this marvellous concept of ours has taken quite a few kicks in the teeth from Tory-dominated local education authorities up and down the country.

It has been said already in the housing debate this afternoon that the national Government cannot always be responsible for the actions of local authorities. This was mentioned in the housing debate by Tony Greenwood.

I submit to Conference this afternoon that education has always been looked at on the part of the electorate as a national issue. You cannot at two General Elections promise the people of this country a comprehensive

education system and yet when you get into office say, when some authorities do not comply with your wishes that really you cannot do much about it; if local electors are not prepared to elect Labour authorities they may have to take the rough with the smooth. I put it to Conference this afternoon that it is a national issue and that Conference should see it as a national issue and ask the Government to take the appropriate legislative action.

I would like briefly in the short time I have left to direct a few remarks towards a city in this country—Birmingham—at present dominated by a Tory authority with a rather darker shade of Powell, not only in the field of education but in housing as well. I would like to say as the prospective candidate for Northfield that I, the Labour councillors in Birmingham, prospective Labour councillors and the M.P.s will challenge that authority at every turn to see that the young children at present at school and those who are yet unborn will get in time a comprehensive education system.

But all that should not have to be done. It should not be necessary. We ask implicitly in this resolution that the Government take the necessary action, because we cannot expect any assistance, any help, whatever from these Tory authorities and we cannot expect any help from the Tory Party at national Government level. An M.P. for Birmingham—Sir Edward Boyle—a so-called man of principle, is the Shadow Minister of Education, and in one part of the countryside he will say he is in favour of the comprehensive system but will dart to another and say, 'No. We must cut our cloth according to the situation as we find it.'

In Birmingham he has never challenged the city authority to introduce a comprehensive system. We, as a Labour Government, should take the action now. If we do not take it now the chance is lost for good, and I ask Conference and the Government to use some of that strength that is advertised around this conference hall to change the education system of this country and change it once and for all.

The Chairman: Composite 33, Brentford and Chiswick C.L.P., to be followed by Wandsworth Putney C.L.P.

Mr. D. Heap (Brentford and Chiswick C.L.P.) moved the following resolution (Composite No. 33):

This Conference, believing the future of the country's economy and the fulfilment of the principle of equality of opportunity, to be dependent upon a rapid expansion

of the education system, calls for an increase in, and more efficient use of, the proportion of the Gross National Product applied to the education services.

Conference considers that priorities on which such expenditure be undertaken should include:

- (a) *The immediate establishment of Public Play Group and Nursery School system in accordance with the recommendation of the Plowden Committee;*
- (b) *the rebuilding of outdated primary and secondary schools in deprived areas;*
- (c) *the provision of suitable buildings and staff for the fulfilment of a mandatory comprehensive system of secondary education, compulsory to age 16;*
- (d) *the provision of grants in aid for pupils wishing to remain at school beyond the normal compulsory age of attendance;*
- (e) *the improvement of facilities in the public sector of Further and Higher Education to the point of equality with the independent sector; and*
- (f) *the continuance of realistic grants in aid according to need, for students in tertiary education.*

Conference rejects the findings of the Newsom Committee on the Public Schools.

*It further calls for the democratisation of the administration of education by the inclusion on School Governing Bodies of representatives of the teaching staff and parents, and on University and College Governing Bodies and Policy Committees of representatives of all sections of the college community.**

Mr. Heap said: Yesterday, comrades, we heard the Prime Minister put precisely what the Government had achieved in the educational movement since it took office in 1964, despite the crippling imbalance of the economy and the economic situation in which it found itself, and I think it is worthy of even greater recognition than we gave it yesterday.

In the years to come our schools will be sustained by the inflow of eager young teachers, trained in our expanded training colleges, and our industry will benefit from the trained inventiveness of our young scientists. But I do not think we must allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency with the global figures the Prime Minister stated yesterday, for the rate of increase of investment in education has, in fact, slowed down.

*Resolution carried. See page 241

If we exclude welfare provisions, like school milk, we still only spend £4 out of every £100 this country earns on the educational services.

The working-class child, since the war, has still little more chance of getting to university than did his counterpart before the war.

Whilst self-congratulation is in order, under the present circumstances, we must ask ourselves why our efforts are not more obviously affecting the balance of opportunity in this country. Where does inequality creep in?

Those of us who practise the medical sciences realise that prevention is both less painful, less costly in time and money, than cure; yet in our educational system we spend all our organised effort making compensations at high level for inadequacies earlier on. Would it not be better to prevent inequality developing. One pound spent now might well save £100 spent later on.

What are the facts then? Where should we start in bringing about equality? By the age of 3½, a child should have a vocabulary of 3,000 words; enough to start reading and enough to base him in such a way for him to benefit from the further education services. But during that phase he is developing outside the current education system. He is, in fact, imprisoned at the top of a ten-storey block of flats, with a nervous mother, a budgerigar and a television set.

Middle-class mothers realise that there is a need for greater stimulus for the child than is available to him in this situation, and they organise. But day after day in my practice, I see working-class mothers, overworked and underpaid—good parents—doing their best, but short of the amenities which should augment their activities, amenities which should be run by the State.

Thirteen counties still have no embryo nursery school system, and it is at this point we must apply the preventive therapy. Here we must start the process that will give us better value for money spent later on, for just as money makes money, comrades, so developed ability gives greater desire and capacity for learning.

Where else does inequality intrude in our system? Do you know that a working-class child has less chance of going to an academically successful primary school than the rest of his age group? Do you know that the effluence of Victoriana which pervades our primary school system means that when he gets to a decent primary school he still has to sit on a bucket lavatory, one of the 56,000 which still exist in our country?

Freud would have had something to say about that on the effect on the development of the child.

But what of our comprehensive programme? A decade of comprehensive schools in the Greater London area has left 72 independent grammar schools competing with the system set up to fulfil our philosophy. Whilst in towns like Bury arrogant Tory councils refuse to consider any unified scheme and prefer to rely on the long discarded and discredited selection system, which is as irrelevant to the needs of the child as Enoch Powell's philosophy is to the needs of the working class.

We must have legislation and quickly, and it must be based on a school-leaving age of 16, for without the extra year the planning of a rational building programme and curriculum is seriously impeded.

Having got our children to 16, what now? We know from the Robbins and Crowther Committee Reports that half the working-class talent is lost by the sixth form. In large homes with low incomes there are massive pressures to stimulate the child to seek the immediate rewards of the service or manufacturing industries, and the existing bursaries are as useless as they are varied.

Leicestershire offer a 15-year-old child £45 per annum to entice him away from the clutches of industry. To families who can afford to stay on it is irrelevant; to families who cannot it is no succour to poverty.

The same applies to those children who need the maximum grant for higher education. Here, Prime Minister, your decision to slash by half the recommended cost of living allowance increases advised by your own appointed committee, was as inconsiderate of effect as Hugh Scanlon telling Jim Conway that he could not have a sixpenny can of oil for his £200,000 computer.

If we can spend £1,500 million on education, I am sure we can give the students the extra £40 necessary. To make sure, though, of maximum grants, could we, in fact, put off the problems of keeping in touch with the economic demands of students?

I have little time to talk about higher education, but suffice it to say that Tony Crosland's Woolwich Proclamation that the public and independent sectors of higher education were 'separate but equal' has, as yet, about as much truth in it as Vorster's professedly humanitarian policy of apartheid. The proportion spent on university education is £3 per annum; the proportion spent on the rest of the further and higher education systems is £1 per annum.

In the Middle Ages, comrades, architects

used to build cathedrals, because they believed in doing so they could have something there to establish their greater glory; nowadays they build universities, because that is where the money has rested until recently when accountability was brought in by this Party.

Finally, let me say a word about the public schools. We in this Party totally reject the findings of the Newsom Committee. If Hugh Scanlon could pull off a deal in the motor industry like the one that Newsom has been persuaded to recommend to our Government, he would be made president of the A.E.U. for life.

Here we are—only 2½ per cent of the kids in the age group can get the privileges at present, and the heads of the schools offer us a deal of 50 per cent of the places to go to Government-sponsored children and the Government to pay 50 per cent of the costs. Result: half of those already there stay, and one out of 97 of those in the rest of the age group can go, the Government footing the bill. Some deal! Some equality! They must think we were born yesterday to accept one like that.

No, comrades, when there is an egalitarian structure for our system, such as set out by this motion, to end inequality in our system, then we can have no part in the perpetration of privileges and the sponsorship of that privilege from our public Exchequer.

By supporting this motion we hope that you will give a mandate to our National Executive to press our Government to bring about not only an increase in the share of the national cake which is spent on education, but also a redistribution of where the portion of that cake goes to. Comrades, I beg to move. (*Applause.*)

Mr. P. Ackhurst (Wandsworth Putney C.L.P.): Comrades, my colleague has ably dealt with the main points of the motion. I would like to deal specifically with one section of it, and that is the section which reads, in the second to last paragraph, 'Conference rejects the findings of the Newsom Committee on the Public Schools.'

Comrades, this is of great significance to this Conference, and I hope it will be of great significance to the N.E.C. and they will give it their urgent attention, as my colleague has said.

The great debate was put in front of us this morning on the manifesto, and the first point in this debate was an attack on privilege. George Brown's words were received here with probably the biggest ovation of any of the points he made—the attack on privilege. He spoke of privilege

here that can be bought in these public schools, and let me say that this is bargain privilege for those people who can afford it, and we do not want it any more. Public schools are fortresses of this privilege, and they are a fortress which stands for the division against our ideals of a classless society and of equal opportunity in education.

So what are we going to do about the public schools? And when are we going to tackle them? Last year's Conference was told by the N.E.C. that we should wait until this year because the report would then be with us. We were told we should wait, and if we did not like this report then we would know what to do with it. Well, if they do not know what to do with it, we know what to do with it. (*Applause.*) This report is here, and we will have none of it.

I would like to just take the main point in this report. There are two points really, but the principal object of the report is to try and see how we could integrate our educational system, our comprehensive system, into the public schools.

Now, the two particular points here are that they were to inquire as to how they would increase the number of non-fee-paying pupils into public schools and how we should get the places bought by local education authorities. They are asking us, in fact, to subsidise the public schools out of public money, out of our money, and we will not have that. The trend of this whole report, indeed the question it was asked, was how to integrate the public schools into our system.

Well, I think this is nonsense, and I ask you to reject it entirely. We are asked to perpetuate the privilege inside our own system that we have built up here. We want in fact to abolish the public schools, and I use that word carefully. We do not want integration. We do not want, as the Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference suggested was a fair representation, 25 per cent of the places bought by local education authorities in 15 years. We want to start again, and we can start again.

We have had long standing proposals about these public schools drawn up by organisations inside the Labour Movement. There is a Socialist Education Association, for example. They gave evidence to this committee: evidence that was largely disregarded. So much for its standing as a social document in our times.

We have concrete suggestions now as to how to deal with the public schools. We have ideas on what we are to do about fee-paying; what to do about independent

schools and direct grant schools; what to do about buildings; what we are to do about compensations, costs and boarding education. These things are with us.

I would just like to take up the point our comrade from Bristol South East made this morning, talking about the ideals we should be striving after, and also the words the Prime Minister has used, that our Party is nothing if it is not a moral crusade. Perhaps we use the words here in a different sense, but this is a crusade. And it is a crusade to abolish the public schools. We are torn apart in this Conference by bread and butter issues, as to how we should deal with the economy of the country, but we are not torn apart by this particular ideal. We are united in the ideal of the eradication of privilege in education. (*Applause.*) Thank you. I beg to second.

Mr. K. Dickenson (Paddington North C.L.P.) moved the following Resolution (Composite Resolution 1):

*This Conference urges: that in order to alleviate the stress of teaching in schools, and, primarily to give all children a fairer chance of a decent education, the Government should immediately make a survey as to the number of maladjusted and all types of handicapped children still awaiting places in special schools. Further, that arising from this survey the Government should provide ample special schools to accommodate the need, and bring the education of all disabled and handicapped children, including blind children, under direct public control free from dependence upon charity.**

He said: Comrade Chairman, and Conference, we hear a lot of talk today in the Press of the number of teenage hooligans, the increase in their numbers and the various side effects. Of course, we do not hear in the national Press any thorough inquiry into the reasons for this, and it is absolutely essential that this Conference goes into this question.

My constituency feels that it is essential that we particularly have a look at the situation in the schools at the moment over the question of maladjusted children who are possibly in the schools—we are not clear on the numbers who are there—and the effects they are having on the work of the teachers in those schools, in classes of 40 or more. With an average of 40, what chance has a teacher got to give any special attention to the children who may come under this category?

*Resolution carried. See page 241

The other aspect of this problem, of course, is the question of the medical facilities which are provided in the schools, the doctors with sufficient qualifications to identify these children.

This all comes down, of course, to the question of the amount of expenditure on education and on the health service, and, of course, the platform can come to us at any Conference probably in the next few years, and in the past few years, and tell us that there has been an increase in expenditure on education and on the health services. But, of course, what we have to look at is the question of costs: that costs and also the increased requirements of education and the health service are the things which determine whether the facilities are being provided by the money which is being provided at any given stage by the Government of the day.

So we feel that it is absolutely essential that the Government make an inquiry, a thorough inquiry, in the schools, which will entail, of course, tremendous expenditure, for an absolutely essential need of the education service of these maladjusted children and of children as a whole.

We need a clear indication of how many maladjusted children there are in the schools. Also, along with the fact that there is increased money required, we also recognise that obviously this is linked, as I indicated before, to the overall economic situation. And this means that obviously the Government has got to alter its policies as far as we can see, as indicated in other resolutions from the constituency, with regard to the economy as a whole, which means they have got to get control of the economy rather than have the economy controlled for them.

So, in moving this motion, and leaving the other question to my capable comrade from the National League of the Blind and Disabled, I think that the Conference should certainly ask the Government to provide these facilities, provide the means whereby the education situation completely can be changed, and provide the facilities for the maladjusted children and children as a whole, and assist the teachers' cause as a whole. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: This will be seconded by the delegate who represents the National League of the Blind and Disabled. (*Applause.*)

Mr. P. O'Grady (National League of the Blind and Disabled): Madam Chairman and delegates, while fully supporting the views and sentiments expressed by the colleague from Paddington North, I want

to make special reference to schools for blind children.

As far back as 1893 we had the passing of the Compulsory Education (Blind Children) Act, and since that time there have been other pieces of legislation which have made educational provisions for blind children, in common with their seeing contemporaries.

But what do we find? We find that today, 75 years after the passing of that first Act, the majority of those schools for blind children are administered by voluntary societies: voluntary organisations who, to meet their share of the cost involved in administering these schools, must needs appeal to the public. In fact, one particular organisation has been appealing to the public for more than 30 years in the hope of building a new school. A new school may well be necessary, but in our view this is a responsibility of the Government.

What is the effect of such appeals on the public? The effect is that the impression is created that the standard of primary, secondary and further education for blind children and adolescents depends entirely on the size of contributions made to those appeals by the public. Nothing could be further from the truth. Education at all levels for blind children and blind adolescents is a right in common with seeing children. (*Applause.*)

Taking all these things into consideration, friends, I would call upon Conference to urge the Government to take immediate steps to bring all such schools, including schools for maladjusted and handicapped children, into direct public control. Madam Chairman, I second. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, comrade. You will know from the applause that your contribution is very much appreciated.

Now we go on to the general debate.

Mrs. J. Smith (Hitchin C.L.P.): Harold Wilson said yesterday 'Education is opportunity'. I would go further and say 'Education is the opportunity for this country to increase its productivity and combat unemployment'. We cannot allow children to go from school at 15 years of age, under-educated, into a world in which the number of jobs for the unskilled are ever-decreasing. We must give every child the opportunity to develop his potential to the full without the shadows of selection and privilege.

This theme can be carried into all sectors of the education system, but I want to pick

out one particular aspect which this year is of special importance due to the recent publication of the findings of the Newsom Committee on the public schools. In doing this I am going to pick out two points from the resolution originally passed by our constituency party.

Firstly, we reject completely the concept of private education. (*Applause.*) To me this is a basic concept of socialism. Do not be fooled by the argument that people must be given the right to choose what education they want for their children. This is not a practical choice for the people of this country. At the moment 5 per cent of the population have the money to be able to choose. Do not be fooled, either, by the argument that we would be denying these people the best education. We would not.

No system which educates its members to the idea of their own superiority and keeps them sealed off from the realities of the world in which the remaining 95 per cent have to live can possibly be good education. (*Applause.*) Neither can it be said to be educating the leaders of the country. Leadership cannot be taught in isolation. It must arise from a knowledge and understanding of the whole society and its problems.

The second point I wish to stress is that we see no justification for subsidising these schools out of scarce resources. (*Applause.*) We have certainly heard this week that our resources are scarce and yet this document proposes to hand to these schools £12 million a year, and yet—and I quote—'they will remain independent'. In other words, we are prepared to prop up these crumbling establishments—and, believe me, there are only a handful that are not crumbling—in order to solve our problem of the growing need for boarding education.

This document proposes to pick out children with social needs and place them together with children who have been brought up all their lives to believe in their own superiority, and it hopes that this is going to decrease the social divisions. Unless I am a very poor judge of human nature this is more likely to increase these divisions between the fee-payers and the others.

No school that has been run on the lines of these mediaeval establishments can become socially progressive overnight and cope with the problems of a society from which they have deliberately remained aloof.

I therefore call on the N.E.C. to publicly state their opposition to this travesty of Socialist principles. We must make this decision now. We have already received overtures from the Headmasters' Conference.

They love it. They have even offered to set up and finance an organisation to help education authorities place children in their schools, providing the Government pays the fees. I ask you, can you find a greater condemnation of these proposals than that?

So I end by urging the N.E.C. to publicly reject the findings of this Commission, and I urge the Government to reconsider their priorities and the allocation of these scarce resources, too many of which seem to me to be going up in puffs of gunsmoke. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Christopher Price (*ex-officio* M.P., Birmingham Perry Barr): Madam Chairman, comrades, I am very pleased we have this resolution on the agenda calling for legislation on comprehensive education because up to a year or two ago the tide of local authorities going comprehensive was flowing very well and things were moving, but since the Tories have taken over so many local authorities this tide has turned itself into a trickle, and if we leave it any longer it will come to a dead halt. The time has now come for the Government to step in and say to cities like Birmingham, 'Get on with it, get on with reorganising your schools and get rid of the 11-plus and name a date for doing it'. (*Applause.*)

In this particular operation we have got everything on our side. In Birmingham both teachers' organisations—it is about the only thing they do agree about—both the N.U.T. and the National Association of Schoolmasters have come together and called on the Government to do something about making Birmingham go comprehensive. We have got the teachers on our side; I believe we have got the electorate on our side—and we have the public opinion polls to show this—more than in any other way in wanting to get rid of the 11-plus. If we did legislate it would be more popular legislation than almost anything we have done in these four years of power. So I hope very much we will get on with it quickly. (*Applause.*)

I just, however, want to say a word about the report of the Public Schools Commission. I do not think the particular solution the majority put forward is in fact workable but I do not think it deserves some of the criticism it has had here. If one wanted a compromise solution I think this was the best compromise solution one could have got. I think all the report proves is that in this particular situation a compromise solution is impossible, and therefore you have to decide if, like the delegate from Hitchin, you want to abolish the lot or if you believe, as I do, that, particularly at the moment, there are financial and other reasons which

make this almost impossible, when you have to take some other approach.

Now, the approach I would advocate would be this: let us have a policy in the Labour Government of overtly, positively discriminating against the public schools, squeezing the public schools. We do this in our development area policy by making some areas privileged areas, as against Birmingham which does not get any of these privileges because it already has—or has had in the past, it is not so true now—a certain amount of affluence. This is the attitude I would like to the public schools.

This means, very briefly, three things. First, we must take away their charitable status, as the Newsom Report recommends, straightaway. Secondly, we must ration their teachers like teachers in the rest of the State schools are rationed. (*Applause.*)

Lastly, we must take one other step which, I think, would bring them all to heel very quickly. We must say to them, 'You cannot pick and choose at the educational system, any more than you can at the health service. If you want a grant to go to university, you go to a State school to get one'. I think this would bring the public schools to heel very quickly. (*Applause.*)

Coun. P. Hartly (Thurrock C.L.P.): If you are going to have comprehensive education, you have got to provide the right kind of building. It is no use trying to put a comprehensive school for 1,000 or more children into a secondary modern building which held something like 600.

We in Thurrock, when we had a majority on the divisional executive—which we no longer have now—did, in fact, produce a plan for comprehensive education. Having a view to the fact of the economic situation, we did it as cheaply as possible. It meant building just one extra purpose-built comprehensive school and enlarging a grammar school. Both of those projects were cut out of the last building programme. How, in the name of the Lord, can we go comprehensive there?

Secondly, to go comprehensive you must have good and devoted teachers. As a retired teacher I shall say nothing about teachers' pay, because you might think I am biased, but it might be a thing worth considering somewhere at another time. But I would say this much. When educationalists talk about the future, they say something like this: Everything is going to be terribly exciting in education—which means, to my mind, that the teachers will have to work twice as hard as usual and get paid equally badly. However, that may be wrong, too;

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as I say, I am biased. But the thing you must do with your teachers is that you must trust them.

In Thurrock recently, a teacher who was teaching civic purposes was discussing local transport, and the children decided that the local transport was very difficult and wrong as far as they were concerned. So she said, 'What are we to do?' They said, 'Let us write to our M.P. Let us write to the Minister of Transport', which they did. The M.P. went to the Minister of Education, who wrote to the chief education officer, who wrote to the divisional education officer, who wrote to the school roundly condemning the teacher for doing something which, I think, was a very good thing. So we have got to trust our teachers.

The third point I would make is this. If you are to have good comprehensive education, you must have good infants' schools. How in the name of the Lord you can have good infants' schools in antiquated buildings with more than 40 in a class, I do not know. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I am sorry, comrades. I have indicated that I wanted to call more of you, but I must make this announcement. Time is moving quickly. We hoped to deal this afternoon with transport policy, Composite Resolution No. 3. The National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Salaried Staffs Association wish it to be announced to Conference that in view of the time factor, they have agreed to remit Composite Resolution No. 3 on transport. I should like to advise Conference that if the resolution had been debated, the National Executive Committee would have intimated its acceptance of the resolution. So we are very much indebted to our comrades for helping us with a very congested timetable. (*Applause.*)

For the same reason, in fair play, I must now ask Alice to reply.

Rt. Hon. Alice Bacon, M.P. (National Executive Committee): I know that there are many more people in this Conference who would have liked to have spoken on education. I did my bit to help by waiving my right to speak in the last debate. I will be as quick as I can because there are a lot of things I want to say and there is little time to say them.

I will deal first with Composite Resolution No. 1—the Education of Handicapped Children. The National Executive Committee accepts this resolution. We have for some years collected information in the Department of Education and Science from local authorities, including the numbers awaiting

admission to special schools, and these are published annually. There are waiting lists. I think that these waiting lists are too high, and we are doing everything we can to reduce them.

In recent years we have given high priority to building allocations for schools for handicapped children. Up to 1970/71 we have sanctioned buildings which will mean a further 21,000 places, but we know that more are needed.

With regard to the second part of the resolution about blind children, I think that the delegate who spoke on this had a point. Indeed, Ted Short recently decided, before this Conference, to set up a committee with terms of reference to consider the organisation of education services for the blind and to make recommendations. The chairman of this committee will be Professor Vernon.

I agree with so much of what the seconder of the resolution said. I will promise him that I will make sure that his organisation, the National League of the Blind and Disabled, are called upon to give evidence to that committee. (*Applause.*)

Composite Resolution No. 33 calls for an increase in, and more efficient use of, the gross national product applied to education services. In spite of all the talk we have had about cuts, this is just what the Government is doing. Public expenditure in education increased from £1,200 million in 1963/64 to £2,000 million last year. This next year, the figure will be £2,150 million. Allowing for the fact that costs have gone up, allowing for the fact that we have more children in our schools, this is still a very great advance from the figure spent in 1964.

As Roy Jenkins said the other day, in 1969/70, for the first time in the history of this country, we shall be spending more on education than we are on defence. If we look at the gross national product, we see that the share which education takes has gone up from 4.2 per cent in 1959/60 to 5.2 per cent in 1963/64 and to 6.1 per cent in 1967/68.

I think that this resolution has its priorities right. It also talks about more efficient use of this money—and this is important. We are looking at this, too, in order to see that we can get more efficient and more economical building for our schools.

In the last century, schools were built to last too long, and we have them with us today. We are building schools now quicker and more efficiently than ever before.

I believe that this resolution is absolutely right in the priorities which it makes. First of all, it says that our number one priority

should be play groups and nursery education. Last year, from this platform, I said that we could not see a very big expansion in this in the near future but that we would have some expansion.

The Plowden Committee calculated that to put into operation what it recommended would cost £160 million in capital expenditure, with running expenditure of £85 million a year. Obviously, in present circumstances, we cannot spend these amounts, but we have already decided, through the urban programme, to go ahead with some expansion of nursery education.

You will have seen that the Government has decided to have an urban programme to provide assistance for areas facing acute social problems. We were asked at the Department of Education and Science what we thought were the priorities as far as our department was concerned, and we had no hesitation whatsoever in saying that our number one priority in this would be the establishment of some nursery schools and nursery classes. So, in selected areas which are going to benefit from the urban programme we shall see an almost immediate progress in this respect. We hope later on—and we are considering this urgently in my department, and I know Ted Short himself is very keen on this and is sitting down here listening to this—as soon as economic circumstances permit to go ahead over and above this to a greater expansion of nursery education.

This resolution states next that we should rebuild outdated primary and secondary schools in deprived areas. We get an annual allocation for school buildings, and one of the things that we always have to do, rather unfortunately, is to put first the building of schools for new areas of population, and this has meant that the children in the slum areas have remained in the slum schools while the children who have moved to the new housing estates have also had brand new schools. Local authorities, however, have had to put this 'roofs overhead' as number one priority because we could not leave children without a school to go to.

However, this last year, for the first time the Government is spending money on the replacement of old schools in education priority areas. We said that we would allow £8 million this year and £8 million next year to replacing old buildings in areas where the children suffered a double deprivation of attending old schools and coming from deprived homes. This programme was announced in March and meant that 150 old schools in this country are at last going to be pulled down and replaced.

In all the talk about cuts and in all the criticism of the Government I think that we should have had some credit for the fact that when the January measures were announced we did not cut this £16 million out of our building programme, and we went ahead with this programme. We have had a little difficulty this year with the school-building programme because the Government decided to postpone the raising of the school-leaving age in order to save the school-building allocations for this purpose this year and next year.

But to hear some people talk you would think there was no school building going on at all. Even after the £30 million has been taken out of this year's programme, we are at the present time building more schools than ever before in our history. At the present time we are building schools to the value of £200 million. In 1963/64 the amount for school buildings allocated was £86 million for that year.

Despite having taken out the money for the raising of the school-leaving age, the figure has gone up to £129 million. In 1963/64 we started schools sufficient to provide 230,000 school places. This year we are starting schools which will provide over 400,000 new school places. This shows that we are going ahead with our school-building programme which is so essential.

I now come to comprehensive schools. Last year I gave to this Conference the numbers of local authorities who had had plans approved. Last year 97 local authorities had had plans for the whole or part of their area, and this year it is 114. Seventeen are under consideration by our Department. At the present time there are 18 local authorities who have not yet submitted a plan, plus a further seven who have told us that they are not going to submit a plan. But of the 18, a few were considering a plan.

This is only as far as plans are concerned, but every member of any local authority knows that it is not only the plans, it is the implementation of those plans. The plans are just a starting point, we have to get ahead with the plans that have been accepted.

I know it has been said from this rostrum that there are some local authorities who are deliberately going slow, and I also know that even where we have interim schemes, it means that those interim schemes are not fully comprehensive. But, having said this, I do so agree with the last speaker at this rostrum, that even those local authorities with the best plans sometimes find they cannot go ahead quite as quickly as they would like, because we cannot let them have all the school building money as quickly as they

would like it. I hope that when things become better, one of the priorities of the Government will be to allocate a certain sum of money to help local authorities with their comprehensive building plans.

I believe that the pressure from parents has in some places had a remarkable effect on local authorities' comprehensive plans. I have rather an amusing letter here, written to a local Tory M.P. by somebody who lives in a town on the South Coast. He is very indignant because that area is proposing to go comprehensive in one part of the town and not in the other part of the town.

He says, 'Those with sufficient means will remove to the comprehensive area. Advertisements have already appeared in local newspapers asking for houses within the comprehensive area.' This is in a South Coast town, and I am only giving that to illustrate that even in areas which are by no means Labour, there is on the part of parents the desire that their local authorities shall go comprehensive.

Mention has been made of the school leaving age. Nobody in the Government wanted to postpone the raising of the school leaving age, it was done reluctantly and with a heavy heart. But a pledge was given, and I want to repeat that pledge today, that the school leaving age will be raised in 1972/73.

But since the decision was taken to postpone the raising of the school leaving age, it has given us an opportunity to consider some of the allied problems, and we have been actively considering and having talks with the trade unions and with industry and the educational bodies on the possibility of introducing a single leaving date in the year. This would be so that all children get a full five-year secondary education without some leaving at Easter and others going on till the summer. We hope it will be possible soon to make an announcement about that.

Then we have been looking at the extra year. As the law stands at present, all children must do the whole of their full time education in a school—not in a further education college, but in a primary or a secondary school. It may be that the law should be changed so that some children in their last year could attend full time at a further educational college. We are looking at this because we believe it is very important. (*Applause.*) I think it is important both on educational and social grounds, and if we decide to go ahead with this it will mean legislation.

Composite 31 asks for a new Education Act. The Act of 1944, as has been said from this rostrum, is now 24 years old. It is clear that we do need a new Education Act, for

various reasons, but we want to await the report of the Royal Commission on Local Government. I am not in a position to say exactly when we can produce that Act or what it will say in it, but—and I want to emphasise this—it will certainly need to include a new definition of secondary education. That will, I think, meet the wishes of this Composite 31, which we accept.

Now I come to the Newsom Committee. I have been reading my previous Conference speeches on public schools. It always does to do that when you are speaking from this platform, and sometimes from the rostrum, too. I find them very consistent. Now we decided in 1961 that a part of our programme should be the setting up of a Royal Commission on the Public Schools. Now we have got it—the Newsom Report.

The Government has made no pronouncement about the Newsom Committee's Report. We have said we want to hear public opinion. But the National Executive Committee of this Party believes that this Conference and this movement is a large and important part of that public opinion (*Applause*) and in accepting this resolution the National Executive urges the Conference to come out against the Newsom Committee's Report. (*Loud applause.*) Now the Secretary of State knows what the opinion of this Conference is on that.

I just want to say one word about teachers. We have had to make adjustments this year, but the position about education has been grossly exaggerated during the past few months. A few weeks ago we were having exaggerated reports that this year hundreds of teachers would be coming out of colleges with no job to go to because of economy cuts. That is just not true.

It may be that there are some teachers who cannot get a job in the town in which they live, but there are still jobs to be had in the areas which need the teachers most. We have a quota system, a voluntary quota system, operated voluntarily by the local authorities and our great success in the supply of teachers is that this year for the first time areas like Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall have got all the teachers they need in their schools. They have not got empty classrooms as they had last May and June, but they have got the teachers that they need in order to carry on their schools.

I would have liked to have gone on further. My time is nearly up, but I do want to say this. I find at the Department of Education and Science that we have to spend a lot of time talking about bricks and mortar and receiving deputations from local authorities about building programmes. That is

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very important, but education is not just bricks and mortar, Madam Chairman. We should be most concerned about the kind of education that our children are getting and what goes on in the schools.

In the past a great deal of nonsense was talked about experiments in independent schools—if was said we must have a few independent schools because they are experimental. The most exciting experiments are going on today in the State primary schools. (*Applause.*) That is where most of the experiments are going on—new methods of teaching French, new mathematics, experience in imaginative and descriptive use of our own language, education through television, music and drama, as Jennie knows so well. The important people in education are the children and the teachers. The teachers are anxious and keen to adopt new methods.

There has been a most remarkable expansion of in-service training and what is also encouraging is the very great growth of parental interest in their children's education. We have more and more organisations now acting as pressure groups from the parents, and we welcome that.

Madam Chairman, this Conference cares about education. The Labour Government cares about education, and in spite of having had to go a little slower in some directions than we had hoped, there has been more progress during these last four years than ever before in the history of our country.

The Labour Government is the only Government which can be trusted to put the children first, and this we shall do. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Alice has brought us almost to the end of the afternoon in very good heart indeed. Thank you, Alice.

We still have votes to take. If you will turn to Composite 31 the N.E.C. recommendation is to accept. Those in favour? Those against? Accept? (*Agreed.*)

Composite 33. Agreed? Accepted.

Composite 1. All in favour? (*Agreed.*)

Thank you very much, Comrades.

Conference adjourned at 5.05 p.m.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3

MORNING SESSION

Conference reassembled at 9.30 a.m.

CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE REPORT

The Chairman: Comrades, I wish you good morning. I will call upon the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee to give his report.

Mr. G. Williams: (Chairman, Conference Arrangements Committee): Madam Chairman, comrades, the following resolutions have been remitted to the National Executive Committee: page 61 on the agenda: No. 198, the Alkali Act; page 76, No. 302, the New Towns Corporation; Composite Resolution No. 6, Employment of Upper Age Groups; Composite Resolution No. 14, Industrial Training. The delegates of Merton and Morden C.L.P. and the Isle of Ely C.L.P. are asked to meet the Standing Orders Committee at 10 o'clock this morning.

Mr. Bill Wells (*Ex-officio* Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, Wallasey): Point of order. The point of order I wish to raise is of grave concern to this Conference.

The Chairman: Are you an accredited delegate?

Mr. Wells: I am a prospective Parliamentary Candidate with credentials in my pocket. The issue I wish to raise —

The Chairman: You are still being queried. Are you a fully accredited delegate or *ex-officio*?

Mr. Wells: I have credentials in my pocket which are for an *ex-officio* member. May I say I hope an *ex-officio* member can raise a valid point of order at this Conference?

The Chairman: I am sorry, the Chairman must carry out the Constitution, you are out of order.

Mr. M. Christie (Epsom C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, I wish to raise a point on the report of the chairman which is that Rhodesia is the fourth item on this afternoon's agenda, and the last. Therefore, it might not be reached, and I would like to suggest that it be taken instead as the second item on this

afternoon's debate. In case this is not acceptable to the Conference Arrangements Committee, and I do hope that it will be, I would like to say that the report in this morning's *Times* that the composite resolution calls for force is utter and complete rubbish. I drafted that resolution, and therefore I know that this was not the intention of the resolution.

Mr. G. Williams: I do not think we ought to waste time with this. We dealt with the report yesterday, the items were enumerated and this Conference accepted our recommendation.

The Chairman: The quicker we get on to the main business, the more delegates will be able to express a point of view. Is the report accepted? (*Agreed.*) You now have in front of you the N.E.C. statement on Czechoslovakia which I formally move at this point, and we will go at once into the foreign policy and defence debate. I will call upon Composite 18 to be moved by Ebbw Vale and seconded by Croydon South.

FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENCE

Mr. R. Evans (Ebbw Vale C.L.P.) moved the following resolution (Composite No. 18):

This Conference urges the Government:

(a) to make a big cut-back in the strength of B.A.O.R. by halving our forces in Germany;

(b) to propose a European Conference of East and West aimed at the establishment of a European security system; which would lead to the winding-up of both the N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw military pacts.*

He said: Madam Chairman and comrades, I have been entrusted to move Composite 18 dealing with the Warsaw and N.A.T.O. pacts and the cut back in the British Army of the Rhine forces. The resolution proposes that the B.A.O.R. should be cut by half, and that a European Conference of East and West, aimed at the establishment of a European security system, be sought. This would lead to the winding up of both the N.A.T.O. and Warsaw pacts.

First, let me say that the parties responsible for this composite deplore and condemn the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet

*Resolution lost. See page 255

Union and the Warsaw Pact allies. I congratulate the National Executive Committee for organising the protest demonstration in London with such speed. I only wish they had displayed the same speed in the organisation of a demonstration against the bombing in Vietnam (*Applause*), and the rape of democracy in Greece.

The number of resolutions submitted on this subject indicates the interest in this question of European security. U Thant, commenting on the invasion of Czechoslovakia remarked, 'They are not dropping napalm bombs.' Therefore, far from diminishing the necessity for this resolution it makes it more imperative than ever. It is quite clear from the various statements coming out of Eastern Europe following the recent occupation of Czechoslovakia that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact allies were thinking in terms of military security. They were afraid of a weakened Warsaw Pact whilst N.A.T.O. exists in its present form.

Conversely, this is true of the N.A.T.O. countries: they are afraid of a strong Warsaw Pact, and as a result freedom in both East and West is held back and the great Powers are strengthened by the small Powers on both sides. The irony of the situation is that the allies of the great Powers become the first victims in the event of a major conflict breaking out. Therefore, Europe is caught in a vicious circle which this Labour Government must assist in breaking.

Caught in this vicious circle, expenditure continues to soar. The 50,000 British troops in West Germany cost this country each year £212 million. A *détente* in Europe must be reached. I remind those members of the Government that put forward a bigger and better N.A.T.O. as a solution to European security of the story of the alcoholic suffering from cirrhosis of the liver who was given a quart of whisky as a cure. Stepping up N.A.T.O. arms is self-defeating. The task of the Government is to give a lead to Europe. There must be no going back to the cold war days. We must do everything we can to come to agreement.

Nineteen sixty-nine is the date of renewal of N.A.T.O. It would be opportune to withdraw. However, the delicacy of this meal would be too much for men like Denis Healey to swallow. The first step, I would suggest, is halving the forces of the Army of the Rhine. For years we have talked about the Rapacki and Gaitskell Plans. Nothing prevents the folding up of both pacts. If we could go back to the phasing out of N.A.T.O. troops and a talk on the Warsaw Pact phas-

ing out, Europe would become a better place to live in.

I believe that the whole of the strategy of the Soviet Union of recent months has been based on fear—fear of West Germany becoming stronger and becoming a military threat, fear that West Germany would become a dominant partner in N.A.T.O. Therefore, let us remove the fears—whether they be fears of social security, fears of unemployment. But the uppermost in our minds if we are going to survive as a human race is the fear of being attacked by another nation.

Therefore, I suggest that we fold up the Warsaw and N.A.T.O. Pacts, halve the B.A.O.R. forces as a first step, and make a real contribution to world peace, at the same time removing the fears of the Soviet Union that they are going to be attacked by their neighbours.

Mr. E. Messer (Croydon South C.L.P.): I desire to second the resolution which in the first part speaks about B.A.O.R. and halving the forces in Germany. We are in a very severe economic position, having to spend money to defend a country we formerly defeated against an ally in the second world war, with West Germany still having designs on the lands that it lost at the end of that war to Poland and Russia (*Applause*)—wanting them back, this being a cause of tension. We cannot afford the money. America cannot, because she is spending so much in Vietnam.

This pact, the two alliances—it is crumbling. On the one side, France has no desire to be associated with N.A.T.O. On the other, Romania does not want this military alliance, Yugoslavia is independent, and Czechoslovakia wants to go its own way. The very fact of Russia having to dominate Czechoslovakia is not a sign of strength. I would not want an ally that I had to bully. That would be no source of strength and would be an indication that these alliances are not desired.

It was a Polish person, as referred to by the mover—the Polish Minister Rapacki—who wanted a European security pact. It was a Gaitskell idea and it can never come to fruition while there are these two opposing alliances. (*Applause.*) We all, as the mover said, opposed and had our opposition to Russian bullying of Czechoslovakia, but to the extent that we have not achieved any European security do we bear any responsibility for that having happened? If N.A.T.O. continues, does not this end the hopes of the Czechs securing their freedom? You bolt and bar the door. You will not get

Czechoslovakian freedom—and any Czech would tell you this—by building up an alliance against the Soviet Union. You will only encourage the hawks in the Kremlin if you do so.

I want to say that however much you felt—and I felt it deeply when I saw on the television what was happening in Czechoslovakia—the sincerity of how much you felt is borne out by whether you desire to end these opposing alliances. Russia bullied Czechoslovakia, and before she went in she informed America of what she was doing. This was her fear. After all, America, with her actions in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam, has forfeited any right to say anything at all about what has happened in Czechoslovakia. (*Applause.*)

When there was the demonstration in Trafalgar Square the young people, who often have the right ideas, went to the Russian Embassy and said, 'Russia out of Czechoslovakia. America out of Vietnam.' That has got to be the way. Europe at the moment is a powder magazine, a dangerous position. I hope that we can end these alliances, go back to the idea of the European agreement, and place our faith in the one international organisation, the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. M. Lawn (Epping C.L.P.): My point of order is to ask you, now that you have formally moved the statement from the N.E.C., at what stage during this debate you intend to take amendments to this Statement?

The Chairman: That is not a real point of order. The Conference Arrangements Committee have made a full agenda according to the constitution of the Party, and if you just wait it will be all made clear to you. At the moment you are holding up Conference business.

Mr. Lawn: Are you telling me you do not intend to take amendments?

The Chairman: There are no amendments, and you know it. Now we go on to Resolution No. 334, to be moved by Westbury Constituency Labour Party.

Mr. B. Gray (Westbury C.L.P.) moved Resolution No. 334:

This Conference calls upon the Government to rethink its foreign and defence policies.

It calls for a policy moving towards Britain as a neutral in world power politics

and suggests the following as a means of achieving this:

- (a) *Withdrawal from N.A.T.O. and other military pacts, and recognition of the German Democratic Republic;*
- (b) *withdrawal of all forces from West Germany and all other foreign bases (except those serving as a part of a United Nations Force);*
- (c) *stop making both nuclear weapons and their delivery systems;*
- (d) *pursue all channels to provide good and amicable relations with all countries (especially through the United Nations) and to increase our trade.**

He said: I stand here, Madam Chairman and comrades, as a humble representative of the thousands of people who have been drawn into our movement because they associate and identify socialism as a political expression of their Christian faith. (*Applause.*)

I am well aware that this Party is not a party of Christians, we embrace many faiths in the faith of socialism, but one of the roots of this Party was rooted in Christianity. You know, we became known rather as a party of principle, and perhaps if we begin to practise principles again, then perhaps, if the people of this country, young and old, see principles coming out of the ears of Cabinet Ministers, we shall start to pick up some votes again.

I am indebted to the young gentleman who introduced from the platform the Parliamentary Report—the one who impersonates John Bird (*Laughter*)—who said, in his speech, and I wrote it down, 'We have to do what is right simply because it is right.' I applauded that. Let us do what is right because it is right, not wait until it suddenly becomes right, in January, 1966 or 1968 or whenever. If it is right it is right.

The first thing our resolution calls upon this conference, and we hope at some date this Government, to do, is to re-think—and that is not just an idle word—to re-think and to move towards Britain being a neutral in world politics; a neutral so far as military ambitions are concerned, but not a neutral as far as Socialist principles and practices are concerned. We think this attitude is necessary before you can go to a conference and start asking for another side to disarm.

Withdrawal from N.A.T.O., we have heard about, and I will not dwell on. I agree with the previous resolution, but we cover more ground in this resolution.

Recognition of the German Democratic

*Resolution lost. See page 255

Republic. How the devil can they come in front of a conference table if you do not recognise them?

Withdrawal of all forces from foreign bases, unless they are part of a United Nations Force. (*Applause.*)

And when are we going to commit ourselves to the United Nations and say, 'When there is trouble you can rely on us, we will send you men', even if we happen to have caused the trouble?

Nuclear weapons, and their delivery systems. Hardly a mention this year. Have we changed that much now that we are making Polaris, now that we have accepted it?

Collective security, comrades. I call it collective insanity. There is only one form of collective security and that is the collective security of everybody saying, 'We will not take up weapons against our brothers in the world.' (*Applause.*)

I do not intend to stand here until the lights flash and waste everybody's time. I hope today that the conscience of this movement will be heard in all the debates, Rhodesia, Biafra, chemical warfare or whatever, and not the voice simply of expediency and 'Wait till the time when it is right'.

The choice is not an easy one, but it is simple in principle, and it is not a question of throwing away our security and living precariously as a neutral; it is a choice really as to how we want to live, under constant fear that one little spark will set off the end of this world, or adopt the attitude of the courageous Czechs, who stood in front of the tanks and opened their shirts and said, 'Fire!' That is the way to meet an aggressor. (*Laughter and applause.*)

When this decision is taken, be it now or in 100 years, it will take courage. I say this here, because I believe this movement has that courage. I beg to move.

Mr. T. Bennett (Mid-Beds C.L.P.): Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, I have never been to a conference before, so bear with me.

In seconding the resolution, I would like to speak on the European aspect. I want to express the strange desire for peace on the part of the ordinary people in Eastern and Western Europe, and to say that the rigid division of Europe, and the Western and Eastern armed camps has gone on far too long. The Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty stand in the way of any step to unify Europe, which at this time is the most dangerous continent on earth.

True, the tragedy of Czechoslovakia has given renewed vigour for the sabre rattling

militants to thrive on a situation of barely peaceful armed tension. But can we call on the bastion of freedom, such an organisation as N.A.T.O., which includes the dictatorship of Greece? Someone has to lead Europe to peace and unity, let Britain take the lead.

We call on the Government to leave N.A.T.O. in 1969, and take us to the road of peace.

The Chairman: Comrades, we now go on to the general debate, and I have much pleasure in extending an invitation from your N.E.C. to Michael Stewart, our Foreign Secretary, to address us at this point in the Conference. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. Michael Stewart, M.P. (Foreign Secretary): Mr. Chairman, comrades, at earlier stages in this conference we have discussed plans and policies to provide for the prosperity, the welfare, the dignity of our people in this country and of their children. We have asserted our right to make that provision in our own way through free institutions that the people of this country themselves have forged, and institutions which we want continuously to improve so as to give our people greater participation in the task of building their own way of life.

We have the right to do this, as every free people has the right, but the events in Czechoslovakia remind us sharply that this is not a right that can simply be taken for granted. For look, comrades, at the reasons for that piece of aggression.

There was, first, that the Soviet Union feared that the process which is called liberalisation in Czechoslovakia would be a threat to the stability of her own order of society. Now that is a sad confession that more than 50 years after the Russian revolution the Soviet Government still says that it must not only deny liberty of thought and expression to its own people, its own writers, its own thinkers, but to the people and writers and thinkers of its allies as well.

And the second reason given for that invasion was that it was necessary in the opinion of the Soviet Union to invade Czechoslovakia in order to provide for the security of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. But that security was for the people of Czechoslovakia to judge.

If the principle is accepted that one nation is able to say, 'I occupy your territory because I think it necessary to my security', no nation is safe.

And that was why this aggression was

condemned, not only by the countries nearest at hand, not only by N.A.T.O., not only by West Europe, but by the world speaking through the mouth of the Security Council.

But, as both the National Executive statement and the Resolutions that have been moved and seconded demonstrate, we are concerned in this debate not only with the immediate situation and with the present realities of defence which the Czechoslovak incident obliges us to examine: we are concerned beyond that, and in the long run more importantly than that, with the fashioning of future plans to make a safer world without the danger of an ever-widening rift between two power blocks.

And, comrades, if we are to get policy right, we have got to keep both those considerations in mind, and I shall endeavour to speak of both.

Now, when we speak of present defence, necessarily for us that means in the first instance N.A.T.O., and one of the issues put by the movers before Conference is, 'What should be Britain's attitude to N.A.T.O.?' What was the origin of that alliance? It did not spring suddenly out of nothing. It was not deliberately forged in order to threaten or provoke the Soviet Union. But the events went like this: in 1945 at our Party Conference here in Blackpool Ernie Bevin was speaking about the future of Europe after the war. He urged with great force that the peoples of Eastern Europe should be free to choose their own Governments.

He intended that message particularly to be listened to by the Soviet Union and in that context he urged his desire for a conference with the Soviet Union, as indeed there have been pleas for conferences now. And he said to the Russians in words that would be applicable today, 'round the table we must get, but do not present us with faits accomplis when we get there'.

That advice, given in 1945, was not followed. One after another the peoples of Eastern Europe had their form of Government chosen for them, until in 1948 the Stalinist yoke was imposed on Czechoslovakia as well.

It was from those circumstances that the North Atlantic alliance arose; and what is the nature of that alliance? Let us remember these facts about it. In no N.A.T.O. country are there any forces or weapons—any N.A.T.O. forces or weapons—except with the consent of the Government of that country. (*Applause.*) The example of France has been quoted, and that indeed demonstrates that every nation in N.A.T.O. can choose how much it will participate, much or little, in the work of the alliance; it can

make that choice for itself.

Further, we are discussing in this debate the merits and demerits of N.A.T.O. The merits or demerits of the Warsaw Pact cannot be openly discussed in the Soviet Union and now, by the Soviet Union's fiat, cannot be discussed in any of the members of that Pact either.

Now, those are striking differences between the two alliances: differences that must be borne in mind when people speak of two rival blocks.

And what have been the achievements of N.A.T.O.? It has protected its members. What did one of the speakers say? 'We must not go back to the cold war.' I fully agree with him. I agree, too, with the implication of what he said, that we have in the past 20 years been moving away from the cold war towards an easier situation, and those have been the 20 years in which N.A.T.O. has been in existence and in which it has been possible for the countries of the West to be more conciliatory, to be more ready to concede points in an argument, because they felt they were secure.

But look, comrades, at the map of Europe, and at all the countries on the western border of the Soviet Union. With two exceptions all of them have been reduced to some condition of more or less subservience to the Soviet Union, and the two exceptions are Norway at one end and Turkey at the other, and both of them are members of N.A.T.O. We are obliged, therefore, when we look at what has happened to Czechoslovakia, to ask the question, could it happen elsewhere? What prevents it happening elsewhere?

It has been suggested that the Executive statement ought to have divided the two issues (*shouts from the floor*) but, comrades, you can do that on paper, but can you do it in your thought and in reality? (*Applause.*) Is it possible to mention the invasion, even to think of it, without thinking in the same moment of what defence remains for ourselves and for the peoples of western Europe?

Nor can it be said that the existence of N.A.T.O. has increased tension. I was pointing out just now that by common consent the cold war has been relaxing in the last 20 years. There had been a long process from the extended trade with the Soviet Union, with which Harold Wilson had so much to do in the last Labour Government, through successive agreements, the state treaty that guaranteed Austria's independence, the test ban treaty, and now what is being done under this Government, the non-proliferation treaty, of which Fred Mulley was such a pioneer, and

the policies pursued by George Brown and myself at the Foreign Office of ever-increasing mutually civilising contacts between east and west; greater movements of people for commerce, for culture, for learning; cultural agreements, consular conventions, everything to normalise relations.

It was not only we who were pursuing those policies. There was the insistence of Mr. Harmel of Belgium that N.A.T.O. must see itself as an instrument of detente, of understanding, as well as defence. Reference has been made to the Federal Republic of Germany, but there also we see them pursuing a policy of getting on better terms with their neighbours in the east, with Czechoslovakia, with Yugoslavia, and in addition being ready on pragmatic, administrative, day-to-day matters to deal with the authorities in East Germany, and those approaches Czechs, Romanians, Yugoslavs have welcomed.

We must say this to the Soviet Union: 'We remember—who can forget?—your fearful sufferings in the war, but if Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs can resolve that the dark memory of past wrongs is not for ever to block the way to good relations with West Germany, if they can make that decision, is it impossible for the Soviet Union to reach the same conclusion?'

N.A.T.O., then, is a free alliance, defending its members and actually promoting the reduction of tension, and this aspect of it was brought out particularly when we had the meeting of N.A.T.O. ministers at Reykjavik, where a clear signal was given to the countries of the Warsaw Pact: 'We in N.A.T.O. are making the plans for a viable, practicable form of mutual force reductions in Europe. If you in the Warsaw Pact are prepared to talk to us about this, you will find us ready.'

One speaker mentioned the desirability of phasing out the military forces. I agree entirely, if that process is carried out on both sides. It is N.A.T.O.—and in N.A.T.O. it has been Britain—who have pressed that N.A.T.O. should make clear beyond doubt its willingness for mutual force reductions.

What I have said about N.A.T.O.'s function as an instrument of better understanding is very relevant to the proposal for a European security system which could swallow up those alliances. Now, what would such a system mean? It would mean that every country in Europe, East or West, could feel certain that if it were attacked, all the other European countries would come to its assistance. The suggestion is that, relying on that, they should wind up their existing alliances.

It is quite possible to see Europe going this way, but there is one great problem to be got over first. We could not now, particularly after Czechoslovakia, turn to the nations of Western Europe and say, 'Give up the security you have had from N.A.T.O. for the last 20 years and entrust yourself to something which depends on the policies and good intentions of the Soviet Union.'

It is not yet possible to ask that question without getting a 'No' from every country in Western Europe, for, as the statement says, in a somewhat different but similar context, 'Success'—and, I would say, success in getting one day a European system—'will depend to a large part on a return to conditions where trust and detente could once more have some meaning.'

It is open to the Soviet Union to take steps that would restore that trust. They could heed the wise words in their own disarmament memorandum about the independent rights of all States. There is also a reference in that memorandum to not having the troops of one State on the territory of another. These are words worth pondering.

It is obvious enough what action the Soviet Union could take if it wishes to restore the trust and resume the encouraging, promising process of relaxation, detente, opportunity for mutual force reductions, on which for the time being they have closed the door.

I mentioned just now disarmament. I think it is clear from what I have argued so far that we cannot simply throw away armaments and defences without regard to what is happening elsewhere. But looking to the future of the world, we must work for agreed disarmament. It is a long road from the first draft of any disarmament agreement to a workable treaty that can be signed with confidence; and because it is a long road, it is important to start early.

This Government can say with truth, 'This is what we have done.' We played a large part, particularly as a kind of interpreter between the super-powers and the non-nuclear countries, in getting the non-proliferation treaty into existence. We recognise that if that treaty is to have real meaning it must be followed up by a reduction in the immense mass of nuclear weapons in the hands of those countries that do possess them, and we have made that view very clear.

We have gone on now to other proposals, to a proposal for a comprehensive test ban treaty containing procedures which do, I think, find a way of solving this very difficult question of how you verify and

inspect and ensure that a treaty, once signed, is carried out. We have put forward proposals for dealing with the menace of biological warfare and proposals for a study on the similar problem of chemical warfare. It would be fair to say that the decided bulk of the ideas now being before the Disarmament Conference in Geneva have a British origin. (*Applause.*) And we shall press on too with the work for conciliation because defence and conciliation have got to be the pillars of policy in many other fields which would go wider than the scope of this debate.

I have in mind what we are doing and shall continue to do in the subject on which George Brown spoke yesterday—aid and trading arrangements to help the poorer sections of mankind; what we are doing steadily to foster and improve relations between the nations of the Commonwealth; our continued support of the authority of the United Nations and our readiness to go on contributing to some United Nations peace-keeping forces which are already in existence; and we still stand by the pledge we have made that we have earmarked certain forces which would be available for a United Nations peace-keeping force if the need arises and the authority of the United Nations is forthcoming.

One of the speakers suggested we might do just that. We have done it, I admit, on an entirely modest scale, but we are the only country yet that has made such an offer. It is not we who are lagging behind in trying to get the world away from dangers, rifts and suspicions towards a world order.

So much turns, then, on whether the Soviet Union will even now take the action which will restore trust. I have tried to set before Conference the record that N.A.T.O. is necessary at present to our security, that it has helped us in getting the relaxation we have got, that there was bright promise of further relaxation all wantonly checked and frozen for the time being.

Why is it so difficult to have this trust between East and West? One reason, we know, is the conflict of faiths, of ideologies, between those two parts of the world, and it is frequent for those who follow one faith or another to hurl recriminations at their rivals. Communist speakers always point out the social evils in a country like ours, social evils that still exist, but they sometimes point out quite a number that ceased to exist fifty or a hundred years ago. We in turn do not hesitate to assert our detestation of the Communist rejection of liberty. I believe, however, that it would be a great oversimplification to see this rivalry of

faiths in the world as a simple conflict of the virtuous and the wicked.

However inept, however evil some of the people who profess both of those faiths may be, however encrusted with bigotry both those faiths themselves are, yet within each there is a vital element that answers the fundamental need of the human spirit.

We assert the right of the individual to speak his own mind, to think his own thoughts, to choose his own government. We assert those not only as rights, but because they are essential to human progress. (*Applause.*)

What I have called the vital element in communism is, I believe, the protest against injustice, against backwardness and against that perversion of liberty which says that the individual may pursue his own interest with no regard for his fellows. (*Applause.*)

Is it possible for human beings to construct a society which will combine both those vital elements, will combine both justice and liberty? We believe that it is possible. It will not be easy, it will not be achieved merely by throwing away our defences. One comrade said that the way the Czechs met the aggression was the right way to meet an aggression. It was the right way for them in their terrible circumstances, but if all mankind were ever in a position where that were the only way it could meet aggression, then all our talks about policies and parliaments and how we will make up our own way of life goes down the wind.

We have to affirm, in our words and our policies that we do believe that in the end the reconciliation of justice and liberty is possible, and we must say to those who stand on the other side: the road of aggression is barred, but the door to conciliation is open. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Trevor Park, M.P. (Transport and General Workers' Union): My Union yields to none in its condemnation of the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia. It is an action which has outraged the conscience, not only of the Western nations, but of neutral countries and a large part of the Communist world as well. It is an action which will set back the international reputation and the credit of the Soviet Union for many years.

We believe that Dubcek and Svoboda in Czechoslovakia represent the legitimate aspirations of the Czechoslovak people and we would have wished that this morning from this Conference a unanimous message of solidarity and support could have gone out to them. (*Applause.*) All that would have been needed was a simple resolution con-

demning the Soviet action and demanding the withdrawal of Russian troops. (*Applause.*) We have been denied that opportunity. Instead, the N.E.C. has presented us with a statement which is not basically about Czechoslovakia at all. (*Applause.*) Neither, indeed, was the speech that Michael Stewart has just made. The statement and the speech were both about N.A.T.O. and European defence. They sought in fact to exploit the Czech tragedy in the interests of perpetuating the very state of affairs which enabled it to come into existence. (*Applause.*)

It has been the domination of Europe by rival military alliances which has brought about the position where the destruction of freedom in Czechoslovakia could take place. It has been the supremacy of military over political factors which has made a settlement in Europe for so long difficult to attain.

Michael Stewart talked about the N.A.T.O. Pact guaranteeing freedom. It has not done much to guarantee freedom for the people in Greece. (*Applause.*) Small nations lose their freedom; small nations lose their sovereignty and their independence of action in a world and in a continent which is dominated by nuclear giants. If we really want to help the Czechs, then we should be talking, not of building up N.A.T.O., but of negotiating with the Eastern countries to secure the dissolution both of N.A.T.O. and of the Warsaw Pact alike. (*Applause.*)

If we really want to get the Soviet troops out of Prague, then we really ought to stop urging the build-up of Western forces in Berlin and in Bavaria. If we really want to get a situation where people can have freedom, can have security, can have independence, then we really have to break away from this attitude that the peace of the world depends on preparing for war and depends on building up even more the destructive alliances which have produced the balance of terror. (*Applause.*)

It is no good pretending that if the dagger is emblazoned with the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes it is wielded in the cause of freedom, but if it bears the banner of the hammer and sickle then it becomes wielded as an act of aggression. (*Applause.*)

These are double standards which this Conference ought not to be prepared for one moment to tolerate. Our aim as a Labour Government and as a Labour Party ought to be to get the daggers back in their sheaths. We do not want any more Czechoslovakias, but we do not want any more Vietnams and we do not want any more Suezes either. (*Applause.*)

Let this Conference, in the interests of socialism, in the interests of freedom and

democracy, speak with the voice of sincerity this morning. Let it do so by rejecting the National Executive Statement which has been put before us and by voting, instead, for Composite No. 18, which does offer the real way forward which this Government and this Party ought to be supporting. (*Applause.*)

Mr. John Fraser (*ex-officio* M.P., Lambeth Norwood): I support, as I think we must if we have any sense at all, the executive's condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. We do it, first, because, irrespective of N.A.T.O. or irrespective of its context in European affairs, it was the wrong thing for the Russians to have done, and we condemn it if for no reason other than that. We also, I think, condemn it in a feeling of frustration, knowing that thirty years ago the Tories of Munich abandoned the people of Czechoslovakia, just as the Tories of today would abandon the people of Rhodesia. We condemn it as well because it does break that trust which we were gradually building up in Europe.

I think there is no need to discuss N.A.T.O. in the context of Czechoslovakia—why cannot we condemn it as it stands?—but it is there and we cannot close our eyes to the problems of European security. If one looks only at the mechanics of the Russian invasion, one must take a look at our own defence and it is right for us to be realistic and discuss the implications of N.A.T.O.

But we ought not, in endorsing the idea of collective security, to accept N.A.T.O. as it stands. The executive statement talks about political responses being sharpened inside N.A.T.O. Let us remember that there are not only tanks rolling through the streets of Prague, suppressing freedom. There are also tanks going through the streets of Athens and there are also cohorts of secret police suppressing freedom in Portugal and in Greece.

We have had, even in Salonika, members of the Greek forces under the guise of a N.A.T.O. operation, acting as the knockers-up in a fraudulent plebiscite, and let me give all praise to the National Executive for the statement they issued on the Greek Constitution. Even some of our own people get taken in by the duplicity of these plebiscites and constitutions. It is not a constitution worthy of the name.

These are countries—Portugal, whose actions in Africa make Ian Smith look like a Victorian missionary—Portugal and Greece, both members of N.A.T.O., and if we stand for anything we must stand for the

statutes of N.A.T.O. itself, the preservation of freedom, democracy and the rule of law, and we must follow politically the response of the Council of Europe and act collectively with our Western European allies to prevent the suppression of freedom and to develop free institutions in these two countries.

It is possible, if we do it collectively—it is no good individually making our protests to Lisbon and to Athens, that is not enough—we must act collectively because inside our Western system of security we have the power to do this; we have the power to cut off military aid if we act collectively, and it can have results. And if we do that, we shall then demonstrate our credentials, we shall demonstrate our faith in free institutions, and we shall do something to improve the trust and confidence which has been so severely ruptured by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. A. Balfe (St. Marylebone C.L.P.): The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, as we all know, was a ruthless putting down of democratic socialism. I put it to you that the linking of N.A.T.O. and Czechoslovakia in the N.E.C. document, in a way which prevents us condemning Russia without endorsing N.A.T.O., was also a ruthless putting down of democratic Socialism. (*Applause.*)

Michael Stewart, in his speech, has already said that one of the major reasons for the formation of N.A.T.O. was the putting down again of democracy in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Let us not be panicked by the events of the last few months into repeating our former mistakes and entering another 20-year period of cold war.

It has also been said by Michael Stewart that N.A.T.O. is a defensive pact. I wonder what it really defends. If we look round Europe we find it defends some of the most rotten nations in Europe. It is based, I would say, on the defence of private capitalism, its values, its elites and its power structures. It is not based on the defence of a working man or any other man, unless he has property. (*Applause.*) And the Warsaw Pact was set up as its foil not as its foe. It looks the same from the other side as it does to some people on this side; they think we are going to invade them.

Next year N.A.T.O. comes up for renewal, and if we wish, and if we want to do the right thing, we can withdraw. No one will be let down, no Treaty or Agreement will be broken and no honour will be lost.

I would ask the Government to approach

its co-partners in N.A.T.O. and inform them that Britain wants to negotiate immediately with the Warsaw Pact to ease the level of tension in Europe, and that Britain will not join any new military alliance unless three conditions are satisfied. First, all American troops must return home. The battalions of the American military juggernaut must be sent packing from Europe for ever. There must be an end to the German commitments. Twenty years after the war Germany is still an occupied state. All troops should leave Germany, on condition that she agrees to accept her present borders. It is high time that the British army on the Rhine came home.

Finally, any security pact in the future in Europe must cover both Eastern and Western nations. If our comrades in N.A.T.O. will not agree to our proposals I say we would be better off on our own. We should, if necessary, extend our membership of N.A.T.O. until the next election, but then let the people decide. It is not a matter of defence but of subservience. We must reject N.A.T.O. and hold our head up high in the world. Our decisions must be made on moral principles of right and wrong, not on altruistic principles of gain or loss. The corner stone of Britain's defence policy should be the U.N. Charter, not regional petty defence pacts.

I appeal to the conference to support Resolution Number 334 and all it implies and to pass it and for the Government to enact and put into action what is in it.

Mr. Alan Lee Williams (*ex-officio* M.P., Hornchurch): Comrade Chairman, I think it was a great pity this morning that when Trevor Park spoke he drew such a sharp distinction between condemning the action of the Russians in Czechoslovakia and failed to draw attention to the consequences it has in a world context, and I think it would be extremely dangerous to assume that there are no repercussions here that have a profound influence on Europe and on the world. There is no doubt at all that the Czechoslovak people themselves see this Russian action in terms of a world setting, and the lack of power of the N.A.T.O. powers to be able to say to the Russians, 'This far and no further' has no doubt contributed to the fight that the Czechoslovak people are determined to continue.

It would be extremely dangerous to assume that there cannot be further Russian threats of this kind. One would hope that with the North Atlantic Treaty Conference in Reykjavik, which was already mentioned,

when there was a beginning of an understanding between the Russians and the N.A.T.O. powers, the Warsaw Pact and the N.A.T.O. powers moving towards detente, it is my profound belief that N.A.T.O. can be an instrument towards arms control and eventually towards disarmament.

As the Foreign Secretary has already pointed out, in the last 20 years we have had stability in Europe, uneasy stability, but the stability has been there. So, therefore, we have to draw the conclusion that we must be persistent in pursuing a detente. I do not agree with those who say that the detente is completely finished; it has been dealt a severe blow, but I am convinced that our Foreign Secretary will continue with his persistent diplomacy. But, at the same time, it would be a great shame if this Conference of democratic Socialists were in any way to try and mitigate the Russian rape of Czechoslovakia, because that is what it is.

Therefore, I would say that although the balance of power has not been drastically altered; there is no doubt that we have to be on our defence and on our guard, and the watchword should be, if I may finish with a quotation from John Kennedy, 'We must never negotiate out of fear, but we must never fear to negotiate.'

Mr. Stan Orme, M.P. (Salford West C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, this debate in this hall this morning is of consequence not only to Britain but throughout the world, and our message should have gone clear and loud and unanimous in condemning the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia.

It is an absolute tragedy, in fact it is criminal, that the executive should blur the issue in the manner in which they have done. (*Applause.*) It is absolutely disastrous that *Pravda* will be able to show there is a division and perhaps not report the full facts of this Hall at the present moment.

I was in Prague in the late spring of this year. When I was there I had discussions with many leaders of Czechoslovakia, including the recent Foreign Secretary, Mr. Hajik, and Mr. Pelikan, the Director of Television, and one could feel the new mood that was taking place. They were bringing down the shackles that had existed. They were removing censorship. They were developing a free trade union movement. They wanted to make Parliament a reality.

The students were discussing politics, and if the Soviet Union cannot stand the removal of censorship, I think this is an absolute disgrace. And whilst at the present time there is a feeling in the world that unfortunately the forces on one side of Breznev and on the

other side of Johnson and Nixon are in the supremacy, I believe that the new feeling that exists in the world, not only in the under-developed countries but in the Western Nations as well, that the young people of today will create a better world tomorrow will go through all barriers.

And Michael Stewart said this morning, quite rightly, 'we stand for a country to elect its own Government in free elections'. When is he going to say that about Vietnam? (*Applause.*) There are double standards being used, and we must clear them away, and, in actual fact, that we this morning, in a democratic Party, have been denied the right of universal condemnation of the Soviet intervention, I believe must be resisted by this Conference.

I would suggest to you that if we defeat the executive special statement that has been put before us, we could then adopt an emergency resolution unanimously on Czechoslovakia.

I believe it is the division into blocks, into spheres of influence, into regional pacts, that the Soviet Union says, 'We will do what we want in ours: you do what you want in yours.'

This solidifying of the situation in international affairs is not leading to the detente: it is leading to the build-up of tension and forces, as we see at the present time.

Therefore, I believe that we have got to take a fresh look at this situation. I believe that we can come to some arrangement, as difficult as it is, in Europe for a European security agreement. If there had been such an agreement at the present time over which all the nations in Europe were committed, this action in Czechoslovakia would not have taken place. It is not easy. It will need negotiations, but it will have to be done.

I feel the message should go out from this Conference that the Labour Party wants to see the development of security, of peace, and a world where we can live with one another.

But it will not be done in the manner in which the National Executive suggest, and I would say to you, 'Tell them to take this statement back.' Let us have a clear statement on democracy and the right of the Czechoslovakian people. At least we should demand that. I urge Conference to adopt that proposal. (*Applause.*)

Mr. H. Chapman (Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union): I do not agree, Madam Chairman, with the last speaker, who said that the N.E.C. had blurred the issues on this matter. I think that the N.E.C. has in fact directed its attention to the realities

of the situation. And to those who are objecting to the N.E.C. linking N.A.T.O. with the situation in Czechoslovakia, I would direct attention to last year's Parliamentary Report, and I am going to quote.

It says: 'The security of Britain still depends above all on the prevention of war in Europe. Our contribution to the alliance will remain broadly on the same scale as at present.' Now that statement was accepted by last year's Conference, and I think that the invasion of Czechoslovakia has underlined that position and has made it more essential that our contribution to N.A.T.O. should remain at the present level.

I would remind some of the delegates here who were delegates to the Trades Union Congress that Fred Hayday, in introducing the statement on Czechoslovakia, said that this was a return to Stalinism, and I agree with him. It was a return to Stalinism. The delegate from Norwood made reference to something that happened 30 years ago under the Tory Government, and I want to make reference to something also that happened 30 years ago under Stalinism.

The U.S.S.R. just prior to the Second World War concluded a non-aggression pact with Hitler, concluded a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. That facilitated the prosecution of the Second World War. It led to the second Great Fire of London. It led to the blitzing of many of our great cities. And yet there were elements in our Movement at that time who were demanding that we should take action, that the Executive should take action, to stop the War. But a few months later, when the Nazis invaded Russia, the same elements came out with a battle-cry, and what was the battle-cry? Do you remember? 'Open the second front now.' It is my belief, Madam Chairman, that this demand that we should withdraw from N.A.T.O. emanates from the same source that produced the slogans 'Stop the war' and then a few months later 'Open the second front now'. (*Applause.*)

Now, my organisation has always supported the policy of collective security, and we will continue to do so because we believe that the freedom of Britain and the attainment of our political objectives depends on collective security. I support the Executive statement. (*Applause.*)

Mr. K. Dickinson (Paddington North C.L.P.): I think this debate is extremely important from the point of view of the forces at play in Czechoslovakia and also in relation to N.A.T.O. The one thing I would agree with the last speaker on is that they are directly linked, and the reason they are

directly linked, comrades, is because this document which has been presented by the N.E.C. is clearly lacking in any working class content or working class interest whatsoever.

I say this purely and simply for these reasons: that first of all the Czechoslovak invasion by Russia was one which resulted from the fear of the Russian leaders of the spread of liberalism, of the spread of an independence of the working class in Czechoslovakia spreading to Russia. There were already complaints from the various secretaries of the communist parties in various states of this liberalism catching on in their states, and they did not want any of that. That is why they had to intervene in Czechoslovakia at that stage.

The position, then, is this: in Europe as a whole it has been admitted by the West Germans themselves, with the relationship of forces that are stationed on the various sides of the Iron Curtain—if you like to call it that still—that the Russians could walk through Europe in two weeks. That was demonstrated very well by the intervention in Czechoslovakia itself, where they intervened overnight without any real reaction. This has been admitted by the American forces themselves, so what are the N.A.T.O. forces in Europe for?

As was demonstrated in the Belgian strike, these forces were so much needed to protect the west that the Belgian commitment was immediately released in order to intervene and put down the Belgian workers. Likewise, if France had still been associated with N.A.T.O. the situation would have been the same in the general strike in France, and elsewhere in the capitalist countries. Our allies, which are referred to in this document, it so happens are all the capitalist powers throughout the world. The working class has no say in the policies of this particular body.

We require world unity, comrades. Everyone in this Conference requires world unity, unity between the working class of the world. We recognise that the only force for Socialism, the only force for peace in this world, are the ordinary working people of this world. We do not condemn the Germans as a militaristic race. As far as we are concerned we know the struggle that they had against Hitler coming to power. We know the sacrifices that the Labour movement took in Germany before he came to power. We must stand clearly on our internationalist policies, comrades.

As far as this is concerned, we know also who it is that represents these countries in the United Nations. We know the situation there: the United Nations, as with the League

of Nations before it, has never settled any major dispute throughout the world. It has intervened in minor disputes, it may have solved the problems there, but basically it comes down to a power structure where the leaders of the various capitalist powers—unfortunately our leaders here have got embroiled in that—and those of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc are represented at the United Nations.

So let us be clear, comrades, we must be clear about how we support and why we support all these bodies. As far as we are concerned there is nothing more appealing to the working class of the world than a clear socialist lead, than a clear socialist democracy, and this is of course what the Soviet bureaucracy rejected. So far as we are concerned, comrades, if we are to be clear about this issue—unfortunately we did not have the full discussion we wanted—I would recommend inevitably in these circumstances we have to reject this document. We have been presented with no alternative.

Mr. Donald Coleman (*ex-officio* M.P., Neath): Madam Chairman, comrades and friends, the events that have taken place since 21 August in Czechoslovakia fill us with dismay and disappointment, for they seriously undermine the patient work of years to achieve understanding and co-operation between East and West. To countless ordinary men and women whom we here seek to represent it would seem that at last the ideological differences which had for so long divided the people of East and West were being put aside, and in their place a spirit of co-operation for the good of mankind was being brought about.

These, then, comrades, were the hopes and ambitions of men and women of goodwill in all parts of the world, and what Conference today is raising its voice against is the callous and contemptuous disregard of the hopes and ambitions of the many by the few who exercised their powers, an exercise of power which once again brought agony, the agony of invasion and occupation to the people of Czechoslovakia.

We here is this Conference can find no justification at all for the aggressive action that has been taken against the Czechoslovak people, and we fail to understand the motivation of the leaders whose decision it was that this aggression should come about. Was this aggression conceived as a means of impressing upon the world the might and the power which the Soviet leaders have at their command? Surely not, because the achievements of the Soviet Union in the

fields of science and technology, along with their ability to overcome the economic problems which confront a modern nation, are indeed sufficient to convince and to illustrate to us their ability, their power and their might.

The present generation of Soviet leaders in the past have condemned the oppression of their people which took place under the Stalinist regime. They did this because they realised that this oppression prevented progress being made by their people. Today it is they who have become the impediment to the progress of their people, for the logical consequence of their achievements in science and technology and in the field of economics is that they proceed to permit individual freedom in thought and expression, because without this the achievements in the other fields will undoubtedly pale and fade away.

These leaders, who have proved their ability, must have been aware that upon their heads would fall the condemnation of the world because of their foolish policy of aggression. The reaction of the Soviet people, too, was something which was quite predictable, for have we not seen the bearing and the courage of these people in the face of aggression before? Their action has permitted the voice of reaction again to be raised in the world, to demand that we put our sense of trust, our faith, in military alliances and in once again bringing about the situation of the Cold War.

Comrades, this Conference must support its Government which rejects such motivation and thinking. This Conference must pass the N.E.C. statement because it says not only are we sure that we have to put the safety of our people in the front of our thoughts, but also we must ensure that the breaking of cultural contacts between men and women which have been built up over the years are continued. Comrades, our document speaks of this; our document tells us of this. If we fail to accept our responsibility today we shall never, never, be forgiven. (*Applause.*)

Mr. T. Ward (Romford C.L.P.): I do not want to say too much about Mr. Palmerton's speech—sorry, it is Stewart now, but the same policies.

N.A.T.O. is free, O.K. It is so free we now have an ex-Nazi in charge of the N.A.T.O. forces in Europe. Michael Stewart talks about helping the poor nations of this world. I suppose this means under the Labour Government that we sell jet fighters to Peru, a country that has not got a trade union movement but has got a nice big air force in case the workers should want a

trade union movement. Is this social democracy?

We all deplore the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. For those members of the Government who are so vociferous in their denunciation of the Russian imperialistic invasion of Czechoslovakia to refuse to denounce also the American invasion of Vietnam is sheer hypocrisy. If you are going to be a consistent socialist, you must denounce not only imperialist acts by the Americans, but also by the Russians, and *vice versa*. You cannot have it both ways. You cannot be an international socialist condemning imperialism by the Russians but not condemning it by the Americans.

When I was in Czechoslovakia a couple of years ago, I was deeply moved and convinced by the Czech people, both old and young, that they had a tremendous fear of Germany. We see now in Germany that the Nazi Party is starting up again. So far, it has only got small electoral support, but what is going to happen if they have the kind of situation—the slump—which they had in the 1930s? This was how Hitler rose to power. He did not have a mass base to start with.

The fears of the Czechs as far as Germany is concerned are not going to be alleviated by increasing the N.A.T.O. forces. Quite the contrary, in fact. This will only drive them deeper into the Soviet camp.

Recently, the Czech Government asked the British Government to repudiate the Munich Agreement of 1938, which recognised larger borders for Germany. This the British Government refused to do. It is full of pious words when it comes to denouncing the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, but when the Czechs want some kind of commitment other than just a few words, we do not get it; this Government refuse it.

A stronger N.A.T.O. would mean that more and more British troops are committed to N.A.T.O. We have seen during the past year or two that the Americans have withdrawn tens of thousands of troops to go to Vietnam. Senator Mike Mansfield, leader of the Senate, has been calling for a large reduction in the American forces in N.A.T.O. This means that they want the British to do more. If we enlarge our commitment to N.A.T.O., it means that indirectly we are involved in the war in Vietnam, because we are supporting N.A.T.O. with large numbers of troops when the Americans cannot do it because they are so committed in Vietnam.

I would say that we must support the Czechs, but we must also support the Vietnamese people and any other people who are fighting for their liberation. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, comrade. If we are to keep to the time-table, I must now call upon Walter Padley to reply.

Mr. Walter Padley, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Comrade Chairman and fellow delegates. In view of the statement made by the Foreign Secretary, I shall content myself with replying to the specific points that have been raised in the debate.

First, it is clear that every speaker and every delegate condemns the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. (*Applause.*) It would have been easy for the N.E.C. to have come to this Conference with a single-sentence resolution of condemnation of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, but on the agenda there were a dozen resolutions relating to European security and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. It was, therefore, necessary for the N.E.C. to put before you a considered statement on Czechoslovakia and on the whole question of the security of the small and large nations of Europe.

Trevor Park at the rostrum said that it was the military alliances, the division of Europe into N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact, that were destroying liberty in Europe. Trevor, that is not the sad history of the post-war world. N.A.T.O. did not come into existence except as a response to the establishment of Communist dictatorships in countries with 90 million people. N.A.T.O. did not come into existence until after the Berlin airlift, until after the Czech *coup d'etat* in 1948. We are a Labour Party Conference. Let us remember the Czech *coup d'etat* that established the dictatorship in 1948.

The Czech Social Democrats were meeting in conference, as we are today, surrounded by armed forces. They were coerced into accepting unity with the dominant Communist Party. Therefore, it is fair to say that N.A.T.O. came into existence as a response to pressure in order to defend democracy and liberty in European countries.

References have been made to invasions and about the possible aggressive intentions of N.A.T.O. But since N.A.T.O. was created, since the Warsaw Pact was created, what invasions have there been? Only invasions of members of the Warsaw Pact by the forces of the Warsaw Pact—in Eastern Germany, in Hungary and, most recently, in Czechoslovakia.

Reference was made to Greece. I yield to none in denouncing the military dictatorship in Greece. Your National Executive carried out your decision of last year, and Joan Lestor spoke at a great mass meeting

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of protest in Trafalgar Square. But I would remind you that brutal though the dictatorship in Greece may be, they are Greek tanks that are rolling through the streets of Athens, and not British. This is a point of some validity.

Reference was also made to the French position. When France decided to remain within the Alliance but not to have forces on her soil, there was no invasion of France by the other members of the N.A.T.O. pact. France was allowed to continue to contribute what she herself determined to the security envisaged by the founders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Ron Evans, when he spoke, and the last speaker at the rostrum, referred to the fear that Germany might become the dominant Power on the continent of Europe. Well, my friends, the last speaker at the rostrum was right. The Czech fear in recent weeks has been of the political power, as well as the military power, of Eastern Germany, in the Warsaw Pact. That is the reality of history.

Moreover, do you really think that at this moment in time, with the growth of the N.P.D. at the same time as the Czech crisis, to withdraw half the British forces from Germany makes economic or political sense? (*Cries of 'Yes.'*) Well, my friends, the Government, on economic grounds, did decide to redeploy some five thousand troops, but to withdraw half of Britain's troop commitment to N.A.T.O. at this moment would, in my judgement, be a disaster so far as the future of Europe is concerned.

I end, Madam Chairman (*Applause.*)—I am glad you approve of my taking less than the normal 20 minutes—on this note. Since 1949 this Conference, year in, year out, has supported the N.A.T.O. policy by a large majority. This Party has fought every General Election since 1950 on the policy of collective defence through N.A.T.O. I ask you therefore to reject proposition 18 which has been composited, and Resolution 334, and to carry the N.E.C. statement condemning Russian aggression in Czechoslovakia, but reaffirming our belief in freedom and democracy and in the N.A.T.O. organisation. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I assume from the reaction of Conference to the N.E.C. statement on Czechoslovakia that you want a card vote. (*Cries of Yes.*) The N.E.C. recommendation is that we approve the statement on Czechoslovakia, and you are now asked to move to card vote No. 6.

Card vote result:

For 3,387,000.

Against 2,435,000.

The Chairman: We now move to Composite 18, and the N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose. (*Cries of 'Card vote.'*) We will now take card vote No. 7.

Card vote result:

For 2,828,000.

Against 2,991,000.

The Chairman: We now go on to Resolution 334. The N.E.C. recommendation is to oppose. (*Card vote No. 8.*)

Result:

For 2,355,000.

Against 3,582,000.

The Chairman: As you can see, the N.E.C. recommendation has been approved and Composites 18 and 334 opposed.

I would now like to move on to chemical and bacteriological weapons, Composite 27.

CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Mr. T. O'Sullivan (Hornsey C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution No. 27:

*This Conference deplores the extensive research of the Ministry of Defence into chemical and bacteriological warfare and rejects any role for this country as a producer of chemical or biological weapons and requests the Government to discontinue research in the use of offensive germ and biological warfare and to cease making information gained in this field available to other nations.**

He said: Madam Chairman, comrades, if, as I did recently, you go to Salisbury, you may perhaps go out to Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain. It is an extremely mysterious place, no-one really knows very much about it, and people used to think human sacrifices were carried out there.

Turn your back on Stonehenge, and look across the road and you can see that other equally mysterious place, Porton Down. I hope and pray that in times to come we will not talk about Porton Down as nowadays we talk about Auschwitz or the Russian concentration camps of the 1930s.

Porton Down is the home of the Chemical Defence Experimental Establishment. Also at Porton Down is the Microbiological Research Establishment. Recently, Conservative M.P.'s have been invited to look at this place, and I would suggest you pay no more attention to what they have had to say than you usually do. Anyone who has worked within 100 yards of a laboratory knows what happens when visiting Charlies are about.

**Resolution remitted. See page 160*

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Retorts retort, centrifuges whirr, test tubes bubble, in fact some laboratories keep test tubes only for visiting Charlies. So I suggest you pay no attention at all to anything they may have said to you.

This resolution is not an attack upon Porton Down; much genuinely valuable work has been done there. They have produced a respirator which is extremely useful in industry—in cases of an accident. They have done work on British anti-Lewisite, which is a helpful antidote against certain industrial poisons, and when there was an epidemic of flu a few years back they produced 6 million doses of flu vaccine. So it is not against Porton as such that this resolution is directed.

However, we cannot get out of our minds the belief that possibly at Porton Down preparations for chemical and biological warfare are in hand and that possibly this country may be preparing for this kind of war. We know certainly weapons of chemical biological war have been invented at Porton Down. The classic case is of the gas known as CS which was invented in Porton during the 1960s. It was invented at Porton, it is manufactured in the United States, and it is used in Vietnam.

CS is one of those gases which are described as 'safe gases', you can use it in theory against crowds; and there have been people who said it was used in Paris, although we do not really know about this. To give an example of what is meant by 'safe' weapons, we might bear in mind that at least one Australian soldier has died while breathing it through a gas mask. And that the Canadian Director of Medical Services in Vietnam has said that of those people whom his organisation has treated for exposure to CS, 10 per cent of the adults have died, and 90 per cent of the children. This is a 'safe' gas.

There are other so-called 'safe' gases. There are the hallucinatory gases based upon LSD which are supposed to drive soldiers mad temporarily. The trouble is that if you give a dose to one man it may do something to him, and if you give the same dose to another man, the effects are quite different. There is no such thing as a safe dose, all human beings are different. Above all, children are quite different from adults in their reaction. You all know this about aspirin. Would you give your baby a dose of aspirin which was safe for you?

We know that in the United States students who have taken LSD in some cases, occasionally, have needed treatment for years afterwards because of the damage. So your

safe gas does not seem to be very safe either.

The other weapons of chemical warfare, some of which have certainly been developed at Porton, are more terrible. There are the old-fashioned mustard gases of the First World War. Perhaps you know some blind man who is blind because of the effects of mustard gas used in the First World War. Nowadays there is a missile which will break up mustard gas into fine particles, thus spreading the gas. This is mustard gas. These are not pleasant weapons.

There are also nerve gases. There are nerve gases which work by stopping your nervous system from working, so that what one minute is a normal healthy man, woman or child the next minute is a nerveless mass of dying flesh. These are the nerve gases. Work on these nerve gases certainly has been done at Porton. Not only this, but we know that American nerve gases which are in production now in the United States at the Newport factory were developed partly from information obtained at Porton.

In addition to this, there are the V-agents, so called. A pinch of salt weighs about 50 milligrams. Twenty milligrams of one of these agents in a cubic yard of air would kill a man in half a minute. These are the weapons that we are talking about. Recently there was a case of some deaths at Western Utah in the United States. The American Army was testing certain nerve gases there. The wind was in the wrong direction and many miles away 5,600 sheep died, some of them quickly. This was the result of these gases. Note the point—the wind was in the wrong direction.

For me, as someone who has had a biological training, the most frightening thing are the biological weapons. You can produce biological weapons in a number of ways. You can take a germ which is difficult to treat and grow it by the millions—anthrax. The island of Gruinard was sprayed with anthrax in the 1940s, during the last war. Now no animal can live on that island and occasionally sheep on nearby farms catch anthrax and die.

You can, if you like, take what is an ordinary germ like the common cold, for example, or perhaps a better example is measles, and you can treat it so that it becomes a killer. You can take viruses which are harmless. We have millions of viruses on us at the moment. You can treat those with radiation or by various other means so that they, too, become killers. You can take viruses which are harmless in themselves but which act on the bacteria of the body and turn these into killers.

Work has been done on the bubonic plague. You may remember that a few years ago someone at Porton died of the bubonic plague, because he had an accident.

The peculiar thing about these weapons is that they are business men's weapons. They kill life but do not destroy property. Another peculiarity of these weapons is that biological weapons in particular simply cannot be used effectively, except against civilians. There really is not much point in trying to give soldiers cholera or bubonic plague: they are the ones most likely to be protected from it. The only people to use these weapons against are civilians. They are quite unique in this respect.

The other thing about these weapons is that they are uncertain. Anyone who has ever been on holiday to Skegness will tell you that for a great part of the year the winds in this country come from Russia. Now, if you spray, say, the Ukraine with anthrax and a meteorologist makes a slight mistake in his forecasts—because meteorologists do make mistakes, do they not?—that may mean that people in this country will die from the disease. You can see that we are not just talking about the ordinary kind of weapon.

I do not know what the reaction of the N.E.C. will be to this. They may accept it, or accept it with reservations. I hope they will. I hope that whoever replies to the debate will tell us that weapons are not being made at Porton but that in fact the research is simply to protect this country in case of war. If we are not making chemical and biological weapons, why the hell are we telling the Yanks how to make them? (*Applause.*) I hope no-one will tell me that it is because exporting is fun.

This is not a pacifist resolution. My Party is not a pacifist party. I have done my time in the Army without complaining, just like everyone else, and if the need arose in a just war I would go back. But the use of these weapons is so terrible that we cannot entertain them for one moment. The poisoning of our planet, their uncertainty, their wholly new nature is such that I cannot believe that we can tolerate them.

I would make an appeal to each member of this Conference. We joined this Party for some kind of moral reason. We wanted things to happen. One becomes cynical. One becomes corrupted by the effects of politics, but I would submit that, in spite of that cynicism, there is still a reason why we joined. Let us look back into our consciences and ask ourselves: was it for this that I joined the Labour Party or the trade union movement, so that children may

die of anthrax—my children perhaps? (*Applause.*)

Mr. G. Elvin (Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians): The words of this motion may not be perfect. A composite motion seldom is, but it is even more difficult when you are talking upon a subject on which information is scarce or is denied. Briefly, I am seconding this motion because it deplores research into chemical and bacteriological weapons, because it condemns their production, and because we demand that information be not made available to other countries.

We have had assurances in the House of Commons that no offensive weapons are being manufactured. I think the mover dealt with one aspect of that by giving specific examples. How on earth can you research into so-called defensive measures without the manufacture and use of offensive weapons. You have to develop what the other fellow is thinking about to get the antidote, if you like. He is doing the same, and so the whole process escalates.

In order to test defensive measures you must have offensive weapons which you are wanting to defend yourself against. You are just as dead, you know, whether you are killed by a defensive or an offensive weapon. Would it be any consolation to Walter Padley that British germs ran through the British countryside, as in the case of the Scottish island mentioned by the mover of the resolution?

If everything is so harmless, why does the Minister of Defence refuse to answer questions in the House of Commons? We should not be taken in by the so-called open days at Porton. As the mover again said, you will have a Cook's tour and you will see what the guide wishes to show you. But why only Porton? Why not open days at Nancekuke, where security men patrol the area and aeroplanes are forbidden to fly over the area?

One further point. Are the Ministers really sure that they know what is going on? I am not saying that to denigrate them, but it would not be the first time that Cabinet Ministers had been kept in the dark. Remember, Herbert Morrison, a leading member of the wartime Cabinet, admitted in the House of Commons that he was unaware that atomic weapons were being manufactured.

Finally, over 40 years ago this country signed a Geneva Convention together with a vast number of other countries prohibiting the use of gas and bacteriological methods of warfare. More recently, as the Foreign

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Secretary said this morning, the Government has proposed a convention to ban biological weapons and proposed a United Nations study on chemical warfare. We naturally welcome this.

The purpose of this motion is to put our own house in order and by practical example give a lead to the rest of the world and halt activities which are as fraught with the same ultimate perils and danger as the development of nuclear weapons. I second. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Tam Dalyell (*ex-officio* M.P., West Lothian): Madam Chairman, we could all be agreed, along with George Elvin, and along with the Hornsey delegate, on the horror of chemical and biological warfare—that issue is not in dispute in this hall. But this Composite 27, as it is drafted, is a non-starter. There is, for example, no evidence that Britain is indulging in offensive microbiological warfare and, on the contrary, almost certainly we are not carrying out this kind of research.

As a Conference we would risk making ourselves look silly if we were to go on record about asking Government to discontinue research that has not even begun. So perhaps the mover and seconder would agree to a remit. But, remit or not, let no one underestimate the justified concern in this movement about the issues of chemical and biological warfare.

In the last few days we have heard a good deal of the virtues of Tage Erlander and his Government. Mr. Chairman, the Government of Tage Erlander in Sweden has made sure that all their considerable facilities in chemical and biological warfare are open. Let us keep up with the Government of Sweden and open up the whole of Porton. Let us open it up to those competent to judge and not just inquisitive Charlies, like some of us might be termed.

If Porton is defensive why should it not be transferred to the Ministry of Health? This is not just a gimmick it is a proposition that is supported by eight Nobel prize-winners, and it is not just a question of 'do good' reasons, such as furthering the fight against disease or expanding work on food additives, or expanding the work of the protective clothing industry. There is a much more urgent desperate reason.

The real reason for opening up Porton is to prevent the danger of escalation and allow a British lead in setting up a pre-condition; to stop the slippery slope of escalation, an escalation that is even more dangerous than in the case of nuclear weapons. If someone assaulted us with an irritant gas, I suspect

that we would not reply in kind; we would reply with an incapacitator, and before we knew what we were doing we would then be involved in a conflict of the deadly nerve gases.

That is why among the tasks facing the Government none is more urgent and vital than that Fred Mulley should succeed in Geneva in getting international negotiations going. That is why unilateral action for Britain may be called for, to obtain a treaty which would bring about a stop to the first use of these kind of weapons. True such a treaty might not prevent one of the world's great powers, bent on starting a third world war, but it might at least stop a war happening by the miscalculation of a general who thought that he could just go that extra one rung up the ladder. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: After this speaker, comrades, I am calling on Fred Mulley to reply. You know the pressure of time and other debates.

Mr. H. J. Abrams (Cheadle C.L.P.): I had come here, as you may gather, to move Resolution 353, but that is related to what we are now discussing, in the sense that we are considering here the unilateral action that Britain can take in regard to its research work in this field. But we also have to recognise that the problem we face is that when George Brown told us yesterday that where three people live today 25 people may live 100 years from now, the reverse is also true; where 25 people live today three may live 100 years from now, or even sooner. And this is something which unilateral action alone cannot do.

We have to recognise and think that these weapons are—and I am a chemical engineer—no more difficult to make than many pharmaceuticals. They cannot be controlled by asking small nations not to make them while big nations make them and also make nuclear weapons that they could use against small nations.

So that if we are going to do something about these weapons, if we are going to be realistic about it, we have to realise that the deadly proliferation is getting critical, that these weapons will spread quickly, and when they spread we cannot rely on each of the participants in every dispute round the world, Greeks, Turks, Israelis, Arabs and so forth, waiting as the Americans waited—whatever else they have done—whilst the Russians caught up with them in nuclear weapons.

Madam Chairman, we can do a little, we cannot do much, but we must try, because there is no other hope. Thank you.

The Chairman: I am now asking Fred Mulley to reply to the debate.

Rt. Hon. Fred Mulley, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and Conference, because of the other important business this has had to be a short debate and necessarily I must make a short speech in reply. I regret this, because disarmament is still, in my opinion, the most important task facing us and there is much that could be reported in this field over the last year, and unfortunately it does not get a lot of press and TV publicity.

The Non-proliferation Treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, long an objective of Labour policy, has been completed and signed by over 80 states. Much has still to be done before it comes into force, but we can, I think, claim a lot of credit for this achievement. This Treaty is important, not only for its own purpose, but because absolutely no progress in any other direction or in any other measure of disarmament and arms control was possible until this long outstanding matter was settled.

In the 16 months that I have been charged with the responsibility for our disarmament policy, I have been publicly and privately reproved for my impatience and my desire to get on in a hurry. At least we have got some results, and while I have this responsibility I shall continue to be very impatient, because I believe it is the wish of this movement that we should get as much disarmament as possible as fast as is humanly possible. (*Applause.*)

Immediately last June, before the ink was dry on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, on behalf of the Government I made proposals about chemical and bacteriological warfare, as well as about nuclear disarmament—particularly for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

While we are discussing only chemical and bacteriological warfare in this resolution, I must stress that our first priority must be to end the nuclear arms race.

I proposed a study on chemical warfare, in order to get international agreement on the difficult technical issues involved, and I put detailed proposals forward for an immediate convention on bacteriological warfare, to go beyond the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and, in effect, to ban all such weapons.

I must tell Conference I got very little support for these initiatives. In taking an independent line in disarmament and acting as a pacemaker, both in Geneva and in the

United Nations, we shall court a lot of international unpopularity. I am quite prepared to live with it and I hope the Party will take that view as well.

However, I am glad to say that the Geneva Conference has unanimously asked U Thant to set up working parties on both chemical and biological warfare similar to that which produced the excellent report on the effects of nuclear weapons and which has been such a stimulus to progress in that field.

I think, Madam Chairman, we have a chance, a real chance now, to get international action. As a disarmament expert who has been to every international conference since the war said to me when I expressed disappointment that I had not made more progress: 'You need not be disappointed; as a result of the British initiative you have put chemical and bacteriological warfare on the agenda again for the first time in 40 years. Everyone else previously has thought it was too difficult.'

I want now, Madam Chairman, to turn to the terms of Composite Motion 27. I know and understand the sentiments, the feelings of horror, about these very dreadful weapons. And while no-one wants to criticise the drafting of resolutions, in one sense, I think the language is rather extravagant. For example, it talks about extensive research. In fact, the costs of the whole research in this field are not one per cent of the total defence expenditure. They are about one-tenth of one per cent of our total defence expenditure, and, as the mover of the resolution acknowledged, there are a number of very valuable by-products in industrial and health fields.

And this research is wholly defensive in character. You have obviously to study the capabilities of offensive use in order to provide our forces and our civilian population with protection against the possibility that these weapons may be used against us. And I do not think this kind of cost is unreasonable for that purpose.

And I give unreservedly to the mover of the motion the assurance that he asks: we are not producing any offensive weapons in either of these fields.

And, of course, as Tam Dalyell said, we are in fact spending less than neutral countries like Sweden, and indeed, like Sweden, we seek to give the maximum publicity to what is being done, but, also like Sweden, there are certain elements that for security reasons have to be kept secret. You know, comrades, you cannot have it both ways. You cannot have the open day possibilities on the one hand and then com-

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plain that other countries know about what we are doing. It is essential to keep some aspects secret so that our research cannot possibly be used against us.

But the feature of the motion that I find most difficult is its urging of unilateral action. The whole of our disarmament effort over the years, going back to the days of Arthur Henderson, in this Movement has always been that what we want is disarmament by international agreement, by international action. This Party in all aspects of disarmament and defence has rejected unilateral action, because, while the closing down of all our facilities might impress some people in our Movement, I can tell you, from hard experience of disarmament conferences, it would not impress anyone there.

It would not bring what we want—international action—a day nearer. And in fact it could at this moment of time, when we are hoping for, and have offered to participate fully in, the studies that we want U Thant to make as a means of getting a really effective international agreement, make it more difficult, more unhelpful, to our real objectives.

So, Madam Chairman, I accept, and the executive accepts, the spirit that has motivated the mover and seconder and the other speakers and other parties that had motions on this subject in bringing this to the attention of Conference. We accept that spirit. Indeed, in the proposals and the struggles I have had at Geneva, I have in a sense anticipated what I knew was the belief and desire of the Movement.

And while you may say, and the mover and seconder both did, that the words of the resolution—perhaps composite resolutions are not always too elegantly drafted—do not matter, in the international scene they matter a very great deal.

I would have hoped, therefore, that the motion, for the reasons I have given, might be withdrawn or remitted, but I also have the experience that this very rarely happens at our Conferences, and because I believe we must fight hard, not only in this field but over the whole field, to make the world safer by getting really effective international agreement, and because I honestly feel that to pass the motion in its present terms would be unproductive in that direction, I am bound to ask Conference to reject the motion if it is put to the vote. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: After hearing Fred Mulley's statement, we vote on Composite 27, and, for the reasons that Fred Mulley

has given, the N.E.C. recommend you to oppose.

Mr. G. Elvin (Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians): Madam Chairman, Fred Mulley did ask if the movers would agree to withdraw or remit. I am speaking for the mover and myself and in respect of what Tam Dalyell said. We would agree to remit and hope, therefore, having accepted the invitation, it will be taken. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Is that seconded? (*Seconded.*) Are we all agreed? (*Agreed.*) There is no difference about what we want to achieve. You remit this to the N.E.C. I think it is the general mood we remit.

Composite Resolution 27 was remitted to the N.E.C.

We are anxious to move on to the Resolution 356 dealing with Nigeria.

NIGERIA

Mr. N. Turner (Knutsford C.L.P.) moved Resolution 356:

This Conference calls upon the Government to stop the sale of arms to the Nigerian Federal Republic. Conference urges the Government to intensify its efforts to bring the two sides together to end the conflict and considers that these efforts will be compromised by the sale of arms to one side.

*Conference further asks that the Government replace the policy of selling arms by one of providing food and medical supplies to both sides.**

He said: I would like to start off by giving a brief history of the Biafran tragedy. In the beginning, when Britain colonised Nigeria, it could not decide whether or not Nigeria was one nation or two. So, with typical British compromise, they called it one nation and administered it as two.

From the very start of independence the Northern area of Nigeria carried out acts against the southern people—in the north they called them strangers—of depriving them of property and of their working rights. They refused to allow them to have houses within the cities and forced them to go out on to the outskirts of their cities. This was a form of apartheid within the country. This culminated in the slaughter of early 1966, following the abortive coup which killed Abubaka Tafawa Balewa and brought in General Ironsi. Following that there was another coup which killed General Ironsi and brought about the Government of

**Resolution carried. See page 265*

General Gowon. The slaughter in the north of Nigeria that followed the coup which killed General Ironsi killed 10,000 Nigerians of the Ibo tribes of the eastern region.

After the first coup, Colonel Ojukwu, who was the military commander of the Eastern Region, told his people to go back to the north and tried to make Nigeria one, but this failed because of the North's second attempt which killed 10,000 people. It was only after the slaughter of these 10,000 Southerners by not only civilians but the police and the army following the murder of Ironsi that Biafra felt itself that it had to secede.

In actual fact it was not seceding at all because Nigeria was not one nation, it was two nations. You cannot secede from a political unit which will not have you as a member, and the Northern Nigerians would not have Biafrans as a member of Nigeria. Therefore Biafra was not seceding; it has never been an accepted part of Nigeria as a whole.

General Gowon on taking office after the murder of General Ironsi acknowledged this. His first statement was to say that there was no basis for unity in Nigeria, and yet this is the general who is commanding his troops and saying that he is fighting a war to unite Nigeria, although he has said there is no basis for unity.

As a result of these coups and slaughters and the divisive attitudes of the North, Biafrans now feel they are fighting for their own survival. They feel that they are being the victims of a genocide campaign. They will continue to fight the Federal Nigerians even if all of their area is overrun because—make no mistake about this—the west coast of Africa is based not on towns but on a village type of community and even if the towns are taken over the Biafrans will continue to fight within the villages.

That, then is the history of the Nigerian tragedy. What about the effectiveness of our Government's policy on this? They claim that by selling arms to the Federal Government of Nigeria they have effectiveness within Lagos. What examples have we got of this influence? We have not got any at all. Even the last attempt in these last few weeks to get a settlement in Nigeria was not on the initiation of the British Government but rather by Ibos, Easterners. We have absolutely no indication whatsoever of the effectiveness of this influence which the Government claims it has in Lagos. It would, in fact, surely be more effective if it stopped selling arms to the Nigerians, because this would force the Nigerians to have another think about their policy.

At the moment their one idea is to wipe out Biafra, but if they did not have the arms to do it they would have to look round and find another policy. So if we were to stop selling arms to the Nigerians we would surely make the Nigerian Federal Republic bring about a better policy than it is applying at the moment.

We supply 80 per cent, approximately, of the small arms of the Nigerian Federal Republic. Although this is only 15 per cent of the total arms, it is 80 per cent of the small arms and it is these which are most important to an army fighting the kind of war which is going on in Nigeria. If we stopped selling these arms the effectiveness of the Federal Republic forces would be greatly reduced, because they would be unable to fire their guns if they had no ammunition.

You cannot change one gun for another, because they are different; a Czech gun is different from a British gun, it must be. So our supply of arms to the Federal Government has produced no concrete results to show we have any influence in Lagos at all, and in fact by stopping arms we would surely be more effective.

Not only is it ineffective but also illogical. How on earth can you expect the Government of Biafra to listen to us at all when we are supplying arms to the other side? You do not expect anyone to take on a fight when the referee is manager of your opponent. It is just utterly illogical, it is immoral and this surely is the most damning thing of all. (*Applause.*)

I hope the British Government is not going to claim that if we do not supply arms to Nigeria then somebody else will, because I honestly cannot see the moral stand they have on this. It is utterly incomprehensible. Even if it were true, it would take time for another government to supply these arms, and perhaps this again would force the Federal Government to have another think on its policy and to negotiate on a realistic basis. What guarantee have we in fact that any other governments would take over our supply of arms? What guarantee have we that any other government would take on the odium of supplying these weapons to the Nigerian Federal Republic? There is no basis whatsoever for believing this.

If the Government is not going to claim they are supplying arms merely to stop others from doing so, then what are they going to say? They are surely not going to say that they are doing this to keep the consciences of the other countries clear? If this is the case then I hope they will stop being the keepers of other people's con-

sciences and start being the keepers of our own.

The Government's case is therefore totally ineffective, it is utterly illogical and disgracefully immoral. Its ineffectiveness dismays me, its illogicality mystifies me and its immorality appals me. Thank you, Comrades. (*Applause.*)

Mrs. D. Wafer (Stroud C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, comrades, it gives me pleasure to second this resolution. It has been reported that after 11 months of fighting in June this year, Biafra had the highest death rate in the world. Surely the duration of this struggle has made it more than abundantly clear that the people of Biafra will not be massacred into submission but that prolonged guerrilla warfare will ensue.

The British Government has supplied and continues to supply arms to Federal Nigeria. Is it justifiable . . . (*Mrs Wafer was then taken ill and was unable to finish her speech.*)

The Chairman: The resolution has been moved and seconded. We go on to the general debate.

Lord Brockway (*ex-officio*): One of the sad things of recent years has been how our people have become accustomed to violence and suffering. Therefore, when we see on television the reports of fighting in Vietnam and violence in different parts of the world, the response is less immediate. But I think I am speaking truly when I say that the whole of the British people have been shocked and appalled by the television pictures of the starving children in Biafra. (*Applause.*)

I want to acknowledge at once to this Conference that the representatives of the British Government have sought to bring this war to an end and to give aid to those who are starving. I know what has been published in that respect. I know what they have done in other directions. The point that I am putting to the delegates this morning is that those efforts have been doomed to failure by the arms which the British Government has been giving to one side in this contest.

I am aware of the arguments in favour: that it is a recognised Government, a part of the Commonwealth. I have not time to develop the point, but I think that everyone who knows Nigeria today knows that the present Constitution must be revised; that the present Federal Government is the result of two military *coups*; that there has been

a massacre of nearly 30,000 people; that there must be a new constitution, and that the Federal Government which is now in office in no sense represents the vital elements which exist throughout Nigeria. (*Applause.*)

The second point is this. The argument has been that the arms support has only been the continuation of previous support. In fact, there has been an enormous intensification of the arms which have been sent to Nigeria.

The Ministry of Defence, in its usual custom, does not give details. I have seen the figures of the Crown Agent's supply to Nigeria from this country. The amount on arms that has been spent has been enormously escalated since this war began.

I am not appealing only to the British Government to end arms. Those with whom I am associated have urged that arms should be stopped from all sides and to both sides. When we have urged that, we have been told that it is impossible to stop the black market. But Governments have the power to stop all arms from going to their airports, their docks and their railway termini.

We have been told that it would be impossible to influence Portugal to end the black market. Portugal is in N.A.T.O. Portugal has been allied to us for 100 years. Is the influence of this Government so small that it cannot exert its help in this direction?

I conclude in a constructive way. We need a cease-fire. Do not be deluded into thinking that the war is over. Unfortunately, there are now rumours that greater arms are to be sent indirectly, if not directly, from France to the Biafran side.

Even if the Federal Government take the towns—my own doctor is there. He tells me how, when the Federal forces advance along the roads, the people just disappear into the bush, and guerrilla warfare for a long time will continue.

Cease-fire! Secondly, a peace-keeping force to see that that cease-fire is kept. And, third, a great international aid to stop the hunger and starvation that now exist. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. The Lord Shepherd (Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs): On Monday I returned from visiting the forward areas and the refugee camps in Nigeria. I share the emotion of every delegate, of everyone throughout the world, as to the horror that is to be seen in Nigeria today. We all share, too, the great desire to see a negotiated end to the fighting in Nigeria.

I would say to Fenner, when he spoke of the television films and the newspaper

photographs of starvation: It is one thing to see that; it is another thing to see the tragedy face to face and to touch it. Therefore, I particularly am conscious not only of the need to bring peace to Nigeria, but to bring relief.

The British Government itself has made substantial contributions to the Red Cross. There are British teams in Nigeria and in Biafra. Although there was a slow start in the bringing of supplies to the refugees, I can assure the Conference that things are infinitely better now and that food is flowing in, and, in particular, medical supplies.

It is true that only limited supplies can reach Biafra. This is due to the failure, despite all that Haile Selassie has done as Chairman of the O.A.U.—a failure of both sides to agree as to how relief should be brought into Biafra. We must still work in this direction.

The Prime Minister gave me an instruction yesterday that I should go to Geneva to have further talks with the International Committee of the Red Cross to see what other steps could be taken to see that major relief is brought to the refugees on both sides of the fighting in Nigeria. (*Applause.*)

But if you are to bring this war to an end, it needs two sides to negotiate. The British Government took every possible step open to it to prevent the war starting. Ever since then, we have followed every glimmer of light to seek peace. We gave support to both sides at the conference in Kampala, Niamey and, more recently, at Addis Ababa.

The mover of the resolution wondered what influence the British Government had because of its policy. As Fenner said, much goes on behind the scenes. But there were two public illustrations of our influence. There was my visit in June to Lagos, which arose after long talks with the Biafran representatives in London, and we were able to negotiate in Lagos what, I believe, would have been a fair settlement to both parties.

The Federal Government agreed that there should be a negotiated settlement, and they also agreed that there should be an external force, drawn from outside, to give security to the Ibo people.

Then, some two weeks ago in London, leading Biafran representatives, conscious that the war was nearly at an end and of the need for a negotiated settlement, came to the British Government and asked what we could do, and, in particular, what we could do to provide security to the Ibos, if a negotiated end to the fighting was brought about.

Comrade Chairman, within hours a Minister was on his way to Lagos to continue negotiations. I was satisfied that the

Federal Government gave us the basis for a settlement, but unfortunately, as comrades will know, the Biafran authorities decided that they would fight on. This must have been for many a bitter moment, and therefore I would say to comrades that the policy of the Government has given us influence in Lagos, and perhaps another illustration is the fact that there are today military observers supervising the military operations of the Federal army, a unique case, I think, in military history.

We will continue to work for peace in Biafra and in Nigeria. We will do all we can to bring aid and sustenance to the people on both sides in Nigeria, but we must have influence, particularly influence in Lagos. We have that, and we must use it and we will use it. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I must now call on John Chalmers to reply for the N.E.C.

Mr. J. Chalmers (National Executive Committee): Comrade Chairman and comrades, first of all I want to apologise if perhaps I should delay you from your well-earned lunch. I mention that particularly in view of the time factor and more especially having entered the debate after both Fenner Brockway and Malcolm Shepherd who obviously must surely give emphasis to the resolution.

Let me say first of all that the mover of the resolution has explained some of the diary of events that have led up to the war in Nigeria, and we all of us sincerely believe that the conflict that is taking place in Nigeria at the present time must be one of the greatest tragedies in Africa. It is therefore a very great disappointment that a country which had so much to offer in Africa should be torn apart by civil war.

It is not my intention to apportion blame either to the one side or to the other, nor to suggest what the longterm solution in Nigeria should be. This is a job and a problem that must be solved by the Nigerians themselves. We in this country, like so many throughout the world, are deeply concerned at the effects of the war on hundreds of thousands of innocent people of all ages and on both sides of the fighting.

We can all agree that there is no military solution to the war and that every effort, as Fenner has just said, must be made to bring about a negotiated settlement. We believe that the peace talks must be resumed as soon as possible, and as part of any agreement the security of the Biafran people themselves must be ensured.

I should at this point like to pay tribute to Arnold Smith, the Commonwealth Secretary General, and also, as Malcolm Shepherd mentioned, to Haile Selassie in recent talks in Addis Ababa, and particularly to the Organisation for African Unity for all their efforts to bring about peace in Nigeria.

As I have said, since this is an African problem and must be settled by Africans, it is clear that any major hope for a settlement must lie with the Organisation for African Unity.

We have a situation where the Federal army has made such vast inroads into Biafran territory that it is becoming virtually impossible to get relief to the Biafrans either by land or by sea, and with so much at stake everything possible must be done as quickly as possible to get talks moving under the O.A.U.

Some mention has been made by the mover and the seconder of the resolution as to our Government's attitude respecting this particular matter. If we escape just for a moment or two from the more hysterical pronouncements of recent weeks, perhaps we might see just where the Government have actually stood on this matter. Let me say first of all that a desire to see the end of the war and to give massive and speedy aid to the starving is not the prerogative of one side or the other in this debate.

Neither would there be anything particularly moral about any intentions on our part to wash our hands of the whole affair. Britain's involvement as an arms supplier was one of our responsibilities as the former colonial power, and no one even yet would surely question the wisdom of Britain agreeing to train and equip the army of one of its colonials after independence.

The duty of maintaining national sovereignty and internal security was therefore one of the main tasks of any government, whether it be British or any other, and it was natural that Britain should aid Nigeria as a Commonwealth country in that task.

The attitude of the Government was that as Nigeria's traditional arms supplier we should continue to allow her to purchase arms from this country. To do otherwise would have been to say to the Federal Government, 'We have put you in a position where you are very heavily dependent upon us for the instruments of power; now, when you are faced with a challenge to your authority, we will put you at a serious disadvantage.'

So we are left with the argument, comrades, that to have ceased arms supply would not have been an act immediately of

neutrality but one which would surely have weakened the Federal Government, and with that Britain would have lost opportunity to urge moderation in Lagos.

With this influence through arms supply, has there been moderation? I leave you to think that one out yourselves. Fenner has spelt it out perhaps much more ably than I can. You know, comrades, it is not always the correct assumption that our influence in foreign policy should be associated either with military might or with the supply of arms.

Nevertheless, one happy result has been the Federal Government's offer to allow foreign observers into Biafran areas occupied by the Federal Army, and here Malcolm Shepherd referred to it from the rostrum. We believe that an international force, of the U.N. or of the Commonwealth, or of the O.A.U. should be formed which could give guaranteed safety to the Ibo people, both during and after the negotiations following upon a cease fire. It has been mentioned that our Government have already agreed to offer massive support towards humanitarian operations within the famine areas. I think the figure is in the region of about £250,000.

But we say that as well as this immediate short-term aid, there must also be a massive international co-operation in the work of reconstruction. It is true that the present states of Africa are, for the most part at any rate, European creations. Unhappily, as a result of this, many African nations could have within their political systems the seeds of tribal secession, and although there is nothing particularly sacred about the frontiers that have been established, there is the danger which has been developing of tribalism and the possibility of secession which would bring about even greater suffering to the people of Africa.

The solution, as an alternative to civil war, must therefore be found which would help avoid serious damage such as the Biafran situation, which creates damage both to the political and to the economic structure in these countries, and this must be done at the conference table.

I know that time is getting short, and I want to finish on this note: I would ask those who have spoken today and who may have some influence with the Ibo leaders, to re-examine the possibility of a peace-keeping force which could be accompanied by the massive aid which has just been mentioned. The feeling inspired by the motion that has been before Conference this morning is one with which the Executive have the greatest sympathy. But finally I

want to say that if there is a possibility of ending the civil war by stopping the supply of arms to Nigeria, then we call upon our Government to stop the supply now. That is the decision of your National Executive Committee. (*Applause.*)

Of equal importance, we believe that Conference should express its disappointment that in terms of military hardware France has sought to intervene in the war. With all this and with the reservations that I have attempted to explain to the Conference, we accept the motion. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I can see your wishes by your acclaim, but I must put to you Resolution 356. The N.E.C. recommend acceptance, will those in favour please show? Against? (*Carried.*) Thank you, Comrades.

Conference adjourned at 12.35 p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Conference reassembled at 2 p.m.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The Chairman: A very short time ago, as your Chairman I went as Fraternal Delegate to the T.U.C. Conference. I was told I was going to be eaten alive, torn to shreds and thrown out in the dustbin. But there was a very old friend, one of the wisest, wittiest, kindest men in our movement, in the chair. However, I am not going to give you all the credit, Lewis. I think that even without your protection your Conference has, the same as our own Conference, an underlying sense of unity and comradeship. I therefore have very great pleasure indeed in asking Lewis Wright to bring to you the greetings of our great trade union movement. (*Applause.*)

Lord Wright (Trades Union Congress): Madam Chairman, I am very happy this afternoon to bring you the fraternal greetings of the T.U.C. These are in addition to the fraternal greetings you received from many trade union delegates on Monday of this week.

Monday's debate showed up a marked difference of opinion between the trade union movement of this country and the Government on prices and incomes legislation. Is this so strange? Is it not more likely that we should be honest and straightforward

with old and tried friends than we would be with people whom we do not particularly like and to whom we are coldly polite? Is it not proper that the trade union movement, the Party and the Government should be straight with each other rather than each sulking in their tents and not knowing quite what the other is thinking of each?

It seems to me that, given that the trade union movement is in business for purposes which we all know, it is inevitable that there will be differences of opinion, differences of accent, particularly on economic policies. There will need to be a continuing dialogue between the Trades Union Congress and any Government, and more particularly this Government, in order to find some common ground on aims that are common to us all.

We ought to remember that there is far more in common between the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party and the Government than there are differences. The things in common are many. The things where we differ are in a very, very narrow field indeed, but to the Trades Union Congress and to the trade union movement a rather important field. It is because of the differences that occur in this narrow field that our main differences emerge. It is the nature of the T.U.C. to do the job that it was put there to do. When you consider what the trade union movement is here for, it would be awfully difficult for that movement to say, in the interests of any Government, that we should give up what we hold dear, we should give up the very things for which we started the movement, and I myself hardly think that the Government even expects the trade union movement to say that we are going to give up our birthright for a mess of potage.

It is for the Government to govern, though apparently this offends some of my friends in the audience today. Nevertheless it is true, it is for the Government to govern; but they must not expect the trade union movement always to acquiesce in the decisions that they have to take.

The trade union movement's responsibility is to get the best that it can for its members, the best deal within the ambit of the constitution of the trade union movement, but this does not mean that the T.U.C., nor indeed the unions, believe that we ought to return to a free-for-all. The Trades Union Congress, and probably most of the unions, have realised that the free-for-all has thrown up very grave distortions, very grave inequities, and that is why the T.U.C. formulated its own incomes policy. And do not sneer at what the T.U.C.'s incomes policy has achieved.

We learnt from Barbara Castle the other day that if the Trades Union Congress incomes policy has meant a 1 per cent saving in total wages and salaries it amounts to something in the region of £200 million. And I believe that the T.U.C.'s incomes policy, although, agreed, it is long-term, nevertheless even in the short-term has achieved much more than many people believe, and probably much more than the £200 million, which equals the 1 per cent of savings.

The T.U.C. and the unions are as conscious as any of the problems facing the Government; they know, as well as any, the problem of the balance of payments which has been with them and us and the whole country for many, many years under successive governments. And we all know that somehow or other this balance of payments problem must be solved. It seems to have embedded itself in our economic structure, like a fly in amber, and it is just as difficult to remove.

In case you have forgotten just how long this problem has been permitted to stay with us, may I remind you, it is common ground I am sure with everyone, that this weakness of our balance of payments problem has been the main impediment to our economic growth in the post-war period.

These economic crises, which successive governments have attempted to solve by deflationary measures, have occurred—listen—in 1947, again in 1949, 1954, 1955, again in 1957 and 1961 and again in 1964; a build-up culminating in the mammoth deficit of that year. This, like the poor, is with us always, and I think that most people would agree that we have to find some way of overcoming this problem.

The trade union movement say there may be other ways, but in any case it is awfully difficult to ask the trade union movement to cease to be a trade union movement and merely to be a handmaiden of Government.

There is no lack of understanding; there is no lack of willingness to understand, and understanding is needed by the trade union movement of the Government's problems, but equally understanding by the Government of the problems facing the trade union movement in what we are expected to do or to which we are asked to conform.

It seems to me that the main hope for overcoming this problem is by way of increased productivity. It seems to me that what we want, what we need, are a few more positive exhortations and a few less negative exhortations; a little less of what we ought not to do and a little more of what we might do. And in this I think there is

common ground for agreement. In this lies, perhaps, the best hope for a solution to our economic difficulties.

The T.U.C. and the Government know this. Agreed there are human problems to solve; there are human problems involved as well as industrial and economic, and if we are to move fairly swiftly into this technological age then these human problems must be solved at the same time as we try to solve the economic problems, otherwise I fear we are offering ourselves as hostages to fortune.

I could wish that the Trades Union Congress might accept the offer of the Minister for Productivity and Employment, to discuss matters where there might be common ground in an approach to this problem; not merely discussing in an arid way whether the Trades Union Congress or the trade unions will observe the legislative effect of the Bill, but rather, can they adopt, for instance, an attitude of a productivity drive allied with the T.U.C.'s own incomes policy.

It seems to me that if we are to make a productivity drive on the one hand and use the T.U.C. incomes policy on the other there we might have a twin-spear approach to a problem that might well pay off much better than the 1 per cent result of the implementation of the Prices and Incomes Bill.

I am thinking, at the moment, Madam Chairman, of the advice that was offered to me by a deckhand of a whaling ship in the Antarctic. He swears to me that one night he heard a mother whale say to her offspring, 'It's only when you start spouting that you get harpooned.' (*Laughter.*)

I know too that you have a lot of business to do so, in bringing you the greetings of the T.U.C., I bring you not fratricide, as some people try to imagine, but brotherhood; not cynicism but a wish to be understanding and a wish to help. There is, in the trade union movement, a wealth of goodwill towards the Party and the Government, and most trade unionists have a passionate desire for the Government to succeed. Who, seeing the great body of trade unionists here rising to Harold Wilson's speech on Tuesday, can possibly think otherwise.

Trade unionists are proud of what the Government has achieved, despite the formidable problems with which they have been faced; they take pride in the social conscience of this Government, which has caused them to do so much for the sick and the disabled, for the old and the young, for housing, for hospitals, and their concern for the underprivileged.

There is much to be done and there are

things that have not been done, but it is fervently to be hoped that the trade union movement and the Labour movement and this Government may be able soon to march shoulder to shoulder towards the sort of society we all want to see. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you very much indeed for those wonderful words of fraternal greeting.

I would ask delegates to turn to Composite 48 on the Development in Grey Areas. Will Sedgfield C.L.P. prepare to move and Whitehaven C.L.P. come near the rostrum to second?

You must keep up to time today, we do not want a situation at the end of the afternoon when we say there is no time for Rhodesia.

DEVELOPMENT AND GREY AREAS

Mr. H. Smith (Sedgfield C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 48:

This Conference acknowledges the continuing and increasing special assistance given to development areas by the Labour Government and in particular, the encouragement of new industries by the system of investment incentives and the Regional Employment Premium, but is of the opinion that these efforts have not had the required effect to solve the problem of unemployment, particularly in areas which are affected by mine closures.

Conference therefore urges Her Majesty's Government:

- (a) to stop pit closures;
- (b) to institute a policy of direction of industry;
- (c) to set up publicly owned factories, and
- (d) to establish government training centres to administer the re-training needs of those displaced by industrial change. Further, a weekly wage based on the average earnings of a 're-trainee' in his last three months of employment should be paid to all attending training centres for the duration of their training period.*

Mr. Smith said: Madam Chairman, comrades, in moving this resolution I would like to remind delegates of a slogan often said within the Party when one was asked 'What does the Party stand for?' and that is 'equality of opportunity'. Because I feel that

*Resolution carried. See page 275

it is what Composite Resolution 48 is all about. It sets out measures which I believe are essential to bring about a more equal distribution of employment.

Yesterday we heard a lot of good sense talked about equality in opportunity. But it is equally important for my children to have the same chance to put their individual talents in employment as that of the child in the south of England.

In the county of Durham our unemployment figure is twice that of the national average. In fact, in some areas it is much worse. In Sunderland one man in ten is unemployed and four out of every ten school-leavers have yet to find a job.

And this, friends, is in spite of the action already taken by the Government in the form of investment incentives and regional employment premiums, and I might add that no other Government has done more in this direction. But I am of the opinion—and I think the figures I have given bear this out—that these efforts have not had the required effect to bring about a more equal distribution of employment.

We therefore call upon Conference to pass this resolution, which first calls for pit closures to be stopped until some alternative employment is available, such employment to be provided by a policy of selective direction of industry. I say selective because you do not find work for redundant miners by setting up a dressmaking factory or a plastic factory.

Yes, Comrades, you may say this provides work for his daughter, but, you know, the Durham miner is a very proud man in his role of breadwinner for the family, and when he loses this responsibility despondency creeps in and the once proud man becomes dejected. You have only got to live in a mining village to know this. The family is unable to plan for the future because they do not know when they may have to pull up their roots to move to find work in the Midlands or South of England.

Just over six years ago in my constituency we had six pits, employing over 1,000 men each. Now we have two. And when you consider that in most of these mining villages the main source of employment has been the local pit, you can understand the position.

My local authority, Sedgfield Rural District Council, has done everything in its power to attract new industry, with little success. And more often than not, factory space is being taken up by industry offering a low possibility of employment. When you take away a basic industry, friends, it must be replaced by something of equal potential, and quickly.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON: DEVELOPMENT AREAS

Another factor to be considered is that of the redundant miner between the age of 55 and 65 and the miner who, through injury or industrial disease, must have light work.

We believe that Government-sponsored industry can play an effective part in providing work for mainly unskilled labour and, further, that training facilities should be expanded and a weekly wage paid based on the average earnings of a re-trainee in the last three months of employment.

I could give a formidable list of years and years of support by the miners for this great Party of ours, but, you know, there is no need to do so. I need only ask delegates to look at the county of Durham and try to find one Tory Member of Parliament which represents one Constituency of Durham (*Applause*) and the answer is that you could not, because there is not one, I am happy to say. We have a proud boast that Durham is represented by 100 per cent of Labour M.P.s, and this, I believe, proves the commonsense of the miner and his solidarity behind the Labour Party. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, following the Second World War, the miner, if he so wanted, could have held the country to ransom, because coal was in such great demand. But, because of his loyalty to this great nation of ours and the Labour Party and the Labour Government of that time, he chose not to take such action. I claim, therefore, that it is the responsibility of this Government to see to it that the miner is not forgotten.

I commend the resolution to Conference. (*Applause.*)

Mr. H. Petrie (Whitehaven C.L.P.): Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, here we are with one resolution on development areas, and if you look at your agenda, pages 50 to 53, you will find not one resolution submitted by the trade union movement. What is the matter with the big boys? It is their members who are unemployed, and their members in West Cumberland we saw on 'Panorama' the other night drawing the dole.

I make no apology for citing West Cumberland as a yardstick. You will note that the heading is Development Areas and Grey Areas. A colour, I feel, has been missed out.

At one time Cumberland had 13 pits and two steel works. We now have two pits and one iron and steel works, thanks to the traditional, indiscriminate methods of private industry who, without warning to its workers in Millom, closed the works.

Yesterday morning, when going down for a cup of tea, I overheard a delegate say, 'I

don't understand anybody wanting to work down a pit.' I will tell him: because we have not yet provided him with alternative employment. (*Applause.*)

On Sunday night in this hall, I heard Barbara Castle say she welcomed the opportunity for extension of public enterprise. Barbara, if you ever wanted a justifiable reason to promote public enterprise, West and South Cumberland gives you that opportunity, and you had better hurry up and take it while Cumberland is still rich in skills and manpower. (*Applause.*)

The basic problem of Cumberland is communications: road, rail and docks, and this, we feel, is the main reason for private industry failing to respond to the undoubtedly generous and, I believe, unprecedented monetary incentives offered to industry by any government. But I might also add that the lack of communications did not prevent the 1945/51 Labour Government from embarking on a nuclear power programme in Cumberland and succeeding. And the big civil engineering contractors got their equipment to the site and out.

The problem is not insurmountable. We certainly have road problems but you force us to make a cut in our road programme. Our other mode of transport is docks, and, for Mr. Marsh's benefit, it is the same stretch of sea that passes from Liverpool and flows into Whitehaven's useful but inadequate harbour. When you set up the county into regions, we in Cumberland hoped that with partners in the north we could go forward.

We produced 'A Challenge of the Changing North', which was a working document that had many commendable recommendations, but as we found out to our sorrow, despite the difficulties in Durham, there was a word missed out of that, too. It appears it should have read 'The Challenge of the Changing North East.'

There are many of you delegates in the front of the hall who are on the councils and committees of the regional organisation, and I say to you, without rancour or embitterment, but in the hope that you will put it right, that as partners we have only been granted the crumbs off the table. Cumberland has paid its contribution to the technological age. We await your receipt.

This morning I noted a section in 'Briefing' under Midlands Unemployment. I can assure you that if the Government had achieved these figures in Cumberland we should be much happier. I have news for the unemployed in the Midlands who want a job

in the Midlands: apply to the Ministry of Labour, Catherine Street, Whitehaven.

Thank you. I second. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: The debate is now open.

Mr. L. Daly (National Union of Mine-workers): Madam Chairman and comrades, our delegation agrees wholeheartedly with the views and sentiments that have been so ably expressed by the mover and seconder from this platform. We have in the past submitted, as you are aware, resolutions about the problems now facing the mining communities throughout the whole of Britain to the Trades Union Congress and to this Conference. In addition we have organised lobbies of Parliament, deputations and have undertaken other forms of representation to the Government and to the appropriate Ministers.

But you will have noticed that on Monday delegates from every coalfield in the country who participated in the lobby of this Conference felt so frustrated by the lack of response to the official representations that have been made that they expressed their frustration by penetrating our Conference chamber and letting the whole nation see how the miners feel about how they have been treated. I think they were totally justified. (*Applause.*)

Jennie Lee, when she was a young socialist, taught for a period in the primary school at the village I come from in the Kingdom of Fife. That small primary school is now a little factory producing infant clothes, providing employment for a few dozen women. The coal mine next to it, Jennie, on which that community depended for its livelihood, was closed over two years ago, and the Coal Board decided, despite the fact that it was the deepest shaft in the district, to withdraw the pumping equipment and to close the other half-dozen surrounding coal-mines as the water level rose. That small factory with its few dozen women employees remains the only alternative source of employment, despite the fact that these mines have been closed down.

A few miles away from the village of Glencraig there are two small Government advance factories, which for over a year now have been lying idle, empty, untenanted, because private industrialists are not in all circumstances and in all parts of the country prepared to expand in a situation where the Government is attempting to contract internal demand. They are not prepared to risk private capital, despite the considerable bribes that are being offered to them by our Government.

In that situation we feel strongly that the Government should have taken faster action and more effective action to carry through the promise made in the 1964 election manifesto for the promotion of public enterprise where private enterprise is unwilling or unable to do the job. (*Applause.*)

The reason we had such a big lobby of this Conference on Monday, with delegates from Yorkshire and the Midlands as well as the earlier affected coalfields like Durham, Scotland, Cumberland and South Wales, is that because of the Government's estimates of the decline in the size of the coal industry by 1975 to 120 million tons, the process that we have severely suffered from in Scotland and elsewhere is now beginning to take place in the Midlands and Yorkshire coalfields.

I appeal to the Government to respond to the appeals made by the miners while there is yet time. (*Applause.*)

Rt. Hon. Peter Shore, M.P. (Secretary of State for Economic Affairs): Madam Chairman, can I first assure the mover and seconder of this resolution and Laurence Daly, who spoke from this rostrum a moment ago, that it is, it has been and it remains one of the basic purposes of this Government to correct the regional imbalance which has disfigured life in so many of the regions of this country, and to end that imbalance at the earliest possible moment.

We have since we came to power in 1964 introduced new and stronger measures year after year which are aimed to deal with this problem; and we want to deal with this problem, let me say, for two basic reasons. The first reason, the reason which all socialists accept, is that we will not tolerate continued high unemployment in large areas of the country. We will do everything in our power to end it at the earliest possible moment.

Secondly, it is not only the human problem which we seek here to solve. The waste of economic resources which is involved in the rundown of social capital in large parts of the country, while people are forced to migrate to the overcrowded areas, where they then have to be provided with massive new investment in social capital, does not make sense from the point of view of getting the best out of our economic resources.

Now, you heard in the speech that Harold Wilson made only two days ago that we have in the period during which we have been in power increased the amount of aid going into development areas from something of

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the order of £20 million in 1964 to over £250 million in the current year.

Let me say to those who, quite rightly, see the pace of contraction and fear, because they see it, particularly in the coal industry, that the remedial measures will not work, that the measures we have introduced are new measures. Only a year ago we increased the aid to the development areas, exactly a year ago. We introduced R.E.P. which is worth £100 million a year, and this we have pledged for the next seven years.

Since we last met at Conference our regional studies of the problems of the coal-mining areas in particular led us to describe and define new areas, special development areas, within the development areas, the areas where the coal industry is contracting. For these S.D.A.'s we have produced a new battery of aids, an increase in the incentives which are available, including a continuing programme of advance factories.

So much for what has been done or is being done to get private industry there. We accept that more than that is necessary. The problem of infrastructure, of communications, is crucial to many of these areas, and those who have looked at the road-building programme and, again at the liner train programme will realise that in our planning we have kept very much in mind the needs of the development areas. Those who have noticed the Government policy on dispersal of offices from London, and in particular the recent announcement of the establishment of PAYE computer centres will see again that concern for the development areas has been the major motive in our decision as to where they are to be located.

Finally I say this, that as far as public enterprise is concerned we have, I agree, a long way to go, but we began with the problem that the public enterprise of this country was shackled by statutory restrictions and what we have done in the first place is to strike them off, one by one, from the nationalised industries so they can within the law carry out new activities which they were previously debarred from undertaking.

For those new activities the whole range of incentives which are available to private industry are available to the public sector as well.

I would finally say this. There is a time problem here. The pace of decline in certain of the areas is rapid, and we realise that we have to act with equal urgency to bring the new work in. All I will assure this Conference is that we will press on. We will defeat this problem. We will, in fact, redress regional imbalance in this country. (Applause.)

Mr. J. McCarron (Workington C.L.P.): Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, I do not think there is a delegate in this room who does not appreciate what the Government has done for the special areas. The financial incentives and the offers of allowances towards new and modernised machinery have been indeed wonderful but are only evidence of the real anxiety for the Government to deal with the problem which, up to now, has proved far too much for them.

Let me put it like this to you, delegates. In the place I come from, we have 8 per cent unemployment. Remember this. None of it is of our own making. It is all the result of Government policy—first of all, by Government policy, the closing of Fairfields, taking away from Maryport, part of Workington area, 300 jobs; the rundown of the Royal Naval armaments depot, which I did not mind so much, taking another 300 people. They closed three pits within the last four years, and then they have restricted the railway and communication system. That is all Government policy.

We believe that this Government of ours, this great Labour Government of ours, which we have supported all along, should support us now in our extremities. There is nothing wrong in that.

I put it to you people—you, and you, and you—that you are delegates to this great Conference which should deal with it. How can we deal with it? We realise that the measures they have adopted have not been sufficient to meet the requirements of these particular areas, so we ask them to do this.

If it was necessary two years ago to make a national effort on behalf of the landladies who were affected by the *Torrey Canyon*—many landladies would have been financially embarrassed and some holidaymakers were being inconvenienced; if it was necessary a fortnight ago to use every unit of the Armed Forces to deal with the floods in the South and put a Cabinet Minister in charge of it to deal with it, how much more is it necessary to deal with the problem of 515,000 flesh-and-blood people who have supported this Government all along?

I want these special areas to be a national effort. Do not tell me it cannot be done, because I do not believe it. If a Government like ours—of ours—can bring into being the great Welfare State which is the envy of the world, if a Government can bring in a health service which everybody applauds throughout the world, if it can kick the 11-plus in the pants, surely to God it can give a Cabinet Minister the job of dealing with the special areas. I support the resolution. (Applause.)

Dr. Jack Cunningham (*ex-officio* prospective Parliamentary candidate, Whitehaven): I want to give general support to Composite Resolution No. 38, but I shall make no apology, as the last speaker did not, for making special reference to West Cumberland. Development of the regions has been a cornerstone of our policy since 1964, so there is no reason why we should not look at the effects of this policy since then.

The general fiscal policies of the Government have been generous to say the least, as Peter Shore has reminded us. In spite of this, we have got to acknowledge—and Conference cannot fail to acknowledge when we look at the employment situation in West Cumberland—that the Government's policies have failed to affect the situation there. In fact, as we have been reminded, pit closures have indeed aggravated it.

If we still believe in the policies of 1964, if we are still committed to regional planning, why cannot we have some co-ordination between Ministries and some long-term planning, because it seems to me that this is the very thing which we are lacking.

It should be emphasised that we do not just want *any* jobs in the regions. We want jobs throughout the complete spectrum of employment opportunities. We are not going to replace basic industries like coal and steel with small factories making popcorn and potato crisps, because it just will not do.

Can we emphasise here again that although we are asking for improved communications, communications themselves are not going to solve the problem. If we are going to replace labour-intensive industries, then we need very large industries in their place. If we are going to run down coal and steel, then we need something on the scale of the motor-car industry to replace them.

Can I say this, fellow delegates. It can be argued that there will, of course, be no economic return for investment in the regions. I want to say this. This is more akin to Tory thinking than to Labour Party policy. Of course, there will be no immediate economic return. The economic return will come in the future. If we are going to ensure that regions make any contribution to the future prosperity of this country, then now is the time to subsidise them. Now is the time to invest money in them.

There must be a large number of delegates in this hall today who grew up under Tory Governments and who endured unemployment under Tory Governments. I am sure that they retain a pathological hatred of Toryism. It is lamentable, Madam Chairman, but it is true that children in West Cumberland are growing up and suffering

unemployment under a Socialist Administration.

The town of Millom has 22 per cent of its registered population unemployed today. Cleator Moor has an unemployment figure of 16 per cent. Over Cumberland as a whole, unemployment is three times the national average.

If we are to remove the indigestible affluence of the South-East and the Midlands, we have got to take steps to end the economic starvation of the regions. I support the resolution. (*Applause.*)

Miss Betty Boothroyd (*ex-officio* prospective Parliamentary candidate, Nelson and Colne): Madam Chairman and comrades, when I fought the Nelson and Colne by-election in June of this year, the principal talking point was that of an old industrial part of this country which, over the years, had been allowed to decline.

North-East Lancashire is an area where the rate of economic growth had fallen far behind that of the rest of the country, where 23,000 jobs had disappeared and where 9,500 of its population had migrated to the more prosperous South. All this had taken place, not in the four years of our Government, which some people lulled themselves into believing, but it had taken place since the early 'fifties.

But in spite of this, North-East Lancashire does not qualify for development aid, yet the contraction of its two main industries of coal and of textiles is in itself an enormous economic and social problem. That problem is made all the more acute because of the enormous resources made available to a development area immediately on its doorstep. This tends to perpetuate the greyness of an already grey area, and it drains its industrial vitality chiefly because of the generous 45 per cent investment grant to new firms and also, in some instances, because of what cannot be termed in any other way than industrial poaching from our own grey area.

The problem to me, Madam Chairman, is of course one of definition—the development area versus the grey area—and I think that it is time we got away from the concept of measuring prosperity or lack of it solely in unemployment figures. I have already mentioned migration, and this certainly should be taken into consideration when an area is considered for aid. Obviously, when job opportunities dwindle, families move away, and I have a good deal of sympathy with people who do this. After all, I am a migrant bird myself from the West Riding of Yorkshire.

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Another factor is that in the areas where married women form a large percentage of the labour force, they are not registered as unemployed when they are out of work. Therefore, the picture becomes blurred and the criteria need re-examining.

I would hope that the Hunt Committee which our Government appointed and which is looking into this problem and which is soon, as we all know, to report, and the Government when it comes to consider the recommendations of the Hunt Committee, will measure prosperity in other terms; in the amount of consumer spending in these areas, by the power that is consumed both by industry and by domestic use in these areas, and by the resources that are available for saving.

After all, we know that when times are lean the winter coat has to be brought out for the fourth time because we cannot afford a new winter coat. We know that when we pop over to see a neighbour we turn the electric fire off because it costs too much. When times are hard, instead of making a long distance telephone call we will write a letter, and therefore let us look at prosperity in terms of all this spending rather than in terms of bland figures that appear in the books.

I would appeal to the Hunt Committee and to our Government to reconsider the position of the grey areas in this light.

My final point is that our major need in North East Lancashire is for diversity of industry, for a variety of jobs so that all our people, young and old, men and women alike, have the opportunity of using their skills and their talents to the full. I ask the Government to give some halfway status. I am not asking for the moon, I am not asking for 45 per cent investment grants, I am asking for a halfway status of maybe a 35 per cent grant.

If the economists can work it out we have the people there to do it, so that our people in these areas who once produced the wealth of our nation can be revitalised. I make no apology for speaking about my area. It is very close to me, it is very dear to me, and I am not asking for the impossible but for a little practical help for a people, our people, who so richly deserve it. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I hate rushing you, but I am bound because of the timetable to ask Joe Gormley to reply to the debate.

Mr. J. Gormley (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, I was speaking on Monday in an attempt to try to remedy some of the faults

we found within the constitution and the agenda, and today's debate should have shown the necessity to prevent in future having overloaded agendas. Inevitably you find that important policy is either not discussed or, if it is discussed, it is only discussed in a rushed way. Many delegates feel frustrated because they cannot get up to speak, and in this debate I would suggest there have been more frustrated people trying to get to the rostrum than in any single debate this week. I feel this is an important part of the week's Conference and something to which we should perhaps have given a little more time.

The success or failure of the regional policy decisions of this Government, in my opinion, will determine whether this Government is returned at the next election or whether it is not. The question of success or failure of this work will decide people's minds when they turn out to vote or whether they do not at the next election, and therefore it is of prime importance to the whole of the movement.

When entering into a discussion like this, because so much has been said about pit closures I could be tempted to get drawn into a debate on the fuel and power policy. I do not think we ought to do that at this debate because we are hoping that the real debate on the fuel and power policy will follow this.

I happen to be the N.U.M. Secretary of an area that has had more than its fair share of pit closures. I live in the area where the last speaker lives; I live in Bolton, one of the grey areas we are talking about, so that I know the problems that exist, the problems which have overflowed out of the development areas and which are now becoming apparent, as she says, in the grey areas.

This last 12 months or more I have lambasted a few Government people on decisions they have made on my own industry's problems. I have lambasted Ministers in various committees, but I feel it is right on this occasion to give them some credit for the immense contribution they have made in trying to solve the problems that exist in the regions.

Reference has quite rightly been made by some of the delegates to the imbalance which seems to exist and which is leading to the inequality of opportunity that one delegate so rightly mentioned. But since 1964, one of the Government's major considerations has been to give help and new hope to those areas of the country which were and often had been the first victims of unemployment

and declining industries. This has been done in a variety of ways.

I will not have time this afternoon in the 10 minutes I have, to enumerate the lot of them, but first of all one of the things they did was to set up regional economic planning councils. These have been set up to secure a new planning approach between the Government and the regions and also to prepare plans for the balanced economic growth. Most of these councils have now produced their first reports which have been studied by the Government and by the regions also.

They set up development areas, and you have heard Peter Shore mention that within the development areas they have also set up now special development areas which have special development problems. One of those may be the one that each and every one of us wants to speak about. The difficulty in a debate like this is that each and everybody who comes to the rostrum speaks in a rather parochial way. They relate the problems that exist in their own particular areas as if they only existed there, but they exist throughout the whole of the country, particularly in the places that have been affected by declining industries.

Government aid to these areas is now running at some £250 million a year, compared with £80 million a year in the last year of the Tory Government, and these special development areas will be receiving quite a lot of attention with this amount of money.

The system created when we agreed that we should set up advance factories was quite rightly mentioned by an N.U.M. delegate when he said that although advance factories have been built, there is still, after months and months of them standing idle, no sign of industry taking up those positions. A little later on when we discuss the resolution I shall say what I think we ought to be trying to do to get this remedied.

In the last four years, over 120 advance factories have been announced, and more than half of these have been built, and another 40 are under construction.

In the private industry section, industries have been encouraged to move into these areas on an increasing scale. Somebody mentioned that these were as a result of Government bribes. I do not take them as being bribes. I look at them as being necessitated in order to create the job evaluation in these development areas. Whatever you call them, whether it is bribes or not, it is Government money and public money being used to the public benefit. We ought not to consider that they are just private

enterprise bribes; they are bribes to our people if they provide the jobs our people sorely need.

Building grants in these same areas have been set at a high level. These are normally at 35 per cent, but in the case of the new projects in the development areas, they have been raised to 45 per cent. Loans towards the industrial cost of transferring to a development area, with the provision of Board of Trade factories for rent or sale have also helped to bring new life to these areas.

Regional employment premiums were introduced last year and the scheme will run for a minimum of seven years, at a cost of £100 million a year. Industrial development certificates are now being issued in large numbers in these development areas; Scotland, Wales and the Northern region now obtain one-third of all I.D.C. approvals, compared with one-fifth in the period 1961-64. Public industry, or the public sector, is also playing its part in the improvement of these long-suffering areas, and no less than one-sixth of the total of Government civil contracts are currently placed in development areas.

Because it is not sufficient just to deal with the development side and the industrial part of an area, you have to deal with some of the things which happen in the rural areas and certain measures have been introduced. These measures are taking effect. Loans of up to £25,000 can now be made by the Development Commission to small hotels, guest houses, etc., in the rural part of the development areas. Hotels in certain areas can get a full refund of S.E.T.

The manufacturers in development areas are being paid a heavy Regional Employment premium as well as Selective Employment Tax premiums for each of their employees. This will help to provide extra industry and employment in these areas, and achieve economic growth without straining resources in those areas of the country which are already fully employed.

But many other avenues of help have also been opened, for example I can quote the help being given to the shipbuilding industry as a result of the implementation of the Shipbuilding Act, and I think all the unions whose members are employed in shipbuilding can applaud the Government for the Act which was introduced and which set up the Shipbuilding Industry Board with the task of trying to reorganise, what was termed a decadent industry, with better employment opportunities for the lads so employed.

I just have one word of warning. I hope we will not find that this expenditure of

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public money and the opportunity that the Government is giving to use public money to rectify the inadequacies of industry will create ideas where employers now seem to be better employers than they ever were before. They may be able to do this by using the workers in these places and saying, 'If I don't get the hand-outs from the Government, it is your jobs that are at stake.'

I say that unless they can give us some idea that they will reorganise their industry and that they themselves have a new type of thinking, we as Labour Party members and trade unionists should say, 'You are not getting public money just to line your own pockets. It has to be used to reorganise industry in a proper fashion and not in the way that we have had it over the years.' Therefore, we should never allow ourselves to be used as pressure groups in order to get public money without having certain guarantees that it will be used in the correct way.

All this new replanning means that we inevitably must have greater emphasis placed on the need for retraining. At the moment, there are 23 Industrial Training Boards in the development areas, and three more are planned to be set up this year. This will bring the total number of workers covered by the Industrial Training Boards to almost 16 million.

This does not mean that the N.E.C. accept the position. The N.E.C. indicated to the Government and wish to indicate to the Government again that in their opinion this is not a high enough figure, and more and more attention should be given to the retraining of men who, unfortunately, through no fault of their own, are having to seek employment in another industry.

That is why we wish to indicate that we accept the latter part of the resolution, talking about wages which would be paid during retraining facilities. We say that a man should financially be no worse off when he asks to be retrained in such a way, because he has been affected by regional or Government planning. He has to go into the same shop, therefore he should not have a lesser income during that time.

We have only talked about the development areas and the last speaker quite rightly mentioned the grey areas. Although the Government has done much in helping these development areas, they have not done quite as much to try to help the grey areas. We feel that the other areas such as the one mentioned by Betty Boothroyd need attention. They need re-invigorating and in fact they need, as she says, a diversity of industries so that all types of people

affected by redundancy can be found job opportunities.

It is not sufficient, I think, just to take into mining areas, heavy industry, you must also take industry into mining areas affected, industry which will cater for the light industrial men who are now being catered for within their own industry. This is why the diversity of industries is so necessary. This has been tackled and realised by the Government to such a degree that they have set up the Hunt Committee. We expect that the report will be made available to the Government before very long.

This is what the Government has been doing, but I have not said anything about what the N.E.C. have been trying to do on this issue. As an N.E.C., we met the Cabinet at 10 Downing Street, and this was one of the big items of the meeting. We were stressing to the Government all the fears that have been expressed from this rostrum today, and I know that they took to heart many of the things that were said at the meeting. Perhaps they were said a little more forcibly in that closed meeting than was possible on this public rostrum today.

We have also set up a study group on regional policy under the chairmanship of Dan Smith, and we hope to have his report in front of the N.E.C. for our discussions early in the New Year.

What do we believe we should do when we discuss the resolution? We believe as an N.E.C. that more and more should be done by the Government to make sure that all these incentives which are created for public and private enterprise should be pushed a little more thoroughly, and there should be government pressure for subsidiaries of existing nationalised industries to be directed into these areas. We would urge the Government to recognise the need for an extension of public enterprise in the manufacturing sectors. For example, why should anybody be waiting for telephones when we have advance factories in certain areas where these things can be made? There is such a multiplicity of equipment which could be reorganised and directed, because it is within the orbit of the Government, to these areas.

This should also include, as suggested from the rostrum, the setting up of the other forms of national enterprise in the manufacturing sectors. There should be no thought that because we cannot get private industry into these areas we can do nothing about it. The Government can do a lot about it by setting up nationalised enterprises which would be in competition with these people who will not take advantage of our offer.

I am going to ask you to accept the resolu-

tion with certain reservations. We believe, I personally believe, that we have to be more direct in our approach to this problem. We have, as a Labour movement over the years, abhorred the question of direction of industry because we said it would lead inevitably to the direction of labour. I want to remind a lot of delegates and Ministers in this room that there is already direction of labour by the very fact that men want jobs, and because they want jobs they have to go where the jobs are. (Applause.)

The demonstration on Monday morning should have shown this, because if you had looked at the placards you would have seen that the men were not wanting something which is wrong, they said, 'Jobs not the Dole', and this is something we all ought to believe in. If we believe in dropping the unemployment figure, it is jobs for the boys we want. (Applause.)

Therefore, while still expressing certain reservations which have been put in the executive committee on being forced to say that we will direct labour, we are saying to the Government, 'Look a little more closely into this and work a little harder in your endeavours to get these industries into the right areas.'

I would not like to see certain industries being denied the opportunity to move into certain areas because some chief executive's wife does not like the thought of going there to live. This is likely to happen if we are not careful, and I would imagine that in certain circumstances like that there would be no doubt in the Government's mind that it was in the interests of the economy of Britain that industry would have to go, irrespective of the personal feelings of any of these top executives. I would hope that because we accept the resolution with that sort of reservation, Conference can accept it.

There is just one other small reservation which the executive have, and here I would speak to my own colleagues; the bald phrase, 'to stop pit closures' is badly worded. 'To stop pit closures' is a bald statement which does not mean anything because I have a colliery not 40 miles from here which closes in two weeks because there is no coal there. So you could not stop that pit closing, and whatever you did it would have to close because there is just nothing there for it to produce.

So the question of the bald term 'to stop pit closures' ought not to have been like this in the Composite. Perhaps it should have been worded a little differently and there would have been no reservations at all. It is only with that small reservation on that particular point that we wish you, and ask

Conference to accept the resolution wholeheartedly and tell the Government that on this occasion they must act upon it. (Applause.)

The Chairman: This is Composite 48. The N.E.C. recommendation is that you accept. Those in favour of acceptance please show . . . Against? . . . That is carried.

Now we move on to National Fuel Policy and National Hydrocarbons Corporation. I would ask you to turn to the paragraph on Fuel Policy Study Group, page 28 of the N.E.C. Report. This will be taken with Composite Resolution 2, National Fuel Policy, and Resolution 176, National Hydrocarbons Corporation. I call on the mover of Composite 2, the Electrical Trades Union.

NATIONAL FUEL POLICY

Mr. J. O'Neil (Electrical Trades Union) moved Composite Resolution No. 2:

*This Conference affirms its support for a National Fuel Policy designed to secure the maximum economic use of the nation's indigenous energy resources and re-emphasises the need for effective planning and direction of fuel and power resources as a whole including measures to achieve the co-ordination of ideas and research, a planned phasing of the necessary pit closures, obsolete power stations, etc., and the provision of alternative industry to absorb those workers who are made redundant.**

He said: The purpose of this motion is to bring to the attention of this Conference the continued lack of a planned national fuel policy. Since 1964 when the Labour Government took office the Minister of Power has presented two papers on fuel policy to Parliament, but one read last week in the newspapers of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Nationalised Industries. This immediately casts a shadow on the proposed fuel policy.

We do recognise the difficulties—social, technological and economic—involved in devising a national fuel policy. A policy cannot be created overnight. Planning of necessity requires education, permission and time. The Labour Government has been in office now for nearly four years, and whilst

*Resolution carried. See page 283

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it would be unfair to say that no plan has been forthcoming the one that so far has been proposed has been an extremely wavering one.

The Government's fuel policy by necessity must be concerned with achieving the right balance between the different and sometimes conflicting fuel resources, but it is the role of Government to chart a planned course through this maze and provide the nation with the cheapest possible energy resources.

For this reason, we are asking Conference to affirm 'its support for a national fuel policy', but one that is 'designed to secure the maximum economic use of the nation's indigenous' fuel resources. Energy in a modern society can be regarded as a driving force in economic development and not merely a pre-requisite for the functioning and growth of the economy.

Projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States and the excellent achievements of the Hydro Board in the North of Scotland have acted as a base for the development of manufacturing industry. Projects of this nature, however, need planning and direction and cannot be subject to the internal fights of the conflicting fuel interests or even contemplated if the fuel industries themselves are forced to bear an economic burden that will keep them from becoming fully competitive.

We are not unsympathetic to the fears that many people have of change and interruption and disruption. Neither do we underestimate the problems involved. We would be the first to urge on the Government social, economic and regional policies in order to assist the process of change and the elimination of hardship. We cannot as a movement urge upon others change where we ourselves are reluctant to accept change. Change there must be. So let us make certain that it is the kind of change that will be acceptable to this movement and let us use Labour's strength to achieve that very purpose.

Mrs. N. Crawford (Easington C.L.P.): In supporting this Resolution we wish to emphasise the part dealing with alternative employment. Although we appreciate what the Government have done to cushion the blow to the older man, there is a demoralising effect on the individual in unemployment. We believe in the right to work and all the social benefits cannot replace the importance of having a job.

Since nationalisation the miners' conditions have changed in a wonderful fashion. The conditions under which miners now work are far beyond their wildest dreams.

Amenities in village life provide better opportunities and a feeling of confidence in the industry has grown over the years. No longer do they fear the buzzer going as a sign of 'no work tomorrow'.

To achieve these conditions millions of pounds have been poured into the industry in mechanisation, only to find many collieries closed down. The future may be nuclear power, but much money is spent to bring oil into the country to compete with coal. Lord Robens has said that coal cannot compete economically with other fuel. After all these wonderful things done for coal and miners, you can imagine the shock to the manpower in so many closures. Surely closures could have operated on planned alternative employment.

This is a human problem, but the unemployment figures affecting school leavers in my region—possibly the same thing applies to other areas—is serious. There is a major problem in my own region, where many of the school leavers would have found employment in the mines. We are faced with the spectacle of derelict villages and disillusioned men.

Let us not forget the women also, who are facing this problem. Conference has already witnessed the strong feeling of a group of miners in this Conference. We ask the Government to remember that no more loyal group of men deserve their consideration. We do not just want pit closures slowed down just to keep the miners going underground. No one would wish this on any man, but more pressure must be used to bring industry into the mining areas.

Some miners have had to move elsewhere, but we do not want our areas to be completely denuded of workers. The men of Peterlee must turn in their graves to see the ruthless wiping out of an industry for which they worked so hard to better the conditions at the beginning of this century.

So now I ask the consideration of Conference and the Government for the mining community of this country, and it gives me great pleasure to second this resolution. *(Applause.)*

Mr. J. Mills (Holborn and St. Pancras South C.L.P.) moved Resolution No. 176:

This Conference is disturbed at the lack of progress made towards the formation of the National Hydrocarbons Corporation. In view of the fact that the proposal was made by an expert committee set up following a resolution from the National Union of Mineworkers at the 1966 Annual Conference; was carefully considered,

*discussed with the Minister of Power, and accepted by the National Executive Committee; was unanimously endorsed by Annual Conference 1967 (and referred to in favourable terms by the responsible Minister in the course of the debate); Conference urges the National Executive Committee to press the Minister of Power to ensure its creation in good time to be in full operation by 1970 when the first licensed areas granted by the Tories are due to be surrendered.**

He said: Madam Chairman, delegates, I think it is very important that you pay very careful attention to what the movers of this resolution are going to say, because there is a very grave danger that we are going to lose a prime opportunity to put our principles into practice. I am referring to the setting up of the National Hydrocarbons Corporation.

Let me explain very briefly what the National Hydrocarbons Corporation is, and what is proposed. Briefly we want a powerful corporation set up to take charge initially of the exploration for gas in the North Sea.

I think, probably, the closest analogy here between the setting up of a National Hydrocarbons Corporation for the exploration of North Sea gas, was the building of the railways in the last century. This was done without proper control over where the lines were laid and without proper organisation of the way the whole thing was set up and, as a result of this, there was a waste of resources that is still with us today.

The fact is there is another danger that the same sort of thing will happen with the development of North Sea gas; we are going to get pipelines laid in the wrong place and the resources there are not going to be exploited to the benefit of the nation as a whole, as efficiently as they might be.

Time, in this matter, is getting desperately short, and the reason is this: the original licences to explore North Sea gas were granted in 1964 and they expire in 1970. Unless something is done very quickly to get a National Hydrocarbons Corporation off the ground this opportunity is going to be lost, and it will be lost for ever. Not only is there a danger of losing what is happening in the North Sea, but also there are other areas of the country where gas is likely to be found, and we will lose those as well.

It is no good anybody moving a resolution at next year's conference, it will be too late; we must have action and have it quickly.

**Resolution carried. See page 283*

because we have only 18 months to get it done.

There have been suggestions that the problem of taking charge of exploiting North Sea gas can be done through the Gas Council. We reject these suggestions, and we reject them for a number of very good reasons.

The Gas Council is a relatively weak, federal body, which is not set up to take charge of the sort of thing that requires to be done; it is essentially a marketing organisation, it has nothing to do with exploring, it is in the wrong technology.

There is very little in common between exploring for gas in the North Sea and making gas on land. What we require is not a tinkering solution here, because this will never do the job properly, what we require is a fundamental solution by the setting up of a new corporation.

During the last few days we have heard a great deal from the platform here about new technologies, new fields, new ideas for public enterprise; but, comrades, we have got one sitting here right under our noses and it is not often that such a huge new industry comes forward which is so absolutely apposite for public ownership.

Are you aware that over the next 20 years the development of gas is going to come to a point where something like 20 per cent of the primary fuel needs of this country are going to be met from North Sea gas? This is going to be a huge industry, and most of the problems which are involved in the setting up of a new public enterprise do not apply here.

If we move quickly there will be no compensation problem, because the licences which exist at the moment are going to revert to the Government in 1970. If we move quickly we can keep them and exploit this gas ourselves and not have to hand it back to other people. This public enterprise would be as likely of success as anything one could conceivably imagine.

This is a huge, growing field, and it is not difficult to do, because most of the staff that are required for this already are available either in parts of the Gas Council or in other oil companies, many of them working abroad, and they would be delighted to come back to this country.

Nor is the scale of investment by any means crippling; it is not very large, and the return on the capital employed would be huge. This would be a really shining example of what public ownership could do, if it is used in the appropriate field, as this is.

Comrades, this opportunity must not be

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missed. As I told you earlier, there is no prospect of this opportunity coming up again in the way that it is coming up at the present time. If we move quickly there is time to put through the necessary legislation and to get the whole thing set up to be ready to cope with these licences when they expire in 1970. But if we dally we will lose this opportunity and maybe what will happen over the next 50 years is that the private companies will exploit this resource and in 50 years we will have to come back and nationalise it because it will have got in a mess.

We must not allow this to happen, comrades, we must call on the Government to set up a National Hydrocarbons Corporation and to do it quickly. This is a terrific opportunity, it is right down the line of everything we have heard from the platform this week. It really is a touchstone of the Government's faith in the principles for which we stand.

Madam Chairman and fellow delegates, I move this motion. (*Applause.*)

Dr. A. Hart (Richmond C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, I rise to second this resolution, and I also speak in the capacity as Chairman of the Study Group which produced these reports.

I do not think I want to take up Conference's time for long, because I think the mover of this resolution has really made the case for Conference accepting it. I want, however, to associate the members of the study group with what the mover has said.

At the last Conference you accepted the report, which is here. (*Holding up a copy of the report.*) I hope many of you have studied it, and discussed it in your C.L.P.s and trade union branches. During this year we had the task, which Conference gave us, which the N.E.C. instructed us to carry out, to work out the details to produce a blueprint for the structure, the finance, of the Corporation that we propose to set up to deal with North Sea gas, and to think out something about the relationship between it and the Gas Council. This, Madam Chairman, we have done. Here is the report.

We have had an active year. Now, however, we on the committee, and I speak now for a group of technologists, economists, geologists, experts in oil and gas exploration, people with experience in the development of oil fields, people who were at the disposal of the N.E.C., have put a great deal of time at the disposal of the N.E.C. and were very active in working out this policy.

During that time I think they developed

an increasing anxiety—the anxiety which this resolution shows—that on behalf of the Government there was not parallel work being done. You see, we had produced a policy, Conference had accepted it last year, it was and is the policy of our movement that we should continue the exploitation of the North Sea gas in public hands.

And surely, because time is short, because we must have an essential part of that process, we must take into public hands the reverted licences, the areas which in 1970 and 1971, as the mover has explained to you, revert to the nation. These must be the cornerstone of the new development.

Because of this, time is extremely short, and so my committee began to get anxious during the year, and so when we saw on the agenda this resolution we were, of course, extremely pleased. I think that it is fair that the movers of this resolution, and in the country many C.L.P. delegations, in thinking about the future, should have worried that perhaps we were going to see procrastination follow delay and that it would soon be too late to take over the licences in 1971. This would restrict the flow of the fresh discoveries and hold up the whole policy. This we reject. We feel, and I am personally convinced, this will not happen.

But there are anxieties still that because of the increasing strength of the oil companies—and they are powerful lobbyists—they will introduce into the argument pressures which the Government may find it difficult to resist. We say to the Government: 'Do not lose your nerve. The policy we put forward is an excellent one that can be accepted and successful.'

And so we say to the Government that if the oil companies come and say, as they have already, 'Look, there is no further point in exploiting North Sea gas, we have got it all,' say to them that that is untrue: the whole history of the exploitation of gas fields shows that is untrue.

There will be many pitfalls. I cannot say what they will be. I am convinced that the Minister of Power and the Government will fulfil the policy of Conference and not be side-tracked.

Sir Sidney Ford (National Union of Mine-workers): Madam Chairman, I want to move the reference back of that paragraph of the report dealing with fuel policy on page 28. I do this in order to register our protest at the failure of the executive to take any decisive action over the last twelve months to implement the decision of last year's

Annual Conference as recorded in the first sentence of Composite Resolution 22.

Now, I do not minimise what has been done by the Government to alleviate the social consequences of the changes that are taking place in the coalmining industry. Indeed, I have gone on record acknowledging that this Government has done more for the coalmining industry than any other Government. But this fact must not be allowed to divert our attention from the decision of last year's Conference which called on the Government to take immediate measures to facilitate an overall energy plan making the maximum use of indigenous coal, etc.

Now, there is no evidence from the N.E.C. Report that the Government has been urged to implement a plan in accord with last year's Conference decision. Instead, it would appear that the N.E.C. have accepted the policy of the Government as set out in the White Paper on fuel policy as published last autumn which, whether we like it or not, or whether they like it or not, means acceptance of the inevitability of the contraction of the coalmining industry.

It means acceptance of the view that coal cannot be expected to live in competition with other fuels, and consequently, if not on its way out, must settle for a comparatively minor role in supplying the nation's energy requirements of the future.

Now, I would challenge the executive to explain how they can reconcile their attitude over the past twelve months with the decision of last year's Conference, or indeed how they can justify it in the light of their own policy statement presented last year in which they acknowledged that the core of any fuel policy, and here I quote: 'Will remain the need to maintain a robust and efficient coal industry whilst deriving the maximum benefit from newer fuels.'

We accept the implications of the wording of the composite motion which calls for the economic use of the nation's indigenous energy resources. But I suggest that the coalmining industry, which has increased productivity by no less than 66 per cent over the last decade, and which I confidently predict will continue to improve its efficiency, warrants more favourable consideration than it has been receiving recently.

We reject the view that coal as a fuel is outmoded. Coal produced efficiently and used in modern coal burning appliances can be a fully competitive source of fuel and energy. Let us heed the experience of the United States of America and Russia. In these two countries, both rich in vast reserves of oil and natural gas and not lacking in the

know-how of nuclear energy, there has been an unprecedented upsurge in the production of coal, and this is continuing.

May I quickly comment, Madam Chairman, on the latter part of the composite motion? Reorganisation, modernisation, of the coalmining industry has imposed a heavy burden on many of our members and their families. Add to this the consequences of a deliberate contraction of the industry in order to equate production to the falling demand and you have the reason why we have been so insistent over the recent years that more dynamic action should be taken by our Government to ensure that pit closures, where these are inevitable, should be phased to coincide with the movement of alternative industry into those areas, often isolated, where coal mining will no longer be the major medium of employment.

My warning to the executive and the Government is that if you really see coal as having to play a major role in meeting our energy needs for many years to come—and I would remind you that Ian Mikardo, speaking on behalf of the executive last year said this was so—there must be an urgent reappraisal of the present attitude.

I am confident coal will justify our faith in it if only it is given a reasonable chance. That is why I ask Conference to support the reference back, thus making it plain, as Ian Mikardo put it last year, that the N.E.C. is not just an echo-sounding board for the views of the Government.

I move the reference back, Madam Chairman.

The Chairman: Comrades, the reference back of the paragraph on fuel has been moved. It would help enormously if at this stage you would agree that it should be formally seconded and that when we come to Composite 12 and Resolution 176 we take all the votes together. Would you agree that that should be formally seconded and then we can go on with the debate? (*Seconded.*)

We should call Roy Mason now, then.

Rt. Hon. Roy Mason, M.P. (Minister of Power): Madam Chairman and Friends, I agree with the particular phrase of Sid Ford, the President of the National Union of Mineworkers, that we should have a robust and efficient coalmining industry, and the course on which we are embarking is precisely to provide that.

But first of all, Madam Chairman, I think that all Conference delegates should be aware of what we have done for the mining industry while in office.

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First, we wiped out £415,000,000 of the Coal Board's capital debt.

Second, we started to establish a ring of protection around the industry in order to give coal a better chance to fight. We stopped all coal imports from abroad, especially American coal, which can be mined in large quantities and shipped to Britain cheaper than we can produce it. (*Shouts from the floor.*) We have kept the fuel tax on oil, and indeed it has just recently been increased—it's now £2 4s. a ton on every ton of oil that comes into Britain. This is costing British industry £90 million a year, so that British industry and indeed the nation are helping coal.

We do not allow any conversions of any power stations from coal to oil without the Minister's specific permission, and in all Government establishments in the country we decreed that if they were having new heating systems they should put in coal instead of any other fuel, even if coal is up to 5 per cent dearer.

Now, those were the protective measures we took, but, recognising, Madam Chairman, that there was going to be a four-year contraction and that by 1971 we wanted to have a large core of long-life economic mines, we then decided to spend another £133 million on the Board, the miners and their communities: £45 million helping with the transfer schemes of the Coal Board; £45 million going to help the miners themselves with their over-55 scheme, which is unique. No other industry in Britain has an over-55 scheme where men, if they become unemployed through a pit closure, can have up to 90 per cent of their take-home pay for three years, so that they can in those quieter moments, worried about a future job, have three years in which to adapt themselves to their changing circumstances.

We have in four years afforded £550 million to the Board, the miners and their communities (*shouts from the floor*) in order that they can fight competitively against other fuels.

Now, friends, the Tories when they were in office closed 366 collieries; 277,000 men left the pits, and they did not give a penny to the Board or the miners or provide alternative employment. (*Applause.*) Although we have had a debate on development areas and at the moment are having a debate on coal, Seaton Carew has not been mentioned, and I will mention it.

Seaton Carew happens to be one of the facts of our times; on every type of costing, nuclear power came out best in this case. But if we can sensibly phase out the high

cost collieries from the mining districts and have what the Coal Board really require—a strong, robust, efficient industry by 1971—then they can start to compete with the newer fuels and that is our aim. (*Interruptions from the floor.*)

Nobody mentions, Madam Chairman, that we are now building 12—not one but 12—big coal-fired stations in Britain, and those, allied with the recent modern coal stations that have been built will require coal, and millions of tons of coal, beyond the year 2000.

It is about time we stopped criticising our industry. It is about time we stood up for it and praised it. It still has got a future and it is wrong that scare-mania should start permeating the industry. I feel personally involved myself; I worked for 14 years underground and I have been a miner-sponsored M.P. for 16 years, and I have never left those from whence I came. I live with my constituents every weekend and I know the feelings of miners as well as any member in the Government. We are going out of our way to try and help.

What I am most perturbed about at this moment of time is that we do not want the contraction too fast. We do not want the rundown of manpower to be so rapid that even the long-life economic pits may be in jeopardy. That is what I am aware of and we will watch that. But for coal there is a future and all young men that want to enter into it, especially the technically-minded men, have a future for many years to come. (*Applause.*)

Mr. A. E. Simpson (Hemsworth C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, it has been said by the Minister of Power what the Government have done for the industry. What perturbs us most is what the Government have not done, and the Government have failed in their attempts to slow down the industry's closures, to compete with other fuels by virtue of the fact that they have not insisted that coal should be used as a major fuel in this country today.

It is not many days since we had another Minister of Fuel. While the mineworkers' representatives have tried to sell coal in every way, and Robens himself has tried to sell coal, the previous Minister of Power said, 'I can't sell coal.' If he cannot sell coal, who can?

I want to say one little thing: we in the past few days have been talking about comprehensive education. Now, a few weeks ago in my own particular area we opened a new

comprehensive school which will produce the new technological personnel that have just been mentioned by the Minister of Power. We will, I hope, produce a new team of academics, but unless we can guarantee that these young people will have somewhere to work what is the use of producing them?

I want to say immediately, Madam Chairman, that our demand to the Government is that we shall stop running down the industry, we shall stop it now—not running down by words but by deeds—and that no pit closures should take place where the pit can produce coal until some alternative employment is brought in; not close it down now and then wait for somebody else to bring in employment.

This should be done now, and the Government—as far as I am concerned and the ordinary mineworker is concerned—should lay down that the indigenous fuel that is underneath our feet, that we can get easily, should be used in the electricity industry. Until this is done we cannot hope to expect the public to support the industry, if we do not get support from the Government itself. I say immediately, we can say they are going to build 20 new power stations, but there is no guarantee on a national grid system that they will all be fully employed by the indigenous fuel we produce.

I would ask this Conference now to support the composite resolution and also to support the reference back that was mentioned by Sid Ford earlier on. Let us ask now, give us a chance to work. That is not asking for charity. We all know what is being done for the industry, but what the mining community want is a chance to work and a chance to produce the fuel the country needs so badly.

The Chairman: I must now call on John Chalmers to reply.

Mr. J. Chalmers (National Executive Committee): I will attempt to be as brief as possible and within the limited time available to answer perhaps some of the points that have been made on Composite 2, Resolution 176 and the reference back.

First of all I want to say this as a trade unionist: how well I know the shiver of alarm that goes through any area at a time of unemployment that has been caused either by economic mismanagement or through the impact of technological change. Always behind it, comrades, lies the responsibility of Government to make sure that there

will be a plan for ordered transition, and this is, I believe quite firmly, the kind of thing that has been called for in Composite No. 2.

Nevertheless, and despite the interruptions while Roy Mason was speaking, I think it is always worth repeating; because if we attempt to run away from it, one would imagine that the Government have done little or nothing at all. (*Interruption from the floor: 'You have a point there.'*)

The Prime Minister made some mention in his statement on Tuesday and summed it up in a very neat little package when he referred to the kind of things that were being done in the industry, the kind of thing that was taking place to avoid the impact of the run-down and the kind of thing that was being done for those who were becoming involved in premature retirement.

The second thing, after the £415-million which the Government offered at that time in order to offset some of the debt of the National Coal Board, was to try and create the inducement. Whether they were successful or not, as has been mentioned in the last debate, they offered these inducements in order to foster and to encourage industries to move into the closure areas.

We also found that because of the estimate that was shown, however, as a result of the newer competing fuels—North Sea gas and nuclear energy—there was inevitably a much faster run-down in the coal industry than had been justified in industrial and in social terms.

Accordingly, therefore, the Government requested both the gas and the electricity undertakings to burn more coal. This created a situation where something like 6 million tons more was taken in, which, I understand, is equivalent to avoiding the closure of something like a dozen decent-sized collieries, at the request of the National Union of Mineworkers and considered seriously and implemented by your Government.

And then, of course, in 1967 we had the Coal Industry Act. It does not provide everything that the miners want. I accept that as a trade unionist. I accept that. There was, however, the £133-million and another £45-million made available for grants to offset and improve the redundancy pay, in addition to the national pay, for the loss of pension and employment prospects.

All in all, comrades, what the Government have been genuinely concerned about in their review was not how to increase the run-down of the coal industry, but how to slow up that run-down. It is on this last point—and I am quite sure that the miners'

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delegation will remain quiet—where the conflict arises.

It is on this last point, perhaps, that I agree with the miners, because here we found that according to the records there was an estimated pay-off of some 35,000, and in actual fact, before this year is out, there will be some 58,000 paid off.

No one is saying, of course—and I appreciate this, comrades—least of all the miners, that the Labour Party or the Labour Government has done nothing for the coal community. There is this situation, nevertheless, of the increasing incidence of the pay-offs as a consequence of the increased incidence of the closures. (*Interruption.*) I want, nevertheless, despite these interruptions, to pay a compliment to the miners, who have been exemplary in their whole conduct in this very serious situation. Their conduct is such that there has been a record quite unknown without industrial strife. I want to give you that compliment, brothers.

Having said so much, I want to make it abundantly clear that the voice of the National Executive Committee is not merely the post office of Government. It is here that we are trying, through this Conference, to remind the Government as sharply as we possibly can that the job is not yet complete and that there is still quite a lot to be done.

I mention that because here we have, once again, at the Labour Party Conference, on our agenda Composite Resolution No. 2 seeking to reassert our support for a national fuel policy designed to do a number of things on co-ordination and also to take remedial action to offset social consequences. This again, comrades, is the real centre of the argument between the National Executive Committee and the Government.

Joe Gormley mentioned the kind of things that were talked about that Sunday we were last at Downing Street. But you know, comrades, the real truth is that Labour's attitude to a fuel policy has always been quite clear, and I want to make it quite clear so far as the N.E.C. is concerned.

I would be the first to admit, perhaps, that so far it would appear that we may only have been scraping the surface in these issues. I want to say this in order to satisfy not only the mover of Composite Resolution No. 2, but also the miners' delegation: that the executive stand very firmly on two points.

One: the production of fuel and power must be co-ordinated in an overall plan to meet the nation's needs—and Sidney Ford said precisely that last year and has repeated it again this year.

Two: in formulating a policy, a special place must of necessity be reserved for the

home industries, otherwise the indigenous fuels. We stand very firm on these two main planks. So that, comrades, I am not suggesting where the blame should be apportioned, either to the floor or to the platform, let alone the Government.

I want to say this finally, because time is not on our side, and very briefly to our colleagues who addressed themselves to Resolution No. 176. You have heard Tony Hart giving support to the mover of the resolution, and he was the chairman of the working party. I want to say both to him and to the mover that the national executive accept very much the sentiments expressed in Resolution No. 176, and also—and we really mean this—that we will continue to press as vigorously as we can for the implementation of the Conference decision.

Of course, it has been mentioned—and here I must put it on record from this platform—that up to the time of this Conference we understand that our proposals, Roy, were still being considered by the Ministry of Power.

But so far no commitment has been forthcoming from the Government. There have been, however—and here again Conference is entitled to know—proposals in certain quarters that the Ministry are for reorganising the Gas Council in such a way that might be quite inconsistent with the creation of a National Hydrocarbon Corporation. Our argument, as a working party and through the voice of the national executive, is that it would be much more sensible in our opinion for the reorganisation of the Gas Council to follow rather than precede the creation of the Corporation itself.

I do not want to go on any further, Madam Chairman, other than to say that the executive are accepting Composite Resolution No. 2, we are accepting Resolution 176 on your agenda, and to Sidney Ford in reply, we would hope that you had not asked the reference back. We have already published two rather wonderful documents, and I say this to the delegates especially because I am seeking your assistance in opposing the reference back.

We did produce this document last year; we have produced this document this year, and there will be a further one as soon as we can get back to Transport House from this Conference. We give you these assurances.

I know there has been mention made particularly about comparative fuel costs. This was made by the mover of Composite 2 in his remarks. We have been waiting on the Select Committee's report which only

came out last Thursday and was printed last Friday morning. We have not yet as a party executive been able to have an examination of that report, but we ask you, comrades, to support Composite 2, support Resolution 176, but oppose the reference back. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you. We will now vote, Comrades, on Composite 2. The N.E.C. recommends acceptance. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . (*Agreed.*)

Composite Resolution 2 was accepted by a show of hands.

On Resolution 176 the N.E.C. recommends acceptance. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . (*Agreed.*)

Resolution 176 was accepted by a show of hands.

We now come to page 28 of the N.E.C. Report, the paragraph on the Fuel Policy Study Group. The N.E.C. recommends that you vote against the reference back. (*Cries of 'Card vote'.*)

Card vote 9 was taken, resulting in reference back being carried.

For 3,400,000

Against 2,339,000

DISCRIMINATION

Mr. R. Burns (Southampton, Test C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 38:

This Conference requests Her Majesty's Government to grant substantially greater financial aid to towns where social conditions of low standard, including areas of a high ratio of immigrants, incur extra cost to the local ratepayers for the provision of extra houses, educational facilities and welfare services.

Conference reaffirms its support for the principles long upheld by the Labour Party of racial and religious equality and tolerance and its opposition to any form of racial discrimination in this country. It calls for:

- (a) *a national policy for immigration based not on colour but on the social and economic needs of the country;*
- (b) *the amendment of the Race Relations Act by excluding any clauses permitting racial discrimination in industry; and*
- (c) *a massive programme of education to counteract racial prejudice in all its aspects. In particular it urges the Department of Education and Science to undertake a campaign to guide*

*teachers in counteracting racial prejudice in schools.**

Mr. Burns said: My first word to the Conference is one of congratulations to the Government for passing the Race Relations Act. (*Applause.*) I regard it as one of the most important equality Acts ever passed by any government, and I tremble to think what Act the Tories would have passed had they been in power. Some had hoped that the Act would have been an all-party one because you will know and I will know that there are reasonable, fair-minded Liberals and some Conservatives.

The Act has its defects, and these are referred to in Composite 38, but every piece of legislation is imperfect. Idealists are never satisfied, and I am one of them. We are the modern Oliver Twists, we always want more. As treasurer of the Southampton Community Relations Council, I have to combine dreaming with doing, so I know something about priorities. I can give this Conference a hundred good ideas for spending £100 million.

But it was a great encouragement to read in Hansard Mr. Callaghan's speech in July when he announced a special renewal programme of expenditure of £20-25 million during the next four years, starting now.

The composite resolution I am moving is as much on behalf of those areas of acute need as of my own beloved Southampton which has under 2 per cent immigrant population. But do not be misled, Southampton could transform one of its areas if the Government gives us some of the money that they have allocated. Only a month ago, the Ministry of Education authorised a new school in our immigrant area, and here let me pay tribute to the magnificent service of the head teachers and their staff in Southampton who are caring for the immigrants in our schools. I believe that I am speaking for teachers and headmasters all over England when I say that we shall owe them an everlasting debt. (*Applause.*)

As former chairman of our Southampton City Housing Committee—you will note the 'former', because it was in 1967 that the Labour Party was somewhat unpopular, though I am glad to see that so many of us this week are remaining faithful to it—as former chairman of our housing committee, I know what it costs to ratepayers and taxpayers to sweep away substandard housing so that every decent family may have a decent home, whatever their nationality.

**Resolution carried. See page 287*

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The long-term solution of decent housing for everyone, including immigrants, is going to cost much, much more than the £20-25 million to which I have already referred. The ultimate objective of the Labour Party should be choice in rented accommodation, whether it be public or private, and choice in homes for sale.

This is so that we can throw out of the window points schemes. We can stop asking applicants, 'How long have you lived here?' We can stop saying, 'What is your nationality?' We can stop saying, 'Ooh, he has come from the North or the West, he has a job here, but there are a lot of people in front of him.' There is a choice in cars and cookers, in buckets and blankets, in fact there is a choice in nearly everything except the basic human right of decent housing for all.

There is discrimination against coloured citizens—when were you last served by a coloured shop assistant in your High Street? When will we accept socially the coloured staff in our hospitals who save our lives? Equality and justice do not depend wholly on legislation or even money; irresponsible militancy, either anti or pro colour, is self defeating.

Equality and justice to coloured citizens depends also on understanding, goodwill and conciliation. Here let me try to end some of our own double talk. We members of the Labour Party have a personal obligation to our coloured citizens, some of whom are confused and puzzled, and some of whom feel discrimination when it is not there.

I do not mind personally being called a nigger-lover, and I am called that, provided I am also known as a white-lover. I believe in people, even including the Irish (*Laughter, applause*), to whom I owe a great debt because I had a Southern Irish mother who taught me my first lessons in non-discrimination.

All we have to do to be a multi-racialist is to believe in the brotherhood of man, the very soul of the socialist movement. (*Applause.*)

I want now to ask the Conference and the Party some personal questions: When did you last invite a coloured family into your home for tea? When did you last visit a pub where immigrants gather and converse with them on the basis of equality and not patronage? When did you last offer to help a coloured citizen? The conscience of the Conference and the conscience of the Party should now prove its sincerity of purpose by involving itself at every level, whereby discrimination against coloured immigrants shall dissolve through goodwill, under-

standing and the legislation I believe the Labour Government will constantly review.

Mr. F. Gregory (Birmingham, Handsworth C.L.P.): Madam Chairman and delegates, in this debate let us not talk euphemistically about immigrants. We could earn a lot more respect from the coloured citizens in Britain by stating clearly that we are concerned about their position. Most of us in this country and in this party are ashamed of our prejudices. We have therefore often turned away from the problems that in time have changed in our country colour prejudice into racialism. Let us now face the fact that prejudice breeds very quickly on neglected ignorance when it is allied with fear. Moreover, prejudice breeds faster than tolerance because there is this unequal development.

In this resolution we believe that more Government weight must be thrown on the side of tolerance, since the contestants are unequal. It is not enough for the Government to hold the ring and draw up the Queensberry Rules, the Race Relations Act. The clauses about employment in this Act are liberal, they are delicately drawn up, but by leaning over backwards to be fair, the consequent loopholes in the good faith clause and the long-winded procedures make effective action very unlikely.

The Government and the Party cannot afford to leave the voluntary organisations to engage in the problem of education on their own. The Ministry of Education should quickly take up the work started by such bodies as the Institute of Education at Birmingham University. Already teachers in Birmingham attend voluntary day courses on achieving social cohesion. With its resources and channels of advice we believe the Ministry should provide the guide lines across the country. A diversion of Exchequer money to areas with poor social conditions has already started.

The contributions with the main areas will share about £8-10 million a year. We must be certain, however, that this aid is not used by Tory councils as a mere device to keep the rates down. Make sure that this money is used to improve the conditions for which it is given.

So far, Labour organisations have shied away from the problems of the formation of ghetto areas in their towns, but these areas will not disappear in time. Mostly they are outside the slum clearance areas left by the Industrial Revolution. More money will be required to help the process of dispersal in housing, money on a scale substantially more than the £8 million envisaged.

The Government is now recognising that a ghetto complex is taking hold, but we as a Party must understand how important this problem is. Rhodesia is a big test of our faith towards the black community engaging in strength throughout the world. But we in this Party, in this country, will be judged quite properly by the test that actions must speak louder than moral declarations and we must put our own house in order.

We do not have much time. Not only are the Protestant youth turning away from the present political parties. The day may not be too far distant when a candidate comes forward for election, not to improve economic conditions, but for the sole reason that his skin is black, and that time will be the signal that we have less than a minute left before we have failed completely in this country as a Party to channel this proper feeling of the black community.

We have educational programmes against smoking. We spend £1-million on campaigns for road safety. But the cancer of racialism, the international and social injuries of racial strife, are so much more serious that we must give the solution of this problem a very high priority indeed. I second. (*Applause.*)

Coun. S. S. Gill (Southall C.L.P.) came to the rostrum to applause. He said: Comrades, I am very much delighted, in my first experience of attending this Conference, to see this vast socialist faith which hundreds of you people have brought to this country and which envelops the hearts and the minds of everybody who is present in this hall. (*Applause.*) Therefore, I am encouraged to say very frankly everything that I am going to say.

I start with congratulations to the Government for the extension of the Race Relations Act. The only criticism that I have is that the Act is lacking in teeth to help create a harmonious multi-racial society which we are all building in this country. I have my apprehensions about the hurried-up conditions of the Kenya Asian Bill. I have to remind the Government about its commitments in respect of the Wilson Committee's Report, commitments which have been given to the national committees that that report will be implemented very soon.

But let us leave it for the moment, because legislation, though it helps a lot, is not the only means by which we can eradicate the poison of race hatred from the minds of human beings. Much has been said against the evils of Powellism from this rostrum. I am going to say something about the virtues of Powellism, as I see it. You will be astonished to hear that, but my view

is that it is publicity which has brought home the poisonous nature of Powellism and brought before the socialist movement in this country the great decision—to be, or not to be? (*Applause.*)

Those in other movements who were complacent, those who were in the habit of brushing this racial problem under the carpet, those who were vacillating, those who operated—as I have seen in my Constituency Labour Party—a conspiracy of silence on this issue, have no time to manoeuvre. They are now the prisoners of their in-built prejudices.

Either be a member of the great socialist party and fight courageously against racial discrimination or join the ranks of Powellism. This is the only way that is left before the people in Britain. I think that Powellism is the expression of a few facts which socialists recognise frankly. For one thing, it is the expression of the thinking of this nation arising from its long Imperialist rule; and secondly it signifies lack of education in the working class movement in this country. (*Applause.*)

I regret the fact that I am the only coloured delegate in this house. I know the apathy of the immigrants living in this country, but I feel that this is lack of responsibility on the part of the socialist movement in the constituencies. I know—I am a councillor in the London Borough of Ealing, elected last May. (*Applause.*)

I know! When my name was put up, there were people who had very genuine fears. The fears were expressed in the meetings—'Comrades, is this the right time to put up an immigrant candidate? Mr. Gill is all right, acceptable political complexion, everything, but—a big 'but' always there—it may be possible that his candidature will turn into the loss of all the seats in the London Borough of Ealing for the Labour Party.'

These types of apprehension were very genuine, but what happened. Not only was Gill elected, but, comrades, I topped the polls in the borough. (*Applause.*) Why did it happen? Once it was decided that I should stand, we took this issue to the people courageously, broadly, with a socialist conviction.

We socialists have nothing to fear, because we fight every fight on the basis of conviction in our principles. That is what I am going to bring to the notice of this movement, that we can easily face Powellism with our honesty of outlook and belief in the brotherhood of man. Toryism in this country is bound to be defeated in the next election and a new era of socialism is going to begin in this country. (*Applause.*)

THURSDAY AFTERNOON: DISCRIMINATION

The Chairman: That speech has done us all good. We know why he topped the poll. Let us now get on with the debate.

Rt. Hon. Frank Cousins (Transport and General Workers' Union): I am making my last speech to the conference. I want to say straight away how proud I am of the fact that the speaker who came before me is a member of my union. (*Applause.*) He joined us a number of years ago, when he first came over, took part in, and an active part, in those disputes that took place in Southall for their own recognition, and proved a particular point to us, a point that I think ought to be understood by all of us.

I do not look like him. I hope, by God, I sound like him. (*Applause.*)

Another simple little point that I think ought to be made. This is one issue upon which we are not dragging our Government along with us, they are a long way ahead of most of us. (*Applause.*)

I have had the privilege, through the appropriate committee of the T.U.C., of talking to the first Home Secretary about this subject and to Jim Callaghan in his new position about it. I will tell you they have always been ahead of how we thought we dare go, because they recognise and understand the problems that we have to face, and I think we shall be doing a disservice both to ourselves and to immigrants if we try to pretend it is not that.

Our colleague just said, 'We stood and fought it in the election and so I topped the poll.' You will probably remember, in the Midlands, where a candidate stood and fought it in probably the worst constituency we have ever had to contest it in. He stood and faced it and won. He won because he made clear something I think we have to understand—they are not coloured immigrants, they are workers. (*Applause.*)

They have a responsibility to us, we have a responsibility to them. They have learned from us, many of them, the lessons we have to give. They know that the problem is one of prejudice. They know that the issues are sometimes social. They know that the issues are sometimes questions of security. They know that unreasoning attitudes come in, and the crime that many of them have is that they can be seen.

I happen to come from the North of England and many, many years ago, when I came down into the South, the prejudices were there; but if I could say, 'A cup of tea', I was not so easily noticed. If a coloured man says, 'A cup of tea', and he says it and he is born here, and his father and grandfather before him, he is still

coloured and he is still an enemy to many of the people with an uneducated approach to the whole issue.

The issue is, whether we, as workers, collectively mean the slogans we say to each other: brotherhood; the right for development of their place in life. I do not think it really matters whether there are some silly people who talk about the values of properties going down because a coloured family lives next door. I do not think that is really the issue. I think really the issue is that we have to do more educating amongst our people as we go along to convince them that if the man next door is coloured, or otherwise has a problem, that it is the same problem, coloured or otherwise, and therefore he is part of our struggle for emancipation of the total.

We have sought to impress on the Government, they have been willing to accept, the use of voluntary machinery in every attempt we can to settle the issue of colour prejudice.

Fred Hayday, who has been chairman of the committee of the T.U.C. dealing with this, has had meeting after meeting spread over the last three years trying to create the atmosphere which will help to do it, and Fred knows and I know there has always been this dilemma.

We might be ahead of some of the people we are representing, in the same way the Government were ahead of us, but if any of you, in the cheers you gave to our colleague a moment ago—not any of you, of course some of you do—but if all of you mean it, we can win this struggle as we have won so many.

It is a struggle against prejudice; it is a struggle for the rights of people; it is a struggle for the knowledge that we must work together if you want to defeat the forces of capitalism and its suppression. If we are afraid coloured workers are being exploited let us stop them being exploited. Let us join together. Let us mean it. Let them be our brothers. (*Applause.*)

Miss Joan Lester M.P. (National Executive Committee): Comrade Chairman, because of the importance and urgency of the next item I will speak as quickly as I possibly can.

I want to take up one or two of the points made, on behalf of the National Executive Committee.

On the question of the Urban Development Plan, I am asked by the Home Secretary to say that the circular on this matter will be issued to local authorities very soon now. The only comment I want to make about this effort of the Government to areas

of social deprivation is, do not let us fall into the trap of talking of this as a grant for immigrants.

This is a grant for help to areas that have certain difficulties, some of them will include immigrants, some of them will not include immigrants, and we have to avoid getting ourselves caught up in an atmosphere where immigrants can be used as a scapegoat for failure by any of us or previous Governments for dealing with socially inadequate services. This is enormously important.

Secondly, on the question that was raised by Councillor Gill on the question of an appeals machinery for immigrants, which was raised during the debate on the Asia Kenyan Bill. Of course, a commitment was given during the passage of that debate that such an appeals machinery would be introduced, and the Prime Minister himself published a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chairman of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, underlining his commitment to this as well. So I do not think we have to worry about that.

Now the other point I want to take up, which is in the resolution, is this call for a policy based not on colour, not with one standard for aliens and one for Commonwealth citizens, but an overall immigration policy. And I take the point very much indeed that has arisen out of the discussions we have had on this issue. What we want to do is to take the question of colour out of the issue of immigration, because whenever we have discussed the question of immigration, since the Tory Immigrants Bill of 1962, we have always talked in the context of colour; therefore when you talk of the word 'immigrant' in Britain today most people regard an immigrant as someone who is coloured.

As David Ennals said in the House of Commons in July, there are more aliens coming into this country to work than there are coloured Commonwealth citizens, so the sooner we get this across and try to define a policy that does not have a ceiling that is lower for the number of coloured people coming into the country to work than for aliens, the better.

And the last two points I want to take up—and this is the most important thing, I think, in politics today—is that we stop talking about immigrants as if they were inanimate objects, insensitive to any feeling: that they were mere statistics on a balance sheet. Every time we do this we move away from racial harmony, and furthermore, comrades, we are moving into a different era on the question of race.

It is not only the question of immigration where, of course, there have been problems, and, as Joe Gormley said, people go where the damn jobs are, and immigrants and everybody else go where the damn jobs are, and if there are no damn houses where the damn jobs are you get social problems whoever goes there. This is one of the whole questions we have been looking at and needs more attention.

One of the most important things in the new era is that we are a multi-racial society. We have British children born in this country who are coloured, and if we keep highlighting the question of colour and immigration we will work actively against racial harmony, because those children will grow up for ever being regarded as immigrants and being regarded as outsiders in the country of their birth, and that, of course, is something that can have drastic repercussions.

In conclusion, because the next debate is vitally important and I do not want to be accused of having tried to keep it off the agenda, it is perfectly true, as was said earlier this week in reply to something that the Prime Minister said, that it is the virus that kills.

But the virus, you know, the virus of racialism, can only take hold of any system that is already weak, and it is up to us, as a movement to make sure that we do not allow this to happen. The vaccine against this virus is a movement that translates racial harmony with its socialism and works against any attempt to introduce racialism into our society with the same fervour that we have always worked against any of the forces of reaction in this country. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, we are now voting on Composite 38. The N.E.C. recommends your acceptance. All in favour of Composite 38? . . . Against? . . . Thank you, comrades.

Composite Resolution 38 was carried by a show of hands.

RHODESIA

Mr. J. Potter (Billericay C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 36:

This Conference endorses the statement on Rhodesia issued by the National Executive Committee in 1963 which said, 'As long as Africans are denied effective participation in the government of the country and repressive racial legislation is

THURSDAY AFTERNOON: RHODESIA

imposed, the situation will remain both critical and dangerous.' It further welcomes the Government's declaration in December, 1966, that they would not 'submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule.' Therefore, Conference believes that the Government should:

- (a) recognise its continuing responsibility towards Rhodesia after the rebellion is ended and until majority rule is established;
- (b) prepare a new Constitution for Rhodesia which should not be subject to negotiation with the rebels;
- (c) be willing to re-settle elsewhere Rhodesians who do not wish to live under an African government, as was done in Kenya;
- (d) withdraw the commitment not to use force against the rebels; and use all its powers to bring down the illegal Rhodesian regime; and
- (e) provide practical support for Zambia, recognising that Zambia's security has now become a moral obligation on this country.

Conference calls upon the National Executive Committee to urge the Government to implement that part of paragraph 13 of the British-sponsored United Nations Resolution on Sanctions against Rhodesia which asks for 'moral and practical assistance' to those people struggling for their freedom. Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to originate a national campaign to raise funds to provide educational and financial assistance for Rhodesian Africans so that they may be better able to assume positions of responsibility in Rhodesia when the illegal Smith regime is replaced.*

Mr. Potter said: Madam Chairman, comrades, on Tuesday morning the delegation in this hall cheered when the Prime Minister proclaimed that this Party is a party of human rights. He is right. And, believe me, comrades, if I did not believe that I would not be here now.

But we cannot lay claim to this description of our Party unless it is justified by something more than words alone. It needs more. It needs much more than this. We have to be prepared to act on this principle, to be prepared, as Harold Wilson put it on Tuesday morning, to do what is right because it is right. And this, if I may paraphrase the Prime Minister yet again, is as true in Bulawayo as it is in Birmingham.

*Amended resolution carried. See page 292

As I speak now, and as you all sit here now, 4 million people are living in a country where all effective political and economic power is in the hands of a white minority. These 4 million people are being denied their human rights by the minority who cling to their power for reasons of self-interest.

This Conference should make up its mind what we are going to do to lay claim to this Party of human rights label. This is a fundamental question for Socialists to resolve. This is our responsibility. It is the responsibility of all of us here. It is the responsibility of our N.E.C. and of the Government. And undeniably we all have an obligation which we have not yet fulfilled toward the majority of the people in Rhodesia. The Government, to its credit, has recognised this responsibility. They recognised it when we imposed sanctions on Rhodesia.

But unfortunately, and I am sorry to have to say this, we have seen that sanctions are not succeeding in the manner which we all hoped when they were imposed. And as long as the Government is unwilling or—perhaps that is unfair—is unable to confront South Africa on the question of economic and para-military aid, then I am afraid the sanctions policy is doomed to failure, or not unqualified success at any rate.

Lately we have seen the situation in Rhodesia deteriorating week by week, and unless we are prepared to see a racial conflict escalate over the whole of Southern Africa, then we in this country must act now and re-define our policy to bring about majority rule in Rhodesia.

On Tuesday morning, again, the Prime Minister referred to the six principles. Please, comrades, let me impress on you, the six principles when expressed as a basis for independence are totally irrelevant at this stage. There is no question about this. There may have been a time when a gradual movement towards majority rule after an independence granted in line with the six principles may have been acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole. But not now. Not now. This time is long since past. If you do not believe me, the events along the Zambesi should convince us of this.

And indeed the Prime Minister himself has superseded the six principles by insisting in December, 1966, on no independence before majority rule. (*Applause.*)

You cannot have independence on a six-principle basis leading towards majority rule and also say that we are not having it till we have got majority rule. What is independence anyway?

The Prime Minister has, I believe, recog-

nised this, and I hope he recognises it now: that this is, was and always will be the only basis on which independence may be granted to Rhodesia.

I see from this morning's *Times* that I happen to be a less politically adroit delegate. Well, I may be: possibly I am. But I do not think that really matters in this context. What I am not going to do, as *The Times* said I was, is to lead, and I quote, 'an extremist clamour for military action against Rhodesia'. I do not even look like an extremist. (*Laughter.*)

All I want this Conference to do is to do what is right because it is right, and the Conference does not need a lead to do this. I am confident. I believe that the ability of our Government to provide a solution to the Rhodesian problem is the greatest test of the socialism, of the humanity and of the moral standing of this movement of ours today.

In the two years since Rhodesia was last debated at a Party Conference, this issue has largely been debated in terms of sanctions against force. This Composite Motion No. 36 instead of limiting itself in this way reiterates our basic objectives in relationship to Rhodesia. That objective, as stated by the N.E.C. in 1963, is to provide effective African participation in the Government of that country. This, as the N.E.C. recognised then, is the real issue before us and no-one can possibly overestimate their difficulties.

A resolution of this nature cannot possibly hope to set out a completely detailed policy. I agree with the N.E.C. in recognising that neither force nor sanctions alone will fulfil our responsibility for the future of all races in Rhodesia. I also agree with the Government that there will be a time lag between the ending of the rebellion and the granting of majority rule. In this period Britain must exercise its responsibility towards Rhodesia and this means that any constitution that will operate during that period, for which there must be a strictly defined time limit, should be one which progressively introduces African participation for the government, in partnership with those Europeans who are able to see a non-racial future for Rhodesia.

Ian Smith, whatever he may say, has no power to negotiate on behalf of all races in Rhodesia. He only represents a small minority which has made it quite clear that they have no intention of creating a non-racial society, for this reason; any negotiations concerning independence must concern the leaders of African opinion who represent 95 per cent of Rhodesia.

To be realistic, we must recognise there are a number of white Rhodesians who in

fact see no future under majority rule in their country, and we must provide them with an alternative to violent opposition towards any policy progressing towards majority rule; hence our advocacy of resettlement.

I must stress that we do not advocate force. We advocate the withdrawal of the commitment not to use force. 'Law and order' was the get-out phrase; law and order has broken down.

Mr. I. Greenfield (Hemel Hempstead C.L.P.): Comrades, I will try to be brief. I do not think I can go quite as fast as Joan Lestor but I will try not to be too slow.

I do not want to go through all the first part of the resolution. You have all read this. You can see it is a statement of the policies that we believe should be followed. I do just want to make two very short points about it. One is that I applaud very much the Prime Minister's statement, which I note was not very well reported in the Press, that he stands by the six principles. This I am very pleased about because, as you know, my constituency did have an emergency resolution asking for precisely this assurance.

The second point is that I am also in *The Times* this morning as being in favour of some violent solution. Most of you, I hope, will have seen or read the Press statement issued by the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, saying that they do not wish Britain to use force. The Africans do not want us to, I do not want to, I am sure Conference does not.

The resolution does, however, call for the removal of the statement that under no circumstances will we use force, but I think we can distinguish between that and what *The Times* is saying, that we want a violent solution.

So the first part of the resolution, comrades, does spell out a policy but it is becoming increasingly clear I think that the Smith regime is dedicated more and more to some form of apartheid. It is clear also that this is not going to be a regime which is overthrown quickly. This is why this resolution does more than just state a policy; it asks for some specific action.

If you read the second part of the composite resolution you will see that we are calling upon, first of all, the Government to implement that part of the United Nations resolution on sanctions which was sponsored by Britain, calling for moral and practical help for those people in Rhodesia fighting for their freedom. We call upon the Government to implement this, but we go much

further than this, comrades: I do not believe we as a Labour movement, as a socialist movement, should always just content ourselves with passing resolutions.

Certainly this is moral support, but we also want some practical support and this is why in the resolution we do call upon the N.E.C. on behalf of this Party to establish a fund to provide educational and practical assistance to those in Rhodesia, so that when they come to run the country they will be better equipped to do so.

We have heard a lot during this Conference, we have heard a lot this afternoon, about the brotherhood of man. This, above all, is what socialism is about. Let us show which side this Party is on. So in seconding this resolution I call not only for your votes but for your pounds as well. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: There is an amendment to Composite 36, to be moved by Walsall South C.L.P.

Mr. D. Dalton (Walsall South C.L.P.) moved the following amendment to Composite Resolution No. 36:

Sub-paragraph (d): delete.

He said: My constituency party's amendment wishes to delete clause (d) of the composite resolution. When U.D.I. was declared some people proposed a six-day police action which would remove Smith and his regime. They claimed, as they still do today, that South Africa would not intervene. Let us not go over the precipice. I ask, would South Africa stand idly by and let this Government enforce a black majority government in Rhodesia? I believe not.

Should South Africa intervene, we would be faced with a racial war on a massive scale. By any military intervention we would discover that the rate of escalation would not be our decision. Had we sent a force to Rhodesia in the early days of U.D.I., I believe we would not be discussing Rhodesia here today, because you would have a Tory Government who would have appeased Smith by now.

We all want to see a settlement based on the six principles but Rhodesia is our responsibility and South Africa is the world's. My constituency party trusts the Government, and a settlement on the lines of the six principles without resort to arms would be a more statesmanlike conclusion, rather than a squalid racial conflict which would poison for ever the hopes for peaceful co-existence between the races, not only in Rhodesia but in the whole of Africa. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: May I please have a formal seconding of the amendment? (*Amendment formally seconded.*)

We are in very grave difficulty: we have no choice but to get out at 5.15 p.m., so I have to ask Frank Chapple to reply for the platform. (*Cries of 'No'.*) I will tell you the dilemma: the dilemma is that we have so many important debates tomorrow which we can get on to if we finish this tonight. (*Shouts from the floor.*)

I am sorry, comrades, we have no choice in the matter, unless we squeeze out other debates tomorrow which delegates feel equally strongly about.

Mr. F. Chapple (National Executive Committee): This is not the least important motion on this agenda, and neither is the debate, despite the few participants. However, I cannot shorten my speech any more than I have already done, and there are some things that the N.E.C. do require to be said to Conference on this matter.

Harold Wilson declared on Tuesday that human rights and racial discrimination were our concern anywhere in the world, not because we are busybodies with nothing better to do, but because our political creed is the brotherhood of man.

During the past two years, comrades, there has been a monstrous and malicious campaign waged by the Tories and magnified in the Press against Government policy on Rhodesia. The clamour is that the Government is doing nothing to find a solution to the crisis.

The Rhodesia lobby has captured Heath. The Tory majority in the House of Lords voted against the Government's policy to extend sanctions through the United Nations. There has been criticism from within our own movement of the Government for the extent to which it has gone to negotiate with Smith in an effort to find a solution. Some of the criticism has been misdirected.

I have already read the document produced by our comrades from Billericay in their support of this resolution, and it is an excellent document. Nevertheless, I urge you not to support the resolution, for reasons that I will outline a little later.

Much of what is contained in the resolution is, and always has been, part of both the N.E.C. and Government policy. They have consistently said that in the exceptional circumstances of Rhodesia, they were prepared to grant independence before majority rule only provided certain essential conditions were fulfilled.

First, an independence constitution must be clearly and firmly established—an open

road to African majority rule within a period of years. This open road would be guaranteed in the constitution and must not be blocked or impeded.

Second, the essential part of the constitution must be protected by the most effective safeguards which would make it impossible to change the law or constitution in such a way as to stop or impede the advance to African rule.

Third, there would have to be an immediate improvement in the political status of the African people.

Fourth, there would have to be immediate progress towards ending racial discrimination.

Fifth, it would have to be clearly demonstrated to the satisfaction of the British Government, and on the basis of democratic procedures, that the independence constitution was acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

This has been the constant stand of the Government from the beginning. It has never deviated. That is its policy at the present time.

Even Smith has conceded that eventually Africans will rule by majority in Rhodesia but, he has been careful to add, not in his lifetime. (*Interruption.*) Just keep quiet for a moment. Listen to the whole statement. But he has been careful to add, not in his lifetime, and even not in the lifetime of living generations.

All the arguments since 1961 have revolved around this simple basis: white majority rule as far as the future can be stretched versus black majority rule in a reasonably foreseeable future.

The whites want independence under a constitution which only Britain could legally grant. They want a constitution which will enable them to manipulate the pace of African political advance and even block it altogether. What they do not want is a constitution which will guarantee in a reasonable time majority African rule.

How strongly many whites feel on this subject has been amply demonstrated by Smith. Their action since the illegal declaration of U.D.I. demonstrates that they intend to use the most reactionary and brutal measures with which to fight it out.

One thing is certain: that if power remains in their hands, unchecked by constitutional guarantees, they will rapidly go down the same road as South Africa to apartheid—and that, comrades, is what our policy is intended to prevent.

Whilst the Government is determined to ensure the future role of the African majority, it is prepared to build into the independence constitution a guarantee for the political

future of the whites. They even went so far as to offer an Act of Union—to unite Rhodesia with Britain until Rhodesians as a whole felt secure in the future. This was rejected by Smith.

There is a growing impatience, understandably, among our comrades to find a speedy solution to the growing, continuing crisis. Some have argued that only the use of force can beat the rebel regime and fulfil our obligations. However, in the last analysis it would be British troops who would have to impose a settlement. It would be British troops who would have to wage the war. Even if public opinion were in favour of invasion of Rhodesia, there would be other considerations. In the event of a successful military campaign, troops would have to be maintained in the territory for years to ensure the peace.

Comrades, the problem with which we are constantly faced in this Conference is that created by what we believe and what is possible. The issue of majority black rule in Rhodesia is a further contradiction, it appears. It seems that some believe that we should have a return to gunboat diplomacy, and others believe that we should withdraw from our military commitments overseas. That is a contradiction in terms, comrades. We have to be consistent with the policy that Harold enunciated, that any military commitments taken against Rhodesia must be those collectively embarked upon in other places.

Even if public opinion was in favour of the invasion of Rhodesia, these are the considerations that we should have to consider. The policy of force is fraught with danger. It could lead to racial warfare, not only in Rhodesia but in half the continent of Africa. For this reason alone, the use of force by Britain could only be considered when all else had failed and law and order in the country had broken down.

Some comrades are afraid that sanctions are not biting quickly enough; some think they might even fail. Perhaps we were too optimistic in the early days, and even Harold has had second thoughts about that. However, it is only in the past few months that mandatory sanctions are being enforced by the United Nations.

There are still a number of important loopholes, but sanctions are beginning to have serious effects on the Rhodesian economy. There is ample evidence to show that the flow of capital into Rhodesia has dried up. The tobacco economy is being seriously undermined. The effects are causing second thoughts on the part of the business

community. They are now beginning to be seriously worried, a worry that will mount as the effects grow.

The split among the white extremists is proceeding apace. It would probably have taken place sooner had it not been for the manoeuvres of the Tory Party in the House of Commons. This is no doubt the reason why Smith is once again prepared to enter into discussions. We must persevere with this policy.

In clause B the resolution seeks to commit us not to deal with the rebels. If they come to terms it would be better to deal with them than to have no deal at all. In any event, how can you argue for a settlement and refuse to talk to some of the parties involved in that very settlement? Even Kaunda, of Zambia, who is as close as anyone to this problem and knows all the participants well, said recently in an interview on 28 September: 'I will drop my demand for force if it can be shown that majority rule would come unimpeded to Rhodesia.' That is our policy, comrades.

Following the best traditions as traders in misery, the Tories are still fishing in troubled waters in the hope of making party political propaganda out of this most difficult situation which is largely of their own making. It should not be forgotten that it was Duncan Sandys who agreed to the constitution of 1961 which gave the promise of future African majority rule but at the same time made it possible for the whites to block and impede majority rule for generations.

Nevertheless, even Duncan Sandys and Home conducted all their negotiations on independence based upon the guarantees of future majority rule. Recent Tory policy indicates that they have moved away from that position. If they intend to betray the majority of Rhodesians, let them say so openly. The people of Britain are entitled to know. (*Applause.*)

The matter is now in the hands of the United Nations. It was placed there by our

Government in the teeth of Tory opposition. It may well be that if sanctions fail to bring Smith to his senses, the United Nations will decide to use force to impose a settlement. In that event, we would face quite different legal, moral and military obligations in line with the policy of collective security outlined by Harold.

Our Government has done everything possible to find a working solution. They have sought to make every possible concession to ease the fears of the white minority, but the record shows clearly and consistently that they have not deviated one iota from their principled stand; that the only constitution they will agree for Rhodesia must guarantee that the black majority of Rhodesians will eventually rule their country.

The policy of the Government and the N.E.C. is designed to ensure unequivocally that the majority rule will prevail and that it will come about in a stable and civilised way. (*Applause.*)

The N.E.C., the Prime Minister and his Government deserve the full and unconditional support of this Conference. I therefore ask you to reject the motion, even if the motion is amended. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I am now asking you to vote on the amendment to Composite 36. The N.E.C. recommend that you accept the amendment. Those in favour of accepting the amendment? . . . Those against? . . . The amendment is carried.

Now we go on to Composite 36, and the N.E.C. recommend that even as amended, for the reasons given, the N.E.C. oppose Composite 36. Those in favour of accepting Composite 36? . . . Against? . . .

Card Vote No. 10 was taken, resulting in Composite Resolution 36, as amended, being carried:

For 3,124,000.

Against 2,661,000. (Applause.)

Conference adjourned for the day.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4

MORNING SESSION

Conference reassembled at 9.30 a.m.

The Chairman: Good morning, comrades. I am calling on the Chairman of the Conference Arrangements Committee to report.

Mr. G. Williams (Chairman, Conference Arrangements Committee): Madam Chairman, comrades, before giving a very brief report this morning, I would like, on behalf of the committee, to take this opportunity of thanking the delegates in the grouping committees who met in the standing orders room to try to composite resolutions and get withdrawals and so on. I think the delegates of this conference have been the most co-operative I have ever dealt with at conferences I have attended. Thank you very much.

Will you turn to your agenda, page 58. The following resolutions are remitted to the N.E.C. Page 58, The Fishing Industry, No. 178. Page 68, The Drug and Pharmaceutical Industry, Resolution No. 248. Composite No. 12, the Nationalised Industries. Composite No. 21, the Labour Government, Composite Resolution No: 20:

I move, Madam Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you. Accepted. Now we go on to the Labour Government, Composite 20, to be moved by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers, seconded by the Union of Post Office Workers.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Mr. H. Scanlon (Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers) moved Composite Resolution No. 20.

This Conference declares its support for the Labour Government in carrying out its election programme of 1966, and recognises the difficulties both at home and abroad with which the Government

*has been confronted during its term of office and, subject to the reservations involved in the policy decisions of the T.U.C., pledges support to the Government.**

He said: Madam Chairman and Conference, to paraphrase Willie Simpson on Mark Twain, our moving of this resolution may amaze our friends and certainly will be misrepresented by our enemies. But the resolution will be moved and the resolution says what it means and means what it says. It is positive in its approach, calling for the fulfilment of the 1966 programme, rather than condemning what has been achieved.

It highlights what, by democratic decisions, this Labour Party and the T.U.C. consider the greatest barrier to the achievement of that programme, namely the manner in which the wages policy has been operated; and we make no apologies for returning to this theme. Is not the greatest difference between the rank and the file and the Government simply this: the Government consider the Prices and Incomes Act an essential weapon in fulfilling that programme; the membership are convinced, as never before, that this is the most disastrous way of preventing the fulfilment of that programme?

And we say to the Government and to the Executive, it is not a question of either preventing wage increases by statutory measures or, as George Brown suggests, that the higher paid workers, or the so-called higher paid workers, shall subsidise the lower paid. It is a simple, straightforward socialist belief of ensuring that less of the national gross product goes in rent, interest and profit and more goes in wages and salaries. (Applause.)

Let us now remind ourselves of our programme. We undertook to build more houses, schools, roads, hospitals and to improve our educational standards by raising the school leaving age; to raise pensions and health service standards; to raise living standards, a necessary part of which was to plan for full employment by fiscal measures and by direction of industry into depressed and grey areas.

Of course, we know these things must be

*Resolution carried. See page 300

paid for. The world does not owe us a living. We knew that in 1964. We know it infinitely better in 1968. The key to the fulfilment of this programme is, as Michael Foot said, an expansionist economy—to insist upon a high investment, high productivity, high wage economy as originally envisaged in the national plan.

Yes, and the trade union movement is prepared to play its full part in this programme. We know that a prosperous and efficient industry is more likely to mean high wages and living standards for our members than a poor and inefficient industry.

In spite of all that has been said about labour problems, in spite of all the adverse criticism in the Press and elsewhere, the British motor-car industry is still one of the most efficient in Europe, and we say that having visited Italy, Germany and France to see their counterparts. The same can be said of the oil refining and chemical industries, and it is not just a coincidence that relatively high rates of pay prevail in such industries.

It is the less efficient industries with a calibre of management that Donovan described as incredibly low that present the problems to us.

Our achievements to date were so well stated by the Prime Minister in his statement it would be churlish to try and add to it. We support, and will work for the return of, a Labour Government, not in any negative way that a Tory Government would be so much worse—that is a blinding flash of the obvious. What we say is, Powellism, with its free enterprise law of the jungle and blatant racialism, is equally obnoxious but slightly less nauseating than the more gentle Tory line of so-called superior educated and wealthy manipulators of finance knowing what is better for the lower orders.

Neither have we to be reminded of what will happen to the trade unions if Tories are returned to power. All the clever talk about free trade unions, about free collective bargaining, cannot hide their intention of making agreements and procedures legally enforceable, and this against the advice of the Royal Commission.

They know better than anybody that if workers, under severe provocation, break a contract, the present law is adequate to deal with it. But they equally know that if they can introduce a law which attacks and confiscates trade union funds by the imposition of punitive and crippling fines, they render the trade unions impotent in their future battles with unscrupulous employers. *(Applause.)*

We support a Labour Government because we believe it can, and must, fulfil its election pledges. We know that the trade unions gave birth to this Labour Party because industrial gains were being negated by political action of the employing class. We have, since its birth, been able to conduct a dialogue, and, although at times our views may differ, we know that through the medium of our decisions at the T.U.C. and at these Annual Conferences, we are able to convince and influence successive Labour Governments as to the correctness of our cause.

We must, however, refer to the growing practice of pretending that Conference decisions do not matter. *(Applause.)*

Democracy is not an abstraction, to be used only when decisions coincide with the views of our leaders, whether those leaders be politicians or trade unionists. The great debate does not mean that we, through our constituency parties and our branches, our regional conferences and this great Conference, debate and discuss all the issues that are before us only to have them ignored if those decisions do not suit.

Conference decisions are not always a reflection of what the general electorate may desire, but they are a far greater reflection of what is universally felt than the personal opinion of any trade union leader or politician. *(Applause.)* In the past sincere and genuine criticism has been equated with disloyalty and has resulted in too much internal bitterness and recrimination, both politically and industrially.

Therefore, we say that this resolution does two things: it sounds a warning to the Government that our support means also the fullest use of our critical faculties rather than our unconditional acceptance of everything that is done. It also says to the rest of the country that despite our reservations this Labour Government has the capacity to build the type of society we would wish to see, and is worthy of our continued support. Let those of us who are critical of aspects of Government policy—and rightly critical—be a little more forceful in criticism of Conservatism and all it stands for *(Applause)* for we know what will happen if this Labour Government is not returned at the next election. The lesson of those 13 years does not need to be restated at this Conference.

We look forward to the completion of the 1966 election programme and pledge our full support for its implementation. We equally look forward to the Government heeding our reservations, so we can come forward with unqualified support next year and we look to that Conference as a spring-

board for a great socialist victory at the next general election. (*Applause.*)

Mr. N. Stagg (Union of Post Office Workers): Madam Chairman, Conference, my union is desperately anxious to see a Labour Government returned to power in 1971. That anxiety springs from the certain knowledge of what the alternative will be, and it stems from the conviction that, whatever else it may fail to do, once the Conservative Party has its fingers on the levers of power it will not fail to shackle the trade unions of this country in a way that will make our present industrial discontents appear like a Sunday School picnic in comparison.

Already the Conservative Party has made it clear that it intends to launch a full-scale attack on the report of the Donovan Commission, because it believes that the Commission does not go far enough in its attitude to legislation. Already the voices of the Conservative Party are mustering their strength. The *Sunday Times* has accused Donovan of fudging its responsibilities. The *Economist* has dismissed it as a report to be forgotten, which is a pretty plain indication that the Conservative Party has its mind bent on giving us something to remember.

The Tory Party is no longer brash about industrial relations. Its proposals are now wrapped up in the urbane language which is designed to persuade the gullible that the sole purpose of this Party is to improve industrial relations, whereas those of us who are engaged in industrial relations know only too well that these proposals will have the reverse effect.

All this is going on inside the Conservative Party at the moment, in the year 1968 B.P.—before Powell. And what a primitive trade union basher he is likely to turn out to be.

So let us make it plain today that the trade unions stand to lose many of their hard-won gains from this sudden new interest that the Conservative Party has discovered in industrial relations. And let that be the message that goes out from this Conference today to the trade union movement. That is one reason why my union was so anxious to get written into this resolution a reference to the trade union movement as a whole, because we believe that there is an affinity between the trade unions and this Party which we must cherish and sustain.

But, having said that, I must express my concern at what seems to me to be a gap and a gulf that is growing between the Party and the unions and which is being deliberately encouraged by some. That gulf

is not being closed even by those within our Party who tell us that the trouble with the unions is that they need to grow up, that we want everything else to be controlled except ourselves. You know, comrades, that is not true.

The Trades Union Congress is committed to socialist planning to a degree which has never occurred before in the 100 years of its existence. That commitment is laid down in the T.U.C.'s Economic Review. That review spells out the contribution that we must make in the trade union movement if we are to advance to a better and more socially just society.

The trouble is that we are not discussing that document within this movement. The trouble to me seems that the Government is not listening as closely as it should do to the voices of men like Sid Greene, Frank Cousins, Alf Allen, Jack Cooper and Harold Collison, all of whom are in this Conference as delegates, all of whom are men whose devotion to this movement and whose ability is without question.

That brings me to the second reason why we move this resolution. It gives us the opportunity to say to the Government, 'The trade union movement is anxious to help you. The trade union movement will support you. But, for heavens' sake, in future over the next two years, please pay more attention to the voices of your friends, and to hell with your enemies.' (*Applause.*)

Mr. P. Cheney (Merton and Mordeh C.L.P.) moved the following amendment to the Composite Resolution:

*Line 5: Delete 'subject to the reservations involved in the policy decisions of the T.U.C.'**

He said: First of all, let us congratulate Hugh Scanlon in what, by his own definition, was an intellectual speech. We are putting forward this amendment because, in our view, the motion is based upon a distortion of the relationship between decisions of the Trades Union Congress and those of this Labour Party Conference. The Labour Party has its own decision-making process—that is, this Conference, which is quite separate and apart from that of the T.U.C. To make one determine the other is, in our view, wrong as well as undemocratic.

As the representative of Merton C.L.P.,

**Amendment lost. See page 299*

of course I respect decisions made at the Trades Union Congress, but those decisions are for the T.U.C. to make and act upon themselves. I believe it is our duty, in this Labour Party Conference, to make our decisions and to act upon them in our own way.

If Conference were to accept this composite without our amendment we would be saying that the Constituency Labour Parties should be bound by decisions made at the T.U.C. at which they are not represented.

It is an unfortunate but well-known fact that some Trade Union Congress unions are not even affiliated to the Labour Party. (*Applause.*) The delegates to the T.U.C. are made up of a wide political spectrum: Tories, Communists, Chinese Communists, Trotskyites and even some Labour Party supporters. Why then should decisions made by that Congress be made mandatory upon this Conference? Surely no one should expect our Conference to accept the reservations expressed by the T.U.C.

This would be even more true had the original wording of the resolution stood by which support for Government policy was qualified, subject to policy decisions for the A.E.F. Such arrogance!

Perhaps the best argument for amending this motion is the pressure that has been brought upon me by the A.E.F. to withdraw the amendment. I was reminded more than once that my constituency has a financial arrangement with some trade unions. In my view, this type of pressure is intolerable. Even in the days of Carron's Law it was not sought to control the Constituency Labour Parties in this way. Apparently, under Scanlon's Law the movers of the composite have even greater territorial ambitions. (*Applause.*)

There is a suspicion that Hugh Scanlon is using this platform and this Conference to solve problems that have gone far beyond his capacity to control. (*Applause.*) I might remind him that this Conference is not an extension of the A.E.F. National Committee. (*Applause.*)

Unless, Madam Chairman, I can be given an assurance that by accepting the un-amended composite local and regional Labour Parties are not to be subject to the diktat of George Woodcock or even the A.E.F., then I must ask Conference to decide by its own vote whether or not we are the masters or the servants in our own house. (*Applause.*)

Mr. E. Parsloe (Isle of Ely C.L.P.): I am also a member of the A.E.F. (*Laughter.*) But

I want to strike, if I can, a rather different note. (*Applause.*)

It seems to me, comrades, that it is a pity that our procedures for presenting motions to Conference cannot be arranged to present to Conference a form of words which we could all agree. It is a pity, but it is perhaps inappropriate this week that we have to deal with the situation as it is and not as we should like it to be. I suggest this motion needs to be amended for three reasons.

First of all, as Hugh Scanlon says, we have to say what we mean. Secondly, as the previous speaker suggested, this Conference cannot become simply a rubber stamp for the T.U.C. If that was the case, we need not have bothered to come here at all. Thirdly, and here I take up Hugh Scanlon's point, it is absolutely essential that we end this Conference on a positive note. This is a political necessity and should not be confused with industrial tactics.

The argument is about the word 'reservations'. Of course we have reservations, we have been talking all the week about reservations. Conference has expressed reservations and nobody can pretend they do not exist, and nobody should do so. But there is an overwhelming political necessity to end this Conference on a positive note. I speak as someone who up till last week was a Labour Party agent. I know, and other colleagues of mine in the movement know, that there is an overwhelming shortage of the raw materials of electioneering: that is the active Party worker at local level. Do not let us kid ourselves, at the moment they are dwindling, they are disillusioned and disheartened. (*Applause.*)

This week I think we have begun to realise that if Conference does not begin to solve this problem then all the fine speeches, resolutions and reservations mean nothing because at the election we will not be there, and we shall not win. I believe that we are beginning to see at last, perhaps tragically late, but at last, the Government is on the right road, the Conference has seen that this week, and we also have to realise that the election campaign has now started.

We have been discussing 'Signpost to Success' along that road, but we must not allow false optimism to confuse ourselves, because this could be our worst enemy. I am going to appeal to the unity, the greatest strength of this Party, and I want to quote, because this is the sort of unity I am talking about, a speech made in the House of Commons in February, 1954.

It says, 'Formal unity without a right sense of direction is the prerogative not of states-

men but of Gadarene swine throughout the ages.' I hope those words mean as much to Harold Wilson today as they did when he made them.

I said that it is a political necessity. I appeal to the A.E.F. in the spirit in which I am talking to accept this amendment, because we all agree, let us say what we mean. This motion does not say that we are giving unreserved, wholehearted, euphoric, stupid support to the Government. It says three things: one, we support the election pledges of 1966; two, we recognise the difficulties; three, we support the Government. This sums up this Conference, it is blunt, it is to the point, and it is positive. It is not a pious declaration of faith, hope or charity, it is plain common sense. I second the amendment.

The Chairman: Thank you, comrade, the debate is now open.

Mr. W. Owen (Sheffield Trades Council and Labour Party): It was with some reluctance that I agreed to withdraw the second Composite 21, but I did this because of time and to facilitate the Conference today, because of the many items on the agenda. So it will not be possible for me to go into details as to why my party put down that particular resolution or agreed to composite it. I can only deal with one aspect of the resolution, from the A.E.F. which I am supporting, and that is consultation in industry.

I have to draw the attention of Conference to the fact that in January of this year we had the honour of having the Prime Minister with us in Sheffield to celebrate 40 years of Labour control in Sheffield. There were over 1,000 members and friends who joined with the Prime Minister in these celebrations.

In 1966, the Sheffield City Council was composed of 72 Labour members and 28 Conservatives. The new boundaries came into being in 1967, and it finished up almost a draw.

We had a majority of one amongst the councillors and finally, having regard to our right to elect aldermen, we had a majority of ten. In the May, 1968, elections we lost further seats, with the result that the City Council, for the first time for over 40 years, became Conservative-controlled with a majority of four.

We say in Sheffield that the reason for this is because of the failure of the Labour Government to implement some of its promises that were given. Public ownership

is in the minds of the Sheffield steel and engineering workers, and we are gravely concerned at the fact that the British Steel Corporation has handed over a part of English Steel Corporation's modern plant. This £10-million plant, the most modern in Europe, has various sections—the billet mill, the bar rod mill, and so on. They have gone into a private consortium and handed over to this private consortium the £3-million assets of the English Steel Corporation of the bar rod mill.

This has caused great consternation amongst the organised workers, and I know this, because I happen to be the district secretary of the Confederation and the engineering and steel officer of the Transport and General Workers' Union. We have been overwhelmed with protests.

I am reminded of the fact that the late Dick Winterbottom, one of the finest constituency M.P.s that Sheffield has ever had (*Applause*) was given a pledge by Dick Marsh, the then Minister of Power, that the profitable assets of the British Steel Corporation would never be handed over to private enterprise but, indeed, that there would be a development in further diversifications that would be profitable to the Steel Corporation.

We talk about consultations. Less than a week before the event, all the trade union officers received a confidential letter from the labour relations officer of the British Steel Corporation inviting them to a confidential meeting. They knew nothing of what this was about until they arrived, and they were met with an accomplished fact. That was that this fine bar mill was being handed over to a private consortium. The only representative of British Steel Corporation—

The Chairman: You are over your time, comrade; I am sorry. Thank you very much. You have made your point very well. (*Applause.*)

Mr. F. Carter (Birmingham Sparkbrook C.L.P.): I want to make my remarks to the seconder of the amendment, who said that we are losing members of the Labour Party very, very rapidly indeed. I would say to this member: does not he think for one minute that Hugh Scanlon does not recognise this? Is not this the reason for the resolution itself? I am a car worker. In that industry I have seen not hundreds, but thousands of car workers whose average wage has been between £20 and £25 a week who have, even

at that wage, been able to make for that industry £8½ a week profit.

Surely these people are entitled to such a wage, but what has been the policy of our Party over the past two years? Thousands of these car workers suddenly finding themselves out of a job, and the only type of job that they have been offered to replace such a job is one between £12 and £15 a week—I would remind colleagues at these conferences.

Do you think that the car worker is going to support such a policy? Do you really think they are going to come out in force, as they did at the last general election, and give overwhelming support, unless they can see a change to this sort of policy?

I urge you, comrades, support the motion of Scanlon, this is the only way to success. He was voted in at the last election on the platform; he has moved this resolution and I believe it is a true and correct one. We have seen these car workers not only thrown out of a decent sort of living standard, but, at the same time, colleagues, their rents have increased, their travel on the buses has increased, every form of possible pressure has been put on their meagre pay packet. Can we go on expecting these people to support a Labour Party with a policy like this?

I believe, colleagues, that what Hughie Scanlon says in his election is something that the Trades Union movement of this country is looking forward to.

Mr. J. Peel (National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers): Madam Chairman, comrades, I come to this rostrum to give the wholehearted support of my union, the Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers, to the A.E.F. motion. Indeed, we will go further and express the hope that in the next year we can translate into practical terms the sentiments and the things which are set out in that motion.

Someone said sometime that the British people have two weaknesses: one of those weaknesses is a tendency for us to find scapegoats in difficult situations; the other weakness is an undue eagerness to accept trivialised explanations of difficult problems and over-simplify solutions to those problems. We see this in the argument we have been having, and we are having, about racial discrimination and the prices and incomes policy.

On this latter point, Madam Chairman, I think the difficulty of the argument between the Government and the T.U.C. on this issue is really in the frustration and dis-

illusion and indeed the cynicism which this has engendered. We all believe, I think, that democracy thrives on criticism and a healthy scepticism, but when this degenerates into cynicism we are really in trouble.

I feel sometimes, you know, we tend to crucify ourselves in public just to prove that we are democratic. Democracy, as I see it, involves duties and rights, and if we reserve the right to criticise, and by golly we do, we must accept the duty of working out alternatives to the policies we denounce.

We have conveyed to the Government our acute concern and dismay at what we feel they have done wrong, and they have shown us, I think, with great candour, the agonising responsibility of Government. I feel it is our job now to search our hearts and our minds for a workable alternative to those things we have disagreed upon. We must not carry this motion as a conscience saver, certainly the engineers do not mean it in that sense, but really make it meaningful.

There are banners in this hall saying Labour is Changing Britain. Madam Chairman, I think our job is to ensure that the changes that are taking place around us do not divide and sap the collective strength of our great movement. We can, we must and we will win the next election if we keep cool heads, we do not get cold feet and have the courage to face the consequences of the changing world in which we live. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, I am reminded that we have a very heavy agenda and a short morning. I must now call on our Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, to reply.

Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, M.P. (Prime Minister): Madam Chairman, comrades, I will be brief. The National Executive Committee, and the Labour Government equally, are quite happy to recommend, with appropriate reservations, to Conference the acceptance of Composite Resolution No. 20 moved by Hugh Scanlon on behalf of the A.E.F. and expressing the support of this Conference for the Labour Government. We support the amendment.

This resolution, I think, embodies the mood of this Conference.

We are, and must remain, a Party of protest against everything in British society that needs changing and must be changed. But a Party whose protest is not negative. As every debate this week has emphasised, a Party which accepts the responsibility of Government.

What we have seen this week is the emergence of this Labour Party as a Government Party. We have laid down the conditions under which Labour can be accepted as the continuing Government Party. Just as next week, let us express the charitable hope, in this hall the Conservatives will be able to establish the conditions which will fit them to be what they are manifestly not worthy of being today, a responsible instrument of continuing Opposition. (*Applause.*)

At this Conference we have debated, and reached decisions on, the most urgent problems Britain is facing at home and in our overseas relationships.

In the National Executive Committee's document we have accepted the need for two-way participation and laid down procedures for ensuring it. But this participation has been, and is, a continuing process: a process we seek to intensify and develop.

The speeches this week have been a contribution to the policies which your Government will be carrying through. Every resolution carried against the platform this week—and you have not been unproductive in this regard—we accept as a warning to the Government. A warning, not an instruction. No-one has ever seriously claimed that a Government which must be responsible to Parliament can be instructed. This was repeatedly said from this platform under the last Labour Government and never seriously challenged.

But I think we all feel the debates and the resolutions have not all been on subjects which have hit the headlines. For me, one stands out in particular. In the debate on handicapped children, I think we were all moved by the speech by the delegate representing the National League of the Blind and Disabled. (*Applause.*) I am proud to be able to tell you that that delegate is a Labour county councillor representing Kirkby in my own constituency.

Now, this Conference has demonstrated that Labour's strength is changing Britain, and this is as true of all the issues that were debated on Monday as of all the other issues that have been debated throughout the week.

A strong movement and strong Government. I repeat that your Government will stand by the policies which must be carried through to secure economic strength and to secure all that depends on the achievement of economic strength.

On Tuesday I spelled out the evidence of developing industrial strength which must be the basis of our economic recovery. It is from that strength that our developing political strength will be renewed.

Only a few months ago our enemies tried to break our nerve, to write us off. Today, our most hostile critics have to accept that they have failed. (*Applause.*)

I spoke on Tuesday of the conditions on which we must insist for economic recovery. Given this, there is nothing now which can halt the inexorable success of the Labour movement except the Labour movement itself.

If political success depends upon economic success, let me remind this Conference that economic success equally depends on sustaining the rapid increase in production and productivity which you and which everyone represented here has made possible by their efforts over this past year. Production, productivity, exports, everything we have achieved at so great a cost, can be imperilled by ill-considered industrial action, whose effect can only be to put the employment of so many of our people at risk. (*Applause.*) Day by day we read of hard won export orders frustrated by sectional and self-regarding action which no one here would defend.

This movement—and I speak now for the whole Labour movement which is represented here—will not readily forgive any action which endangers our common purpose.

So as we go from here to carry the fight back into the country, let us proclaim this theme of unity, comradeship and loyalty which has animated all our debates this week. I have called this movement, every delegate here and all whom we as delegates represent, to proclaim their support for their Government—a Government whose courage has given us the strength to change Britain, a Government which has earned the right to ask the country to support us in bringing about that change.

This week we have spoken for Britain. It is now to Britain that we must go out and speak. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Chairman: Thank you, Harold, we have got your message.

Now we go on to the debate. I am asking you first to vote on the amendment to Composite 20. The N.E.C. recommends acceptance. (*Shouts of 'Card Vote'.*) All right, you can have a card vote if you want it. The card vote is on the amendment to Composite No. 20, Card Vote No. 11.

The amendment was lost:

For 2,722,000

Against 3,287,000

The Chairman: I am now putting to you Composite 20. The N.E.C. recommendation

is to accept with reservations. Those in favour of Composite 20? Against? Thank you, comrades. We do not need a card vote this time.

Composite Resolution 20 was carried.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

Dr. D. Stark-Murray (Socialist Medical Association) moved Composite Resolution No. 37:

*This Conference reaffirms that the right to health was one of the basic principles on which the Labour Party was founded and calls on the National Executive Committee to restore it as the first priority of any government. The Labour Party created the first comprehensive health service, free at the time of use, planned by a democracy, and Conference reiterates its support for such a service both in principle and practice. It calls on the Government to remove the charges on prescriptions and to phase out other National Health Service charges such as optical expenses and dental charges and to press on with the production of a unified service with the establishment of area health boards having an elected membership with powers to co-opt and receiving an adequate proportion of the national income to enable it to expand to meet modern needs.**

He said: When the Conference agenda was published, there were on it 40 resolutions on Health Service, prescription charges and other similar matters. That constituted 10 per cent of the resolutions that were before this Conference. We are now being given 1 per cent of the total time of the Conference in which to state our case.

I hope that this is not a reflection of a lack of interest on the part of the standing orders committee, the executive or the Conference, because I am quite certain that today, as in all previous years, this Conference is fully aware of the need for healthy people if we are to have a healthy Britain.

Our resolution divides itself into four parts. On the list of associations attending this Conference, there are only two with the word 'Socialist' in their name. It therefore becomes either the Socialist Education Association or the Socialist Medical Association to present a resolution which goes right back to socialist principles.

We do not apologise for reminding the Conference of those principles. They were accepted 34 years ago. And you, Madam Chairman, have said in your address to the

**Resolution carried. See page 307*

Conference that we are utterly right to be on the alert to point out all that still has to be done. It is in this spirit that we come before the Conference, for much still has to be done in the health service.

In saying this, I want to remind you that the health service, which was produced by the Labour movement, suffered 13 years of Tory neglect and much of what we would have done had we been in power in those 13 years has still got to be done, and will still have to be done in the future.

It was for this reason that, in the middle of his address on Tuesday morning, I thought Harold Wilson was going to stop and say what the Labour Government has done in the time they have had since the Tories neglected the health service to try to bring it back to something like we would want it to be.

Nevertheless, we go on in the second part of the resolution to ask the Government to remove the one serious blot, not only on the health service, but on the political record of this Government: the prescription charges from which everyone now suffers. (*Applause.*)

It was in 1945, at this rostrum, that I had the honour of moving a lengthy resolution which set out the principles of a national health service which Aneurin Bevan proceeded to put before Parliament in 1946. I never expected on that day that I should have to come to this same rostrum and ask Conference to accept a resolution to remove prescription charges. I never expected to come back twice. The Labour movement must not make the same mistake twice. We are all fallible and may do it once.

I wish that I could just have a touch of Aneurin Bevan's Welsh fervour at this moment, and I can assure you that on this one, the Labour Government having done such a thing to the people of Britain on two occasions, he would have blistered the Government and the platform in no uncertain terms. (*Applause.*)

Our service, so far as its basic principles are concerned, is absolutely the best. My work today takes me into many countries, and I never have to apologise about the British health service because everyone tells me just how good it is. I do, however, have a terrible job trying to explain the Labour Government's action on prescription charges. People in other countries say to me, 'Is this what the socialist doctors in Britain prescribed?' and I have to confess that on this occasion we were not called in. It was the quack doctors of Zurich who were called in to make this decision. (*Applause.*)

Of course, they rightly decided that there was something wrong, but fancy the prescrip-

tion charge which costs the Government and which costs the country! If they have saved the £25 million, it will only produce a halfpenny per day per head of the population. This is not the sort of way in which we do socialist planning. The people who sell drugs spend £15 million on persuading doctors to prescribe drugs. We could have saved £15 million by just stopping advertising of the proprietary remedies in this country. (*Applause.*)

We are concerned with the principles here. A doctor must be free to prescribe. Whether he prescribes 10 aspirins or a heart transplant, he is prescribing for a sick person. You have put a prescription charge on the 10 aspirins, but you have done nothing about the heart transplant. Let us have a clear principle in this matter.

The third part is the question of participation in the health service. We preferred George Brown's words to the words in the Green Paper which has been published by the Government. George Brown called for participation in a healthy democracy. We want participation in a democratic health service, and the Government Green Paper which is only for discussion does not indicate that.

You ask your trade union if the Minister of Health has sent you a copy of that document. He did not send one to the Socialist Medical Association. This is not the kind of participation that we expect. We want to participate. We want an administrative structure.

Finally, in part four we want enough money to do the job. (*Applause.*)

Mr. E. Messer (Croydon South C.L.P.): I second the resolution. In the three minutes at my disposal I just want to refer to what Dr. Stark-Murray raised. In the proposition it refers to a unified service with the establishment of area health boards having an elected membership with powers to co-opt. We have had criticisms of the setup of management committees, and now you have this Green Paper referred to in the National Executive Committee Report in which it says we want the widest possible public discussion.

I hope that you will discuss this in your trade unions and in your constituencies; send your views to the Minister of Health and to the N.E.C. of the Party. We welcome a unified service, but the cure of the undemocratic nature of hospital management committees in the Green Paper is to abolish the committees altogether. The cure is worse than the disease. We are not to have as suggested in this Green Paper, any hospital

committees, any committees to deal with the practitioners, or the work of the local educational authorities.

No, we are to have 15 people advised by executive officers, senior officers with whom the power will lie to set up under them planning committees, logistics committees—if you do not know what that means, you will have to look it up. This is going to mean the service is much more impersonal and if there is one thing that you need, it is a personal relationship in the health service. (*Applause.*)

I ask you to regard this very seriously indeed. What has happened is that this has obviously been passed over to the civil servants. This, to my mind, is a civil servant's dream, and a patient's nightmare. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Resolution 241.

Mr. C. Beal (Dover C.L.P.) moved the Resolution No. 241:

This Conference is gravely perturbed at the distress caused to elderly patients resident in geriatric hospitals situated long distances from their former homes. Relatives and friends find this makes adequate visiting extremely difficult.

Conference believes that the present trend of increasing centralisation is neither necessary nor in the best interest of our elderly citizens.

*Conference therefore urges the Minister to discontinue this policy and to direct Hospital Management Boards and Committees to consider smaller geriatric units compatible with local needs.**

He said: Madam Chairman, in moving this Resolution I must declare an interest here—I am an ambulance driver, one of those £13-a-week men the car worker was talking about. (*Applause.*)

I see the distress caused to these geriatric patients when taking them 20 or 30 miles away from their home to hospital, usually bedridden cases at that. Being elderly, most of their friends are also elderly, and they are unable either to use public transport or to pay the cost of public transport to visit their friends. This, I feel, is a further imposition on them.

As they are elderly and unable to get about, they cannot even get out of bed to go round the hospital grounds, so they are just left in the hospital with no friends to see them, and usually they spend the rest of their days there.

*Resolution carried. See page 307

Not only am I moving this resolution on behalf of the Dover Party, but also on behalf of the hundreds of geriatric patients in hospitals miles away from their homes, who cannot meet their relatives or friends. Let us not forget that all of you have an interest in this resolution. As I look round here today, I cannot see any potential customers, but I think in a few years' time this could happen to any of us. (*Applause.*) So I would urge Conference to tell the Minister to stop this trend of increasing centralisation and consider smaller geriatric units within a five-mile radius of any town of any size. (*Applause.*)

Miss J. Lynch (Saffron Walden C.L.P.): It gives me great pleasure to second this resolution. We have a classic example in our own area. Halstead has a rural district council and an urban council. It also possesses a small hospital presented by the Courtauld family. This hospital has men's and women's wards with 16 beds and an excellent out-patients department.

The Metropolitan Regional Board have threatened closure because of economy and empty beds. In my village of Castle Hedingham our doctors have been refused admission of a therapy case because of decoration of the wards. This has caused a lot of bad feeling and both councils have organised large protests throughout the whole rural area and urban.

Why spend money which could be used for extension purposes on wards that have a cloud hanging over them? Beds are remaining in this hospital empty. Secondly, because our own district nurse is on holiday a relief nurse has an extra 10 miles twice a day to see this patient, but the beds remain empty.

We appeal to the Ministry to order an inquiry into the administration of these smaller units. We also recommend to the Ministry to spend a little less on defence, a little less on N.A.T.O. and a small cut in the pool available for the big business mergers. There would then be sufficient for the extension and redevelopment of these units. (*Applause.*)

If this hospital closes, it could mean travel of 30 miles to visit patients for some 30 minutes in the evening. One leaves home at 5 p.m. to get to the hospital for 7 p.m., and it would take you until 10 o'clock to reach home. You see, comrades, in rural areas we have no trains. The buses are very few and far between—10 buses between 10 a.m. and 10 p.m. So if you do not possess a car, comrades, you have had it.

This is not a political issue. It is a right, a human right. Comrades, please give this

resolution your support and fight against the closure of all our small hospitals. (*Applause.*)

Mr. J. Sillars (Ayrshire Federation of Labour Parties) moved Composite Resolution No. 45:

*This Conference condemns the reintroduction of National Health prescription charges and demands their immediate withdrawal**

He said: It comes as no surprise to me, as I look at the platform behind, to notice several absentees as my organisation places before this Conference a concisely worded invitation to condemn and repudiate the reimposition of prescription charges. (*Applause.*)

The comrade from the Socialist Medical Association said it was the quack doctors of Zurich who were responsible, the Government has repeatedly denied this fact. So let us examine it, in the context of their denial, in the context of the naive proposition that the banking fraternity are, in fact, philanthropic neutrals. If this is the case then I do not believe it, but they believe it.

If, by their free choice, without great external pressures, they decided to reimpose prescription charges, then that adds an even newer and more vicious dimension to the monumental folly and shame that these prescription charges have heaped upon our movement. (*Applause.*)

For a whole variety of reasons, which we all know, prescription charges have been the main point of conflict between ourselves and our opponents who wished to tear down the whole concept of the free National Health Service, and for our Government to demolish, by its own hand, the crucial barricade in the fight to keep the service free, represents the most menacing and damaging precedent we have been faced with.

The hounds of anti-socialism, comrades, are being unleashed from the vast hinterland of wealth, privilege and power in this country, and we have only whetted their appetites with this particular action.

The Government claims the choice lay between building hospitals and imposing prescription charges, but I would post only one item against that: would it not be more appropriate to consider the priorities in relation to the vast subsidies to private enterprise which are of such a scale that the margin for fiddle is very large indeed.

The other point my organisation wants to bring out with this resolution is that there
*Resolution carried. See page 307

is a clear pointer in the whole issue to why Labour has faced electoral disaster at by-elections, and it is electoral disaster when you go to strong working-class areas, which have stood by us through thick and thin in three successive general election defeats and they still supported us. It is serious when those people desert.

The Government would have us believe it is because of unpopular decisions. My God, comrades, when are we going to explode the myth of unpopular decisions? By the very undivided nature of our society, the people who form the base rock of our support make unpopular decisions in their day-to-day, week-to-week, year-to-year life by the very necessity of their circumstances. It is not a question of unpopular decisions, it is a question of wrong decisions that they are turning away from us on. (*Applause.*)

Our supporters have not abandoned us, so much as they believe that we have, in fact, abandoned them. (*Applause.*)

I have agreed to take only a few minutes, Madam Chairman, and I would ask conference to realise the concise message of Composite 45. Send us out into the country to look our own people straight in the eyes. As on Vietnam and on unemployment, so let it be on prescriptions. If we cannot be proud of the Government, for God's sake let us be proud of the Party. (*Applause.*)

Mr. A. Ainsworth (Uxbridge C.L.P.): Comrade Chairman, in seconding I want to deal with the economic aspect of prescription charges. Soon some respected member of our movement will weep crocodile tears and say, 'Of course, comrades, we agree with your principles, but principles cost money, the kitty is dry'. Well, let us have a look at this kitty. We do not spend the taxation raised from motorists on the roads, so why should we raise the money for drugs from the sick? So far as devaluation is concerned, more effect would have come from one-farthing on the income tax.

But prescription charges increase costs, because the doctors over-prescribe and much is thrown away. Prescription charges increase costs because we have to pay the chemist to collect the money, and prescription charges increase costs for the thousands of civil servants who oversee the administrative chaos of exemptions.

What did these bureaucrats do for productivity and the economy? No, comrades, this tax on the sick is one of the worst attempts at compromise. We have been thrown the exemptions. Those who fought a vicious campaign for their discredited dogma have been given their principle. Let us show that

on this issue compromise is not a word we understand.

The Chairman: Composite 46, to be moved by Dagenham, and seconded by Torquay C.L.P.s.

Mr. E. E. Hennem (Dagenham C.L.P.) moved Composite Resolution 46:

This Conference calls for a radical re-appraisal of the list of medical conditions which qualify for exemption from the payment of prescription charges.

It condemns the administrative provisions on the grounds of their inadequacy.

It deplores the absence from the list of many classes including persons suffering from chronic arthritic and cardiac conditions, from the effects of industrial injuries and the large number receiving treatment for serious mental illness, women who retire at 60 years of age, people over 15 years of age in full-time education who are not grant aided, and the young chronic sick wife and her family.

*Conference especially condemns the charge of 2s. 6d. for each separate item.**

He said: My soul, if I have one, is with the previous composite motion, and I only move the subsidiary motion by the insistence of the Standing Orders Committee.

I draw attention to what I conceive to be some of the foolish provisions made administratively in dealing with the field of exemptions to charges.

Instead of quoting theory, I will quote my personal circumstance. I am aged 66, through no fault of my own. I have a retirement pension book, through no fault of my own. Indeed, having been a civil servant employed by the department dealing with them, I wonder I did not issue a larger sum on my own behalf. My wife is 60. I have a National Insurance retirement pension of £4 11s. 6d. She has a National Insurance retirement pension of 56s., the odd bob due to increments for working a little beyond the normal time.

I am entitled under the scheme to free medicine. I go to a doctor once a year. She suffers rather severely. She goes to a doctor more frequently. She has three items on the prescription list. I am deemed exempt from paying my half-a-crown but I have to pay 7s. 6d. for her. If that is not sheer nonsense, I do not know what is. (*Applause.*)

It is true that I could get exemption if I came within the National Assistance scales, but there are thousands of people, increas-

*Resolution carried. See page 307

ingly numbered, who receive occupational pensions who find themselves that pound or two above National Assistance scales. I quote National Assistance because it is no use giving the new name of Social Security when basically it is the same sort of thing, even if you make it look respectable by changing the name. (*Applause.*)

I could avoid prescription charges for my wife. At any moment I have the ability to put on a hacking cough, and I could get a bottle of medicine for that hacking cough. I could take it home and I could fulfil my marital vow, 'All my worldly goods I thee endow', and give my wife the bottle of medicine. (*Applause.*) Now, is this the kind subterfuge which the Minister feels commendable to the British public?

I could go further. We could put the wrong age on the back of the prescription list, and I challenge the Minister to find enough inspectors to prove detection, since her own department is already severely understaffed by people who are working at over-pressure.

I turn to the next item, which in my judgement is even more ridiculous: the charge of 2s. 6d. per item instead of 2s. 6d. per sheet. If you are ill, and not very ill, you pay 2s. 6d. If you are more ill, you pay more than 2s. 6d. I have the odd bottle of medicine now and again.

My wife: medicine, cachous and pills, one, two, three, this, that and the other—and do not mistake the meaning of the last word! (*Laughter.*) Who decides what the doctor shall prescribe? The doctor. When I went to my doctor some time ago he said, 'Well, there are three little things which ought to be given attention', and added, 'Are you free or are you on the half-a-crown touch', and because I was free I got the lot. (*Laughter and applause.*)

I would like to go on. I conclude by making one objective remark—I hope the others are objective as well—and I think it is serious: the Minister's attention has been drawn to these anomalies, and I have a letter before me from Kenneth Robinson himself—God rest his soul!—that persons who need frequent prescriptions should be relieved of the excess burden, even if they do not become entitled to free prescriptions and exemption generally. I gather that the Minister seriously intends to introduce a new class, and that class is those who need unusually frequent prescriptions. They will pay a 30s. lump sum for a six-months' exemption. Now we are creating four classes in society—two for the postal service and now one, two, three, four for exemption. I beg to move. (*Applause.*)

Mr. R. Thomas (Torquay C.L.P.): In the Torbay County Borough we have a motto, 'Salus et felicitas'—health and happiness. I wish we had it throughout the nation.

When we come to consider prescription charges, we do get people recommended to come to Torquay—or Torbay as it now is—who for various reasons are past working, they are the chronic sick. They say it is such a healthy place. This is the main thing I am going to try and tell you about in two minutes.

A lot of these people who have come to Torquay throughout the years through rising costs are somewhere near the poverty line, but they do not want to claim the free prescription to advertise their plight. This is wrong, of course, in my opinion as a socialist, but it is just what they do.

Now, a lot of these people—and I myself am or was an arthritic—are cardiac cases, and these are the people who very often are struck down very young, and therefore they are in need. What we would like you to do . . . we cannot afford for them to be sick in this industrial age and we are called to rehabilitate them or to train them, but this means low wages. Once they start out in industry again they are still getting low wages but when they have attacks of their sickness every time they go for drugs they are charged half-a-crown an item. This is most unfair, and therefore we should press the Government to say that if they are unable to wipe out the whole of the prescription charges they should bring exemption in for these particular items which I have mentioned in this short time.

I could go on but I know there are resolutions still before the Conference, and therefore I leave it to the Government.

Mr. Laurie Pavitt (*ex-officio* M.P., Willesden West): Comrade Chairman and comrades, I rise mainly to support the wise motion of the S.M.A. and advise you to take Dr. Stark-Murray's prescription. We are embarking on a change in the state of the N.H.S. which will be the greatest we have had for 20 years. It will take about three years, and it is a tragedy that at this start of change and massive restructuring of this section of our society we should be starting with a major blunder.

I want to address most of my short remarks to the prescription charge issue. It is a tragedy that at this stage of our history this mistake was made. As the Dagenham delegate also pointed out, it is an irrelevant nonsense; and as Dr. Stark-Murray pointed

out, we should never have made the same mistake twice. This was not a sacred cow. It was the greatest sacrificial lamb ever offered to appease financiers since Munich.

Remember, this is not a free health service. You pay for it. Most of you have paid at least £80 in the last two years. What you are now asked to do is to pay twice. Only the sick pay; only the healthy are excepted. The whole principle has been stood on its head.

The National Health Service was the great embodiment of a socialist principle into legislation. Those who were well were to pay for those who were sick. Now, those who are sick are to pay for those who are well.

Of course, the scheme is far more humane and far more sensible than anything the Tories would do. Of course it is. When I was a kid, Mum could never be ill. It always had to be Dad, because he was the only one who was covered.

This hits the middle-aged woman. Do we have something against the middle-aged woman? It hits, as a delegate has said, the poor person who happens to be a pensioner and female. I have not time to explain why. It is nonsense on economic, social and health grounds. I remind Conference, however, that 150 of the Labour backbenchers signed a motion against it and 50 of us went into the lobby against it on 30 May.

I ask Conference to support the whole of the motion. I ask the executive to give a clear statement that it is not just a question of wait and see but that we will restructure on the basis of our fundamental principle. If we cannot apply compassion and concern in this area, we cannot apply it anywhere. I beg you to support this motion. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Speakers must be very brief. We still have social security to deal with this morning.

Mr. Will Griffiths (*ex-officio* M.P., Manchester Exchange): Madam Chairman, I was Nye Bevan's Parliamentary Private Secretary at the time of his resignation from the Labour Government in 1951. The architect of the National Health Service parted with his colleagues in the Government because they insisted that charges should be levied upon the patients. To his credit, the Prime Minister—the leader of the Party at the moment—resigned with Nye Bevan virtually on the same issue. Afterwards we campaigned throughout the country, and many times I have heard Harold Wilson condemn this invasion of the free National Health Service and prophesy that if the Tories returned to

office, they would extend the charges. And he was proved right.

Let us remember that the whole movement in those years reversed Party policy. In 1964 we went to the electorate. Labour was returned, and one of our pledges was that we would remove prescription charges. And we did. Everyone of you in this hall, and my colleagues in the Parliamentary Party and the members of the national executive, went to the 1966 election and boasted that we had carried out this pledge, did they not? (*Applause.*) Of course they did.

I went to the Nelson and Colne by-election this year and I was dismayed—not surprised, but dismayed—to meet supporters in that traditional stronghold of Labour who said, 'I never thought the Labour Government would do this to us.'

The mover this morning of the resolution from Dagenham made it unnecessary for me or anybody else to show what nonsense is involved in these attempts to work out exemptions. He made the case of showing what nonsense it is. So, comrades, I appeal to you to make it clear to the executive and to the Government that this aberration has got to be removed, and let us get back to the free National Health Service of which we have all been so very proud. (*Applause.*)

Mrs. S. J. Jones (Rhondda Borough C.L.P.): I am glad I have had the opportunity to come to this rostrum this morning because I cannot understand why the seconder of Composite 37 was supporting this. He did not say anything in favour of the Green Paper on Area Health Boards, and I would advise every one of you, as trade unionists, as members of the Labour Party, to discuss this fully in your meetings.

We have discussed this in the Rhondda Trades Council, and we have already made a decision that we are not in support of the Green Paper on area health boards. We are not satisfied with our appointment of the Rhondda Hospital Management Committee. There are a lot of anomalies in the set-up of these hospital management committees. We had a resolution on Justices of the Peace calling for a more democratic appointment of these people, and this is what we want in hospital management committees as well.

Do the trade unions realise that instead of about 5,000 representatives of the trade union movement as we now have on hospital management committees, etc., we would have roughly 50 members in the whole of the set-up of this area health board?

One delegate came here displaying, 'Save the Hospitals'. We have had the Rhondda

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Action Committee set up in the Rhondda, of which I was the chief press officer, and we dealt with the closure of the casualty unit at our place. I think that centralisation has gone mad.

It is no good for people to come to the Rhondda or any other area for one hour and decide the future of the hospital service in that particular area. We are not against centralisation, but let us look at the geography of the area and see if it is a workable proposition. In our case it is not a workable proposition and we only hope that the Ombudsman who is making an investigation into why we did not have a public enquiry will come forth with his answer to our problem and let us know in the very near future. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I will now call on Bessie to reply.

Mrs. Bessie Braddock, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Comrade Chairman and delegates, the introduction of prescription charges, as speakers have so clearly shown, is a bitter blow to all of us in the Labour movement. (*Applause.*) As a result of decisions taken in November last year to devalue the pound, reductions in public expenditure amounting to £400 million were announced. No sector of the social services escaped these reductions, and the National Health Service had to make its contribution. Rather than damage the framework of the Service by cutting the hospital building programme so necessary after years of Tory neglect, the Government decided to reintroduce prescription charges. (*Cries of 'Shame'.*) This was not an easy decision, but it was one that can be reversed in the future, and you know, Comrades, a hospital cut from the building programme cannot be so easily restored.

We sympathise with the feelings behind both Composite Resolutions 45 and 46. There can be no doubt that, as the Dagenham resolution says, the present exemption arrangements are inadequate and unfair. Many people who would generally be considered chronic sick are not included. If only the Government had received some co-operation from the doctors and the B.M.A. instead of obstruction when the scheme was introduced, it might have been possible to have drawn up an adequate system of exemption. (*Interruptions.*)

Just a minute, comrades. Do listen. I have listened to everything that has been said. The hypocrisy of the medical profession has to be heard to be believed, and we heard it this year. They attacked Labour for aboli-

tion of charges in 1965 and appeared to be in favour of a system of exemptions. Yet, when the Government asked them to help in drawing up an exemption system, they disclaimed all responsibility for identifying the chronic sick.

You will remember that soon after prescription charges were announced the Minister of Health promised to introduce a system of exemption certificates. This scheme is now going forward, and regulations will soon be introduced in the House of Commons. Our experience of the taking up of rent rebates has taught us that any system of relief needs extensive advertising, so there will be a Press statement on the day the scheme is introduced, and newspaper advertising about the new and existing arrangements will start a few days later.

But we recognise that any system of exemption is bound to be inadequate. The executive are therefore asking Conference to adopt Resolution 46; let us make it very clear that because no exemption system can be completely perfect, the only alternative solution to the problem lies in the complete abolition of prescription charges. (*Applause.*)

Despite this, comrades, we are asking you to remit Resolution 45. Again, I must make it clear that the executive is in sympathy with the spirit of this resolution, but we do not have a belief that merely to condemn the Government would achieve anything. Of course we want the charges abolished, but it would not be reasonable to expect, as the resolution suggests, an immediate withdrawal. To accept this resolution from the Ayrshire Federation of Labour Parties would solve nothing. What we must work for, comrades, is to find an alternative source of revenue to finance the health service so that prescription charges can be abolished as soon as possible.

Already, the executive's social policy committee has started work on this very problem. We therefore ask you to remit Composite Resolution 45. This in part would also answer some of the points made in Composite Resolution 37, which condemns all charges in the National Health Service.

We believe, as I have said, the charges are not the best way of financing the health service, so we are looking at other ways of getting the money. This resolution also calls for unification of the service, and the setting up of an elected area health board. This resolution was obviously tabled before the Green Paper on the structure of the health service was published. No doubt you will all know that this Green Paper proposes a unified health service run by area boards and poses the alternatives of appointed boards

or some form of council committees to run these services.

This Green Paper is now being discussed throughout the country, and it is up to each one of you to express your views on the proposals put forward. That is the Green Paper (*demonstrating*) which has been issued, and it can be obtained through Her Majesty's Stationery Office, or I would suggest that those who are on local authorities, or on hospital management committees make arrangements to get copies of it, so that it can be discussed at trade union and Labour Party level right throughout the country.

We want comments, we want suggestions, because this is only a Green Paper, not recommendations, they are suggestions, they may not be quite right, but we want the opinions of our comrades throughout the country.

We have talked a great deal this week about participation. The N.E.C. want community participation in the administration of the health service. But you must remember that the Royal Commission on Local Government in England is due to report, and soon this will obviously affect the type of health service structure for the future. We therefore ask you to accept Composite Resolution 37.

Finally, I want to turn to the question of the care of the elderly in our hospitals. Over recent years we have begun to recognise the value of community care, rather than institutionalisation for the elderly, and the mentally ill.

The recent investigations into the care of the elderly in certain hospitals have highlighted this problem, and we now accept that the physical separation of hospital facilities for the elderly from those of the general population is wrong. In the new district general hospitals now being built there will be accommodation specially designed for geriatric patients. But still too many elderly people are in hospitals when they should be at home with their families and friends or in group dwellings. Today about one-quarter of the council house building programme is devoted to units specially designed for the elderly and the handicapped. In 1963 there were special housing schemes for only 36,000 elderly people, but by 1971 there are plans in England and Wales alone to provide this type of housing for nearly 160,000 elderly people.

Comrades, participation is not just a right for the young. If any group has a right to demand more participation in community, it is the old who have built up the community and who too often are confined to ill-

equipped hospitals or old people's homes that were once workhouses. (*Applause.*) We are asking you to accept Resolution No. 241. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: We are now under the shadow of the guillotine. I am in your hands, but if you could make your decisions on the votes we are now putting before you so plain by a show of hands I hope it will be possible to avoid a card vote. We still have Social Security.

Composite 37—N.E.C. recommends accepting. Those in favour of accepting? . . . Those against? . . . (*Carried.*)

Resolution 241—N.E.C. recommends accepting. Those in favour . . . Against? . . . (*Carried.*)

Composite 45—N.E.C. recommendation is to remit. Those in favour? (*Cries of 'Card Vote'*.) Will you remit? A show of hands by those in favour of remitting. (*Interruption.*) I must ask for a show of hands first. Those in favour? . . . Those against? . . . I think that is clearly carried. (*Interruption.*) All right, I will put the motion. Those in favour of Composite 45? . . . Those against? . . . (*Carried.*)

Composite 46—N.E.C. recommends accepting. Those in favour of accepting? . . . Against? . . . (*Carried.*)

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. G. Whyte (Aberdeen South C.L.P.) moved Resolution No. 253:

*This Conference, while welcoming the improved social security benefits introduced by the Labour Government, calls for an immediate commitment to the provision of an income for all categories of disabled people, and urgent attention to the manner of its implementation.**

He said: The purpose of this Resolution is to carry on the fight of Jack Ashley and of Mrs. Megan du Boisson for a disablement income and to draw the attention of Conference to the plight of a million men and women who are prisoners in hospital beds, their own bedrooms, or wheelchairs. It is a major gap in the present social security system.

This anomaly has grown up through the historical facts that disability income has already been provided for two other groups of people—the war disabled and the industrially disabled. In each case, however, their

*Resolution carried. See page 312

groups have had powerful voices which could be raised on their behalf.

The plight of those disabled through causes other than war or industrial is not well enough known. I am pleased to see that the Government have started a large scale survey of the disabled with the main purpose of providing factual information on the incidence of disability among groups of people like housewives and handicapped adults.

Particularly glaring is the case of the housewife who has severe arthritis or multiple sclerosis. Since the test for one obvious form of benefit is fitness for work, she cannot qualify; her husband cannot get supplementary benefit if he is in full employment, and only if he gives up his job to look after his wife does he get relief, even though the disability may call for major expenditure.

Ironically enough, the community will maintain disabled people fully in hospital at enormous National Health Service expense. Yet this normally means a geriatric ward, to the complete demoralisation of younger disabled people and to the expense of anything up to £100 a week, when the State could save money by paying a small benefit to them at home.

It is even worse when there are children who have to be taken into the care of a local authority, which means that a taxpayer pays £9 or £10 per week per child. It is almost as though there were a conspiracy to prevent her living in her own house, being a good wife and mother and enjoying as normal a life as she can.

The home help service is terribly overburdened and not really right for disabled housewives, because there are thousands of them who need constant care.

Another case is that of the husband who was totally disabled from multiple sclerosis and only received one-third as much as a man who was industrially disabled, but similarly disabled. Britain alone of the major West European countries does not provide for the civilian disabled. Even Turkey and Spain are ahead of us. The civilian disabled have been the forgotten poor.

There are also the people who are injured on the way to or from work and not covered by industrial injuries. Earnings-related benefit ends after only 6½ months, just when he is starting to face the full implications of his irreparable injury or his incurable disease.

There are files crammed with cases of Dickensian poverty and wretchedness. Rivers of statistics, case histories, hopes dashed, horrors endured in silence. The sympathy

of the Government and the Minister of Social Security, in particular, with the disabilities, is not in doubt. The survey initiated by the Ministry is obviously necessary for detailed legislation, but our motion asks for two things: 1. Commitment to the principle of a disability income, which has not yet publicly been made. 2. Urgency in actions upon detailed implementation, lest the care and welfare of a very distressed section of the community, with no powerful organised lobby of its own, takes a low priority.

Comrade Chairman, I have much pleasure in moving.

Mr. T. Wilson (Chelsea C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, I agree with all the proposer has said. In Chelsea we welcome the disablement pension, provided the essential services are available—this is most important. The Labour Party already has a policy on these essential services, and we are glad that the disablement income group has now accepted the first of these in the enrolling and training of special home helps to relieve district nurses for the duties for which they have been trained, and in some cases to enable the fit members of the family to go out and earn the family living.

We are glad the Government has made it mandatory to provide home helps, but where are these to be found? The most obvious source, in general the most satisfactory, are relatives and friends who really care about the patient personally, but who cannot afford to do so unless they are paid a living wage. It will need very little training in the arts of lifting and turning, etc., to make them sufficiently proficient to enable the patients to continue in the environment to which they are entitled, their own home. These people should be paid for carrying out a socially useful job.

To claim that local authorities have already the power to do this is not enough. It is up to the new Minister of the combined Health and Welfare Ministry to see they are properly paid and that they carry out their duties towards the patient.

This is Labour Party policy, as laid down in Resolution 93 of the last Party conference held in this very hall, and I believe, on that occasion, you yourself, Madam Chairman, replied to the debate.

There must be a central policy on this problem of the provision of help in the home, in order to avoid many of the people going into institutions.

We need special young chronic sick units. The number of young chronic sick children in geriatric wards is a scandal and a disgrace. The greatest single factor in family break-

down owing to chronic illness is caused by lack of facilities leading to impossible strain.

Proper services plus a pension, which of course is important, but proper services as well can reduce the number of institutionalised. Support the national campaign for the young chronic sick.

Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. (Applause.)

The Chairman: Resolution 254, Eastleigh Constituency Labour Party.

Mrs. S. Bartlett (Eastleigh C.L.P.) moved Resolution 254:

*This Conference, in view of the rising cost of living, as well as the increased pool of unemployed, urges the Government to take further steps to alleviate the conditions of those children in families who are below subsistence level. As a first step the wage-stop imposed by the Ministry of Social Security must be abandoned.**

She said: Several times this week, comrades, we have been told how much we are increasing benefits to the underprivileged in our society. In particular, we have heard about the two increases we have had in family allowances, and I know this has not been particularly popular in our movement.

They have been increased to help the half million children that were found to be in poverty in our society. These half million children are from two groups. The one group is where the man, or the wage-earner, is earning less than enough to keep his family at the subsistence level as laid down by the Ministry of Social Security. The other group are those who are on supplementary allowances or pensions, but in fact because the pensions, the subsistence level, is above what they were earning, they are kept artificially below the subsistence level by the Ministry. In other words, we have found where the poor are and we are making them poorer.

The reason why I want this wage stop removed is because I cannot see any other way of helping the second group, not initially at any rate.

The second group, the ones who are wage-stopped and kept artificially low, artificially, if you like, almost in starvation, are not being helped by the two family allowances we have had this year, and this is because, having said we were going to give it with one hand, the Ministry of Social Security has taken it away with the other. They were given the family allowances. They were

*Resolution carried. See page 312

entitled to the family allowances, so they thought, and then when we got them the Ministry of Social Security cut their benefits by the same amount, thereby making them even poorer. I do not see the logic of this.

You know, the prices have gone up as much for them as for the rest of us. In some ways, they have a big enough struggle to survive, without this. Comrades, I just feel that if we are going to help these people, we have got to make certain they have at least the same standards as everybody else.

As a first step, comrades, let us get rid of the wage stop and then see how else we can help these poor children who are in desperate need. (Applause.)

Mr. N. Price (Berkshire Federation of Labour Parties): I formally second.

The Chairman: Resolution 259, Blackburn T.C. and L.P., seconded by Merthyr Tydfil C.L.P.

RETIREMENT PENSIONS

Mr. W. Worswick (Blackburn Trades Council and Labour Party) moved Resolution 259:

*This Conference calls upon the Government to increase the Retirement Pension to £7 per week for a single person and £12 per week for a married couple to meet the increase in the cost of living. It is of the opinion that such an increase is warranted to alleviate the serious hardship facing a large section of our retired population.***

He said: Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, I am sure Conference is familiar with the adage 'growing old gracefully'. But in our society today there are many who are growing old anxiously: anxious because of the diminishing standards which they will be subjected to as a result of the pitiful level of their pensions on retirement. Many people, because of the low wages they have received throughout their working lives, have been unable to save for their retirement.

George Brown, who so ably presented the policy statement on the Britain of the future, said, 'When you have enough money to live on, what else matters?' It is all very well tearing aside the veil of the future, but what matters are the needs of the moment. Many people have not enough money to enjoy a decent standard of living now, never mind the future.

Can I very briefly ask you to cast your

**Resolution remitted. See page 312

minds back to the prices and incomes debate which was full of fury and passion? Could I now ask that the same energies, the same consideration and the same compassion can now be exercised on behalf of many of our senior citizens? I completely repudiate that socialism means something for nothing, and let us not forget this, fellow delegates, that many of our senior citizens have laboured honestly and conscientiously down the years and therefore they deserve the just deserts of their labours. (*Applause.*)

I want also to remind you of the great Christian virtue, that Godliness with contentment is great gain, therefore whatsoever state I am in, therewith to be content. I suggest to you, Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, we cannot be content with the set of values as it exists at the moment concerning our senior citizens. Therefore I would ask that there should be some dignity in their old age, coupled with security in their old age. I beg to move. (*Applause.*)

Mr. W. R. King (Merthyr Tydfil C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, fellow delegates, it gives me great pleasure to second this resolution because my constituency Labour Party has been submitting resolutions of this nature to the regional council. We have also had to receive deputations of the Old People's Association, and they press upon us in our trade union—the miners—that something must be done in order to maintain the standard of living of our retired workers.

These people that we are speaking about are the people who are falling behind in the race. We talk about the problems of the lower paid but generally speaking we have powerful trade unions to argue the case on behalf of the lower paid; but these people, who have served the Labour movement and the trade unions so well in the past, unfortunately feel that they have no approach to this problem so far as official circles are concerned.

It gives me great pleasure to support the resolution of Blackburn, asking for £12 a week for a married couple immediately and £7 a week for a single person. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: It is a general debate, but I am afraid I can take only one further contribution.

Mr. K. A. Munro (Bromley C.L.P.): I am the first of two speakers from Bromley who, I hope, will be catching your eye this morning, Madam Chairman. Jim Sillars spoke earlier this morning about hard choices. I would like to take up this theme and develop it very briefly.

Of course, we are all making hard choices every day of the week—whether to buy this good or that good or whether to have an extra week's holiday. I suppose that the people who come to Blackpool to see the lights have to take the cruel decision as to whether to come here for a week-end or save a bit of money by buying a new Bentley.

But the choices I am concerned about this morning are the really cruel, overbearing choices, the choice which a mother has to make between buying a new pair of winter shoes for her children or buying a joint of meat for the week-end; the choice an old-age pensioner has to make between buying an extra bag of coal or a second-hand coat. And let no one mistake for a moment that these sort of choices have to be made daily in our society. They are the direct result of poverty.

You know, there is a smug complacency in this society of ours, and it permeates our Labour movement—a complacency which says that poverty has been abolished in Britain. We look at television reports of poverty in the ghettos of the United States or in Afro-Asia and we say that it does not happen here. It happens, and there is poverty in this country which is real, objective and remediable. Because it remains unremedied, it is damnable.

Next week we shall hear in this town, in the smooth tones of the expensive uneducated, diatribe after diatribe against welfare spending. We must give a commitment now, as we have given a commitment on other subjects, that this propaganda will be counteracted. I am not saying that poverty should transcend every other issue we have discussed this week. What I am saying is that if we tackle this, it will make the solution of these other problems that much easier. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: I must now call on Arthur Skeffington to reply.

Mr. Arthur Skeffington, M.P. (National Executive Committee): Madam Chairman and Conference, although last on our agenda, social security comes very high in the hearts and minds of the Labour movement.

A glance at the annual report will show our constant care and concern for those members of society who, because of age or sickness, or injury or accident, need and must receive the help of the community. Indeed, when one sometimes hears the rather stupid question 'What is the difference between the Parties?' one among many con-

vincing replies is to point to the record of action by the Labour Party from its very inception in this field, from the first motion moved in the House of Commons by the new, independent Parliamentary Labour Party asking for meals in schools for needy children down to the increase in benefit which will be taking place this year on 8 October.

It will be very interesting to note the amount of time and the content given to this great human problem at a gathering which, I gather, is to be held in this hall next week.

At this stage, and after the references earlier in the week by the Prime Minister and Judith Hart to specific and real improvement in all types of social benefit, I need say but little. But I would urge delegates to read and note the very impressive details of improvements given in all types of social benefit on pages 99 and 100 of the annual report.

Even in the past difficult year when we have been struggling to get out of international debt, the cost of the increased benefits to the National Insurance Fund is no less than £219 million and to the Industrial Injuries Fund £10½ million.

So in this field I think we ought to begin by realising that we have a proud record of achievements since 1964, when we decided to go ahead, even in that year of inherited massive deficit, with the pension increases to our aged folk right down to the present time.

Our total spending on social security for the year 1967/68 will be no less than £2,909 million, an increase of 48 per cent since 1963/64.

All this, however, has to be read in conjunction with the improvement we have made in related services, to the 48 per cent increase in spending on the social service, to the 63 per cent increase in public housing, the 42 per cent increase in education, the 45 per cent in health and the 87 per cent in relation to hospital building. Impressive as all that is, I must remind Conference that this is still but an interim stage.

In 1966 we began the reconstruction of social security benefits along wage-related lines, giving supplements to the flat rate of sickness benefit, unemployment and widows' pensions amounting to no less than one-third for wages between £9 and £13 a week. The new earnings-related scheme will be announced shortly. It is a massive new plan, a concept upon which the Government has been working for some considerable time now, and I hope, in passing, the Conference will note with appreciation the tremendous work done in this field by Douglas Hough-

ton, by Peggy Herbison, by Dick Crossman and indeed by the present Minister, Judith Hart.

This new scheme will be announced very shortly, and it is the intention of the Government that it should be brought into law during the life time of this Parliament.

It is because of this new scheme and also because of the considerable amount of work which is going on at the present time in the Ministry of Social Security that, in relation to two resolutions, I shall urge their remittance, and for the other one I shall urge acceptance.

May I, first of all, turn to Resolution 259 which urges us to put a particular figure upon the increase which should go to old age pensions. I could not honestly urge the Conference to accept this resolution, although I know that the figures have been put in as a measure of the concern and our need to be as generous as we can in this matter, but I must tell Conference that if we were tied with that figure—in advance, incidentally, of the research work that is going on into the facts—it would make an additional annual cost in the pensions bill alone of £860 million. Really, comrades, one cannot just put that sort of figure in and pretend that it can immediately be implemented, but the N.E.C. is fully committed to the fact that there must be as quickly as possible a constant increase in a most effective way of helping the old.

I think it is important to remember in this connection first of all that despite increases in the cost of living, the pension rate is still 15 per cent better than it was before Labour came into power, and when we transformed the National Assistance system into our new Social Security Ministry we were able to persuade 400,000 more pensioners to claim their supplementary benefits. I hope we will also remember that every year since 1965 the supplementary benefits have been increased.

Lastly, I would draw the attention of Conference to the fact that the Ministry of Social Security is working on a new cost of living index for use in these matters which will be based upon the needs of pensioners themselves and not upon the cost of living index which is based upon the needs of the whole of the community. (*Applause.*)

There is, therefore, considerable improvement, we shall go on improving social benefits as soon as we can; we accept the spirit of the resolution. But because of the figures that I have given, I hope the delegates will agree to its being remitted.

Resolution 254 draws attention to the condition of children in families below the

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subsistence level. Here again, as has been pointed out, there have been two increases in family allowances, not always popular, but because we thought they were right. I think the delegate from Eastleigh realised that in operating these new family allowances we have made adjustments in the field of taxation so that in fact the greater benefit does go to those who are less well off, and this means that if you look again at an example given on page 100 of the report, a substantial increase is shown, a family with four children will, by October of this year, receive an additional 30s. a week on their income, and a six-child family—and it is these larger families where the question of poverty often arises—will receive an increase of 50s. a week. I think this is a considerable improvement, and we have thought this is the right way to do it.

Reference was also made to the wage-stop, and here again, Judith Hart commissioned a report, which has meant she has been able to review the cases much more generously, much more sympathetically. Further work is going on in this field, but our attitude to this problem is that it is very much better to approach it along the lines that we did in our earlier discussions this week, of getting to a minimum wage so that we shall not be reproached in the future with the fact that there are now about 150,000 families where even when the husband is fully at work, he earns less than the minimum standard recommended by the Supplementary Benefits Commission.

It seems to us that it is on those lines lies the best solution. So while a good deal of work is going on in this field, and while again we are sympathetic to the purposes behind it, I would ask, for the reasons I have given, that this resolution should be remitted to the National Executive.

Resolution 253 which was moved by Aberdeen, we would accept in principle with one reservation. The reservation we have is about the words used, 'immediate commitment'. We cannot make an immediate commitment yet for the simple reason that there is a great deal still unknown about the categories of disablement, the kind of special problems which they face, including, incidentally, particularly the category of the disabled housewife who sometimes gets left out of this picture completely. Judith Hart is progressing with the work which it is hoped to complete either by the end of this year or the beginning of next year.

The N.E.C. accept the position that now we have a broad, good basis for an industrial injuries scheme, we want similarly to have one for all disabled, including the housewife.

So providing we qualify the word 'immediate' in the light of the information that we are now getting—and may I say that we are very grateful to bodies like the Disablement Income Group and the National League for the Young Chronic Sick for the information they have been able to give us—when this information is received in a few months' time, we shall be able to base upon it a proper scheme which will cover all the categories of disablement. On that assurance and excepting that, I hope that the Conference will agree to accept 253 and to remit the other two resolutions. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman: Comrades, you have heard the recommendations. Resolution 253, all those in favour please show? Against? (*Carried.*)

Now we come to Resolution 254, you are asked to remit it, so I am asking Eastleigh if they will agree to remit. (*Dissent.*) You will not, and in that case we must recommend from the N.E.C. that Conference oppose. Those in favour of Resolution 254? Against? (*Carried.*)

Now we go to Resolution 259, and I am asking Blackburn and Merthyr if they will agree to remit. (*Agreed.*)

We have now come to the point in our proceedings where I have got to ask you if you will formally approve the remaining sections of the N.E.C. Report. (*Approved.*) It follows from that that all outstanding resolutions and amendments are remitted to the National Executive Committee. Does Conference agree? (*Agreed.*) Thank you very much indeed.

I am now calling on our Acting General Secretary.

Miss Sara Barker (Acting General Secretary), who was accorded a loud, prolonged and standing ovation, said: It gives me the greatest pleasure to call upon the delegate from Montgomeryshire, Alderman Ben Watkins, to move a resolution. Alderman Watkins has been secretary of his constituency party for many years and those of you who know Montgomery know what a task he has got—a difficult job indeed. It stretches right across mid-Wales from the Shropshire border to Cardigan Bay. Alderman Watkins. (*Applause.*)

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Ald. B. Watkins (Montgomeryshire C.L.P.): In moving this resolution of thanks, may I say how impressed I have been by the very responsible manner in which the

N.E.C. and the delegates have dealt with the business of Conference. As a Welshman I am particularly grateful that Conference gave the time that it did to the resolutions on devolution. I am sure that this will give the Scottish and Welsh Regional Councils the support that they need in their future deliberations.

It is right that we should know where we are going on this matter and not accept any compromise which will leave the people of Scotland and Wales in a worse economic position. Whatever we may think of the advice given from the platform on the many resolutions, we all know that that advice and leadership will be far above the advice and leadership which will be given next week in this hall. (*Applause.*)

Now I have the pleasant duty of proposing that the heartiest thanks of Conference be extended to the Worshipful the Mayor of Blackpool, Alderman Mrs. Jean Robinson, J.P. (*Applause.*) We are very grateful for the opening of Conference and for the Civic Reception. We are grateful to Mr. Donald Neish who welcomed us on behalf of the Borough Labour Party of Blackpool—(*Applause*)—and to Mr. Herbert Kemp and Lord Wright, for bringing fraternal greetings from the Co-operative Party and the Trades Union Congress. (*Applause.*)

We thank the Corporation of Blackpool and their staff for their hospitality and for providing this hall for our use and, in particular, thank Mr. Porter, the Director of Publicity and Mr. Benson, the Mayor's secretary, for their invaluable help in preparing for the conference. (*Applause.*)

Also, in this connection, we thank Mr. Newby and his staff at the Winter Gardens, seen and unseen—not forgetting the organist, Mr. Broadbent, who, for those of us who got here in time in the morning, we could appreciate very much indeed. (*Applause.*)

Our thanks are due to Glyn Williams and his colleagues on the Standing Orders Committee. (*Applause.*) To our auditors, Bleackley and Smith. (*Applause.*) To the delegates who have served as scrutineers and tellers, and to those members of the Blackpool Borough Labour Party, who have so efficiently stewarded the conference hall and its approaches throughout the week. (*Applause.*)

We thank the management and the staff of the Victoria House Printing Company in London and the United Printing Services in Blackpool for their co-operation in printing conference documents. (*Applause.*)

We thank the correspondents representing British, Commonwealth and foreign Press reporting the conference; the BBC, radio and

television, Granada and ITN, for their coverage of conference. (*Applause.*)

We thank the CWS bank, the Post Office, British Railways and Galleon Travel for the facilities they have provided for our convenience. (*Applause.*)

Our thanks too are due to our Chairman, Jennie. (*Prolonged applause.*) She has controlled this great conference with firmness and directness, although many, like myself, will be returning to their constituencies with their speech unspoken. (*Laughter.*)

The sympathetic way in which she responded to the miners' protest gained the sincere admiration of the conference. (*Applause.*)

This conference would offer to Mr. Harry Nicholas our best wishes on his taking up the responsibility of being General Secretary of the Party. (*Applause.*)

I feel I must, in conclusion, on this particular occasion, make reference to the valuable services given to the Party by Sara Barker, which you have adequately shown. (*Applause.*)

Madam Chairman, I beg to move. (*Applause.*)

Miss Barker: It now gives me great pleasure to call the delegate from Manchester, Withington, Mr. Humphrey Higgins. Humphrey is the secretary of the Withington branch of the Young Socialists, and I call upon this young member of the Party, who is doing such splendid work, to second the resolution.

Mr. H. Higgins (Manchester Withington C.L.P.): Madam Chairman, fellow Young Socialists, and comrades, I was very pleased to hear in George Brown's speech to Conference the suggestion that the older members should stand down for a while and allow new blood its chance. (*Applause.*) I hope that Conference will not think it is impertinent of me to hope this suggestion is now being put into practice.

I considered it a very great honour when I was invited to second this vote of thanks at this year's Party Conference, and it is with very great pleasure that I now do so.

Alderman Watkins has thanked the many people without whom this Conference could not have taken place. I would like, if I may, to single out a few people of special importance who, I think, are worthy of our consideration.

On Saturday afternoon many of the delegates were attending compositing meetings. At 5.30 many of these meetings ended, and

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so did the duties of the delegates till Monday morning. Conference was then a happy, or perhaps an unhappy, anticipation for us. Not so for others. Think of the Transport House staff, the clerks, the typists, who all had to collate the 48 composite resolutions before submitting the final drafts to the printers. (*Applause.*)

Did you know, comrades, that it was 3 o'clock on Sunday morning when the Party staff were checking the printers' proofs. These went back to the printers, the United Printing Services, who worked throughout Sunday to ensure that every delegate got a copy of the composite book on their seats on Monday morning, and that is to say nothing of the Chairman's Address, the N.E.C. statements and so on, all of which were transcribed and printed and in our possession in a remarkably short time. (*Applause.*)

A special thanks is due, of course, to the staff of the Winter Gardens, who have had a tremendously difficult job this week. It is rather difficult, I think, to appreciate that only two hours after we had left this Conference hall we were back again—this is last night—this time in a dance hall, and eight hours after we had all gone it was a Conference hall again. And they are running a theatre as well. I think they have done a really tremendous job of work. (*Applause.*)

A special thanks to the stewards at Conference: this band of voluntary workers who ensure that the right people get to the right place and the wrong people get nowhere. (*Applause.*) And to the Conference Arrangements Committee. I am sure everybody will agree they have satisfied everyone. (*Laughter.*) Seriously, though, I mean that.

But I am very grateful that I have had the opportunity of attending this Conference as a delegate. It has certainly been an experience, and it has, I am sure, been a memorable Conference. As the Prime Minister said on Tuesday, this is where we start to fight back. We have started in Manchester, and we know, of course, as you know, that Labour are going to win the next election and how they are going to win it.

Madam Chairman, it gives me very great pleasure to second this vote of thanks. (*Applause.*)

Miss Barker: Now it gives me pleasure to call on Mr. John Grant of the Daily Express to reply on behalf of the Press.

Mr. J. Grant (Daily Express): Grant, Daily Express. Like Barbara, among the great unloved. National Union of Journalists (*cheers*) which is not affiliated, of course.

(*Laughter.*) Bromley Constituency Labour Party. (*Applause.*)

Just in case you thought you had finished the business, I thought I would just take a little journalistic licence, to which I am so well accustomed, and ask you to turn quickly to your agendas, page 53, Resolution 144. It was our resolution. They put it in the wrong section, it should have been under social security, not minimum wage. They did not reach it anyway, so I formally move. Those in favour say aye! (*Laughter and applause.*) I think that was carried!

My job here really is to speak on behalf of some 700 newspaper, radio and television representatives, of whom 650 are primarily concerned with laying the wires all round the hall that you keep tripping over as you go in and out, and the rest of us are mainly concerned with trying to trip the N.E.C. Really, trying to speak for 700 assorted journalists is almost as bad as somebody up there trying to speak for the Labour Party! (*Laughter and applause.*)

Well, I mentioned the N.E.C., and bless them all for their leaks! (*Laughter and applause.*) I think the best you could call them is sort of shower-proof, but I am told each of the incoming Executive has been issued with a regulation 'Gannex'! (*Laughter.*) Let us be fair, they have had some pretty tough jobs this week and I think you should really be kinder to them—certainly for the rest of this Conference anyway.

Incidentally, I do not see why you all keep criticising Ted Heath. He has not done anything, has he? (*Laughter and applause.*)

Reverting to the N.E.C. for the moment and its problems during the week, take one or two of the distinguished members. Take Barbara first: on Monday, particularly, I thought, she had a very difficult spot to fill. She reminded me rather of the patient, the trade union general secretary in fact, who was in hospital. He had had a pretty nasty operation, and his president came along to visit him. He brought him a bouquet of flowers and a bunch of grapes and he said, 'Well, Fred, the executive wanted me to tell you to take your time recovering, the job's all right—my casting vote, 13-12!' (*Laughter and applause.*)

Then there was the chap who, I thought, shone on Wednesday, whose name I must not mention because he does not like being personalised. (*Laughter.*) I tell you this, he was not too happy on the day before he made that speech. I saw him walking round under the Blackpool Tower with that well-known look of resignation on his face (*Laughter*) and he looked up at the pigeons up on the tower and said, 'Come on, you

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may as well get on with it, everybody else does!' (*Laughter and applause.*) Sorry, George.

Since I have mentioned George, I wonder if I might be serious, very briefly, and pick up something he did say. He was talking about the communications industry and we, of course, are all part of that, and he drew attention to the dangers of commercial control. Many of us have watched the contraction of the newspaper industry, in particular, and the consequent loss of jobs and, perhaps even more important, the longer-term effect, the social loss, I think, when a newspaper closes.

It is not surprising that this Party too should be concerned about the concentration of power in the communications industry as a whole, but George also drew attention to the over-control by governments. I am not concerned at all to defend the commercial interests, but I do think that it is relevant for me to remind you all that in those countries where the human rights which the Prime Minister spoke about on Tuesday are missing, in Greece and in Rhodesia and in South Africa and Spain and Portugal, and in the Eastern European countries, and particularly at this moment in Czechoslovakia, the first people who are victims of repression are always the writers and working journalists. (*Applause.*)

I hope if this Party is going to look at the communications industry, as it apparently intends to do, this is one factor they will never lose sight of. I do not think they will.

May I now turn to the Party's own communications? I would like to thank very sincerely on behalf of all of us Percy Clark, the publicity director, and his very hard-working staff. I know my colleagues all feel they have done a very fine job in smoothing our way at this Conference this week. (*Applause.*)

On the same subject, I am sure that the incoming General Secretary, Harry Nicholas—backed up, incidentally, of course, by an ex-journalist as the new Chairman—will not ignore this side of things. We look forward to a continuing good relationship with Harry, and this applies particularly to the industrial correspondents, carrying on the good relations we have had with him elsewhere.

I think now—it is the 3 o'clock train you want, is it not?—I had better move towards a close, and I thought I perhaps ought to finish by telling a story about our leader. I know he will not mind. Of course, industrial correspondents do not really see very much of him now that he has stopped stopping strikes; but I know that he still retains a keen interest in the subject. I do

not want this story repeated to Barbara, because she gets a bit touchy.

You know, he is a keen golfer. Fairly recently he thought he would try and reduce his handicap, and he invited Hughie Scanlon down to Chequers to play a round. (*Laughter.*) There were the usual couple of detectives there. You know, you have got to watch these trade unionists, have you not! One was an old stager and the other was a young detective constable who had not been before.

The Prime Minister drove off—a splendid shot, right up the fairway, straight on to the green. It hit the pin and rolled just a couple of feet away. With a somewhat uncharacteristic gesture, he flung down his club. The young detective said, 'Who the hell does he think he is? Harold Wilson?' The older chap said, 'Don't be a fool. That is Harold Wilson. He thinks he's Arnold Palmer!' (*Applause.*)

Thank you very much for listening. Safe journey. Good luck. (*Loud applause.*)

Miss Barker: Now, comrades, it is a privilege to call our Chairman, Jennie Lee.

The Chairman: Comrades, in replying to so much and so many during the course of this remarkable Conference I have a difficult job, but there are one or two things which stand out and are very easy for me to say; and I do not think you will disagree.

Before we came here there were so many ugly rumours, all those well-informed sources of information that said that of course the Labour Party and the trade union movement were just about to fall apart.

I do not know whether you ever believed that. I certainly did not. But I did not underestimate the strain that we were going through at the constituency level, at Party level, at branch level, wherever we were working for the Labour movement.

But I do not think, in all our history, we have ever had as mature a Conference as this one has been. (*Applause.*) From start to finish there has been an underlying kindness. The whole mood has been that we expect a Labour Government to be more efficient than any other kind of Government.

We have ample evidence, in the brilliant speeches that have been made by Minister after Minister, that that is so. We know that our people are working hard, working harder than any other Ministers could possibly have done, in order to solve the tough problems of our economy.

But efficiency is not enough. Again and again from the floor there has come the cry on behalf of the sick, of the poor, of the

man or woman humbled by feeling that there is no job for them, or by the embarrassment of dislocations of changing jobs, and what has come through, and came through with such brilliance in that short but wonderful debate on discrimination—Frank, you distinguished yourself. In your wonderful, what you insisted on calling your swansong, you amply met the challenge that was made by our friend from another land on discrimination and all those other problems—what has tempered all our debates has been a feeling of compassion. We want to do so much more than for the moment is within our grasp.

Compassion alone is not enough. There has to be force, but it is all government, all movement. We know we can combine compassion with efficiency, efficiency with compassion, and that is what we must have. *(Applause.)*

Again, it has been clearly evident that in spite of all our preoccupation with our immediate domestic problems we have kept a sense of proportion. We have been tuned in to the great music of humanity; we are not deaf and blind to what is happening in Vietnam, in Nigeria, Rhodesia, in the Americas, North, East, West or South, because we would be betraying our socialist faith if ever we ceased to be international socialists and if ever we ceased to care about the family of man in the broadest sense. *(Applause.)*

In all that is happening to dismay, to horrify us in the international scene, there is one trend most hopeful which we must understand and which we must encourage. In capitalist countries, working men and women are seeking to build powerful, democratic socialist movements because they are longing for economic security, longing for the planning and the priorities that can give them that kind of dignity and security. We who are operating in the capitalist world have got to find our way forward from where we are to the society which retains and enlarges our liberties and at the same time puts us in control of our physical and economic environment. *(Applause.)*

Among our friends from abroad who have been with us this week have not only been representatives from the capitalist world, but there have also been representatives from the communist world, and we are observing now in one communist country after another the longing of men and women to add freedoms they are now denied to the possibilities of economic planning which are theirs because they own their land and all their other resources.

If those two trends could meet, if we can go forward against all the disadvantages, all the difficulties we have to meet, and if men and women in the communist world can look towards us as their friends and comrades, we would hate them to turn their backs on what they have achieved, to go back to capitalism—that is not what we want. *(Applause.)*

I do not think there is any danger of that happening, they have suffered too much and paid too much for what they have achieved. But they long for our freedoms, and we need more control of our physical and economic environment. Therefore, let us in our country, with our mature Labour movement and with our Government, go forward and try to give a lead in this field, so that the world can become one and that its resources can be used to heal instead of to destroy.

Now I come to those of you who are going to go back with a chip on your shoulders. But I have been very careful to ask that I should have an account of the total number of people who have been called to the rostrum, and where they come from. Here are the figures, get your notebooks ready: in the course of the week there have been 178 speeches from the rostrum; the Lords and Commons have contributed 23; the trade unions and other affiliated organisations have contributed 38; the Constituency Labour Parties have contributed 117. *(Applause.)*

I know all too well, I have been in the position so often myself, where you come eager to speak, passionately concerned, you know the wonderful words, 'be still, o soul, be still and let injustice be, 'tis for a day.' But our hearts can never be still when there is injustice.

I have watched with such sympathy, especially when I called on the outposts of empire, but you have had 117 speakers at the rostrum out of a total of 178 speakers.

All I hope is that in giving those figures we will not be met with a demonstration outside, next year, where people like Clive Jenkins and Frank Cousins, Jack Jones and a few more have placards up, saying, 'Fair play for trade union delegates.' *(Laughter and applause.)*

Now I want to close as you began by talking about our Sara. *(Applause.)* You know, behind Sara there is that small but brave, dedicated army of Transport House, continually making one look like a dozen. I want to join in all the thanks that have been given in thanking them, because we have seen them bleary-eyed, unlike you because you have been out on the tiles,

FRIDAY MORNING: VOTES OF THANKS

because, as a young delegate said, they have been working right through the night often, keeping us up to date, with all the preparatory work that has to be done in this great Conference. So, to all of them, our thanks.

Here is Sara. What happens to her? I have said before, and I will say it again—whenever our Prime Minister is in trouble and there is a difficult job to be done, he turns to the women. (*Applause.*)

I am not going to mention any other names at the moment, you can guess some of them, and you can see some of them, but here is Sara: for a third of a century she has been a servant of this movement, a servant as we are all servants.

Before that, of course, she was working very hard as she would not have had the opportunity of an overworked, underpaid job at the lowest regions. But there is Sara, coming from the local to the regional, to the national.

How many different Chairmen she has guided, a mixed lot; Johnny Boyd last year; she has had the Prime Minister under her control, she has had Barbara, you name them she has had them, right, left, centre, the lot. But Sara has had a particularly difficult job to do this last year. She has been Acting General Secretary since April, and as you know, due to circumstances that were outside our control, Len Williams was not able to carry on. Harry, who has all our best wishes, all our help and co-operation, could not take your agreement for granted; it was your right at this Conference to accept or reject N.E.C. recommendations.

It has been Sara since April who has had to carry the main burden. Every time that I have wanted to indulge a little caprice, she has said, 'No. You cannot do that, Jennie. That is not the constitution.' I am sure she

has kept every previous Chairman in check in the same way. It has been strictly the letter of the law. Sanders of the River was an amateur compared with our Sara. (*Applause.*)

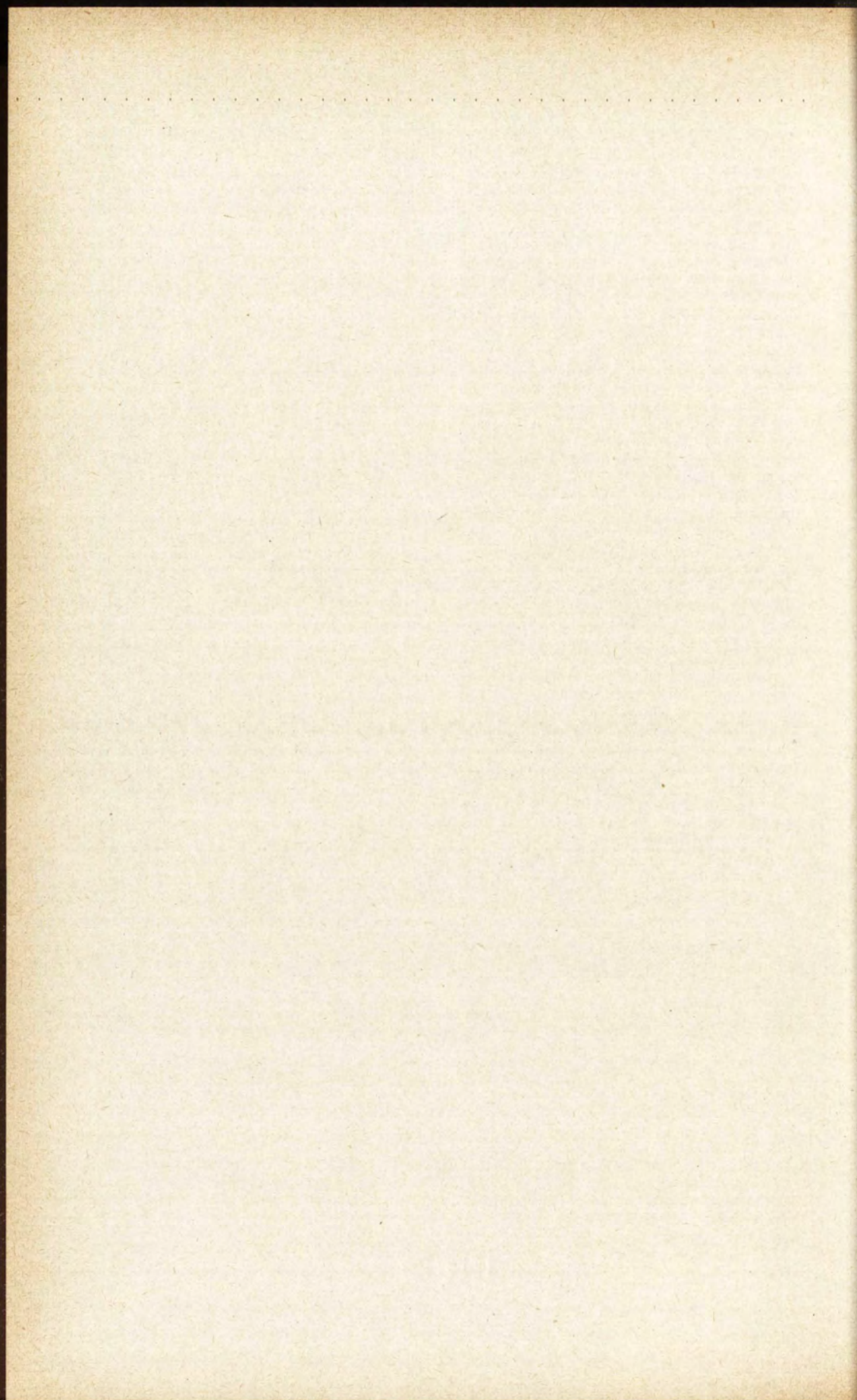
Then, if you were at the Welsh occasion the other night, forward she comes—'threatening, did you say, Jim? I would say 'formidable'. And Sara, who has that beguiling gift of modesty, so very much the perfect back-door worker who makes it possible for others to come forward and take a bow, there she was as bold as brass. She came forward and she made the speech of the evening. She made an absolutely first class speech, teaching us—those of us who are supposed to be able to make a speech—how to do our job. (*Applause.*)

So, Sara, in presenting these flowers—they have been chosen with love. I said, 'Don't you dare bring anything but the very best that can be found'. They have been chosen with love. This is Friday. You will be able to take them home with you. Please remember that we do not take you seriously when you talk of retiring. We know that in February the day comes when you will be retiring from your present job, but we wish you such a well-deserved holiday and we wish you all personal health and happiness.

Don't expect that your holiday will last too long. There is still a great deal that only you can do and that you will require to do. Sara, I present these flowers with our love. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Now I ask you all to stand and join in singing the first and last verses of 'The Red Flag'.

(Conference ended with the singing of 'The Red Flag', three cheers for Harold Wilson, and the singing of 'Auld Lang Syne'.)



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APPENDIX 1

PROVISIONAL RULES FOR THE GREATER LONDON REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Clause I NAME

The Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party.

Clause II OBJECTS

1. To organise and maintain in the Greater London Area a political Labour Party and to ensure the establishment of a Constituency Labour Party in every Parliamentary constituency.
2. To co-operate with the National Executive Committee, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Co-operative Union Ltd., or other kindred organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Labour Party and the Standing Orders of the Trades Union Congress.
3. To establish on the Greater London Council a Labour Group independent of all other parties in accordance with the Standing Orders for London Borough Labour Groups as laid down by the Annual Party Conference.
4. To formulate an Electoral Policy and Programme, to compile a panel of candidates to contest the Greater London Council Election and to endorse such candidates after their selection.
5. To provide such machinery as may be deemed necessary to ensure the co-ordination of local government policy throughout the area.
6. To secure co-operation between Party and Affiliated Organisations within Greater London in all appropriate political activities.

Clause III MEMBERSHIP

Affiliated members shall consist of:—

- (a) Constituency Labour Parties.
- (b) Trade Unions affiliated to the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress nationally.
- (c) District Councils of Trade Unions affiliated nationally.
- (d) Co-operative Societies or Co-operative Organisations.
- (e) Socialist Societies affiliated to the Labour Party nationally.
- (f) Women's Advisory Councils.
- (g) Regional Committee of Young Socialists.

Clause IV CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

Every affiliated organisation must:—

- (a) Accept the Programme, Principles and Policy of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.
- (b) Agree to conform to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.
- (c) Submit its Political Rules to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

Clause V ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Council shall be constituted as follows:—

1. (a) Delegates duly appointed by each affiliated Trade Union or District Council, Co-operative Society or Organisation, and Socialist Societies to the number of two delegates for the first 500 members or part thereof, plus an additional delegate for each succeeding 500 members or part thereof, on whom affiliation fees were paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Annual Meeting.
- (b) Delegates duly appointed by Constituency Labour Parties to the number of

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two delegates for the first 500 individual members or part thereof, plus an additional delegate for each succeeding 500 members or part thereof, on whom affiliation fees were paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Annual Meeting.

- (c) Delegates duly appointed by the Women's Advisory Councils not exceeding two delegates from each Council providing the affiliation fees have been paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Annual Meeting.
 - (d) Delegates appointed by the Regional Committee of Young Socialists not exceeding two delegates providing the affiliation fee has been paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Annual Meeting.
2. Ex-officio members of the Annual Meeting shall be:—
- (i) members of the National Executive Committee.
 - (ii) members of the Regional Executive Committee.
 - (iii) members of the Greater London Parliamentary Labour Group.
 - (iv) Parliamentary Labour Candidates for constituencies within Greater London whose candidatures have been endorsed by the National Executive Committee.
 - (v) Two representatives from each London Borough Local Government Committee.
 - (vi) Leader and Chief Whip of the Greater London Council Labour Group.
 - (vii) Leader and Chief Whip of the London Boroughs Association Labour Group.
 - (viii) One representative of the Standing Local Government Advisory Committee.

Ex-officio members of the Annual Meeting shall have no voting power unless they are also duly appointed delegates.

SPECIAL MEETINGS

Special meetings of the Council may be summoned at the instance of the Executive Committee, the National Executive Committee, or on the requisition of a majority of the Affiliated Organisations. Any special meeting of the Council shall be called on the same basis of representation as that upon which the last Annual Meeting was convened.

Clause VI QUALIFICATIONS OF DELEGATES

1. Every delegate must be an Individual member of the Labour Party.
2. Delegates must be bona fide members, or paid permanent officials, of the organisation appointing them, except in the case of Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party, or duly endorsed Parliamentary Labour Candidates appointed to represent Constituency Labour Parties in accordance with paragraph 7 of this clause.
3. No person shall act as a delegate for more than one organisation.
4. No person shall act as a delegate who does not contribute to the political fund of his or her Trade Union.
5. Members of Parliament not members of the Parliamentary Labour Party are ineligible to act as delegates.
6. The following are also ineligible to act as delegates:—
 - (a) Persons acting as candidates or supporting candidates in opposition to duly endorsed Labour Candidates.
 - (b) Persons who are members of political parties or organisations ancillary or subsidiary thereto declared by the Annual Party Conference or the National Executive Committee in pursuance of Conference decisions to be ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.
7. Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and duly endorsed Parliamentary Labour Candidates may be appointed as delegates by Constituency Labour Parties responsible for their candidatures.

Clause VII AFFILIATION FEES AND DONATIONS

Affiliation fees shall be paid as follows:—

1. Trade Unions or District Councils, Co-operative Societies or Organisations and Socialist Societies at the rate of 4d. per member per annum, subject to a minimum affiliation of 500 members.
2. Constituency Labour Parties, at the rate of 4d. per member per annum on each individual member, subject to a minimum affiliation of 500 members.
3. Women's Advisory Councils shall pay an affiliation fee of £1 per annum.

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4. The Regional Committee of Young Socialists shall pay an affiliation fee of £1 per annum.

The affiliation fees shall be paid into a fund under the control of the Executive Committee. The Council may appeal for voluntary contributions for the purpose of augmenting its funds, either from Party or Affiliated Organisations, or from other sources approved by the National Executive Committee.

Clause VIII FINANCE

All monies received by or on behalf of the Council shall be dealt with as may be determined by the Executive Committee in their discretion.

Clause IX EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of the Chairman, the Treasurer and 43 members elected on the following basis:—

1. SIXTEEN members to be nominated by Constituency Labour Parties from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Meeting on an area basis as provided in the Standing Orders.

SIXTEEN members to be nominated by Trade Union organisations from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Meeting.

FOUR members to be nominated by Co-operative Societies and Co-operative Organisations from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Meeting.

ONE member to be nominated by Socialist Societies from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Meeting.

ONE member to be nominated by Women's Advisory Councils from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Meeting.

ONE member to be nominated by the Regional Committee of Young Socialists from among their duly appointed delegates.

ONE The Leader or Chief Whip of the Greater London Council Labour Group.

ONE The Leader or Chief Whip of the London Boroughs' Association Labour Group.

ONE A representative appointed by the Standing Local Government Advisory Committee.

ONE The Whip of the Greater London Parliamentary Labour Group.

2. No organisation shall have more than one representative on the Executive Committee unless it has an affiliated membership of 50,000 or over, in which case it may have an additional representative for each additional 50,000 or part thereof.
3. The Chairman and the Treasurer of the Council shall be elected separately by the Annual Meeting. Every Party and Affiliated Organisation may nominate one of its duly appointed delegates for each of these positions and they shall be elected on a ballot vote of the whole of the Annual Meeting.
4. The election of members of the Executive Committee shall be made by a ballot vote by the respective organisations included in each group.
5. Voting for Chairman, Treasurer and for the Executive Committee shall be in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 3.
6. All persons nominated must be bona fide members of the organisation nominating them and must be delegates to the Annual Meeting.
7. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held at least once a quarter. Special meetings may be convened by the Chairman and Secretary or at the request of not less than 10 members of the Executive Committee.
8. The Executive Committee shall establish such sub-committees as are deemed necessary.

Clause X GENERAL SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY

The General Secretary and the Assistant Secretary shall be appointed by the National Executive Committee in consultation with the Executive Committee.

Clause XI STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE

There shall be a Standing Orders Committee consisting of five members. Every Party and Affiliated Organisation may nominate one of its duly appointed delegates

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for this Committee which shall be elected by a ballot vote of the whole of the Annual Meeting in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 3.

The duties of the Standing Orders Committee shall be:—

- (a) To arrange the order of the Annual Meeting Agenda, and
- (b) To act as a Standing Orders Committee.

Clause XII AGENDA

The Agenda for the Annual Meeting shall be confined to:—

- (a) The Chairman's address;
- (b) Addresses by representatives of the National Executive Committee;
- (c) Amendments to Rules and Standing Orders (every third year following the year 1968);
- (d) Appointment of Tellers and Scrutineers;
- (e) Report of the Regional Executive Committee, including reports of the Greater London Council Labour Group and the London Boroughs' Association Labour Group;
- (f) Resolutions and Amendments thereto sent in due time dealing with:—
 - (i) political and social aspects of public, legislative, economic and administrative affairs within Greater London;
 - (ii) local government matters within Greater London;
 - (iii) internal organisation and other local administrative affairs of the Party within Greater London;
- (g) Finance of the Regional Council;
- (h) Appointment of Auditors.

Clause XIII GREATER LONDON COUNCIL

1. POLICY

The Electoral Policy and Programme for the Greater London Council Election shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

2. CANDIDATES

(a) Nomination

The Executive Committee shall, in the month of in the year preceding the Greater London Council Election, invite Constituency Labour Parties and Affiliated Organisations to submit nominations for inclusion in the list of candidates to contest the Greater London Council Election.

No person who is disqualified as a Parliamentary Candidate under the Constitution of the Labour Party, or under the decisions of its Party Conference, shall be nominated or selected as a candidate for these elections.

All nominees must be individual members of the Labour Party and must undertake, if elected, to accept and act in harmony with the Standing Orders of the Greater London Council Labour Group. The Executive Committee may refuse endorsement to any nomination if it thinks fit, but the Organisation concerned in the nomination may appeal against a refusal of endorsement to the National Executive Committee.

A list of members endorsed by the Executive Committee shall be submitted to Constituency Labour Parties during the month of preceding the election.

(b) Selection

- (i) The Executive Committee may tender such advice as it deems necessary concerning the list of endorsed nominations and may recommend to the Constituency Labour Parties the manner in which they shall be dealt with.
- (ii) A special meeting of each Constituency Labour Party to select a candidate to contest the Greater London Council Election shall be convened during the month of preceding the election. It may be attended by a representative of the Executive Committee.
- (iii) When a vote is necessary to determine which nomination is to be sent to the Executive Committee for endorsement it shall be taken by ballot on the basis of one delegate one vote.
- (iv) The selection of a candidate shall not be regarded as complete until the name of the member selected has been placed before the Executive Committee and his or her selection has been duly endorsed.

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(v) The Executive Committee shall have the final decision in the case of any dispute arising from the selection.

(c) By-elections.

In the event of a Greater London Council by-election occurring the procedure laid down in Section 2 of this Clause shall be suspended and the Executive Committee shall co-operate with the Executive of the Constituency Labour Party concerned in the nomination and selection of a candidate to contest the vacancy.

Clause XIV JOINT COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall have power to send any of its number to take part in Conferences of Joint Committees with duly accredited representatives of the Regional Organisations of the Trade Union and Co-operative Movements, and jointly to finance such Conferences or Joint Committees out of the funds of the Regional Council.

Clause XV ALTERATION TO RULES AND STANDING ORDERS

The existing Rules and Standing Orders may be amended by Resolution carried by a card vote of not less than two-thirds of the total vote cast at the Annual Meeting held in every third year following the year 1968. The card vote shall be in accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 3. Any amendment shall be subject to the approval in writing of the National Executive Committee.

Clause XVI GENERAL

The Executive Committee shall have power to take any steps not herein specified which they deem necessary to fulfil the objects of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

STANDING ORDERS

1. ANNUAL MEETING

The Executive Committee shall convene the Annual Meeting in
The Meeting shall be convened in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Rules and these Standing Orders.

2. AGENDA

(a) Notice of Resolutions for the Annual Meeting not exceeding one resolution on one subject from any organisation, shall be sent in writing to the General Secretary not later than clear weeks before the date of the Annual Meeting, for inclusion in the first agenda, which shall be forthwith issued to all Party and Affiliated Organisations. In the case of a Special Conference called under Clause V, the Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such notices shall be sent to the General Secretary.

(b) Notices of amendments to the Resolutions in the first Agenda, not exceeding one amendment on one subject from any organisation, shall be forwarded in writing to the General Secretary not later than clear weeks before the date of the Annual Meeting, for inclusion in the final Agenda.

(c) In the year when resolutions to amend the Rules and Standing Orders are invited any organisation may submit one such amendment which shall be forwarded in writing to the General Secretary not later than clear weeks before the date of the Annual Meeting for inclusion in the final Agenda.

(d) Nominations for the Officers, the Executive Committee, the Standing Orders Committee and a list of names and addresses of the duly appointed delegates shall be sent to the General Secretary not later than clear weeks before the date of the Annual Meeting.

(e) No business which does not arise out of the Resolutions on the Agenda shall be considered at the Annual Meeting, unless recommended by the Executive Committee or the Standing Orders Committee.

(f) When the Annual Meeting has by Resolution made a declaration of general policy or principle no Resolution or Motion concerning such policy or principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such Resolutions or Motions as the Executive Committee regard as being of immediate importance.

3. **VOTING**
 Where a ballot vote is specified in these rules, or where deemed necessary by the Chairman, it shall be determined on the basis of one voting card for each 500 members, or part thereof on whom affiliation fees have been paid for the year ending 31 December preceding the Annual Meeting.
 Women's Advisory Councils and the Regional Committee of Young Socialists shall each be entitled to one voting card. In all other cases the voting shall be by a show of hands. The Chairman may exercise his vote as a delegate, and in the event of there being an equal number of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting vote. Scrutineers or tellers shall take and count the votes.

4. **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY REPRESENTATION**
 For the purpose of nomination and election of the Constituency Labour Party representatives to the Executive Committee the area groupings shall be as follows:—
 Group 1 shall consist of FOUR members to be nominated by Constituency Labour Parties within the Boroughs of Barnet, Brent, Ealing, Enfield, Haringey, Harrow and Hillingdon.
 Group 2 shall consist of FOUR members to be nominated by Constituency Labour Parties within the Boroughs of Barking, Camden, Hackney, Havering, Islington, Newham, Redbridge, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.
 Group 3 shall consist of FOUR members to be nominated by Constituency Labour Parties within the Boroughs of Hammersmith, Hounslow, Kensington and Chelsea, Kingston, Merton, Richmond, Sutton, Wandsworth and Westminster.
 Group 4 shall consist of FOUR members to be nominated by Constituency Labour Parties within the Boroughs of Bexley, Bromley, Croydon, Greenwich, Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark.

5. **CREDENTIALS**
 Only accredited delegates shall be entitled to attend the meeting on presentation of their credentials.

6. **MATTERS OF URGENCY**
 In the event of any matter of urgency, the Chairman may accept a motion for the suspension of Standing Orders. The delegate moving such suspension must clearly state the nature and urgency of his business, and length of time not exceeding thirty minutes he desires such suspension to last. At the option of the meeting, a further extension may be allowed, but no suspension shall take place except two-thirds of the delegates present vote in favour of suspension.

7. **SELECTION OF SPEAKERS**
 Every delegate shall stand when speaking, and shall address the Chairman as "Mr. Chairman." When more than one delegate rises to speak, the first to rise shall be given precedence, the decision resting with the Chairman, but the delegate who rose immediately after the first one shall have the right to speak at the close of such delegate's address.

8. **CHAIRMAN'S RULING**
 If the Chairman rises to call a delegate to order or for any other purpose connected with the proceedings, the delegate speaking shall thereon resume his seat, and no other delegate shall rise until the chair be resumed. The ruling of the Chairman on any question under the Standing Orders, or on points of order or explanation, shall be final, unless challenged by not less than four members, and unless two-thirds of the delegates present vote to the contrary.

9. **INTERRUPTION**
 Two-thirds of the representatives may suspend and exclude from the meeting any delegate who is insubordinate, or who improperly conducts himself. A delegate so dealt with may be reinstated on tendering an apology acceptable to the meeting.

10. **SPEECHES**
 No delegate shall be allowed to speak more than once upon any subject before the

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meeting, unless on a point of order or explanation, except the mover of the original motion. On an amendment being moved, notice of which must be given early in the debate, any delegate even though he has spoken on the original motion, may again speak on the amendment. No delegate, except the mover of the resolution, shall speak for more than five minutes at one time.

Delegates wishing to raise points of order or explanation must first obtain the permission of the Chairman and must rise immediately the alleged breach has occurred. Any delegate may formally second any motion or amendment and reserve his speech until a later period in the debate.

11. MOTIONS AND AMENDMENTS

The first proposition on any particular subject shall be known as the original motion, and all succeeding propositions on that subject shall be called amendments. Every motion or amendment must be moved and seconded by delegates actually present at the meeting before they can be discussed, and, whenever possible, should be set forth in writing. When an amendment is moved to an original motion, no further amendment shall be discussed until the first amendment is disposed of. Notice of any further amendment must be given before the first amendment is put to the vote.

12. SUBSTANTIVE MOTIONS

If an amendment is carried, it displaces the original motion and itself becomes the substantive motion, whereupon any further amendment relating to any portion of the substantive motion may be moved, provided it is consistent with the business or has not been covered by an amendment or motion which has been previously rejected. After the vote on each succeeding amendment has been taken, the surviving proposition shall be put to the vote as the main question, and if carried, shall then become a resolution of the meeting.

13. RIGHT OF REPLY

The mover of the original motion shall, if no amendment be moved, have the right to reply at the close of the debate upon such motion. When an amendment is moved he shall at the close of the debate on such amendment reply to the discussion, but shall introduce no new matter. The question shall then be put to the vote, and under no circumstances shall any further discussion be allowed once the question has been put from the chair. The mover of an amendment shall not be entitled to reply.

14. CLOSING DEBATE

The motion for the previous questions, next business, or the closure, may be moved and seconded only by delegates who have not previously spoken at any time during the debate. No speech shall be allowed on such motions unless the Chairman deems it necessary. In the event of the closure being carried, the mover of the original motion shall have the right to reply in accordance with the Standing Order 13 before the question is put. Should a motion for next business, or the closure, be defeated 20 minutes shall elapse before it can be accepted again by the Chairman, unless he is of the opinion that the circumstances have materially altered in the meantime.

15. ADJOURNMENT

Any delegate who has not already spoken during the debate may move the adjournment of the question under discussion, or of the meeting, but must confine his remarks to that question and must not discuss any other matter. The mover of the motion upon which the adjournment has been moved shall be allowed the right to reply on the question of the adjournment but such reply shall not prejudice his right of reply on his own motion. In the event of such motion being lost, it shall not be moved again, except in accordance with the procedure for motions on next business or the closure in Standing Order 14.

APPENDIX 2

NEW TOWNS

At its meeting in July 1968, the National Executive Committee approved the following statement on New Town Assets:

In 1966, the National Executive Committee set up a New Towns Working Party to prepare papers and advise on New Towns policy. A shortened version of the report of this working party formed the basis for discussion at a one day consultative conference held on 8 July, 1967. The recommendations made in the report have now been revised in the light of the Conference and after consultations with Ministers. Our proposals are attached herewith.

THE POLICY BACKGROUND

The following is an outline of the development of Labour policy with regard to new towns during the period since the New Town Act, 1959.

When the New Towns Act, 1946, was passed, it was envisaged that when each development corporation had substantially achieved its purpose, its assets would be transferred to the appropriate local authority on terms to be determined by the Minister. But the Conservatives changed this by the passing of the New Towns Act, 1959, which contained provision for the establishment of a Commission for the New Towns, to which new town assets were to be transferred as each town became substantially completed.

The New Towns Commission was set up in 1961 and four new towns have been transferred to it (Crawley, Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield and Welwyn Garden City).

The Conservative proposal to transfer assets to the Commission provoked immediate response in the Labour Party. On 1 February 1958, a special New Towns Conference was held to consider the future ownership and management of new towns. At this Conference, it was stated on behalf of the National Executive Committee that "the Party is committed to a policy of the New Town assets being ultimately passed to the local authorities. After hearing the views at this Conference, the N.E.C. will be giving further attention to the problem."

Following this Conference a New Towns Sub-Committee was established by the Party. Its report was published in July 1959 as "The Future of the New Towns," and the main recommendations were published as Appendix V to the Annual Conference Report of that year. This appendix stated that:

"The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has considered the future of the New Towns and believes that there is no good reason for departing from the intention of the 1946 Act that ultimate ownership should lie with the appropriate local authority.

There are problems, however, in the middle phase of development of the Towns (after immigration from outside has ceased but the populations are still increasing faster than the average rate) that require special consideration. There are three main problems:

1. The burden and high cost of house building due to the continuing rapid increase in population;
2. The need for diversity of industry, bearing in mind the peculiar age distribution of the population—New Towns have very large numbers of young people;
3. The provision of normal civic amenities in a short period.

The Labour Party considers these problems to be transitional, and during this period the Development Corporations should continue to operate until such time as the natural population increase falls to a level that the local authority can handle for housing purposes.

The Development Corporations would continue to receive the appropriate housing subsidy and would give increased assistance to local councils in providing social amenities. For this phase, the Development Corporations' memberships would be broadened to include district council representation.

A schedule would be prepared for the Minister for the phased transfer of each completed neighbourhood to local authority ownership and control. The terms of the transfer would be based on a simple transfer of assets and liabilities. Development Corporation staffs would be progressively absorbed by the local councils as functions are transferred." In June, 1963, a further consultative conference was held. The purpose of this conference

APPENDIX 2: NEW TOWNS

as described in the 1963 Annual Report was to consider the changed position of the new towns since the passing of the New Towns Act, 1959, and current difficulties being experienced within them. No statement was issued by the N.E.C. following this. But, at the 1963 Annual Conference a resolution was carried which included the following sentence:

"This Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to reiterate its policy to bring all new towns, when substantially completed, under the administration of the appropriate local authority."

Speaking on behalf of the National Executive Committee in reply to this part of the resolution, Arthur Skeffington, M.P., said:

"We are glad also to reiterate the Party's policy that the new towns, when substantially completed, should be administered by the local councils, although in some cases it would obviously mean improving the status of the town in relation to the additional responsibilities it would carry. We do not like the Commission for the new towns based on London, which we think is undemocratic—I am glad to tell that to the delegate from Hertford—because it is neither answerable to the people in the new towns, nor indeed, as far as we can see, sensitive to their needs. Already, with only two towns, it is proving very bureaucratic, and we believe that the Commission should be wound up as soon as possible."

The 1964 manifesto contained no specific reference to transfer of new town assets. But, in "Time for Decision" (1966) the pledge was made:

"We shall fulfil our promise to bring real democratic self-government to those which are fully grown, by the abolition of the New Towns Commission."

Arising out of this pledge, the National Executive Committee set up a New Towns Working Party in 1966 and held a Consultative Conference in 1967.

RECOMMENDATIONS

With all this background in mind, the N.E.C. endorses the following recommendations:

1. Every new town should be seen as a joint venture based on close co-operation between the development corporation, district council and county council and the authority from whose area most of the families will come.
2. Each development corporation should consider establishing with the district council a joint advisory committee for housing, and a similar but separate committee for social facilities. Corporations might also consider the establishment of joint consultative committees composed of leading members of the district councils and the development corporation, at which major planning and policy questions are discussed informally before they come up for decision.
3. Housing policy, space and equipment standards, densities and range of house types, should be related to the objective of building a whole town in which people of differing incomes, family needs and housing preferences can be accommodated.
4. More retired people, more unskilled and semi-skilled workers and their families should be accommodated in new towns, and immigrant families. To assist the movement to new towns of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the Government should expand industrial training facilities in the new towns.
5. As soon as the economic situation improves, development corporations should be allowed to contribute to the provision of social facilities at a much higher level than the present £4 per head of new population. In their turn the district councils should recognise to the full that they have a major responsibility, given this adequate aid, to pay their share.
6. Re-development of obsolete existing parts of the town should be regarded as part of the normal development expenditure. The higher costs involved should not fall exclusively on particular development projects, but should be pooled with other costs in the new town.
7. Ministers should select as chairman of a development corporation a person with understanding of the structure and functioning of local government and social concern, as well as the necessary knowledge, experience and drive to supervise town development. Board members should have the right professional or other experience, and should include a leading member of the housing authority of the main "exporting" area, a member of the local county council and one or more members of the new town district council. Payment of board members should continue and perhaps be increased. Payment emphasises the obligations of members to give of their utmost in the work of the corporation.
8. Better integration of Central Government department policies and budgets is necessary

APPENDIX 2: NEW TOWNS

for the achievement of new town objectives. Employment location policies have to be related to the provision of employment for incoming new town families.

9. The Government should take account of a new town's potential growth after the first stage population target in all decisions on further planned immigration, housing, employment servicing and other needs.
10. All land likely to be needed for the first and second stages of development, should be acquired in the lifetime of the development corporation. Ideally, all land in a designated area should be brought into public ownership.
11. A development corporation should not be wound up until the first stage population target has been passed, the main industrial and commercial development programmes completed, and home-building is predominantly for locally generated needs.
12. Where land is transferred during the development stage, Government should look at the desirability of overall financial settlements negotiated between corporation and council (subject to Ministry approval) covering contributions and land transactions between the two. The corporation should be enabled to make single annual contributions to bridge the gap between the council's rate resources and the costs of services. Land and buildings should be sold to the council at their cost to the development corporation, with some averaging out of land costs.
13. The aim of increasing owner-occupation in new towns is endorsed. However, any increase should be linked to an awareness that the primary purpose of the new towns in their early stages is to provide homes for families from the major conurbations. Where corporation houses are sold in established new towns a profit from the sale should be credited to the housing revenue account. Since the needs of individual new towns for various forms of tenure will differ the fixing of an arbitrary ratio of rented housing to owner-occupied housing in existing new towns is not recommended.
14. The Commission for the New Towns should be dissolved.
15. All rented housing, garages and incidental open space, and any residential leasehold sites owned by the Development Corporation should be transferred to the District Council when the Corporation is wound up. It is wrong to transfer housing at market value since this would raise rents to a level which, effectively, would prevent transfer taking place, and, in any case, would be diametrically opposed to the Government's policy with regard to take-over of local authority assets by public bodies. But a simple transfer at outstanding loan debt could raise problems for the future. The Ministry of Housing's recently commissioned Study of the Ownership and Management of Housing in New Towns, and the deeper study of housing finance currently in progress should provide valuable information for drawing up a satisfactory formula.
16. Neighbourhood shopping centres should be transferred to the local authority on valuation terms.
17. Industrial and commercial properties, excluding neighbourhood shopping centres owned by the Corporation should be vested in a new central government development agency—the New Towns Industrial Corporation—created for the purpose. Profits from these areas should then be used to encourage industrial development in other areas.

APPENDIX 3

THE CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY

AS AMENDED BY THE ANNUAL PARTY CONFERENCE (BLACKPOOL, 1968)

CLAUSE 1. NAME

The Labour Party.

CLAUSE II. MEMBERSHIP

1. There shall be two classes of members, namely:—
 - (a) Affiliated Members.
 - (b) Individual Members.
2. Affiliated Members shall consist of:
 - (a) Trade Unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress or recognised by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress as *bona fide* Trade Unions.
 - (b) Co-operative Societies.
 - (c) Socialist Societies.
 - (d) Professional Organisations which, in the opinion of the National Executive Committee, have interests consistent with those of other affiliated organisations.
 - (e) Constituency Labour Parties and Central Labour Parties in Divided Boroughs.
 - (f) County or Area Federations of Constituency Labour Parties, hereinafter referred to as Federations.
3. Political Organisations not affiliated to or associated under a National Agreement with the Party on 1 January, 1946, having their own Programme, Principles and Policy for distinctive and separate propaganda, or possessing Branches in the Constituencies or engaged in the promotion of Parliamentary or Local Government Candidatures, or owing allegiance to any political organisation situated abroad, shall be ineligible for affiliation to the Party.
4. Individual Members shall be persons of not less than 15 years of age who subscribe to the conditions of membership, provided they are not members of Political Parties or organisations ancillary or subsidiary thereto declared by the Annual Conference of the Labour Party (hereinafter referred to as 'the Party') or by the National Executive Committee in pursuance of Conference decisions to be ineligible for affiliation to the Party.
5. British citizens temporarily resident abroad may become Individual Members, or retain such membership of the Party, by enrolment with the Head Office provided they accept the conditions of membership in Clause III.

CLAUSE III. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

1. Each affiliated organisation must
 - (a) Accept the Programme, Principles, and Policy of the Party.
 - (b) Agree to conform to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party.
 - (c) Submit its Political Rules to the National Executive Committee.
2. Each Constituency Labour Party, Central Labour Party, and Federation must, in addition to the conditions mentioned in Section I of this Clause, adopt the Rules laid down by the Party Conference.
3. Each individual Member must
 - (a) Accept and conform to the Constitution, Programme, Principles, and Policy of the Party.
 - (b) If eligible, be a member of a Trade Union affiliated to the Trades Union Congress or recognised by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress as a *bona fide* Trade Union.
 - (c) Unless temporarily resident abroad, be a member of a Constituency Labour Party either (i) where he or she resides or (ii) where he or she is registered as a Parliamentary or Local Government elector.

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

CLAUSE IV. PARTY OBJECTS

NATIONAL

1. To organise and maintain in Parliament and in the country a Political Labour Party.
2. To co-operate with the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, or other Kindred Organisations, in joint political or other action in harmony with the Party Constitution and Standing Orders.
3. To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference.
4. To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.
5. Generally to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

INTER-COMMONWEALTH

6. To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in the Commonwealth Overseas with a view to promoting the purposes of the Party, and to take common action for the promotion of a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of the respective countries.

INTERNATIONAL

7. To co-operate with the Labour and Socialist organisations in other countries and to support the United Nations Organisation and its various agencies and other international organisations for the promotion of peace, the adjustment and settlement of international disputes by conciliation or judicial arbitration, the establishment and defence of human rights, and the improvement of the social and economic standards and conditions of work of the people of the world.

CLAUSE V. PARTY PROGRAMME

1. The Party Conference shall decide from time to time what specific proposals of legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the Party Programme.
No proposal shall be included in the Party Programme unless it has been adopted by the Party Conference by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on a card vote.
2. The National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party shall decide which items from the Party Programme shall be included in the Manifesto which shall be issued by the National Executive Committee prior to every General Election. The joint meeting of the two Committees shall also define the attitude of the Party to the principal issues raised by the Election which are not covered by the Manifesto.

CLAUSE VI. THE PARTY CONFERENCE

1. The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of the Party Conference which shall itself be subject to the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Party. The Party Conference shall meet regularly once in every year and also at such other times as it may be convened by the National Executive Committee.
2. The Party Conference shall be constituted as follows:—
 - (a) Delegates duly appointed by each affiliated Trade Union or other organisations to the number of one delegate for each 5,000 members or part thereof on whom affiliation fees, by-election insurance premiums and any levies due were paid for the year ending December 31 preceding the Conference.
 - (b) Delegates duly appointed by Constituency Labour Parties (or Trades Councils acting as such) to the number of one delegate for each 5,000 individual members or part thereof on whom affiliation fees, by-election insurance premiums and any levies due were paid for the year ending December 31 preceding the Conference; where the individual and affiliated women's membership exceeds 2,500 an additional woman delegate may be appointed; where the membership of Young Socialists Branches within a constituency is 200 or more an additional Young Socialist delegate may be appointed.
 - (c) Delegates duly appointed by Central Labour Parties or Trades Councils acting as such in Divided Boroughs not exceeding one for each Central Labour Party provided the

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

affiliation fees, by-election insurance premiums and any levies due have been paid for the year ending December 31 preceding the Conference.

(d) Delegates duly appointed by Federations not exceeding one for each Federation provided the affiliation fees and any levies due have been paid for the year ending December 31 preceding the Conference.

(e) *Ex officio* Members of the Party Conference as follows:—

(i) Members of the National Executive Committee.

(ii) Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

(iii) Parliamentary Labour Candidates whose candidatures have been duly endorsed by the National Executive Committee.

(iv) The Secretary of the Party.

Ex officio Members shall have no voting power.

(f) Any special Party Conference shall be called on the same basis of representation as that upon which the last Annual Party Conference was convened.

3. In the event of a duly appointed delegate being elected as Treasurer or as a member of the National Executive Committee, the Affiliated Organisation responsible for his or her appointment as a delegate may claim authority at subsequent Party Conferences during his or her period of office, to appoint a delegate additional to the number applicable to it under paras. (a), (b), and (c) of Section 2 of this Clause, provided the delegate elected as Treasurer or as a member of the National Executive Committee:

(i) Remains qualified to be appointed as a delegate under Clause VII; and

(ii) Continues to be duly appointed as a delegate by the Affiliated Organisation claiming authority to appoint an additional delegate within the provisions of this Section.

CLAUSE VII. APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE

1. Every delegate must be an individual member of the Labour Party as described in Clause II Section 4, except persons resident in Northern Ireland who are duly appointed delegates of affiliated trade unions and who individually accept and conform to the Constitution, Programme, Principles and Policy of the Party.

2. Delegates must be *bona fide* members or paid permanent officials of the organisation appointing them, except in the case of Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party or duly-endorsed Parliamentary Labour Candidates appointed to represent Constituencies in accordance with Section 4 of this Clause.

3. Delegates appointed by Federations or Central Labour Parties must be resident within the area of the organisation concerned or be registered therein as Parliamentary or Local Government electors.

4. Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and duly-endorsed Parliamentary Labour Candidates may be appointed as delegates by Constituency Labour Parties responsible for their candidatures otherwise, delegates appointed by Constituency Labour Parties must be resident in the Constituency appointing them, or registered as Parliamentary or Local Government electors therein.

5. No person shall act as a delegate for more than one organisation.

6. No person shall act as a delegate who does not pay the political levy of his or her Trade Union.

7. Members of Parliament not members of the Parliamentary Labour Party are ineligible to act as delegates.

8. The following are also ineligible to act as delegates:—

(a) Persons acting as candidates or supporting candidates in opposition to duly-endorsed Labour Candidates.

(b) Persons who are members of political parties or organisations ancillary or subsidiary thereto declared by the Annual Party Conference or by the National Executive Committee in pursuance of the Conference decisions to be ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.

CLAUSE VIII. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be a National Executive Committee of the Party consisting of 25 members and a Treasurer, elected by the Party Conference at its regular Annual Meeting in such proportion and under such conditions as may be set out in the Standing Orders for the time being in force. The Leader and Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party shall be *ex officio* members of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall, subject to the control and direction of the Party Conference, be the Administrative Authority of the Party.

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

2. The duties and powers of the National Executive Committee shall include the following:—

(a) To ensure the establishment of, and to keep in active operation, a Constituency Labour Party in every Constituency, a Central Labour Party in every Divided Borough, and a Federation in every suitable area, in accordance with the rules laid down by the Party Conference for the purpose.

(b) To enforce the Constitution, Standing Orders, and Rules of the Party and to take any action it deems necessary for such purpose, whether by way of disaffiliation of an organisation, or expulsion of an individual, or otherwise. Any such action shall be reported to the next Annual Conference of the Party.

(c) To confer with the Parliamentary Labour Party at the opening of each Parliamentary Session, and at any other time when it or the Parliamentary Labour Party may desire a Conference on any matters relating to the work and progress of the Party.

(d) To see that all its officers and members conform to the Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders of the Party.

(e) To present to the Annual Party Conference a Report covering the work and progress of the Party during its period of office, together with a Financial Statement and Accounts duly audited. The Report, Financial Statement and Accounts shall be sent to affiliated organisations at least two clear weeks before the opening of the Annual Party Conference.

(f) To propose to the Annual Party Conference such amendments to the Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders as may be deemed desirable, and to submit to the Annual Party Conference, or to any Special Party Conference called in accordance with the Standing Orders, such resolutions and declarations affecting the Programme, Principles and Policy of the Party as in its view may be necessitated by political circumstances.

(g) To organise and maintain such fund or funds as may be thought necessary for any or all of the objects for which the Party exists, including a fund to finance Parliamentary by-elections and a fund established for the purpose of insuring against the forfeiture of Returning Officers' Deposits at every Parliamentary General Election.

(h) To secure advances from time to time or to raise loans, either on mortgage or otherwise and on such terms as it may deem expedient; to employ any part of the funds at its disposal in the purchase of any freehold or leasehold building or site and/or in the building, leasing, holding or rental of any premises and in the fitting-up and maintenance thereof; and to invest any moneys not immediately required in such securities as it may deem proper and to realise or to vary such investments from time to time, and to appoint Trustees and/or form a Society, Association, Company or Companies in accordance with the provisions of the Friendly Societies Acts or the Companies Acts for any or all of the above purposes and to define the powers of such Trustees, Society, Association, Company or Companies and the manner in which such powers shall be exercised.

(i) To sanction, where local circumstances render it necessary, modifications in the rules laid down by the Annual Party Conference for the various classes of Party Organisations in the Constituencies and Regions, provided that such modifications comply with the spirit and intention of the Annual Party Conference and do not alter the objects, basis or conditions of affiliated and individual membership, vary the procedure for the selection of Parliamentary candidates (except as provided in the rules) or effect a change in the relationship of Central Labour Parties or Constituency Labour Parties with the Labour Party.

3. The decision of the National Executive Committee, subject to any modification by the Party Conference, as to the meaning and effect of any rule or any part of this Constitution and Standing Orders shall be final.

4. The National Executive Committee shall have power to adjudicate in disputes that may arise between affiliated and other Party organisations, and in disputes which occur within the Party's Regional, Federation, or Constituency Machinery, and its decisions shall be binding on all organisations concerned.

CLAUSE IX. PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURES

1. The National Executive Committee shall co-operate with the Constituency Labour Party for each Constituency in selecting a Labour Candidate for any Parliamentary Election.

2. The selection of Labour Candidates for Parliamentary Elections shall be made in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Annual Party Conference in the Rules which apply to Constituency and Central Labour Parties.

3. The selection of Labour Candidates for Parliamentary Elections shall not be regarded as completed until the name of the person selected has been placed before a meeting of the National Executive Committee, and his or her selection has been duly endorsed.

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4. No Parliamentary Candidature shall be endorsed until the National Executive Committee has received an undertaking by one of its affiliated organisations (or is otherwise satisfied) that the election expenses of the Candidate are guaranteed.

5. Labour Candidates for Parliamentary Elections duly endorsed by the National Executive Committee shall appear before the electors under the designation of 'Labour Candidate' only. At any Parliamentary General Election they shall include in their Election Addresses and give prominence in their campaigns to the issues for that Election as defined by the National Executive Committee in its Manifesto.

6. At a Parliamentary By-Election a duly-endorsed Labour Candidate shall submit his or her Election Address to the National Executive Committee for approval. The National Executive Committee, whenever it considers it necessary, shall give advice and guidance on any special issue to be raised, or in the conduct of the Campaign during such By-Election.

7. No person may be selected as a Parliamentary Labour Candidate by a Constituency Labour Party, and no Candidate may be endorsed by the National Executive Committee, if the person concerned:—

(a) Is not an Individual Member of the Party and, if eligible, is not a member of a Trade Union affiliated to the Trades Union Congress or recognised by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress as a *bona fide* Trade Union; or

(b) is a member of a Political Party or organisation ancillary or subsidiary thereto declared by the Annual Party Conference or by the National Executive Committee in pursuance of Conference decisions to be ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party; or

(c) does not accept and conform to the Constitution, Programme, Principles, and Policy of the Party; or

(d) does not undertake to accept and act in harmony with the Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

8. Any Candidate who, after election, fails to accept or act in harmony with the Standing Orders of the Parliamentary Labour Party shall be considered to have violated the terms of this Constitution.

CLAUSE X. AFFILIATION AND MEMBERSHIP FEES

1. Each affiliated organisation (other than Federations, Constituency and Central Labour Parties) shall pay an affiliation fee of 1s. per member per annum to the Party.

2. Each Constituency Labour Party shall pay an affiliation fee of 1s. per annum on each individual member attached to the Party directly or indirectly through its local Labour Parties, Polling District Committees, Ward Committees, and Women's Sections, subject to a minimum payment of £50 per annum.

3. Each Central Labour Party shall pay an affiliation fee at the rate of £5 per annum for each Constituency Labour Party within the Divided Borough.

4. Each County Federation shall pay affiliation fees in accordance with the following scale:—

Federations of 2, 3 or 4 Constituency or Central Labour Parties, £1 10s. per annum;

Federations of 5 or 6 Constituency or Central Labour Parties, £2 5s. per annum;

Federations of 7, 8 or 9 Constituency or Central Labour Parties, £3 per annum;

Federations of 10, 11, 12 or 13 Constituency or Central Labour Parties, £4 10s. per annum;

Federations of over 13 Constituency or Central Labour Parties, £6 15s. per annum.

5. Each Individual Member of the Party shall pay a minimum membership fee of 1s. monthly to the Party to which he or she is attached in the manner laid down in Constituency and Local Labour Party Rules except Old Age Pensioners who have retired from work and they shall be allowed Individual Membership of the Party on the minimum payment of 1s. per annum. These contributions shall be entered on membership cards supplied by the National Executive Committee to Constituency Parties at 1s. per card, which sum shall include the affiliation fee payable by such organisation to the Party in respect of such members.

CLAUSE XI. PARTY CONFERENCE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

1. There shall be appointed in accordance with the Standing Orders at each Annual Party Conference a Party Conference Arrangements Committee of Five Delegates for the Annual Party Conference in the year succeeding its appointment, or for any Party Conference called during the intervening period. A member of the Head Office staff shall act as Secretary to the Committee.

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

2. The duties of the Party Conference Arrangements Committee shall be:—

(a) To arrange the order of the Party Conference Agenda.

(b) To act as Standing Orders Committee.

(c) To appoint Scrutineers and Tellers for the Annual Party Conference from amongst the Delegates whose names have been received at the Head Office of the Party two clear weeks prior to the opening of the Conference and submit them for approval to the Conference. In the case of a special Party Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such names must be received.

CLAUSE XII. AUDITORS

There shall be appointed in accordance with the Standing Orders at each Annual Party Conference two delegates to act as Auditors of the Party Accounts to be submitted at the Annual Party Conference next succeeding that at which they are appointed.

CLAUSE XIII. ALTERATION TO CONSTITUTION AND RULES

The existing Constitution and Rules, or any part thereof, may be amended, rescinded, altered, or additions made thereto, by Resolution carried on a card vote at an Annual Party Conference (in manner provided in the Standing Orders appended hereto). Notice of Resolutions embodying any such proposals must be sent in writing to the Secretary at the Offices of the Party, as provided in Standing Orders.

CLAUSE XIV. STANDING ORDERS

The Standing Orders of the Party Conference shall be considered for all purposes as if they form part of this Constitution and shall have effect accordingly. New Standing Orders may be made when required, or the existing Standing Orders amended, rescinded, or altered by Resolution in the same manner as provided for alterations in the Constitution itself.

STANDING ORDERS

STANDING ORDER 1. ANNUAL PARTY CONFERENCE

1. The National Executive Committee shall convene the Annual Party Conference during October in each year, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Constitution and these Standing Orders. It may also convene Special Sessions of the Party Conference when it deems necessary.

2. When a Party Conference is called at short notice, the Secretaries of affiliated organisations shall, on receiving the summons, instantly take steps to secure representation of their organisations, in accordance with the Constitution and these Standing Orders.

3. Any Session of the Party Conference summoned with less than ten days' notice shall confine its business strictly to that relating to the emergency giving rise to the Special Session.

4. A delegation fee of £2 per Delegate shall be payable by affiliated organisations sending Delegates to the Party Conference. *Ex officio* members of the Party Conference in attendance shall pay a fee of £2. Such fees must be paid to the Secretary of the Party before credentials are issued.

5. To secure the publication for circulation to affiliated organisations of an Official List of Delegates attending the Annual Party Conference, the names and addresses of Delegates appointed by affiliated organisations must be sent to the Secretary not later than three clear weeks before the opening of the Annual Party Conference. In the case of a Special Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such names and addresses shall be sent to the Secretary.

6. The National Executive Committee shall make arrangements each year for the pooling of railway fares in respect of delegations appointed by Federations, Central Labour Parties, and Constituency Labour Parties.

STANDING ORDER 2. AGENDA

1. Notice of Resolutions for the Annual Party Conference, not exceeding one resolution on one subject or one resolution proposing to amend the Constitution from any one affiliated organisation shall be sent in writing to the Secretary at the offices of the Party not later than 12 clear weeks before the opening of the Conference, for inclusion in the first Agenda, which shall be forthwith issued to the affiliated organisations. In the case of

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

a Special Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such notices shall be sent to the Secretary.

2. Resolutions will be accepted only from those affiliated organisations which have paid affiliation fees, by-election insurance premiums and any levies due for the preceding year in accordance with Clause VI, Section 2 paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), of the Constitution and Standing Orders, not later than 12 clear weeks before the opening of the Conference.

3. Notice of amendments to the Resolutions in the First Agenda not exceeding one amendment on one subject from any one affiliated organisation (consequential amendments to a main amendment shall not be counted), and nominations for the National Executive Committee, Treasurer, Auditors, and Party Conference Arrangements Committee, shall be forwarded in writing to the Secretary not later than six clear weeks before the opening of the Conference for inclusion in the Final Agenda of the Conference. In the case of a Special Conference called under Clause VI, the National Executive Committee may appoint a date prior to which such notices shall be forwarded to the Secretary.

4. Amendments will be accepted only from those affiliated organisations which have paid affiliation fees, by-election insurance premiums and any levies due for the preceding year in accordance with Clause VI, Section 2 paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), of the Constitution and Standing Orders not later than six clear weeks before the opening of the Conference.

5. No business which does not arise out of the Resolutions on the Agenda shall be considered by the Party Conference, unless recommended by the National Executive Committee or the Party Conference Arrangements Committee.

6. When the Annual Party Conference has, by Resolution, made a declaration of a general Policy or Principle, no Resolution or Motion concerning such Policy or Principle shall appear on the Agenda for a period of three years from the time such declaration was made, except such Resolutions or Motions as are, in the opinion of the National Executive Committee, of immediate importance.

STANDING ORDER 3. VOTING

Voting at the Annual Party Conference shall be by cards on the following bases:—

(a) National and Constituency Organisations: One voting card for each 1,000 members or part thereof on whom affiliation fees were paid for the year ending December 31 preceding the Conference.

(b) Federations and Central Labour Parties: One voting card each.

Voting at any Special Party Conference shall be on the same basis as those upon which voting took place at the preceding Annual Party Conference.

STANDING ORDER 4. ELECTION OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. For the purpose of nomination and election the National Executive Committee shall be divided into four Divisions:—

Division I shall consist of 12 members, to be nominated by Trade Unions from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Party Conference.

Division II shall consist of one member, to be nominated by Socialist, Co-operative, and Professional Organisations from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Party Conference.

Division III shall consist of seven members, to be nominated by Federations, Constituency Labour Parties, and Central Labour Parties from among their duly appointed delegates and elected by their delegations at the Annual Party Conference. A Constituency Labour Party may nominate its Member of Parliament, or duly endorsed Candidate attending the Conference as an *ex-officio* member.

Division IV shall consist of five women members, to be nominated by any affiliated organisation, and elected by the Annual Party Conference as a whole. A Constituency Labour Party may nominate its woman Member of Parliament or duly endorsed woman Candidate attending as an *ex-officio* member of Conference.

2. The election for each Division shall be made by means of ballot vote on the card bases as provided in these Standing Orders.

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

3. Nominations for the National Executive Committee shall be made in accordance with the following conditions:—

(a) Except in the case of Members of Parliament and duly-endorsed Candidates representing Constituency Labour Parties, nominees must be *bona fide* paying members of the organisations submitting their nominations.

(b) Except where a Constituency Labour Party desires to nominate its Member of Parliament or its duly-endorsed Candidate, the nominees of Federations, Constituency Labour Parties, and Central Labour Parties must either reside in or be registered as Parliamentary or Local Government Electors in the area of the Federation or Party submitting the nomination.

(c) Only persons appointed to attend the Annual Party Conference as Delegates or, in the case of Division III and Division IV, Members of Parliament or duly endorsed Candidates attending as *ex-officio* members of Conference shall be eligible for nomination for a seat on the National Executive Committee. Nominees who do not attend the Annual Party Conference shall be deemed to have withdrawn their nominations, unless they send to the Secretary on or before the day on which the Conference opens an explanation in writing of their absence, satisfactory to the Party Conference Arrangements Committee.

(d) Members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress are not eligible for nomination to the National Executive Committee.

(e) Before sending in nominations affiliated organisations must secure the consent in writing of their nominees. Unless such consent is obtained and is attached to the nomination paper, nominations will be rendered null and void.

(f) Each affiliated organisation may make one nomination from among its duly appointed delegates for its appropriate Division of the National Executive Committee. In the case of Division III a Constituency Labour Party may nominate its Member of Parliament or duly-endorsed Candidate attending as an *ex-officio* member of Conference. Where an affiliated organisation pays fees on 500,000 members or more it may make one additional nomination (either man or woman) for such Division.

(g) Each affiliated organisation may make one nomination for Division IV of the National Executive Committee.

4. Any vacancy which occurs amongst members of the National Executive Committee between Annual Party Conferences shall be filled by that Committee by co-opting the highest unsuccessful nominee in the Division concerned as shown in the results of the Election for the National Executive Committee at the Annual Party Conference immediately preceding the vacancy.

STANDING ORDER 5. ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The National Executive Committee shall elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman at its first meeting each year.

2. The Treasurer shall be nominated and elected separately by the Annual Party Conference. Every affiliated organisation may nominate a person for Treasurer who is a duly-appointed Delegate to the Annual Party Conference, or a Member of Parliament or a duly-endorsed Candidate, attending Conference as an *ex-officio* member.

3. The Secretary shall be elected by the Annual Party Conference, on the recommendation of the National Executive Committee, and be *ex-officio* a member of the Conference. He shall devote his whole time to the work of the Party and shall not be eligible as a Candidate for, or a Member of, Parliament. He shall remain in office so long as his work gives satisfaction to the National Executive Committee and Party Conference. Should a vacancy in the office occur between two Annual Party Conferences the National Executive Committee shall have full power to fill the vacancy, subject to the approval of the Annual Party Conference next following.

4. Every affiliated organisation may nominate one duly-appointed Delegate, or a Member of Parliament or duly-endorsed Candidate attending Conference as an *ex-officio* member, for a seat on the Party Conference Arrangements Committee, who, if elected, must be a Delegate to, or an *ex-officio* member of, any Party Conference held during his or her period of office. In the event of a member of the Party Conference Arrangements Committee being unable to fulfil his or her duties, the Delegate, or *ex-officio* member, who received the highest number of votes amongst those not elected shall be called upon, but should the voting list be exhausted the affiliated organisation to which the elected Delegate, or *ex-officio* member, belonged shall nominate a substitute.

5. Every affiliated organisation may nominate one duly-appointed Delegate, or a Member of

APPENDIX 3: CONSTITUTION AND STANDING ORDERS

Parliament or duly-endorsed Candidate attending Conference as an *ex-officio* member, to act as Auditor. In the event of an Auditor being unable to perform the duties, the same procedure shall be followed as in the case of the Party Conference Arrangements Committee.

STANDING ORDER 6. RESTRICTION OF NOMINATIONS

No Delegate shall be eligible for nomination to more than one position to be filled by election at any Annual Party Conference. In the event of any Delegate being nominated for more than one such position, the Delegate shall be requested to select the position for which he or she desires to remain nominated. After the selection has been made the Delegate's name shall be omitted from the nominations for all other positions. Should no selection of position be made not later than six clear weeks before the opening of the Conference, all nominations made on behalf of the Delegate shall become null and void.

INSURANCE AGAINST THE FORFEITURE OF RETURNING OFFICERS' DEPOSITS AT A GENERAL ELECTION

At the General Election, 1929, the National Executive Committee imposed upon Parliamentary Candidates an obligation to contribute the sum of £10 to an Insurance Fund, and in return guaranteed Candidates against the forfeiture of their Deposits.

By passing the attached paragraph in the National Executive Committee's Report at the Annual Party Conference at Brighton, 1929, authority has been given to the Committee to make the payment of a premium to a Scheme of Insurance a condition of endorsement:—

'The National Executive Committee desire to continue the principle of insurance at future Elections, either on the same basis or in some modified form. In order to make future funds effective, it proposes to make it a condition of endorsement that Candidates must contribute their quotas to the Fund.'

Henceforth the National Executive Committee will not endorse the selection of a Parliamentary Candidate until the obligation to pay a premium is acknowledged and agreed to by an affiliated organisation on behalf of its candidate.

The continuance of this scheme of insurance is now one of the duties placed on the National Executive Committee by Clause VIII, 2(g) of the Party Constitution.

APPENDIX 4

BRITAIN: PROGRESS AND CHANGE

A STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY, BLACKPOOL, 1968

Labour was elected in October 1964 to put through a major programme of industrial and social reform. Though our majority in Parliament was extremely small, people wanted the new Government to put the economy right; to strengthen it against the pressures of international competition and world events. At the same time, a massive regeneration of our social services was required; the underlying causes of deep social divisions in our society had to be removed. The vote of confidence which gave us such a large majority in 1966 was not only an endorsement of the Government's early measures—it was mainly a recognition that the job in hand needed time for completion.

The task before us was formidable. No democratic society in the world—or, for that matter, any other society—has ever succeeded in achieving, all at the same time, full employment, economic growth, price stability, rising wages *and* increasing social spending. But such was the nation's frustration at drift and inactivity on the part of the Tory Governments, that all who wanted change were on our side. Businessmen hamstrung by national policies, public employees dismayed at failure to maintain renewal in the public sector, scientists and engineers so long kept out of crucial management decisions—all who were hoping that change would better use their energies became the natural allies of the Labour Party in the early Sixties.

In the event, as we warned, the going has been tough. We have temporarily lost some friends, and some of our staunchest supporters have wondered at times whether we had lost our way. Looking back, we know why this has happened—indeed, in some ways, why it was inevitable that people would be impatient. We all thought that Britain's economic problems could be solved more quickly than in the event has proved possible. We underestimated the time it would take to create the economic resources to back up our social commitments. The fundamental weakness of our industrial structure required more time to correct than anyone could have foreseen. As a result, we were faced with a series of short-term crises for which we were compelled to take short-term measures. Britain's economic difficulties have proved much more intractable, and world events immensely less favourable, than we had reason to expect. But if we were wrong in 1964 it was in our assessment of the extent of the weaknesses in the British economy, and of the time needed to put them right. Our analysis and our solutions were correct.

Crucial in this argument was the November 1967 devaluation of the pound. In 1964, we came to power at a time when our overseas trade was lagging and our balance of payments deficit was extremely serious. We judged that in light of its inevitable loss to our friends and damage to our programme of social reform that we should endeavour to avoid devaluation. Admittedly if we had devalued immediately we could have pinned the responsibility on the previous Government—where it rightly belonged.

But it was right that Labour's plans for modernising the structure of industry, and increasing exports should be given time to work. In the event, because the time-scale in getting benefits from fresh economic policies was longer than expected, devaluation was eventually forced upon us. The consequences of this decision—a choice as momentous as any a Government can make—must have their influence on the whole political programme. The consequences are, however, that some things we had anticipated doing early have had to be put back. It does not mean that Labour's aims have been changed.

In fact what we are seeing now in 1968 is the revival of the British economy which we had hoped to achieve by 1966. Production is now going up, the nation's regional balance is being improved, productivity is reaching new levels and the prospects for Britain's trade are better than at any point in a decade.

All of this is the result of firm action taken earlier to achieve industrial modernisation and reconstruction—to bring about a transformation of the debilitated economic structure we inherited into one capable of responding to, and taking advantage of the technological

revolution through which the world is living. But it has meant a willingness to force the pace of change. And this in many of our older industries has meant a good deal of hardship.

These then were our priorities:

First to stop the financial bleeding and put the economy on a sound basis. From there to plan our industries, and regional deployment, to create a base for sustained expansion and full employment.

This job is not yet finished. But major programmes now in hand are transforming older industries—steel, coal, gas, shipbuilding, the docks, railways—and parallel reforms elsewhere (computers, nuclear energy, machine tools, aero-engines, agriculture, aluminium production) are fitting the economy to meet the needs of a demanding nation. If anyone doubts the profound effects that these reforms are having let him read the rising number of opinions now being recorded by many experts all over the world that Britain is on the path to economic strength.

Second to raise the level of social spending so that benefits were more adequate and capital investment keeping pace with the demand for services. From there to reconstruct the basis of our social policy to meet exacting present day demands.

In four short and difficult years the Government has made unprecedented progress in devoting resources to meet social needs. Pensions, wage-related benefits and redundancy pay, capital expenditure on schools, housing and hospitals, which go to make up a social wage—all these are far higher now than ever in the past, and are receiving an increasing share of the nation's income. Of course, the obvious corollary is also true. The need to spend much more on social services has meant that none of us can have this money in our pockets *as well*. Restraint in this direction is the inevitable price we are paying for progress on the social front.

Third to tackle that characteristic which in opposition we called 'the growth of irresponsibility'—the need to make men and institutions accountable to the people whose interests they were intended to serve; the need to secure equity and fairness; the need where this did not exist to take firm action to bring it about. This is the connecting theme which must be seen in measures such as educational reform, fair rents, company law, the ombudsman, town and country planning, race relations, law commissions and reform of Parliament.

BRITAIN IN THE SIXTIES

This then is our view of the political scene today—just halfway through the five year life span of a normal Parliament. There have been setbacks, but the long haul is beginning to pay off.

A major transformation is coming over the economy, and production now is nearly 4% higher than a year ago. Moreover, a great number of the issues which were central to political debate in 1964 have already been taken out of the headlines—Rachmanism, escalating rates, spiralling defence expenditure, the 11-plus, and so on. In the next few years a whole range of further reforms will be put through—the House of Lords, a major restructuring of social security, reform of the civil service, electoral reform, and many more.

By 1970 Britain will have a strong base from which sustained economic growth can come. We shall, moreover, have adapted institutions so that they are able to meet the problems of the modern world more effectively. The benefits of Labour's earlier decisions to cut overseas expenditure—defence, aircraft purchases, East of Suez bases—will then be coming to their peak.

This more than anything illustrates our major theme that fundamental reform takes time. Outdated institutions, defence commitments left unquestioned, an economy used to living first off Empire then off the bankers—reform in these important fields requires complex and tough decisions. But more important still, reform requires the *time* for those decisions to produce results. The greatest danger now is that people will not have the patience that is necessary if the full benefits of Government measures are to be reaped. The greatest tragedy of all would be to let the Tories, for the second time in twenty years, come back to claim as theirs the full fruits of *our* labour.

The Labour Party's task today is therefore twofold. We must convey to people the vital role which everyone must play if our plans are to reach fruition. People must also understand the real nature of the Tory alternative—they and their allies will do anything

to get back in power. And whilst we do this we must take that look ahead into the Seventies—just as we did in 'Signposts for the Sixties'—and map out the ground on which our next mandate will be sought.

BRITAIN IN THE SEVENTIES

Since 1964 the Party has engaged in major policy work in several fields. Fresh statements have been prepared by the National Executive Committee on a number of topics; others are now under study. The time is coming to draw this all together into one restatement of our policy position.

There are, however, a number of issues which we feel could move quite rapidly into the centre of political debate. The problems they present are seen at this stage only in the most general terms. In setting them down here, our purpose is to spark off wide debate within the Labour movement on our programme and priorities for the Seventies.

We shall content ourselves to raise here just seven points—the continuing failure of society to eliminate privilege, and achieve any major redistribution of income and private wealth; the alarming gulf which still exists between the rich and poorer nations; the racial tensions that are emerging here and abroad; the dissatisfaction now felt at the lack of control which ordinary people exercise over factors which affect their own lives; divisive nationalism; the rapid growth of communications technology—and the effect of this on social values; and, finally, the need for a much clearer view of the activity and purpose of modern industrial corporations.

A Fair Society

Britain today is still divided by privileges inherited from an earlier age. The maldistribution of income and wealth is the most obvious example, but it is not the only one. Despite the growth, under successive Labour Governments, of a crucial public sector with vast assets owned by the whole people; despite the contribution of such radical budgetary measures as the recent capital levy, the land betterment levy, and taxes on distributed profits and capital gains; despite all this, there still remain in Britain glaring and unacceptable inequalities in income and wealth.

Educational divisions and privileges abound, and the comprehensive school system we are now establishing is far from full achievement. It will require a stronger impetus to prevent it ossifying into a still selective bilateral system. Job opportunity is still uneven—not least as between men and women—and any incomes policy must take fuller account of the demand for equity. We cannot accept the present pattern of privilege for ever.

Many of the solutions lie in the field of further reform of the tax system, and differentiating more between unearned and earned incomes. There are certain ranges where income tax bears very heavily. And if earned incomes are to be relieved, new ways of raising public revenue must be found. We therefore propose to look again at the possibilities of taxing wealth. We recognise the need to maintain a high level of savings, and see no reason why a tax should bear on modest sums of capital. But large accumulations of unearned wealth must make their contribution to a fair society.

World Poverty

Two fundamental problems which the world now faces must be solved before they reach dimensions more acute. First is the explosion of world population; second the need for more urgent action to reduce the gap between the rich and poorer nations.

A population time-bomb is now ticking around us. Figures show that the world's population has doubled in the last century—and for every *three* people alive today there will be *seven* in the year 2,000; *fourteen* in 2,035; and *twenty-five* a century from now.

Connected with this is the world's failure in any way to bridge the gap in economic development between the advanced industrial nations and the developing countries. Compounding both is the growing mirror of this world division—along racial lines—in racial tensions here at home. As socialists we deplore the fact that the development gap is being allowed to grow visibly wider, and will certainly remain one of the major landmarks in the political geography of the 1970s. As humanitarians and democrats we recognise that attitudes to race relations here at home will condition all our influence in the world at large.

World economic development is not merely a question of providing more aid; it is certainly going to mean a willingness on the part of all industrial countries to allow a

free trade in goods from developing nations. This in turn for us will mean consideration of the implications of such competition for several of our older home industries.

But Britain alone will never solve this problem. We therefore intend to search for fresh solutions on an international scale—world food boards, staple commodity agreements and further progress in the creation of a sound liquidity position—linking the creation of drawing rights with aid to the developing countries.

Participation in a Healthy Democracy

Perhaps the greatest single new factor in British politics is the present obsolescence of many aspects of our institutions. This has led to alienation from and disillusion with those institutions. We stress again that in our view people want a fuller life than that which industrial advance alone can bring. The achievement of a satisfactory 'national' standard of living must be the major aim of any Government. But man will not live by growth alone.

The phenomenal pace of industrial change over the last half century has masked a central dilemma in the form of society we have chosen. On the one hand the urgent needs of industrial and social efficiency have required a great centralization of decision-making; and sometimes these decisions have had to be farmed out to non-Governmental institutions. Yet at the same time our philosophy still (and rightly) places great stress on the importance of the individual and the fulfilment which can come from local community organisation.

These two factors together, and the conflicts which arise, have been the root cause of a number of urgent present-day problems—the rise of nationalism; cynicism with politics; disillusion with Government; the feeling generally that more results will flow if law is taken into private hands.

In our view there are no simple solutions.

What is needed is a fresh look at our concept of representative democracy.

No one will deny—least of all the representatives themselves—that the ideal of individual involvement is today not reached by institutional forms designed for a different age. Since 1964 the Government has fostered a new spirit of institutional reform. Important work has been begun to bring new methods of administration and involvement in our Parliament, Government, industry, trades unions, local government and public services. We must push forward these essential programmes, and recast our institutions so that ordinary people can play a fuller part in all decisions that affect their lives.

The Communications Issue

Two centuries ago communications in this country meant an element of teaching, a minority of literates enjoying books and the propounding of ideas by word of mouth. Today we are the greatest newspaper readers in the world, we have three national T.V. channels and four radio networks, and the output of material designed to educate, inform, persuade, cajole—or on occasions even to corrupt—is growing at a frightening pace.

Commercialism alone might be quite easily identified and dealt with. On top of this—and interwoven through its requirements for considerable investment—is the parallel development of instantaneous transmission of information through such techniques as Telstar, and data transmission. Any event, arising anywhere in the world, at any hour of the night can be set out before us over breakfast on the screen or in our daily newspaper.

Three problems arise from this. First, the cost of modern media services is so high that advertising revenue presents itself as central to the needs of otherwise non-commercial communications. Second, the very scope and speed of coverage encourages a tendency to superficial treatment, even of events which might have the most immense significance. Third, our children now acquire their attitudes and knowledge just as much through the mass media as through the education system.

Again, we would not suggest that easy solutions present themselves. But the Labour Party for some years now has been studying advertising—and the power of the advertiser in modern society. We hope to present soon our conclusions on this important aspect of our commercial environment. After that we shall investigate the threat to the survival of national newspapers, of which there may be only four by 1975.

The Impact of Technology

But central to this whole debate must be a further look at modern industry itself.

We would delude ourselves if we thought that marketing, and its impact on communications, could be divorced from further study of the purposes of industry itself.

Even the most rudimentary discussion of our modern industrial complex tends to be befogged with generalisations. But modern business—whether in the private or public sector—is increasingly sophisticated and complex; and few of the ancient economic generalisations about its activity and purposes have relevance today. The interdependence of Government and industry is a modern fact of life; the drive towards monopoly or near-monopoly groupings is being dictated more each year by the urgent need for economies of scale and by international conditions; more and more it is *Governments* which finance risk-projects, while all too often private corporations tend to avoid the very risk which in classical theory is the justification of their existence.

There must be a continuing study of the developments in our new industrial society. Only then shall we be able to create the public setting in which industrial organisation can best flourish.

In looking at these problems the Labour Party has concentrated in the recent past on the need for public participation and/or ownership when separate industries are rationalised. We would cite here our reports on the docks and North Sea gas. In the studies we now have in hand, and others we propose to do, we shall take a much broader look at industrial policy. The issues we now have in mind include industrial democracy, a code of conduct for large corporations to prevent abuse of market power, more delicate control of regional diversification, a major reassessment of the legal basis of the public company, and more imaginative experiments in the management and form of a growing public sector.

But two quite central social features of the technological society are already obvious. First, and particularly in the hard-hit regions, is the need to recognise that the human problems of amalgamation bring new responsibilities for management. Second, on a wider front, is how can we achieve accountability from those who wield this new immense industrial power. We want a new awareness of management's obligation to workers and the wider public interest when major change is taking place. The Labour Party does not intend to let this new Industrial Revolution leave in its wake the scars that characterised the first Industrial Revolution.

THE GREAT DEBATE

These seem to us to be the major areas of policy preparation for the next election. We focus attention on them here because the National Executive Committee wants the whole movement to contribute to this debate. It may be that the coming months will see the emergence of other issues; we might ourselves after further study put a different emphasis on the points we set out here. But we are sure that issues such as these will form the basis upon which we rebuild the strength of the Party in the months between now and the next General Election.

We therefore call for a great debate on future policy: the issue is Socialism in the Seventies. Next year we shall present to Annual Conference a fresh major statement of Labour Party policy incorporating our new plans and proposals, drawing on the experience of a Labour Government in office. Our purpose is to keep up the momentum of institutional reform, to restate the relevance of Britain's role in a new world, to search for social justice here at home, and to share equitably the results of economic progress.

The choice is crucial

When a fresh mandate is sought, the nature of the choice before us will be clear. The only alternative to Labour Government is the Tories—and the only articulate voice of Toryism today is that of an extreme right wing. The crisis facing the Opposition is their business. But no one seeking a New Britain can hope to see it built except by Government which has the spirit, the compassion and imagination to give the leadership required. The Labour Party knows that only Governments which we elect can represent the needs of all the people at a time when changes of a revolutionary character are taking place.

APPENDIX 5

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

A STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO
THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY ● 1968

The traditional socialist critique of private enterprise is based upon our opposition to the concentration of ownership and control of the means of 'production, distribution and exchange' in a few powerful private hands. For nearly a century the British Labour Movement has therefore called both for public ownership of large-scale industry and, in the widest sense, for the control of these industries to be vested in a more democratic fashion upon a wider social base.

No-one will deny that great strides have been made in securing the transfer of the ownership of basic industries into public hands. In the post-war years, we took over the mines, the railways, airlines, electricity and gas—and since 1964 steel has been returned to public ownership, and a substantial sector of public road haulage re-created. But progress in devising new forms of popular *control* has been scant. Yet the growing complexity of today's technological society makes the case for industrial democracy stronger and more urgent than ever in the past.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE

The growing size of industrial units; the increasing remoteness of higher levels of management from the workers whose economic lives hang by their decisions; the emergence of tiers of salaried professional managers interposed between the owners of industry and their employees—all of these factors have dramatically altered the environment within which workers and their trade unions operate.

These changes have called for the intervention of government and an increasing measure of social control or supervision of industry. N.E.D.C. and the industrial E.D.C.s, the industrial training boards, the N.B.P.I. and so on—in all of these activities the trade unions are closely involved at national level. The unions, as the democratic system of organisation and representation of workers, are thus engaged in the discussion of a widening range of subjects of overwhelming importance for the future well being of their members.

At lower levels, however, evolution has been slower. Managerial power remains arbitrary and untrammelled. The influence of workers and their representatives tends to be negative or remote. Change and insecurity leads to tension and dispute. An extension of industrial democracy, and the effective participation of workers in decision making in individual industries and firms, is therefore urgent and essential if the nation is to meet the human needs of those confronted by the major structural changes that are now taking place. It is no longer enough for workers and their representatives to treat management defensively; waiting for them to act and then protesting; asking but rarely achieving some measure of consultation in advance.

They must be involved in planning change and in the decisions that are now taken arbitrarily by management, if the alienation and resentment workers feel when an upheaval of their lives arrives without warning is to be avoided. The human costs of a period of industrial change will be higher than they need to be if unions are not prepared to bargain over redundancy before it is declared. There need be no loss of independence in this. If the unions cannot reach an acceptable settlement with management, they are bound by nothing.

The aim is to extend into the workplace the constructive power the unions now have in national economic planning. It will mean a new positive role for the shop steward or plant official. It will require the closer integration of shop stewards into the unions' chain of command.

For these reasons, and following pressure from within the Labour Party expressed in Annual Conference resolutions and elsewhere, the National Executive Committee published last year the report of its Industrial Democracy Working Party* to stimulate debate within the Labour movement. We recognised the far-reaching changes its proposals would mean in the foundations of our industrial society. But the events of the year that has passed since its publication have underscored the validity and urgency of its conclusions.

*"Industrial Democracy" the report of a Working Party. Available from the Labour Party, price 2/-

The increasing pace of mergers and rationalisation into larger industrial units, often encouraged by the Government through the I.R.C. and the Ministry of Technology, and the appalling tragedies in the deep-sea fishing industry have highlighted the report's recommendations on manpower planning and industrial health and safety. The increasing activity of new public agencies like the I.R.C. and the N.B.P.I. and the growing repercussions their activities have on the shop floor, serve to emphasise the report's conclusions in this area. And the recent report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations has made it desirable that we should issue a further statement to ensure that the scope of public debate is as wide as the subject demands.

THE NEED FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

For too many people the frustrations of Britain's chronic economic difficulties over the last decade have led to a search for easy scapegoats. Defence expenditure has been one of these and the trade unions another. The Donovan Report should lead to a reconsideration of the whole field of industrial relations; a full discussion of the functions of management and the functions of workers in an advanced technological society and the areas of conflict that lie between them. *We are concerned that this debate should take place, and that the issues should not be confined to questions of legislation, incomes policy and unofficial strikes.*

Of course, we have reservations. No political party can match the detailed day by day experience and expertise of either trade unions or their countervailing management organisations. What *we* are concerned to do is to ensure that the detailed discussions are held within the context of the wider changes that are required within our evolving industrial society. We are trying to restate, in terms of principle appropriate to modern conditions, our commitment to the extension of the rights and power of organised labour—and our conviction that this alone will enable us to build a society which is at once humane and dynamic.

We therefore endorse the following principles:—

- (1) That the growth of industrial democracy must be firmly based on the general and effective recognition of the *right* of workers to organisation, representation and participation in major matters affecting their working lives.
- (2) That the development of industrial democracy should be pursued through the creation of a *single channel* of communication between workers' representatives and management. The scope and subject matter of collective bargaining should be extended so that all the elements of management (dismissals, discipline, introduction of new machinery, forward planning of manpower, rationalisation and so forth) are within the sphere of *negotiations* at plant and national level.
- (3) That workers' representatives should have the *right* to adequate information covering all aspects of their company's affairs, provided only that this does not seriously jeopardise the firm's commercial interests.

The aim of this approach would be to extend democracy in industry, not by evolving new and complex (and perhaps alien) structures, but by gradually increasing involvement in a development of existing machinery—which is already known and used because it deals with fundamental questions like pay and conditions. It would encourage a movement towards participation in democratic procedures; a natural evolution rather than an attempt to conjure democracy out of the air.

The success of the measures we propose depends to a large extent on the vigour and ingenuity of the unions, to some degree on the goodwill of management, but also on the initiative of the Government.

THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

In order to achieve for workers an effective voice in the control of policy and administration, the Government will be required to act in a number of ways. First and foremost, the Government must accept the right of workers to representation. This will lead to the acceptance of a wider subject matter for collective bargaining. Second, the Government must improve by law the availability to workers of information on their firm and its prospects, which is essential to make bargaining effective. Disclosure of information on the part of a company should cover:—

(a) Manpower and Remuneration questions

For example, labour turnover; manpower forecasts; training programmes; labour costs per unit of output; management salaries and fees, etc., etc.

(b) Control questions

Such as details of associated companies, directors' shareholdings and internal management structure.

APPENDIX 5: INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

(c) Development, Production and Investment data

Including the rate of orders being received; research plans, and purchasing policy.

(d) Cost, Profit and Pricing Policy

Making a meaningful discussion of financial structure and policy possible.

The right to information should be ensured in a reform of company law, which must for the first time explicitly recognise that the modern company has responsibilities to a wider community than its shareholders. It might even require that a company should in future present an annual report to its workers, as well as to its shareholders, giving the required categories of information in general and intelligible terms. The unions should, however, have a right to more detailed information on a continuing basis. If workers' representatives are to be effective in this new bargaining we believe that a wide range of facilities—time off and compensation for loss of earnings; training; office facilities; access to members and facilities for conducting meetings, ballots, etc.—must be provided. Protection from arbitrary dismissal for all workers, but especially for their representatives, is equally essential.

Furthermore, there is a need to increase the protection afforded to workers, to shield them from the consequences of mergers and rationalisation, going far beyond the right to compensation for redundancy under the Redundancy Payments Act. This might be met by a Redundancy Procedures Act to ensure for all workers the best standards of industrial behaviour won by union bargaining or adopted by progressive managements.

The Board of Trade should in any case use the powers of scrutiny it possesses under the Monopolies and Mergers Act to ensure adequate warning, consultation and that provision is made for any workers who may be affected by such mergers; and the relevant unions must be consulted whenever merger proposals involving the I.R.C. are under discussion.

There must also be dramatic improvements in education and training for participation through the development of special new courses for worker representatives, and through co-ordination of the present scattered provision made by unions, firms, technical colleges and extra-mural departments. Special efforts must be made to coax people with suitable experience into this sector of teaching, and day release for workers must become much more common.

The expansion should be financed both through D.E.S. and the Industrial Training Boards. Some industrial training boards have already made some provision for shop-steward training under the Act. This could obviously be greatly extended.

There are a number of other initiatives we should like to see from the Government such as: (a) the wider availability of industrial and economic information to workers, putting their firm in its regional and national context. This means more popular versions of government reports and a closer involvement of the workers in the follow-up to enquiries into their firms and industries; (b) the development by relevant government departments of specialist consultancy services able to carry out "industrial efficiency audits", and available to the trade unions as an aid to productivity bargaining at plant level (the National Executive Committee welcomes the initiatives in this direction suggested by the new Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity); (c) the existence and importance of public contracts and the availability of fiscal and other subsidies should be used to ensure high standards from managements in their conduct of industrial relations; (d) one obvious field for extension of worker's power in the plant is that of safety. Provision should, for instance, be made for trade union safety representatives in the work-place with statutory powers of access to premises on the lines already in operation in the mines.

It is possible that many of the proposals outlined above could be brought together in a single *Industrial Representation Act*. The necessary comprehensive and co-ordinated framework of collective bargaining procedures which would enable plant-level settlements to be related to wider union wage policies, national economic planning and so on, might best be provided through the Commission on Industrial Relations proposed by Donovan.

Naturally conditions will vary between firms and between industries, and different unions may wish to approach in different ways the problem of increasing the influence of their members in the government of their industries. A Bill would therefore have to be carefully drafted to ensure that it could not be restrictive. But a single measure of this kind would be more attractive than the several pieces of new or amended legislation that would otherwise be necessary.

THE TRADE UNION RESPONSIBILITY

The effect of the measures discussed above would be to provide the community, and to put into the hands of worker representatives and the trade union movement, several new defences and potentially powerful weapons for winning a wide measure of democratic control over the growing concentrations of industrial and economic power. But before the trade unions can take full advantage of this situation and play their part in a developing pattern of wider social

accountability, there are several steps they must take.

Unions must improve the range and quality of their services to members; through the recruitment and training of more full-time officers, and more "specialist" officers, and improvements in the training and servicing of shop stewards and other shop floor representatives. At the same time, there must be a continued and growing willingness to overhaul union structures, extend the internal representation of membership interests, and to press on with rationalisation by amalgamations, inter-union agreements, joint servicing and so on.

Here it is worth noting that in our view the problems of trade union organisation today arise not from their strength, but from their weakness. We want to see more effective trade unionism through stronger trade unions. And it has not escaped our notice that a number of sensible mergers and amalgamations of separate unions have been obstructed in the past by difficult financial considerations. We would therefore recommend that ways should be considered of providing public financial assistance or loans to those unions which wish to come together—the sums involved would be minute compared with the vast amounts now spent on subsidies to private employers.

Within unions there should be a special emphasis on training at all levels, and courses of the right quality might be brought to the attention of appropriate Industrial Training Boards for grants.

Unions should investigate areas where workers could assume unilateral executive responsibility under the terms of a bargained agreement, e.g. the administration of welfare funds, regulation of overtime or in appropriate circumstances some aspects of selection and promotion.

The unions might also increase their influence through the agencies of social accountability (both those on which their members serve, e.g. the Economic Development Councils; and others, e.g. Prices and Incomes Board; Select Committee on Nationalised Industries) by submitting evidence in the course of enquiries and making sure they are closely and actively involved in the follow-up to their reports.

IMMEDIATE ACTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Whatever obstacles and delays any of the foregoing proposals may encounter, they should be fewer in the public sector. The case for urgent action here is particularly strong, and the Government is much freer to act. The public sector could thus provide a range of model agreements, procedural experiments and so on, which would be of particular importance in the growing number of instances where public firms or industries are operating in sectors still largely private.

We are therefore asking for willingness to experiment, disappointingly absent over much of the public sector for most of its existence. As an example, we would cite the structure proposed by the Labour Party's Port Transport Working Party for the docks when nationalised in 1970.

The appointment of a number of "worker-directors" to the new regional boards in the steel industry, and the suggestion that the Minister of Transport might use his power to appoint a proportion of the members of Passenger Transport Authorities to ensure the representation of worker interests, are welcome signs that there is a new willingness to experiment on the part of government. But it will be recognised that our proposals go much further than anything that has been contemplated so far.

We favour experiments in placing representatives of the workers in a nationalised industry on the board of that industry. This representation should not be confined to union officials; nor should it divert attention from the need to involve worker representatives in decision making at every level in an industry, and especially at the various points of production.

Public industries should also consider "model agreements" on the provision of adequate information to unions to enable them to bargain effectively over the whole range of matters of concern to their workers.

THE NEED FOR ACTION

The existing ferment in the economy is bringing about far-reaching industrial changes at a speed that is often alarming. Our socialist beliefs and principles urge us towards action on the lines proposed in this statement.

We have sought to define a way in which participation by workers and their trade unions in this process of change and in the continuing development of British industry can grow in a way beneficial to the whole community. The gains will be in terms of the fullest development of the abilities of individual workers; the protection of workers as a body in a period of change; the extension of "government by consent" in industry, which can have effects in industry as far-reaching as the extension of the franchise had on politics; better morale and increased efficiency. What we propose will also strengthen the structure of social accountability, within which it is increasingly recognised all firms must operate.

APPENDIX 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE 67th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR PARTY, BLACKPOOL, 30 SEPTEMBER, 1968.

The Labour Party condemns the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and certain of her allies.

We regard this action as a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and an open rejection of all accepted norms of international behaviour. The Labour Party endorses the view of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, that 'the developments in Czechoslovakia' constitute 'yet another serious blow to the concepts of international order and morality which form the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and for which the United Nations has been striving all these years.' The aggression against Czechoslovakia puts at risk the independence of every small country whose security depends upon the observation of international agreements based upon mutual trust.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia, which conflicts sharply with the public declarations of the Soviet Government in favour of non-interference with the sovereign rights of independent states, must undermine the strenuous efforts which Britain and many other countries have been making to improve relations between East and West.

In the light of events in Czechoslovakia the Labour Party recalling its commitments as outlined in the 1966 Election Manifesto that:

'In seeking to relax tensions in Europe we need to keep the confidence of our allies and to reach understanding with the East. We must be both ready to reach agreement and determined to resist threats'

confirms that Britain's security lies fundamentally in Europe and must be based on the North Atlantic Alliance. It is essential to maintain a vigorous and resilient defence system based upon N.A.T.O. Labour supports the development of N.A.T.O. in such a way as to ensure flexibility in its defensive responses and to secure an equal flexibility in its political responses to developments throughout Europe.

The Labour Party will continue to work to reduce tensions between East and West wherever this is realistically possible but there can be no doubt about the increased difficulties in a situation where mutual trust, the essential ingredient for the East-West detente, has been so severely damaged by this act of aggression.

There are, however, certain questions so vital to the existence and development of mankind that there must be no delay in the process of seeking new agreements even in the current international atmosphere.

The Labour Party, therefore, fully supports the efforts of the Government in the field of nuclear disarmament. Labour believes that the only sure way to remove the danger of nuclear war is by general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and every disarmament and arms control measure that can be agreed in the meantime is a welcome step towards that objective. The Labour Party welcomes the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons but expresses grave concern at the reluctance of several governments to sign the Treaty. The Party supports the initiative at Geneva of the Government in putting forward proposals for a convention to ban biological weapons and for a U.N. study on chemical warfare as well as its efforts to get agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty. We urge all governments to continue efforts to reach agreement on these and other outstanding disarmament questions particularly to end the nuclear arms race, to reduce the nuclear stockpile, to begin nuclear disarmament and to extend nuclear free zones.

The Labour Party deeply regrets that the possibility of mutual force reductions in Europe has been seriously jeopardised by the actions of the Soviet Union and certain of her Warsaw Pact allies but re-affirms its belief that such reductions are both desirable and ultimately possible given genuine reciprocity.

These aims must still be pursued. Success, however, will depend to a large part on a return to conditions where trust and detente could once more have some meaning. The Labour Party urges the Soviet Government and her other allies involved to help create these conditions by withdrawing their troops from Czechoslovak soil immediately and by allowing the Czechoslovak Government and people to determine their own future free from outside intervention.

APPENDIX 7 (i)

LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (NOV. 1968)

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
ABSE, L.	Pontypool
ALBU, A. H.	Edmonton
ALLAUN, F.	Salford East
ALLDRITT, W. H.	Liverpool, Scotland
ALLEN, S. Scholefield, Q.C.	Crewe
ANDERSON, D.	Monmouth
ARCHER, P. K.	Rowley Regis and Tipton
ARMSTRONG, E.	North West Durham
ASHLEY, J.	Stoke-on-Trent South
ASHTON, J.	Bassetlaw
ATKINS, R. H.	Preston North
ATKINSON, N.	Tottenham
BACON, Rt. Hon. Miss A. M., C.B.E.	Leeds South East
BAGIER, G. A. T.	Sunderland South
BARNES, M. C. J.	Brentford and Chiswick
BARNETT, J.	Heywood and Royton
BAXTER, W.	West Stirlingshire
BEANEY, A.	Hemsworth
BENCE, C. R.	East Dunbartonshire
BENN, Rt. Hon. A. N. Wedgwood	Bristol South East
BENNETT, J.	Glasgow, Bridgeton
BIDWELL, S. J.	Southall
BINNS, J.	Keighley
BISHOP, E. S. D.	Newark
BLACKBURN, F.	Stalybridge and Hyde
BLINKINSOP, A.	South Shields
BOARDMAN, H.	Leigh
BOOTH, A. E.	Barrow-in-Furness
BOSTON, T. G.	Faversham
BOTTOMLEY, Rt. Hon. A. G., O.B.E.	Middlesbrough East
BOYDEN, H. J.	Bishop Auckland
BRADDOCK, Mrs. E. M.	Liverpool Exchange
BRADLEY, T. G.	Leicester North East
BRAY, Dr. J. W.	Middlesbrough West
BROOKS, E.	Bebington
BROUGHTON, Dr. A. D. D.	Batley and Morley
BROWN, Rt. Hon. G. A.	Belper
BROWN, H. D.	Glasgow, Provan
BROWN, R. C.	Newcastle West
BROWN, R. W.	Shoreditch and Finsbury
BUCHAN, N.	West Renfrewshire
BUCHANAN, R.	Glasgow, Springburn
BUTLER, H. W.	Hackney Central
BUTLER, Mrs. J. S.	Wood Green
CALLAGHAN, Rt. Hon. L. J.	Cardiff South East
CANT, R. B.	Stoke-on-Trent Central
CARMICHAEL, N.	Glasgow, Woodside
CARTER-JONES, L.	Eccles
CASTLE, Rt. Hon. Mrs. B.	Blackburn
CHAPMAN, D.	Birmingham, Northfield
COE, D. W.	Middleton and Prestwich
COLEMAN, D. R.	Neath
CONCANNON, J. D.	Mansfield
CONLAN, B.	Gateshead East
CORBET, Mrs. F. K.	Cumberwell, Peckham

APPENDIX 7 (1) LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
CRADDOCK, G.	Bradford South
CRAWSHAW, R.	Liverpool, Toxteth
CRONIN, J., F.R.C.S.	Loughborough
CROSLAND, Rt. Hon. C. A. R.	Grimsby
CROSSMAN, Rt. Hon. R. H. S.	Coventry East
CULLEN, Mrs. A.	Glasgow, Gorbals
DALYELL, T.	West Lothian
DARLING, Rt. Hon. G.	Sheffield, Hillsborough
DAVIDSON, A.	Accrington
DAVIES, Dr. E. A.	Stretford
DAVIES, G. E. H.	Conway
DAVIES, G. E.	Rhondda East
DAVIES, H.	Leek
DAVIES, I.	Gower
DAVIES, S. O.	Merthyr Tydfil
DE FREITAS, Rt. Hon. Sir G.	Kettering
DELARGY, H. J.	Thurrock
DELL, E.	Birkenhead
DEMPSEY, J.	Coatbridge and Airdrie
DEWAR, D. C.	Aberdeen South
DIAMOND, Rt. Hon. J.	Gloucester
DICKENS, J.	Lewisham West
DOBSON, R.	Bristol North East
DOIG, P. M.	Dundee West
DRIBERG, T. E. N.	Barking
DUNN, J. A.	Liverpool, Kirkdale
DUNNETT, J. J.	Nottingham Central
DUNWOODY, Mrs. G.	Exeter
DUNWOODY, Dr. J. E. O.	Falmouth and Camborne
EADIE, A.	Midlothian
EDELMAN, M.	Coventry North
EDWARDS, R.	Bilston
EDWARDS, W. H.	Merioneth
ELLIS, J.	Bristol North West
ENGLISH, M.	Nottingham West
ENNALS, D. H.	Dover
ENSOR, D.	Bury and Radcliffe
EVANS, A.	Islington South West
EVANS, A. T.	Caerphilly
EVANS, I. L.	Birmingham, Yardley
FAULDS, A. M. W.	Smethwick
FERNYHOUGH, E.	Jarrow
FINCH, H. J.	Bedwellty
FITCH, E. A.	Wigan
FLETCHER, Sir E. G. M.	Islington East
FLETCHER, E. J.	Darlington
FLETCHER, R.	Ilkeston
FOLEY, M. A.	West Bromwich
FOOT, Rt. Hon. Sir D. M., Q.C.	Ipswich
FOOT, M. M.	Ebbw Vale
FORD, B. T.	Bradford North
FORRESTER, J. S.	Stoke-on-Trent North
FOWLER, G. T.	The Wrekin
FRASER, J. D.	Lambeth, Norwood
FREESON, R.	Willesden East
GALPERN, Sir M.	Glasgow, Shettleston
GARDNER, A. J.	Rushcliffe
GARRETT, W. E.	Wallsend
GINSBURG, D.	Dewsbury
GORDON WALKER, Rt. Hon. P. C.	Leyton

APPENDIX 7 (I) LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
GOURLAY, H. P. H.	Kirkcaldy Burghs
GRAY, H.	Yarmouth
GREENWOOD, Rt. Hon. A. W. J.	Rossendale
GREGORY, A.	Stockport North
GREY, C. F.	Durham
GRIFFITHS, D.	Rother Valley
GRIFFITHS, E.	Sheffield, Brightside
GRIFFITHS, Rt. Hon. J.	Llanelly
GRIFFITHS, W. D.	Manchester Exchange
GUNTER, Rt. Hon. R. J.	Southwark
HAMILTON, J.	Bothwell
HAMILTON, W. W.	West Fife
HAMLING, W.	Woolwich West
HANNAN, W.	Glasgow, Maryhill
HARPER, J.	Pontefract
HARRISON, W.	Wakefield
HART, Rt. Hon. Mrs. J.	Lanark
HASELDINE, C. N.	Bradford West
HATTERSLEY, R. S. G.	Birmingham, Sparkbrook
HAZELL, B.	North Norfolk
HEALEY, Rt. Hon. D. W.	Leeds East
HEFFER, E. S.	Liverpool, Walton
HENIG, S.	Lancaster
HERBISON, Rt. Hon. Miss M.	North Lanark
HILTON, W. S.	Bethnal Green
HOBDEN, D. H.	Brighton, Kemptown
HOOLEY, F. O.	Sheffield, Heeley
HORNER, J.	Oldbury and Halesowen
HOUGHTON, Rt. Hon. A. L. D.	Sowerby
HOWARTH, H.	Wellingborough
HOWARTH, R. L.	Bolton East
HOWELL, D. H.	Birmingham, Small Heath
HOWIE, W.	Luton
HOY, J. H.	Edinburgh, Leith
HUCKFIELD, L.	Nuneaton
HUGHES, Rt. Hon. C.	Anglesey
HUGHES, E.	South Ayrshire
HUGHES, H. S. J.	Aberdeen North
HUGHES, R. J.	Newport
HUNTER, A.	Dunfermline Burghs
HYND, J. B.	Sheffield, Attercliffe
IRVINE, Sir A. J., Q.C.	Liverpool, Edge Hill
IRVING, S.	Dartford
JACKSON, G. C.	Brighouse and Spenborough
JACKSON, P. M.	High Peak
JANNER, Sir B.	Leicester North West
JAY, Rt. Hon. D.	Battersea North
JEGER, G.	Goole
JEGER, Mrs. L. M.	Holborn and St. Pancras South
JENKINS, H. G.	Wandsworth, Putney
JENKINS, Rt. Hon. R. H.	Birmingham, Stechford
JOHNSON, C. A.	Lewisham South
JOHNSON, J.	Hull West
JONES, D.	Burnley
JONES, Rt. Hon. Sir F. E., Q.C.	West Ham South
JONES, J. I.	Wrexham
JONES, T. A.	Rhondda West
JUDD, F. A.	Portsmouth West
KELLEY, R.	Don Valley
KENYON, C.	Chorley

APPENDIX 7 (i) LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
KERR, Mrs. A. P.	Rochester and Chatham
KERR, Dr. D. L.	Wandsworth Central
KERR, R.	Feltham
LAWSON, G. A.	Motherwell
LEADBITTER, E.	Hartlepoons
LEDGER, R. J.	Romford
LEE, Rt. Hon. F.	Newton
LEE, Rt. Hon. Miss J.	Cannock
LEE, J. M. H.	Reading
LESTOR, Miss J.	Eton and Slough
LEVER, H. N.	Manchester, Cheetham
LEVER, L. M.	Manchester, Ardwick
LEWIS, A. W. J.	West Ham North
LEWIS, R. H.	Carlisle
LIPTON, M.	Lambeth, Brixton
LOMAS, K.	Huddersfield West
LOUGHLIN, C. W.	West Gloucestershire
LUARD, D. E. T.	Oxford
LYON, A. W.	York
LYONS, E.	Bradford East
MABON, Dr. J. D.	Greenock
MCBRIDE, N.	Swansea, East
MCCANN, J.	Rochdale
MACCOLL, J. E.	Widnes
MACDERMOT, N.	Derby North
MACDONALD, A. H.	Chislehurst
MCGUIRE, M. T.	Ince
MCKAY, Mrs. M.	Wandsworth, Clapham
MACKENZIE, J. G.	Rutherglen
MACKIE, J.	Enfield East
MACKINTOSH, J. P.	Berwick and East Lothian
MACLENNAN, R. A. R.	Caithness and Sutherland
MACMILLAN, M. K.	Western Isles
McMILLAN, T.	Glasgow Central
McNAMARA, K.	Hull North
MACPHERSON, M.	Stirling and Falkirk Burghs
MAHON, P.	Preston South
MAHON, S.	Bootle
MALLALIEU, E. L.	Brigg
MALLALIEU, J. P. W.	Huddersfield East
MANUEL, A. C.	Central Ayrshire
MAPP, C.	Oldham East
MARKS, K.	Manchester, Gorton
MARQUAND, D. I.	Ashfield
MARSH, Rt. Hon. R. W.	Greenwich
MASON, Rt. Hon. R.	Barnsley
MAXWELL, I. R.	Buckingham
MAYHEW, C. P.	Woolwich East
MELLISH, Rt. Hon. R. J.	Bermondsey
MENDELSON, J. J.	Penistone
MIKARDO, I.	Poplar
MILLAN, B.	Glasgow, Craigton
MILLER, Dr. M. S.	Glasgow, Kelvingrove
MILNE, E. J.	Blyth
MITCHELL, R. C.	Southampton Test
MOLLOY, W. J.	Ealing North
MOONMAN, E.	Billericay
MORGAN, D. E.	Cardiganshire
MORRIS, A.	Manchester, Wythenshawe
MORRIS, C. R.	Manchester, Openshaw

APPENDIX 7 (i) LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
MORRIS, J.	Aberavon
MOYLE, R. D.	Lewisham North
MULLEY, Rt. Hon. F. W.	Sheffield, Park
MURRAY, A. J.	Gravesend
NEAL, H.	Bolsover
NEWENS, A. S.	Epping
NOEL-BAKER, F. E.	Swindon
NOEL-BAKER, Rt. Hon. P. J.	Derby South
NORWOOD, C. B. B.	Norwich South
OAKES, G. J.	Bolton West
OGDEN, E.	Liverpool, West Derby
O'MALLEY, B. K. O.	Rotherham
ORAM, A. E.	East Ham South
ORBACH, M.	Stockport South
ORME, S.	Salford West
OSWALD, T.	Edinburgh Central
OWEN, Dr. D. A. L.	Plymouth, Sutton
OWEN, W. J.	Morpeth
PADLEY, W. E.	Ogmore
PAGE, J. D.	King's Lynn
PAGET, R. T.	Northampton
PALMER, A. M. F.	Bristol Central
PANNELL, Rt. Hon. T. C.	Leeds West
PARK, T.	Derbyshire South East
PARKER, J.	Dagenham
PARKIN, B. T.	Paddington North
PARKYN, B. S.	Bedford
PAVITT, L. A.	Willesden West
PEARSON, A.	Pontypridd
PEART, Rt. Hon. T. F.	Workington
PENTLAND, N.	Chester-le-Street
PERRY, E. G.	Battersea South
PERRY, G. H.	Nottingham South
PRENTICE, Rt. Hon. R. E.	East Ham North
PRICE, C.	Birmingham, Perry Barr
PRICE, J. T.	Westhoughton
PRICE, W. G.	Rugby
PROBERT, A. R.	Aberdare
PURSEY, H.	Hull East
RANDALL, H. E.	Gateshead West
RANKIN, J.	Glasgow, Govan
REES, M.	Leeds South
REYNOLDS, G. W.	Islington North
RHODES, G. W.	Newcastle East
RICHARD, I. S.	Barons Court
ROBERTS, A.	Normanton
ROBERTS, G. E.	Bedfordshire South
ROBERTS, G. O.	Caernarvon
ROBERTSON, J.	Paisley
ROBINSON, Rt. Hon. K.	St. Pancras North
RODGERS, W. T.	Stockton-on-Tees
ROEBUCK, R. D.	Harrow East
ROGERS, G. H. R.	Kensington North
ROSE, P. B.	Manchester, Blackley
ROSS, Rt. Hon. W.	Kilmarnock
ROWLANDS, E.	Cardiff North
RYAN, J.	Uxbridge
SHAW, A. J.	Ilford South
SHELDON, R. E.	Ashton-under-Lyne
SHINWELL, Rt. Hon. E.	Easington

APPENDIX 7 (i) LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

<i>Member</i>	<i>Constituency</i>
SHORE, Rt. Hon. P.	Stepney
SHORT, Rt. Hon. E. W.	Newcastle Central
SHORT, Mrs. R.	Wolverhampton North East
SILKIN, Rt. Hon. J. E.	Deptford
SILKIN, S. C.	Camberwell, Dulwich
SILVERMAN, J.	Birmingham, Aston
SKEFFINGTON, A. M.	Hayes and Harlington
SLATER, J.	Sedgefield
SMALL, W. W.	Glasgow, Scotstoun
SNOW, J.	Lichfield and Tamworth
SPRIGGS, L.	St. Helens
STEELE, T.	West Dunbartonshire
STEWART, Rt. Hon. R. M. M.	Fulham
STONEHOUSE, Rt. Hon. J. T.	Wednesbury
STRAUSS, Rt. Hon. G. R.	Lambeth, Vauxhall
SUMMERSKILL, Dr. S.	Halifax
SWAIN, T. H.	Derbyshire North East
SWINGLER, S. T.	Newcastle-under-Lyme
SYMONDS, J. B.	Whitehaven
TAVERNE, D.	Lincoln
THOMAS, Rt. Hon. T. G.	Cardiff West
THOMSON, Rt. Hon. G. M.	Dundee East
THORNTON, E.	Farnworth
TINN, J.	Cleveland
TOMNEY, F.	Hammersmith North
TUCK, R. H.	Watford
URWIN, T. W.	Houghton-le-Spring
VARLEY, E. G.	Chesterfield
WAINWRIGHT, E.	Dearne Valley
WALDEN, B.	Birmingham, All Saints
WALKER, H.	Doncaster
WALLACE, G. D.	Norwich North
WATKINS, D. J.	Consett
WATKINS, T. E.	Brecon and Radnor
WEITZMAN, D.	Stoke Newington and Hackney North
WELLBELOVED, J.	Erith and Crayford
WELLS, W. T.	Walsall North
WHITAKER, B.	Hampstead
WHITE, Mrs. E.	East Flint
WHITLOCK, W. C.	Nottingham North
WILKINS, W. A.	Bristol South
WILLEY, Rt. Hon. F. T.	Sunderland North
WILLIAMS, A. J.	Swansea West
WILLIAMS, A. L.	Hornchurch
WILLIAMS, C.	Abertillery
WILLIAMS, Mrs. S.	Hitchin
WILLIAMS, W. T.	Warrington
WILLIS, Rt. Hon. E. G.	Edinburgh East
WILSON, Rt. Hon. J. H., O.B.E.	Huyton
WILSON, W.	Coventry South
WINNICK, D. J.	Croydon South
WOODBURN, Rt. Hon. A.	Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire
WOOF, R. E.	Blaydon
WYATT, W. L.	Bosworth
YATES, V. F.	Birmingham, Ladywood

APPENDIX 7 (ii)

LABOUR PARTY PEERS

VISCOUNT ADDISON
LORD ARCHIBALD, C.B.E.
LORD ARWYN
LORD BALOGH
RT. HON. LORD BESWICK
BARONESS BIRK
LORD BLYTON
LORD BOWDEN
LORD BOWLES
LORD BROCKWAY
LORD BROWN, M.B.E.
EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
LORD BURDEN, C.B.E.
BARONESS BURTON
LORD CAMPBELL
RT. HON. LORD CARADON, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., O.B.E.
LORD CARRON
RT. HON. LORD CHALFONT, O.B.E., M.C.
RT. HON. LORD CHAMPION, J.P.
LORD CHORLEY, M.A., J.P., Q.C.
RT. HON. LORD CITRINE, G.B.E.
LORD COLLISON, C.B.E.
LORD COOPER, J.P.
LORD CROOK
LORD DARWEN
LORD DELACOURT-SMITH, J.P.
LORD DINEVOR
LORD DONALDSON
LORD DOUGLAS OF BARLOCH, K.C.M.G.
MARSHAL OF THE R.A.F. LORD DOUGLAS OF KIRTLESIDE, G.C.B., M.C.
D.F.C.
LORD DOUGLASS OF CLEVELAND
LORD ENERGLYN
LORD EVANS OF HUNGERSHALL
LORD FARINGDON
LORD FISKE, C.B.E.
LORD FRANCIS-WILLIAMS, C.B.E.
BARONESS GAITSKELL
RT. HON. LORD GARDINER
LORD GARNSWORTHY, O.B.E., J.P.
LORD GEDDES OF EPSOM, C.B.E.
LORD GIFFORD
LORD GOODMAN
LORD GRANVILLE OF EYE
LORD GRANVILLE-WEST
VISCOUNT HALL
RT. HON. LORD HENDERSON
LORD HEYCOCK, C.B.E., J.P.
LORD HILL OF WIVENHOE
LORD HILTON
LORD HIRSHFIELD
LORD HUGHES, C.B.E.
EARL OF HUNTINGDON
RT. HON. LORD INMAN
LORD JACQUES

APPENDIX 7 (ii): LABOUR PARTY PEERS

LORD KENNET
 LORD KILBRACKEN, D.S.C.
 LORD LATHAM, J.P.
 LORD LEATHERLAND, O.B.E., J.P.
 LORD LILFORD
 LORD LINDGREN, J.P.
 RT. HON. EARL OF LISTOWEL, K.C.M.G.
 BARONESS LLEWELYN-DAVIES
 LORD LLEWELYN-DAVIES
 LORD LLOYD OF HAMPSTEAD
 RT. HON. EARL OF LONGFORD
 LORD MAELOR
 LORD MAIS, O.B.E., T.D., E.R.D., D.O., J.P.
 LORD MCLEAVY, J.P.
 LORD MILNER OF LEEDS, M.C., T.D., LL.D.
 LORD MITCHISON, C.B.E., Q.C.
 LORD MORRIS OF KENWOOD
 LORD MOYLE, C.B.E.
 LORD NOEL-BUXTON
 LORD PARGITER, C.B.E.
 LORD PEDDIE, M.B.E.
 BARONESS PHILLIPS
 BARONESS PLUMMER, J.P.
 LORD POPPLEWELL, C.B.E., J.P.
 LORD RAGLAN
 LORD RATHCREEDAN
 LORD RITCHIE-CALDER, C.B.E.
 RT. HON. LORD ROBENS
 LORD ROYLE, J.P.
 LORD RUSHOLME
 LORD SAINSBURY
 VISCOUNT ST. DAVIDS
 VISCOUNT SAMUEL, C.M.G.
 LORD SEGAL
 BARONESS SEROTA
 RT. HON. LORD SHACKLETON, O.B.E.
 RT. HON. LORD SHEPHERD
 RT. HON. LORD SILKIN, C.H.
 LORD SIMEY
 LORD SNOW, C.B.E.
 LORD SOPER, M.A., PH.D.
 LORD SORENSEN
 BARONESS STOCKS
 LORD STONHAM, O.B.E.
 RT. HON. LORD STOW HILL, Q.C.
 LORD STRABOLGI
 RT. HON. BARONESS SUMMERSKILL, C.H.
 LORD TAYLOR
 LORD TAYLOR OF GRYFE
 LORD TAYLOR OF MANSFIELD, C.B.E.
 LORD TAYSIDE, O.B.E.
 RT. HON. LORD UVEDALE
 LORD WALSTON
 LORD WELLS-PESTELL
 LORD WILLIAMSON, C.B.E., J.P.
 LORD WILLIS
 LORD WINTERBOTTOM
 BARONESS WOOTTON OF ABINGER
 LORD WRIGHT
 LORD WYNNE-JONES

APPENDIX 8

BY-ELECTION INSURANCE FUND

RULES

1. Contributions to the By-election Insurance Fund shall be based on a fixed yearly payment on the following scale:

						£	s.	d.
Trade Unions and other National Organisations:	Up to 500 members	..	..	..	..	5	0	0
..	..	Between	500 and	1,000	..	10	0	0
..	..	..	1,000	2,500	..	4	0	0
..	..	..	2,500	3,000	..	9	0	0
..	..	..	3,000	5,000	..	10	0	0
..	..	..	5,000	10,000	..	20	0	0
..	..	..	10,000	15,000	..	50	0	0
..	..	..	15,000	20,000	..	75	0	0
..	..	..	20,000	25,000	..	80	0	0
..	..	..	25,000	30,000	..	100	0	0
..	..	..	30,000	50,000	..	110	0	0
..	..	..	50,000	100,000	..	120	0	0
..	..	..	100,000	200,000	..	125	0	0
..	..	..	200,000	300,000	..	130	0	0
..	..	..	300,000	400,000	..	140	0	0
..	..	..	Over 400,000	..	..	150	0	0
Constituency Parties:	Single member	..	..	..	..	5	0	0
Borough Parties	..	..	..	..	..	4	0	0

2. Contributions shall be paid in one sum during January, or by equal quarterly instalments due on the 1st day of January, April, July, and October of each year.

3. Payments from the Fund shall ordinarily be made to the Organisation which has accepted responsibility for the Election Expenses of a Parliamentary Candidate. Where responsibility by agreement has been jointly accepted, payment shall be allocated proportionately between the Organisations concerned.

4. Normally, payments to Organisations shall be made through the Election Agent in charge of the By-election. Exceptions may, however, be made where an Organisation accepts full financial responsibility for a Parliamentary candidature and prefers to make its own arrangements with the Election Agent. In these cases payments may be made direct to such Organisations.

5. No payment to an Organisation or to an Election Agent shall exceed the actual cost of the By-election.

6. Payments shall be made in accordance with estimates of the cost of By-elections based upon planned arrangements agreed to by Headquarters. The liability of the Fund in respect of contested By-elections shall be limited to a maximum of £350, and in respect of an unopposed Labour return to a maximum of £50.

7. No payment shall be made unless authorised by the Elections Sub-Committee of the National Executive, and if the Organisation accepting financial responsibility is in arrears to the Fund, without the concurrence of the Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee.

8. Organisations more than eight weeks in arrears with any instalment shall be deemed to be out of benefit.

9. Organisations in arrears with their instalments for the year ending 31 December prior to Conference shall not be entitled to representation at that Conference until such arrears are paid.

10. Accounts in respect of any By-election owing to Headquarters shall be deducted from any sum due before a final payment is made to the Election Agent.

11. Headquarters shall have discretion to deduct from any authorised payment arrears of affiliation fees due from the organisation concerned.

APPENDIX 9

PROSCRIBED ORGANISATIONS

The Annual Party Conference has had to declare certain organisations ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party, and members of these organisations are not eligible for membership of the Labour Party.

Many organisations which were, or are, subsidiaries of the Communist Party, were of short life, became merged into other organisations, or changed their title. This has caused some confusion, and many Constituency and Local Labour Parties, and their members, have been induced to give support to these organisations which have attractive titles, without a full appreciation of their origin.

The following is a list of Proscribed Organisations which are at present known to be in existence:

- British Soviet Society
- British Soviet Friendship Houses Ltd.
- Common Wealth
- Communist Party of Great Britain
- Labour Research Department
- Marx House
- Militant Labour League
- Scottish U.S.S.R. Society
- Women's Parliament
- Student Labour Federation
- International Youth Council in Britain
- The World Federation of Democratic Youth
- Women's International Democratic Federation
- League for Democracy in Greece
- British Peace Committee
- Welsh Peace Council
- Socialist Fellowship
- Union Movement
- British Youth Festival
- International Women's Day Committee
- People's Congress for Peace
- West Yorkshire Federation of Peace Organisations
- World Federation of Trade Unions
- The International Union of Students
- The International Association of Democratic Lawyers
- The International Organisation of Journalists
- The World Federation of Scientific Workers
- World Peace Council
- British-Soviet Friendship Society
- British-Polish Friendship Society
- British-China Friendship Association
- British-Czechoslovak Friendship League
- British-Rumanian Friendship Association
- The Committee for Friendship with Bulgaria
- British Hungarian Friendship Society
- Artists for Peace
- Musicians' Organisation for Peace
- Authors' World Peace Appeal
- Teachers for Peace
- Scientists for Peace
- National Assembly of Women
- The Newsletter
- Socialist Labour League
- Keep Left
- Independent Nuclear Disarmament Election Committee

APPENDIX 10

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCES

(1900-1968)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place of Conference</i>	<i>Chairman</i>	<i>No. of Delegates</i>	<i>Nationally Affiliated Membership</i>
1900	LONDON	W. C. STEADMAN	129	—
1901	MANCHESTER	J. HODGE	82	375,931
1902	BIRMINGHAM	W. J. DAVIS	110	469,311
1903	NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE	J. N. BELL	243	861,150
1904	BRADFORD	J. HODGE	355	969,800
1905	LIVERPOOL	D. J. SHACKLETON	348	900,000
1906	LONDON	A. HENDERSON	363	921,280
1907	BELFAST	J. J. STEPHENSON	347	998,338
1908	HULL	W. HUDSON	404	1,072,413
1909	PORTSMOUTH	J. R. CLYNES	399	1,152,786
1910	NEWPORT	J. KEIR HARDIE	448	1,486,308
1911	LEICESTER	W. C. ROBINSON	460	1,430,539
1912	BIRMINGHAM	BEN TURNER	474	1,539,092
1913	LONDON	G. H. ROBERTS	516	1,895,498
1914	GLASGOW	TOM FOX	551	—
1916	BRISTOL	W. C. ANDERSON	608	2,093,365
1917	MANCHESTER	G. J. WARDLE	752	2,219,764
1918	NOTTINGHAM	W. F. PURDY	879	2,461,131
1918	LONDON	W. F. PURDY	852	2,726,000
1919	SOUTHPORT	J. MCGURK	954	3,013,129
1920	SCARBOROUGH	W. H. HUTCHINSON	1,109	3,511,290
1921	BRIGHTON	A. G. CAMERON	872	4,359,807
1922	EDINBURGH	F. W. JOWETT	820	4,010,361
1923	LONDON	SIDNEY WEBB	939	3,311,036
1924	LONDON	J. RAMSEY MACDONALD	1,059	3,155,911
1925	LIVERPOOL	C. T. CRAMP	1,032	3,194,399
1926	MARGATE	ROBERT WILLIAMS	1,042	3,373,870
1927	BLACKPOOL	F. O. ROBERTS	1,011	3,388,286
1928	BIRMINGHAM	GEORGE LANSBURY	972	3,293,615
1929	BRIGHTON	HERBERT MORRISON	967	2,077,199
1930	LLANDUDNO	SUSAN LAWRENCE	727	2,102,948
1931	SCARBOROUGH	STANLEY HIRST	716	2,069,697
1932	LEICESTER	GEORGE LATHAN	621	2,061,063
1933	HASTINGS	JOSEPH COMPTON	669	2,000,180
1934	SOUTHPORT	WALTER R. SMITH	686	1,939,017
1935	BRIGHTON	W. A. ROBINSON	664	1,897,231
1936	EDINBURGH	JENNIE L. ADAMSON	664	1,958,204
1937	BOURNEMOUTH	HUGH DALTON	705	2,013,663
1939	SOUTHPORT	GEORGE DALLAS	775	2,642,618
1940	BOURNEMOUTH	BARBARA AYRTON GOULD	743	2,663,067
1941	LONDON	JAMES WALKER	642	2,571,163
1942	LONDON	W. H. GREEN	738	2,485,306
1943	LONDON	A. J. DOBBS	841	2,453,392
1944	LONDON	H. J. LASKI	883	2,503,240
1945	BLACKPOOL	ELLEN WILKINSON	912	2,672,845
1946	BOURNEMOUTH	H. J. LASKI	1,011	3,038,697
1947	MARGATE	P. J. NOEL-BAKER	1,020	3,322,358
1948	SCARBOROUGH	E. SHINWELL	1,114	5,040,299

APPENDIX 9: LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

1949	..	BLACKPOOL	..	..	J. GRIFFITHS	..	..	1,175	..	5,422,437
1950	..	MARGATE	..	..	SAM WATSON	..	..	1,200	..	5,716,947
1951	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	ALICE BACON	..	..	1,210	..	5,920,172
1952	..	MORECAMBE	..	..	HARRY EARNSHAW	..	..	1,244	..	5,849,002
1953	..	MARGATE	..	..	ARTHUR GREENWOOD	..	..	1,264	..	6,107,659
1954	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	WILFRID BURKE	..	..	1,278	..	6,096,022
1955	..	MARGATE	..	..	EDITH SUMMERSKILL	..	..	1,262	..	6,498,027
1956	..	BLACKPOOL	..	..	EDWIN GOOCH	..	..	1,314	..	6,483,994
1957	..	BRIGHTON	..	..	MARGARET HERBISON	..	..	1,294	..	6,537,228
1958	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	TOM DRIBERG	..	..	1,270	..	6,582,549
1959	..	BLACKPOOL	..	..	BARBARA CASTLE	..	..	1,211	..	6,542,186
1960	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	GEORGE BRINHAM	..	..	1,271	..	6,436,986
1961	..	BLACKPOOL	..	..	RICHARD CROSSMAN	..	..	1,259	..	6,328,330
1962	..	BRIGHTON	..	..	HAROLD WILSON	..	..	1,254	..	6,325,607
1963	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	DAI DAVIES	..	..	1,236	..	6,295,707
1964	..	BRIGHTON	..	..	ANTHONY GREENWOOD	..	..	1,116	..	6,353,436
1965	..	BLACKPOOL	..	..	RAY GUNTER	..	..	1,222	..	6,439,000
1966	..	BRIGHTON	..	..	WALTER PADLEY	..	..	1,246	..	6,439,893
1967	..	SCARBOROUGH	..	..	JOHN BOYD	..	..	1,206	..	6,373,000
1968	..	BLACKPOOL	JENNIE LEE	1,231	..	6,317,000

**REPORT OF THE
COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO
PARTY ORGANISATION**

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OUR PLAN OF WORK

1 Our Interim Report presented to the Party Conference last year dealt with the following subjects: Party Finance, Government and Party, a National Agency Service, Political Education and Party Co-ordinating Machinery for Greater London. Two colleagues who signed that report, Mr. R. H. S. Crossman and Mr. J. L. Jones, were not nominated for election to the National Executive Committee, and on 25 October, the Committee appointed Mr. F. Allaun and Mr. H. R. Nicholas in their stead.

2 During the second year of our work we met on 15 occasions. We had further interviews with chief officers and heads of departments at Transport House, and met the regional organisers, also. A great deal of written material was received from Head Office officials, Party organisations as well as from other sources.

3 In preparing our plan of work we decided to complete the examination of subjects which had been started last year, but which had not resulted in any recommendations. These included the Organisation of Transport House, the Role and Structure of the Party Conference and of the National Executive Committee and the Establishment of Labour Party Trustee and Property Companies. In addition, it was decided to examine Regional and Local Organisation, and the Labour Women's Movement and the Young Socialists. At the request of the Agents' Union, also we examined the operation of the Hastings Agreement, which deals with the sponsoring of Parliamentary candidatures by nominating organisations.

Three Working parties

4 Three working parties, each under the chairmanship of a member of the Enquiry Committee, were appointed to assist us in the examination of Regional Organisation, the Labour Women's Movement and the Young Socialists. These were:

Regional Organisation: Mr. W. Simpson (Chairman), Mr. J. C. Booter, Mr. P. M. Carmody, Mr. R. Delafield, Mr. D. Farrar, Mr. R. Grantham, Mr. A. E. McVie and Mr. J. Tinn, M.P.
Labour Women's Movement: Miss A. Bacon, M.P. (Chairman), Miss E. E. Chipchase, Mr. J. E. Jones, Mrs. A. Richard, Mr. L. D. Stevens, Mrs. A. Urquhart, Mrs. J. Watson, Mr. W. G. White and Mrs. D. Young.

Young Socialists: Mr. H. R. Nicholas (Chairman), Mr. W. Burley, Miss K. Butler, Mr. D. Collins, Mr. P. A. Jolly, Mr. E. Joyce, Mr. A. J. Gardner, M.P., Mr. P. Kent and Mrs. M. McCarthy.

5 Each of these working parties did a thoroughly good job. The information they collected and the views they expressed were of immense value to us in reaching conclusions on the subjects they studied and we wish to express our gratitude to them for their help.

THE ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE

Last Year's Recommendations

6 Following our earlier examination of the role of the Party Conference and its procedure, we included in our Interim Report only one recommendation, that concerning the method of dealing with proposed amendments to the Party Constitution, Standing Orders and Rules.

7 The founders of the Labour Party were determined that it should be a democratic organisation controlled by its members, so final authority was vested in a Conference, which was fully representative of the various organisations which made up the Party. The number of delegates from each organisation and its voting strength was based upon the number of members it affiliated. Despite the many changes in the composition of the Party in more than half a century, the Conference still is the Party's final authority and representation at it is still based on the number of members affiliated.

8 With the substantial increase in membership in the post-war years, the size of the Conference has grown correspondingly and there have been complaints that it is ceasing to be a deliberative assembly and is becoming a mass demonstration. We did look at the possibility of reducing the size of the Conference, but concluded that it would be extremely difficult to do so without endangering its representative character. Indeed, we decided that in order to make the Conference even more representative of the active membership it should be easier for constituency parties to send additional women and youth delegates.

Additional Constituency Representation

9 At present each constituency party is entitled to an additional woman delegate when its affiliated and individual women's membership exceeds 2,500 and an additional Young Socialists' delegate when the membership of the Young Socialists in the constituency is 200 or more. In the case of the additional women delegates we recommend that the figure of women's membership should be 1,500 instead of 2,500, and in the case of Young Socialists' membership 100 instead of 200.

10 There have been complaints too about the overloading of the Conference Agenda, but these are nothing new. Affiliated organisations represented at Conference used to be entitled to send two resolutions and two amendments, but in 1947, in an attempt to reduce the Agenda to more manageable proportions, this entitlement was halved. The change hardly made any difference in the number of motions, and there has developed a tendency for resolutions to be drafted in such a way as to cover more than one subject.

11 In 1966 there were 556 motions covering 83 subjects on the Agenda as well as two Policy Statements presented by the National Executive Committee, that committee's report and the Party accounts, as well as the report of the Parliamentary Labour Party. It is not surprising therefore that decisions were made on only 25 of the 83 subjects. Various devices are employed to reduce the number of motions remaining on the Agenda when the Conference opens, including the compositing sessions, which are held on the Saturday afternoon preceding the Conference, when a large number of motions disappear in favour of a much smaller number of composites, and others because the delegates responsible for them do not attend these sessions. Despite the invariable challenge made at the opening session of the Conference the recommendations of the Standing Orders Committee are nearly always adopted.

Other Methods Examined

12 The Labour Party method of dealing with this problem might seem rather rough and ready, but in our opinion it is superior to alternative methods we have examined, as for instance, giving authority to the Executive or some similar body to decide the subjects to be debated. In our case, the Standing Orders Committee is selected by the previous Conference, and its recommendations to the following Conference are subject to the approval of the delegates. Occasionally, a vociferous minority might not be satisfied about the omission of motions, but all the subjects which the majority of the delegates believe are important are included on the Agenda. We do not propose any changes in the Conference procedure in this respect.

ROLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Provides Positive Leadership

13 In the Party Constitution the National Executive Committee is described as the 'administrative authority' of the Party, but the words used in detailing the powers and duties of the National Executive make it obvious that 'administrative' is used in the widest possible sense. The powers of the National Executive include the right to propose to the Annual Conference 'such amendments to the Constitution, Rules and Standing Orders as may be deemed desirable' and 'such resolutions and declarations affecting the Programme, Principles and

ENQUIRY INTO PARTY ORGANISATION

Policy of the Party . . . as may be necessitated by political circumstances.' In practice the National Executive provides the positive leadership of the Party.

14 It has always been accepted that the National Executive should be representative of the various groups making up the Party. The National Executive elected in 1901 consisted of 13 members—seven from trade unions, one from trades councils, two from the I.L.P., two from the S.D.F. and one from the Fabian Society. They were elected by the Annual Conference on a sectional basis. In 1917, while sections were retained, the principle of electing their members by the whole Conference was introduced. The principle of election by the whole Conference operated until 1937, when the Conference reverted to sectional election (except for the women's section, which continued to be elected by the whole Conference).

15 The size of the National Executive has grown over the years: including the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Treasurer, who are ex-officio members, it is now 28 strong. Old sections have disappeared and new ones have been formed and the relative strength of the sections has changed. These changes have been mainly to the advantage of local party representation.

16 We do not think that the size of the National Executive Committee should be altered, but we are of the opinion a separate women's section of it is an anachronism. Women attend the Conference as delegates from affiliated organisations and there is no constitutional obstacle to their election to any of the three other sections of the National Executive Committee, and at present, of the seven members of the local parties' section, two are women.

Abolish Women's Section

17 We recommend that the five seats of the women's section be abolished, and that the trade unions' section be increased to 15 and the local parties' section to nine seats. In support of this proposed allocation of seats, we would point out that at the 1967 Conference, 632 delegates represented 5,535,000 affiliated trade union members, and 564 delegates represented 813,000 individual members.

18 We do not propose any amendment of the functions of the National Executive Committee, either as they are described in the Constitution, or as they have come to be accepted over the years.

REGIONAL ORGANISATION AND ORGANISING STAFF

Integrating Regional Staff

19 We concluded the section on a National Agency Service in our Interim Report with a promise to examine the possibility of integrating the regional organising staff with this service, and we said that we would do this when examining the Party's regional machinery. We had in mind that there might be a case for altering the regional structure so as to provide for district, or even more local, organisation and we recognised that any move in this direction would affect the regional organising staff.

20 The National Executive Committee employs 12 regional organisers, and 26 assistant regional organisers, 14 men and 12 women. Twelve of the male assistant regional organisers have special responsibility for youth organisation and the 12 female organisers for women's organisation, but all the assistant regional organisers undertake general duties as well. There are 12 regional offices which the National Executive Committee maintain and staff.

21 Until a few years ago there were 10 regional councils, which, with the London Labour Party, supplied machinery for developing and co-ordinating Party activity on a regional basis over the whole country. It became apparent that the thickly populated South East was now the key to future electoral success and the National Executive Committee was anxious to give more organising help in the area. One way chosen was the creation of a new region within the area. However, a proposal to establish a new regional council met with little support, and the Northern Home Counties became a new regional organising area without a regional council, its constituencies retaining their links with the West Midlands, Eastern or Southern Regional Councils, or with the London Labour Party.

22 This was not a very satisfactory arrangement and it was not expected to be long-lived, especially in view of anticipated early changes of local government structure in the metropolitan area, but there can be no doubt that meanwhile the establishment of a regional office at Hemel Hempstead with a regional organising staff of three greatly improved the whole organising service provided for the key constituencies in the South East.

23 The creation of the Greater London Council made necessary the creation of corresponding Party machinery. In our Interim Report we proposed that this should take the form of a Greater London Regional Council. Our proposal meant not only that the London Labour Party would disappear and its place be taken by a regional council, but also that there would have to be changes in the boundaries of the adjacent regions from which constituencies had been transferred to Greater London. These changes were essential irrespective of what might come out of our review of the Party's regional machinery in general.

Old Regional Areas

24 We started our review in the knowledge that it has been said that the old regional areas were too large to give the organising services needed by the constituencies, and that those who held that view regarded the employment of agents by the National Executive Committee in the National Agency Service as an opportunity, both to have an integrated organising service, and to develop district organisation in the place of regional organisation.

25 If constituency organisation is the only concern, the present regions are too big, but the regional councils have other responsibilities besides giving immediate and direct organising help to constituencies. They have political, as well as organising responsibilities, and the latter will grow with the strengthening of the modern tendency towards the devolution of government in the cases of Scotland and Wales and towards regionalism elsewhere. Therefore, we do not recommend the dismantling of the Party's regional machinery and, apart from the changes that will have to be made in the South East, and changes involving the transfer of only two other constituencies elsewhere, we do not recommend any changes in our present regional boundaries. It is evident that the whole question of regional boundaries will have to be reviewed following the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government and the implementation of its recommendations.

New Regional Boundaries

26 The regions involved in the establishment of the Greater London Regional Council have been affected in the following way: the Greater London Council covers 100 constituencies, leaving the Southern region with 51, the Eastern region with 29 and the Northern Home Counties organising region with 25. Twenty-nine constituencies in the case of the Eastern region and 25 in the case of the Northern Home Counties region are too few to sustain a properly functioning regional council and since also there does not exist a separate regional council for the Northern Home Counties, we recommend that the organising region be abolished and that its constituencies be returned to the regions to which they belonged previously.

27 In addition, we recommend that the Peterborough constituency, part of the recently created county of Huntingdonshire and Peterborough, should be transferred from the East Midlands region to the Eastern region and that Westmorland should be transferred from the North Western region to the Northern region, which would bring the boundaries of these two regions into conformity with the Government's economic planning regions.

28 The acceptance of these recommendations would mean that the regions concerned would be:

- (1) *Eastern*.—Bedfordshire (four constituencies), Hertfordshire (eight constituencies) and Peterborough, bringing the total to 42 constituencies, of these 15 are Labour held, three are sponsored and 29 employ agents.
- (2) *Southern*.—Berkshire (five constituencies), Buckinghamshire (five constituencies) bringing the total to 61 constituencies, of these 14 are Labour held, three are sponsored and 21 employ agents.
- (3) *West Midlands*.—Oxfordshire (three constituencies) bringing the total to 57 constituencies, of these 33 are Labour held, nine are sponsored and 14 employ agents.
- (4) *East Midlands*.—Excluding Peterborough, 40 constituencies. Of these 27 are Labour held, 12 are sponsored and 13 employ agents.
- (5) *North Western and Northern Regions*.—The North Western region one constituency less and a total of 80, and the Northern region one constituency more and a total of 37.

No Staff Redundancy

29 The country would then be adequately covered by 11 regional councils, and the disappearance of the Northern Home Counties organising region need not result in any staff redundancy because its present organising and clerical staff could be absorbed by other regions, and we earnestly recommend that this be so.

30 To ensure that the constituencies going back to the Eastern and Southern regions continue to receive adequate service we recommend that the Eastern regional office be removed from Ipswich to Cambridge, which would be a much more suitable centre for the altered region, and that a sub-office be opened in Reading, from which the man A.R.O. in the Southern region will work. There may be other cases where sub-offices are necessary, but we recommend that each region should be considered separately in consultation with the regional councils, although we believe that in most regions it will prove to be preferable that the staff should work from the regional office.

31 The purpose of the National Agency Service is to give detailed organising help in the key constituencies and, although at first it may be necessary for some of the agents employed to work in more than one constituency, most of them, both inside and outside of the National Agency Service, will work in only one. There will still be many constituencies without such professional help and these will continue to receive some help from the regional organising staff.

Organisers' Specialist Duties

32 Part of the time of the regional organising staff will have to be devoted to duties other than those which are regarded as the normal responsibilities of a constituency agent, e.g. the compilation of electoral records, the maintenance of electoral machinery and the raising of funds. The Labour Women's movement and the Young Socialists would be less effective than they are if there were not organisers in each region able to devote a substantial proportion of their time to the activities of one or other of them, and there are other aspects of political activity which must be dealt with regionally, including public relations and political education. It seems to us that the distinction between the duties performed by a constituency agent and those performed by a member of the regional organising staff is such as not to justify the integration of one with the other in a single service.

33 In the past, those who joined the regional organising staff had acquired the experience needed to do adequately the job as it was then conceived, but that job has changed considerably in recent years and the regional organising staff are now called upon to undertake duties for which most of them have had no special training. We urge the National Executive Committee to introduce training schemes for their regional organising staff in the techniques of public relations, political education, to mention only two of the additional responsibilities which the staff are being asked to assume.

Scope and Finance

34 On several occasions in recent years attempts have been made to extend the agenda of regional council annual meetings to cover more than regional matters, and to increase the financial resources of the regional councils by increasing the per capita affiliation fee.

35 There cannot be more than one Labour Party determining national and international policy and there should be no difficulty in finding subjects of regional importance to occupy usefully the time of regional annual meetings. We cannot recommend that the scope of regional council agendas should be extended to include other than regional matters. At the same time, we believe that the regional councils by organising special conferences could provide a two-way means of communication between the Party's leadership and its rank and file, not only on current topics, but on future policy also. There is a store of special knowledge and practical experience represented by the regional councils which the National Executive Committee should tap more frequently. To this end the regional councils should be encouraged to undertake studies of subjects of particular concern to them upon which they could offer valuable advice to the National Executive Committee.

36 Without a substantial increase of income nationally, it is probable that the limits of expenditure on regional machinery have been reached, but additional help in the fields of research and publicity may have to be given to Scotland and Wales, but we believe that this can best be given directly from Head Office, rather than by adding to the staffs of the two regions.

Regional Affiliation Fee

37 The per capita fee paid by organisations affiliated to regional councils was not heavy when it was fixed a long time ago and there has been a steady rise in costs since then, but it must be pointed out that since 1947 the National Executive has taken full responsibility for the running of the regional offices, thus relieving regional council funds of a heavy burden. However, we can see no objection to a limited rise in the affiliation fee and recommend that if any regional council wishes it may increase the fee by not more than 50 per cent.

CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTIES AND WARD COMMITTEES

Constituency Labour Parties

38 A Constituency Labour Party exists to further the objects of the Party in the constituency. It is modelled on the Party nationally: it is a federal body with a membership composed of (a) affiliated organisations and (b) individual members; it is governed by a General Committee of delegates representing both types of membership; its most important function is securing representation on local authorities and in the House of Commons.

39 The performance of this function entails the maintenance of machinery for propagating the Party's policies as well as for fighting elections. But members of the Labour Party are not helots; they have the right to share in its management, in the formulation of its policies, both locally and nationally, and the selection of its candidates. Of course, not all members wish to exercise the rights and the obligations of membership, but it is important that they should have the right to do so if they wish, and this demands the preservation of a democratic form of organisation.

40 The structure of a Constituency Labour Party is laid down in the Party Rules. Its area coincides with that of a Parliamentary constituency in a borough; its units are ward committees, whose areas are the same as those of the wards which are the electoral units for the local council; it has an obligation to establish a ward committee in each ward of the constituency, consisting of individual members who live or are registered as electors there. The ward committee is charged with the responsibility of maintaining 'the necessary machinery for elections. . . . ' and of undertaking propaganda work under the direction of the constituency Executive Committee.

Ward Committee Functions

41 A ward committee does not confine itself to these functions. Among other things, jointly with the constituency Executive Committee, it selects the ward candidates for the local council; when it is successful in returning them to the council, it provides a means of communication between them and the people who live in the ward; its delegates to the General Committee keep the ward members in touch with constituency and national matters. It can discuss a wide range of subjects and forward motions on them for consideration by the constituency General Committee, and it can engage in educational and social activities.

42 The rules for county constituencies* make provision for Local Labour Parties to function in Municipal Borough or Urban District Council areas. These parties too are composed of (a) affiliated organisations and (b) individual members, and are governed by a General Committee and the individual members are organised in ward committees just the same as a constituency party. In some county constituencies there are no boroughs or urban districts, and in these the individual members are organised in Polling District Committees and have direct representation on the General Committee of the constituency party.

43 Women members and young members may be organised in women's and youth sections respectively, the activities of which are largely educational and social and which, as well as being sections of the constituency party, are units of the Labour Women's and Young Socialists' national movements. Our recommendations with respect of these two movements are referred to on other pages.

* Out of the 618 constituencies in Great Britain, 287 are county constituencies.

Criticisms of Structure

44 We noted two criticisms of the constitutional structure of constituency parties. One was to the effect that it is too elaborate, and the other was that most of the business conducted at its numerous meetings is so dull that new members are not attracted to participate in running the constituency parties. With respect to the first criticism, there are not a few parties who succeed in keeping ward committees in active operation in every ward; there are more which have a committee functioning in most of the wards but not all of them; and there are some where the membership is so small that no proper ward organisation can exist at all.

45 That some constituency parties have so few members that they cannot organise them into ward committees is no serious reason for abandoning this form of organisation and centralising all activity in the constituency party, as some critics of the present structure have proposed. Centralised activity is quite impracticable in some constituencies and in others it is quite unnecessary. Where a party's active membership is inadequate for successful ward organisation obviously it must manage without, but in our opinion ward committees are the best means of ensuring the democratic management of the party locally and of helping it to keep close contact with the electors.

Training of Officers

46 With respect to the criticism that ward committee meetings often are unattractive, we would point out that this is applicable to any meeting and that whether they are or not depends largely on the chairman and the secretary, who are responsible for arranging the business of the meeting and its conduct. In our Interim Report we emphasised the importance of training these officers for their jobs, and if this were undertaken the conduct of meetings would be greatly improved. Also, we urged constituency parties to arrange political studies and discussions at party meetings, as well as at specially organised schools, conferences and discussion groups. We believe that it is along these lines that local parties will be able to attract and keep members.

47 We do not recommend any changes in the rules for constituency parties. We do realise that there have been far-reaching political and social changes since the structure was decided shortly after the First World War, but the nature of these changes and their significance for a democratic socialist party such as the Labour Party are far beyond the scope of the enquiry we were appointed to undertake.

LABOUR WOMEN'S ORGANISATION

Women Outnumber Men

48 There are more women electors than men and such evidence as there is suggests that since 1945 the Labour Party has not had a majority of the women's votes. It is thus imperative that the Party concerns itself with how to win much more support among women. The political and social position of women has changed radically since the Party's Women's organisation was first established to meet the political needs of the women recently enfranchised by the 1918 Representation of the People Act. That this movement still exists, although not exhibiting the vigour of earlier days, is proof that it continues to satisfy a real need.

49 There are women members as well as men holding the view that women can play a full and equal part with men in the Party and that there is no longer any need for a women's organisation. The number of women members who do not feel the need for an organisation to cater for the special interests of women will grow as more and more women achieve equality with men in the economic and social spheres, but there will always be many women who will still feel that need, especially those who, having devoted themselves to bringing up their families for several years, then seek a new interest outside the home. The variety and strength of other organisations for women demonstrate that many women still do value the opportunity of meeting and working together in organisations of their own.

50 Besides dealing with matters of particular concern to women, our Women's movement does invaluable work for the Party by fund raising, canvassing, engaging in social activities and in many other ways, and we do not believe that the Party could function effectively without this help. At the same time, we believe that the movement's organisation and methods need to be adapted to fit in with the outlook of modern women if it is to attract their support on the scale needed. The Women's movement is not doing this at present because it tends to be too inward looking and narrowly political. That many Labour women are aware that this is the case is shown by local experiments with luncheon and supper clubs, coffee circles and similar groups in recent years.

The Movement's Structure

51 The structure of the movement at present is: Women's Sections, of which there may be more than one in a constituency; and where there are more than one, Constituency Committees in borough constituencies and Federations in county constituencies; Advisory Councils covering more than one constituency; a National Advisory Committee, and a National Annual Conference. This structure was devised to fit in with the structure of the Party at every level, but in fact women's regional organisation was not established when the Party set up its regional councils. As well as enjoying the rights of individual membership, the members of Women's Sections have the right to representation on constituency Executive and General Committees and on Regional Executive Committees and Councils.

52 The basic units of organisation are the Women's Sections. There are nearly 1,500 of them, but their size and scope of activities vary considerably. Many old established Sections find it difficult to attract younger women and so their members become fewer and older, but of course, there are many Sections composed of younger women. The luncheon clubs, supper clubs, the coffee circles mentioned already, and young mothers' and neighbourhood groups bring in many younger women, but these organisations have no formal place in the structure of the Women's movement, or in that of the Party.

A Women's Council

53 We do not recommend the abolition of the Women's Sections, or of the Area Advisory Committees where there is still support for them, but we do recommend the replacement of the Constituency Committees and Federations by a much more representative and effective local co-ordinating body, a Women's Council. A Women's Council could cover a borough with more than one constituency, a single borough constituency, a municipal borough, an urban or a rural district council. They would not be representative of the Women's Sections only, but also would include representatives from the informal organisations associated with the Party, from trade union branches and other affiliated organisations, from ward and polling district committees, and the Labour women members of local authorities.

54 The functions of the Women's Council would be those of co-ordinating the work and activities of its constituent bodies; of initiating special campaigns, educational work and research into local social problems; and in training women for leadership and political work, particularly in the field of local government. So as to be in the mainstream of women's organisations in the area it would associate with bodies such as the local Standing Conference of Women's Organisations.

55 As Area Advisory Councils wither away, there will be an increasing need in each region for a Regional Advisory Committee which can speak on behalf of the Women's movement throughout the region. We recommend the setting up of such bodies to be composed of the women's delegates to the Regional Council Executive, the two regional representatives on the National Advisory Committee and such additional members the Regional Council decides upon, and that the committee be regarded as a Regional Council Committee and the council be responsible for the establishment and the maintenance of the committee.

Two Years' Service

56 There has been a National Advisory Committee since 1951 and it is the duty of this body to advise the National Executive Committee on matters affecting women, including matters of policy as well as internal organisation. At present the National Advisory Committee is composed of two representatives from each region. The representatives are elected for one year, but there is no uniform method of selection. To preserve continuity of service we recommend that in future the representatives be elected for a term of two years

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with the right to re-election, with the exception of the first year when the representative with the second highest vote would serve for only one year, thus allowing half the committee to retire each year; and to secure uniformity of procedure the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee shall be elected through the Women's Council votes weighted according to the women's membership in the area covered.

57 The National Conference of Labour Women provides a platform from which the voice of Britain's Labour women can be heard. The number of delegates attending the Conference in recent years has varied between 400 and 500. In order to secure wider representation and the attendance of more young women we recommend that representation should be increased and that, as an experiment, the National Executive Committee should convene the Conference at weekends instead of during the middle of the week.

58 Representation at the Conference at present is: one delegate from each ward Women's Section; two from each constituency and local party Women's Sections; one from each constituency party which has no Women's Sections and up to 20 delegates from organisations with women members affiliated to the Labour Party.* We recommend that representation in future should be: two delegates from each ward Women's Sections; two from each Women's Council; two from each constituency party which has no Women's Sections; up to 20 from organisations with women members affiliated to the Labour Party; women Labour Members of Parliament and duly endorsed women prospective Parliamentary candidates, in an ex-officio capacity, with the right to speak, but with no right to vote.

59 Because of the interest exhibited by the delegates in the reports on social problems presented to recent Conferences, and the publicity given to them, we recommend that similar reports should be presented in future and that resolutions dealing with the reports shall be specially invited.

60 We regard the recommended developments of the Women's organisations as of such importance as to warrant the women assistant regional organisers making this their highest priority, and we urge the National Executive Committee to produce much more publicity directed at women in an all out effort to win their support for the Party's policies.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS' ORGANISATION

Brings in Recruits

61 Just as there are women members of the Party who see no need for an organisation catering for the special interests of women, so there are young members who see no need for an organisation catering for the special interests of young people. Because of the high proportion of the members of the Young Socialists who were not previously members of the Labour Party, we believe that if there had not been a Young Socialists' organisation most of these would never have joined the Labour Party. And the records show that having joined the Party not a few have come to occupy responsible offices in it. Therefore we recommend that a Young Socialists' organisation should continue to exist.

62 Such an organisation could be either an autonomous body having loose ties with the Party, or, as at present, a body recognised as a section of the Party devoting itself to the needs of its young members. We are doubtful about the practicability of an autonomous political organisation of youth. The membership of any youth movement must be always changing and unless supported from outside almost certainly will collapse. Moreover, political youth organisations are especially vulnerable to infiltration by subversive elements.

63 On the other hand, we see no basic contradiction in an organisation making special provision for its young members, while permitting them to retain their full rights of membership of the parent body and continuing to carry the resulting obligations. This is the foundation upon which the Labour League of Youth and more recently the Young Socialists have been based and we see no reason for any change.

64 We considered a number of proposals which would have changed the title of the

* Special permission was given by the National Executive Committee, and approved by the Annual Conference some years ago, for the N.U.R. Women's Guild and the A.S.L.E. & F. Women's Society to be represented.

organisation, its objects, the organisation of branches and the rule limiting membership to Party members between the ages of 15 and 25, but decided against any such changes, but we did decide that some changes were necessary at area, regional and national levels.

Changes are Recommended

65 There is provision for a regional committee elected at a regional annual conference of branches. The objects of this committee are:

- (a) To advise the Regional Council of the Labour Party on the co-ordination and development of the Labour Party Young Socialists' Branches throughout the region.
- (b) In conjunction with the National and Regional Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the National Committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists:
 - (i) To form Branches of the Labour Party Young Socialists;
 - (ii) to organise recreational, sporting, cultural and educational activities on an area, or a regional basis.

66 We recommend the retention of regional committees, but also recommend that the rules make provision for the number of Young Socialists members on the committee to be not less than six and not more than 12, while continuing the existing provision for three members to be appointed by the regional executive committee and for another to be the regional member of the National Committee of the Young Socialists. Also, we propose that the Young Socialists Regional Annual Conference should be permitted to discuss matters of regional concern peculiar to young people.

67 The Party Conference has agreed that the rules of regional councils shall provide for a member of the Young Socialists to be a member of the regional executive committee. We propose that this now be two members, and that the rules of regional councils be amended further to make provision for constituency parties having a branch, or branches of the Young Socialists to be entitled to appoint an additional delegate, who must be a member of the Young Socialists, to the regional council meeting, and that all voting there be by card vote.

68 The only change we would recommend to the rules for the National Committee of the Young Socialists is that the present rule governing its composition shall be altered so that each of the members composing it shall be elected by the annual conference of branches in his region, instead of by the Labour Party regional executive committee as the rule stands at present.

69 The existing rules of the National Conference of the Young Socialists are as follows:

1. *Convening the Conference.* The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party shall convene a Labour Party Young Socialists' Conference each year, the main purpose of which shall be to discuss the work of The Labour Party Young Socialists.

2. *Composition of Conference.* The National Conference shall be constituted as follows:

- (a) Delegates: One delegate from each Borough Constituency Labour Party, and in county constituencies,* from each Local Labour Party, having branches of The Labour Party Young Socialists.
- (b) Ex-officio members:
 - (i) Members of the National Executive Committee;
 - (ii) Members of the National Committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists who shall not have voting power unless they are also duly appointed delegates.

3. *Conditions for the Appointment of Delegates*

- (a) Delegates must be bona fide members of a Branch of The Labour Party Young Socialists and of the Constituency Labour Party or Local Labour Party appointing them.
- (b) The selection of a delegate to attend the National Conference shall be the responsibility of the Constituency or Local Labour Party concerned, after consultation with the Branch or Branches in the area.
- (c) The Constituency or Local Labour Party appointing a delegate shall be responsible for the delegate's expenses.
- (d) No person shall act as a delegate for more than one organisation.

* Where a constituency is scheduled as a borough constituency but covers more than one local government area, it will be regarded as a county constituency for this purpose.

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- (e) In the event of a duly appointed delegate being elected as a member of the National Committee the organisation responsible for his or her appointment as a delegate may claim authority at subsequent Conferences, during his or her period of office, to appoint an additional delegate.

4. *Conference Agenda and Order of Business.* The Agenda and Order of Business of the Conference shall be as follows:

- (a) Chairman's Address.
- (b) Appointment of Scrutineers and Tellers.
- (c) Addresses of Representatives of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party and fraternal delegates.
- (d) Report of the National Committee of The Labour Party Young Socialists.
- (e) Documents presented by the National Executive Committee after consultation with the National Committee of The Labour Party Young Socialists.
- (f) Resolutions and Amendments thereto, sent in due time dealing with:
 - (i) the work and activities of the Labour Party Young Socialists;
 - (ii) subjects of special concern to Youth.

5. *Time-table of Business.* The time-table of business for the Conference shall be determined by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party in consultation with the National Committee of The Labour Party Young Socialists.

6. *Conference Recommendations.* It shall be the duty of the National Committee of The Labour Party Young Socialists to convey the recommendations of the Conference to the National Executive Committee.

Amendments are Recommended

70 We recommend the following amendments:

Rule 2. Composition of Conference

- (a) Delete section and insert:

'(a) *Delegates:* One delegate from each branch of The Labour Party Young Socialists elected at a properly convened branch meeting.'

- (b) Add new sub-clause: '(iii) Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and duly endorsed prospective Parliamentary candidates who are members of branches of The Labour Party Young Socialists, who shall not have voting power unless they are also duly appointed delegates.'

Rule 3. Conditions for the Appointment of Delegates

- (a) Delete all after 'Young Socialists' in the first line.

- (b) Delete section and insert:

'(b) The selection of a delegate to attend the National Conference shall be the responsibility of the branch of The Labour Party Young Socialists concerned.'

- (c) Delete section and reletter present (d) and (e).

Rule 4. Conference Agenda

Section (f). Add new sub-section '(iii) Subjects of general interest.'

Rule 5. Time-table of Business

Delete and insert:

'The time-table of business for the Conference shall be determined by a Standing Orders Committee which shall comprise two members to be elected at the previous National Conference and two members of the National Committee. The Chairman of the Committee shall be elected by and from members of the Committee.'

Add new Rule 7. Chairman of Conference

'The Chairman of the National Committee shall be the Chairman of the National Conference.'

71 We recommend that Standing Order No. 4 which now requires that resolutions and amendments for the national conference shall be submitted by constituency and local parties should be amended to provide for the submission of resolutions and amendments by branches, which should be decided at properly convened branch meetings, and for administrative convenience we propose that Standing Orders (1) and (2) be amended to allow for two extra weeks for the notice convening the conference to be sent to the branches and for the submission of resolutions.

Give More Control

72 The net effect of all these changes would be to give to the Young Socialists more control

of their own organisation than the Labour Youth movement has ever enjoyed before.

73 Whatever its superstructure the strength of the Young Socialists organisation is in the local branches. The responsibility for forming branches and keeping them in active existence belongs to the local party. Local parties have appointed youth officers to organise Young Socialists branches and to give guidance to their members in the running of the branches. A high proportion of such appointments have not been really effective: a successful youth officer must have an instinctive understanding and sympathy with young people, but he needs also some training in how to handle them.

74 The National Executive Committee for several years has subsidised week-end schools for the training of youth officers. When the scheme for Party political education gets under way we recommend that it should include further provision for the training of youth officers, as well as the training of the Young Socialists themselves to be proficient branch officers.

75 In recent years there has been no officer at Head Office engaged exclusively on youth work. The officer responsible for youth has been the Chief Youth Officer and Assistant National Agent and he has had to devote much of his time to Party work generally. We recommend that as soon as practicable an additional appointment be made of a National Youth Officer who shall devote the whole of his time to the organisation of the Young Socialists and student youth. Such an officer will not have the status of an Assistant National Agent, and at the time of his appointment he will be within the Young Socialists' age group.

76 It is not possible to contemplate at present the appointment of an officer in each region who will devote himself solely to youth work, but we hope that despite the many other duties falling upon Assistant Regional Organisers it will be possible for one of them in each region to give a substantial part of his time to young people upon whom the future of the Party so much depends.

Labour Student Organisation

77 In 1946 the National Executive Committee was responsible for convening a conference which established the National Association of Labour Student Organisations. The objects of this body were to secure support for the principles approved by the Party Conference in the higher educational institutions throughout the country. Membership was open to student Labour organisations which subscribed to the principles and policies of the Labour Party and accepted its constitution. Where there was no affiliated student organisation membership was open to individual members of N.A.L.S.O., and they, too, were required to accept the principles (and the policies) of the Labour Party.

78 Within its constitution N.A.L.S.O. was an autonomous body and although it was not affiliated to the Labour Party the National Executive Committee provided financial and other forms of help to both N.A.L.S.O. and its affiliated clubs and societies. Increasingly in recent years elements became influential which were in opposition to the Party's principles and policies and who wished to alter the purpose for which N.A.L.S.O. was formed. Last year the National Executive Committee decided that it could no longer recognise N.A.L.S.O. and ended the financial agreement with it.

79 We do not recommend that any steps be taken at present to establish a formal national organisation, but we do recommend that the National Executive Committee should convene once or twice a year a meeting of student representatives and others to advise on student affairs.

80 We recommend that the National Executive Committee should continue to give direct help to those clubs loyal to the Labour Party and its principles and policies and to the regional bodies which these clubs have set up. Also, we recommend that local parties be encouraged to appoint liaison officers to work with university or other student Labour clubs within their areas.

ORGANISATION OF TRANSPORT HOUSE

New General Secretary

81 In our Interim Report we made proposals concerning the General Secretaryship which included the appointment of a Deputy Secretary, and these proposals were approved by the

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National Executive Committee on 24 April last. A month earlier Mr. A. L. Williams had reminded the National Executive Committee that he was due to retire as General Secretary at the end of January next, and the National Executive Committee appointed a sub-committee to examine the procedure to be followed in appointing his successor. At the time of writing neither this appointment, nor that of the Deputy Secretary, has been made, and the precise functions of the latter are still to be defined by the National Executive Committee. We are sure that the new General Secretary will wish to have the opportunity of reviewing the work and organisation of the staff and we do not propose to include in this Report any recommendations about the departments at Transport House, except on one aspect of the work of the Press and Publicity Department to which we wish to draw attention.

82 When considering the problems of this department a view was expressed to the effect that the publication of regular periodicals, occasional broadsheets, leaflets, posters and similar printed material, which used to be the chief function of the department, was of little use as a means of propaganda, and that public relations, through the press, radio and television, were what counted now. While not subscribing wholly to this view we cannot deny that the importance of these media has grown tremendously in recent years.

83 That their importance was realised by the Party was shown by the publicity campaign prior to the 1964 general election. The voluntary services of public relations experts were used, a public relations firm was employed in selected regions, and the staff in the department at Transport House was expanded temporarily. All this made it possible to give candidates and constituencies help and advice in their local publicity in a way never previously attempted by the Labour Party.

AROs. as PROs.

84 The pre-1964 election campaign was a special effort, which was possible only because the funds had been accumulated to finance the campaign and because of the willingness of our publicity experts to give so generously of their time. We are very conscious that the Party does not have the necessary resources to maintain such an effort between elections, and not even to employ a public relations officer in each region, which some will regard as a minimum requirement these days. Consequently, we are thrown back on the expediency of imposing further duties on the already overburdened regional organising staff, and we recommend that one of the staff in each region should be selected to undertake public relations duties.

85 Obviously, the organiser selected will not be able to spend his whole time on public relations, but it will be necessary for him to give part of each day to this work. A natural flair for publicity is not sufficient to make a regional public relations officer: some training in the elementary techniques of publicity is needed, and we recommend that there should be an intensive residential training course of a fortnight's duration, followed by frequent weekend courses for those chosen to do this work.

THE HASTINGS AGREEMENT

Sponsoring Parliamentary Candidates

86 At one time there was no limit to the amount that could be paid to a constituency party by an affiliated organisation sponsoring a Parliamentary candidature, nor to the amount that a non-sponsored candidate himself could pay. Some even alleged that organisations and wealthy men were buying seats and there was a widely held view that members who were highly qualified to be candidates, but who were not sponsored, and who could not afford to finance their own candidatures, had little hope of being selected to fight winnable seats.

87 The National Executive Committee in 1933 submitted proposals to the Party Conference held at Hastings that there should be a limit imposed on the amount that an affiliated organisation or individual could pay to a constituency party in support of a candidature. Conference approved these proposals which were embodied in what is known as the Hastings Agreement. The principle of limiting the payment to constituency parties in support of a candidature has continued to be the basic principle of the agreement, although amendments have been made to it on two occasions.

88 The agreement insists (a) that though a constituency party shall *not pay less* than 20 per cent of the actual election expenses; (b) a sponsoring organisation shall *not pay more* than 80 per cent of the maximum* expenses allowed by law, and that this payment shall cover any sum paid to the candidate as personal expenses or to the agent as a fee; (c) and that a sponsoring organisation shall *not pay* annually to a constituency party *more than* ** £350 in a borough constituency and £420 in a county constituency, but where a full-time agent is employed, if these sums are less than 50 per cent of the agent's salary in a borough and less than 60 per cent in a county the sponsoring organisation may pay up to 50 per cent of the salary, but no more.

89 By this latter provision the permitted payments have been kept in line with all the salary increases that have been made since the maximum grants of £350 and £420 were decided upon. In 1957 the financial restrictions imposed upon a non-sponsored candidate were made more severe than those imposed upon a sponsoring organisation: he cannot now pay more than his own personal expenses at an election, and more than an annual payment of £50 to the constituency Party.

Agents' Union Proposals

90 The suggestions made to us by the agents' union would stand the agreement on its head, not only by abolishing the limits on what a sponsoring organisation may pay to a constituency party, but also by *compelling* it to pay not less than the amounts stated. In the case of the annual payment, and where a full-time agent is employed, this would be 70 per cent of the agent's salary, National Insurance, Graduated Pensions, Labour Party Superannuation and Selective Employment Tax, in a borough, and 80 per cent in a county constituency.

91 In the case of a non-sponsored candidate being elected to Parliament, the union proposes that he should pay an annual sum to the constituency party of not less than £250 and not more than £300.

92 Another agents' union proposal is that where a sponsoring organisation makes an annual contribution up to the present limit of £350 or £420 to a constituency party which does not employ a full-time agent, and does not anticipate employing one, its contribution shall be reduced considerably.

93 Presumably, the union's intention is to increase the number of full-time agents, but we are of the opinion that its proposals would be bound to have the opposite effect. Some of the smaller unions now sponsoring candidates would find it impossible to continue, and even some of the bigger unions would not be able to sponsor as many as they do now. The position of the smaller number of agents whose candidates were sponsored certainly would be stabilised, but the agency service as a whole would not benefit. Therefore, we feel compelled to reject the proposals made by the agents' union.

LABOUR PARTY PROPERTIES

94 Because a Labour party is an unincorporated body it cannot own property, but many parties have purchased properties for their own use, and these are held on their behalf by trustees. Sometimes, difficulties arise because trust deeds have not been properly drawn up and even when they have, subsequent changes of trustees have not been properly dealt with. These difficulties can take months and even years to settle and legal costs can be heavy.

95 Parties acquiring property do not always appreciate the difficulties of management: sometimes large capital debts are incurred at the outset, which take a long time to repay, and sometimes large revenue debts are incurred as well. On the other hand, frequently revenue is lost because property is not fully, or properly, used. Even when the property is reasonably well managed on a day-to-day basis, provision is rarely made for the large scale repairs which are likely to be required to keep the property in good order. Rarely is professional advice

* The legal maximum is £450, plus 1½d. per elector, in a borough constituency, and £450, plus 2d. per elector, in a county constituency.

** In April, 1968, of the 151 Members of Parliament whose candidatures were sponsored by organisations, only in the case of 59 did the sponsoring organisations make the maximum contribution of 80 per cent of the legal maximum of election expenses and the maximum annual contribution towards employment of a full-time agent, organisation, registration of electors, etc.

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sought in the purchase and the management of properties and this means that they are rarely properly developed. The formation of a trustee company and a property company were suggested to us as the best means of tackling these problems of property ownership.

96 A trustee company would invite local parties to transfer the legal registration of their properties to it. The parties would continue to manage their properties, but the company would act as trustees for the transferred properties in place of locally appointed trustees, and the terms of the trust deeds would guarantee the future ownership of the property. Such an arrangement would prevent legal problems arising from the appointment and replacement of trustees locally.

97 It seemed to us that this suggestion was a very practical one, consequently, we thought that prompt action was desirable and we referred the matter to the National Executive Committee which is taking steps to establish a trustee company. We recognise that the proposal to form a property company is likely to be a more controversial one because the company would both own and manage the properties transferred to it. The company would not pay for the properties transferred, but would give loan stock in exchange, and would grant leases to the parties on suitable terms.

98 The two companies would be kept separate, but control of both would be in the hands of the National Executive Committee, who would appoint the directors. Party members having knowledge of property management could be invited to serve in this capacity. Parties handing over the properties to the property company, in addition to the loan stock, would benefit by being relieved of the burden of managing the properties, including their maintenance and renovation.

99 The company's income would be derived from rents received from local parties and other tenants, and it would be able to raise money on the security of its properties to pay for the development of existing, and the purchase of, new properties. The main object of the company would be to provide suitable premises for local parties at a cost well within their means, something which few of them now enjoy, even those which own their own properties, and we have no hesitation in recommending the establishment of such a company.

CONCLUSION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This second report concludes two years' work by the Enquiry Committee which was set up by the N.E.C. in November, 1966. Looking back over this period, our main regret is that time did not permit us to have as full discussions and consultations with Party members as we would have wished, though this deficiency has been offset by the six working parties set up by the Committee over the two years. Party members from all sections of the Party served on these working parties, and on these particular subjects the working parties provided a link between the Enquiry Committee and the general membership.

The Enquiry Committee would like to thank all the members of the working parties who produced such excellent reports, and also the many members who were interviewed and gave valuable information to the Committee. Over the two years we have received a steady stream of letters from officers, constituency parties and individual members. All of these have been considered by the Committee, who would like to thank all who took the trouble to assist us in this way. Finally, the Enquiry Committee wish to express their thanks and appreciation to Leonard Williams (then General Secretary) who served the Committee with dedication and efficiency. His experience and knowledge were invaluable to us, and the movement as a whole is in his debt for his selfless work as Secretary of the Committee.

No report can please everybody, but we have honestly tried to examine objectively each issue, trying not to be influenced by current controversies or by balancing left and right, but asking simple basic questions about all aspects of Party organisation, and trying to find answers to the problems which face us today as a political movement.

We hope that our reports will strengthen our Party organisation and that this in turn will contribute towards the continuance of Socialist Government in this country.

William Simpson (Chairman)
Frank Allaun
Alice Bacon
Joe Gormley
Harry Nicholas

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 That the entitlement of constituency parties to additional representation by women delegates at the Annual Party Conference be based upon a women's membership of 1,500 instead of 2,500 and by a Young Socialists' membership of 100 instead of 200. (Para 9.)
- 2 That the five seats of the women's section of the National Executive Committee be abolished, and that the trade unions' section be increased to 15 and the local parties' section to nine seats. (Para 17.)
- 3 That the Northern Home Counties Organising Region be abolished and that its constituencies be returned to the regions to which they belonged previously. (Para 26.)
- 4 That the Peterborough constituency be transferred from the East Midlands Region to the Eastern Region, and that the Westmorland constituency be transferred from the North Western Region to the Northern Region. (Para 27.)
- 5 That the Eastern Regional Office be removed from Ipswich to Cambridge. (Para 30.)
- 6 That an office be opened in Reading from which the Southern Region male assistant regional organiser will work. (Para 30.)
- 7 That the National Executive Committee introduce training schemes in the techniques of public relations, political education, etc., for the regional organising staff. (Para 33.)
- 8 That regional councils may increase the present affiliation fee by not more than 50 per cent. (Para 37.)
- 9 That Women's Councils replace the existing Women's Constituency Committees and Women's Federations. (Para 53.)
- 10 That Regional Women's Councils be formed. (Para 55.)
- 11 That representatives on the National Women's Advisory Committee be elected for a term of two years. (Para 56.)
- 12 That, as an experiment, the National Conference of Labour Women be convened at the week-end instead of during the middle of the week. (Para 57.)
- 13 That representation at this conference be increased from one to two delegates from each Women's Section, and constituency parties without sections, and by two delegates from each Women's Council and that women Labour Members of Parliament and duly endorsed women Parliamentary candidates be permitted to attend in an ex-officio capacity. (Para 58.)
- 14 That reports on social problems be presented to the conference and that resolutions dealing with the subjects of the report be especially invited. (Para 59.)
- 15 That the Young Socialists members of Regional Committees of the Young Socialists be not less than six and not more than 12. In addition to the regional member of the National Committee of the Young Socialists. (Para 66.)
- 16 That the Young Socialists Regional Annual Conferences be permitted to discuss matters of regional concern peculiar to young people. (Para 66.)
- 17 That two members of the Young Socialists instead of one, be members of each Labour Party Regional Executive Committee. (Para 67.)
- 18 That constituency parties having a branch or branches of the Young Socialists be entitled to appoint an additional Young Socialists' delegate to the Annual Meeting of each Regional Council and that all voting there be by card vote. (Para 67.)
- 19 That each of the members of the National Committee be elected by the Regional Annual Conference of branches instead of by the Labour Party Regional Council Executive Committee. (Para 68.)
- 20 That delegates to the Young Socialists' National Conference be elected by the Young Socialists' branches instead of by their local parties. (Para 70.)
- 21 That Labour Members of Parliament and duly endorsed Parliamentary candidates, who are members of the Young Socialists, be permitted to attend the National Conference in an ex-officio capacity. (Para 70.)
- 22 That the business for the National Conference shall be determined by a Standing Orders Committee which shall comprise two members to be elected at the previous National Conference and two members of the National Committee. (Para 70.)
- 23 That the Chairman of the National Committee of the Young Socialists shall be Chairman of the National Conference. (Para 70.)
- 24 That motions for the Agenda of the National Conference shall be submitted by Young Socialists' branches instead of by their local parties. (Para 71.)

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- 25 That the Party's political education scheme should make provision for the training of youth officers and of branch officers. (Para 74.)
- 26 That as soon as practicable a National Youth Officer be appointed. (Para 75.)
- 27 That the National Executive Committee shall convene periodic meetings of student representatives and others to advise on student affairs. (Para 79.)
- 28 That the National Executive Committee continue to give direct help to the clubs and societies in higher educational institutions which are loyal to the Party and its principles and policies, and to the regional organisations which these clubs have established. (Para 80.)
- 29 That local parties appoint liaison officers to work with these clubs and societies. (Para 80.)
- 30 That there be an intensive residential training course of a fortnight's duration, followed by frequent week-end courses of those members of the regional organising staff chosen to undertake public relations work. (Paras 84 and 85.)
- 31 That a Labour Party Property Company be formed. (Para 99.)

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THE LABOUR PARTY

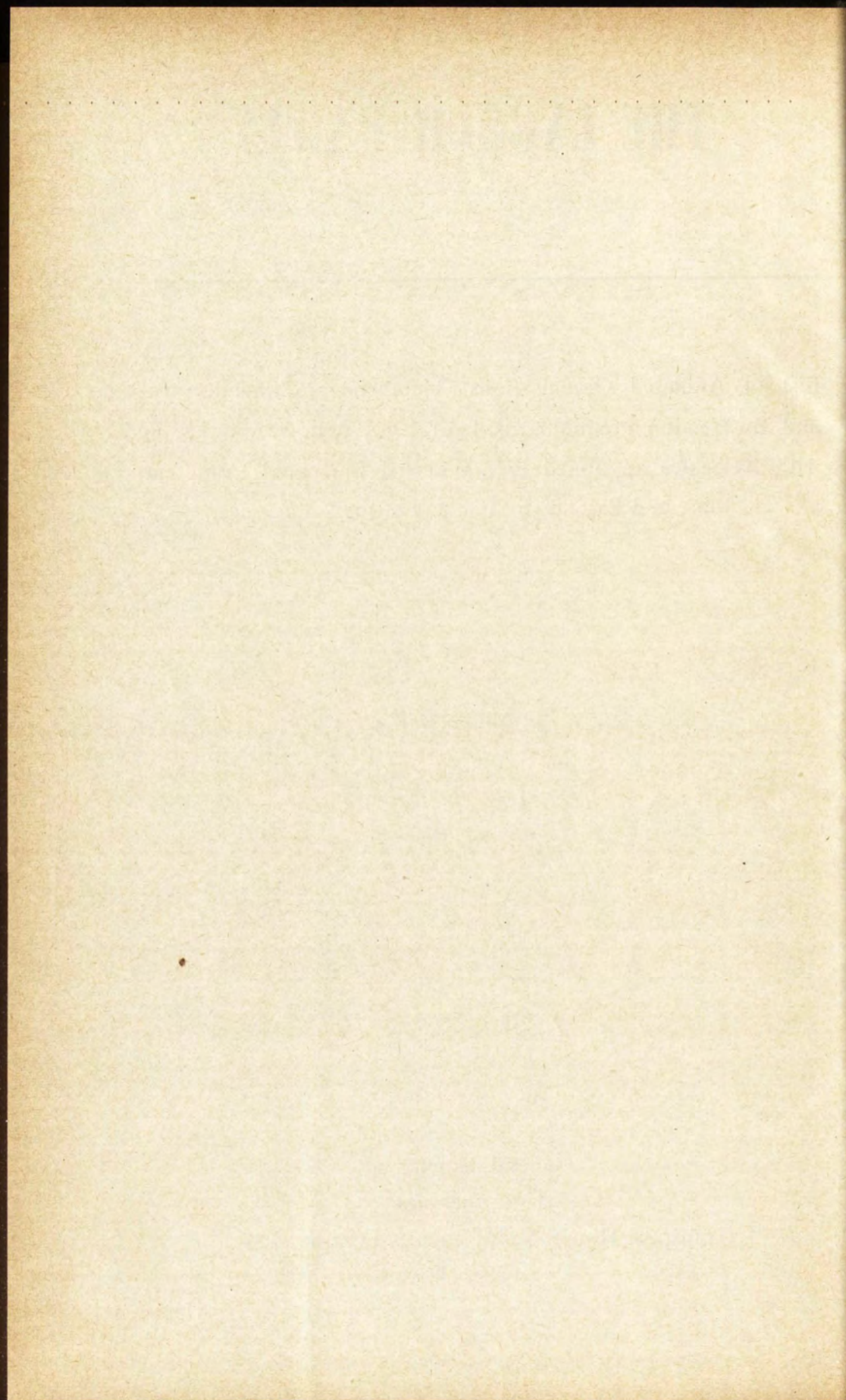
List of Affiliated Organisations, Membership, Affiliation Fees and By-Election Premiums paid for 1967, with Secretaries, and with Delegates appointed to attend the Blackpool Conference, 1968, and Ex-Officio Members of the Conference.

Blackpool, 1968

General Secretary:

H. R. Nicholas

Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1



TRADE UNIONS

Union	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
		£	s.	d.	
Agricultural and Allied Workers, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> Lord Collison D. Hodsdon F. Coffin S. Hayward C. Morris	85,000	4,250	0	0	Lord Collison, C.B.E., Headland House, 308 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1. J. Dodd A. Cottam D. Nagington C. Fox F. Arksey
Bakers' Union, The <i>Delegates:</i> S. Gretton A. Halliday	34,326	1,716	6	0	S. Gretton, 8 Guilford Street, London, W.C.1. G. H. James S. Harty
Bakers and Allied Workers, Scottish Union of <i>Delegates:</i> W. Mowbray	10,001	500	1	0	W. Mowbray, O.B.E., J.P., 127 Ferguson Drive, Glasgow, N.W. G. Robertson
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> J. Barry	14,497	724	17	0	J. Barry, 93 Borough Road West, Middlesbrough, Yorks. H. C. Smith
Blind and Disabled, National League of the <i>Delegate:</i> P. O'Grady	2,615	130	15	0	D. West, 262 Langham Road, London, N.15.
Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers, Amalgamated Society of <i>Delegates:</i> D. McGarvey J. Chalmers J. Demmett J. Hepplewhite A. Chalkey	71,000	3,550	0	0	D. McGarvey, Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2. L. J. Froggatt V. C. Young A. E. Allen J. J. Holleran W. Turner
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> C. J. Hale T. Cheesmond G. F. Browett S. F. Clapham	70,000	3,500	0	0	The Acting General Secretary, The Grange, Earl's Barton, Northampton. R. Gregson T. A. Moore C. J. Herrn
Boot, Shoe and Slipper Operatives, Rossendale Union of <i>Delegate:</i> R. Driver	5,000	250	0	0	R. Driver, J.P., 7 Tenterfield Street, Waterfoot, Rossendale, Lancs.
Building Trades Operatives (Composite Section), National Federation of	2,000	100	0	0	H. J. O. Weaver, Federal House, 190 Cedars Road, London, S.W.4.
Building Trade Workers, Amalgamated Union of <i>Delegates:</i> J. Leonard G. H. Lowthian	70,000	3,500	0	0	G. H. Lowthian, C.B.E., The Builders, Crescent Lane, London, S.W.4. H. Booth J. H. Ward
Carpet Weavers' and Textile Workers' Association, Power Loom <i>Delegate:</i> C. W. Yarsley	4,950	247	10	0	C. S. Yarsley, J.P., Callows Lane, Kidderminster, Worcs.
Carpet Trade and Factory Workers' Union, Scottish	552	27	12	0	J. Deighan, 71 Carlton Place, Glasgow, C.5.
Chemical Workers' Union <i>Delegate:</i> R. Edwards, M.P.	7,000	350	0	0	R. Edwards, M.P., Dalton House, 155 Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.
Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, Association of <i>Delegate:</i> G. H. Elvin	2,500	125	0	0	G. H. Elvin, 2 Soho Square, London, W.1.
Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union <i>Delegates:</i> E. J. Adams D. Howell, M.P. T. Thomas	60,641	3,032	1	0	H. G. Chapman, 22 Worple Road, London, S.W.19. B. A. Bagnari H. Kelsey
Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shot-firers, National Association of <i>Delegates:</i> B. Lindop L. Wormald	27,203	1,360	3	0	J. Crawford, 29-31 Euston Road, London, N.W.1. J. Crawford J. Pattison
Commercial Motormen's Union, Scottish <i>Delegates:</i> A. H. Kitson A. Craib	18,000	900	0	0	A. H. Kitson, J.P., 308 Albert Drive, Glasgow, S.1. Mrs. J. Smith
Construction Engineering Union <i>Delegates:</i> J. Farey J. Hamilton, M.P.	25,746	1,287	6	0	E. Patterson, 140 Lower Marsh, Waterloo, London, S.E.1. E. Patterson

Union	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
		£	s.	d.	
Domestic Appliance and General Metal Workers, National Union of <i>Delegate:</i> W. Sallows	2,500	125	0	0	J. Higham, M.B.E., Imperial Buildings, High Street, Rotherham, Yorks.
Draughtsmen and Allied Technicians' Association <i>Delegates:</i> R. Dickinson G. H. Doughty J. M. Forrester	33,713	1,685	13	0	G. H. Doughty, Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond, Surrey. H. Marks W. E. Winterbottom
Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> W. Greenwood C. J. Delaney C. Armitage J. Park	50,000	2,500	0	0	J. A. Peel, 26 Manningham Lane, Bradford 1, Yorks. L. R. Smith L. Herd J. A. Peel
Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Trades Union <i>Delegates:</i> L. Cannon F. J. Chapple J. McKernan W. B. Blairford E. Hadley T. Breakell D. Sheasby J. Ashfield J. O'Neil W. P. Blair H. H. Gittins E. Hammond	275,000	13,750	0	0	F. J. Chapple, Hayes Court, West Common Road, Hayes, Bromley, Kent. H. J. Bacon D. Chalkley G. Holland F. S. Moyse C. Lovell A. E. Soones F. McGuffie D. Fraser A. Conabeer J. Hughes R. Smith
Engineering and Foundry Workers, Amalgamated Union of <i>Delegates:</i> H. Scanlon J. Conway J. M. Boyd A. L. Hearsey L. F. Edmondson P. Hanley W. John R. W. Wright E. Bell R. M. Tosh R. W. Irvine T. McLaren	786,636	39,331	16	0	J. Conway, 110 Peckham Road, London, S.E.15. R. H. Finnemore J. Griffin H. A. Locke K. E. Darby N. Dinning F. W. Balls A. J. Gould C. E. Arrowsmith A. H. Cross F. Sutton L. Miseldine
Foundry Section <i>Delegates:</i> W. Simpson B. Travis R. Garland	41,720	2,086	0	0	W. Simpson, 164 Chorlton Road, Brooks's Bar, Manchester 16. J. Boswell D. T. Dare W. R. H. Thomas
Engine Attendants' and Firemen's Trade Union, Bolton and District	50	2	10	0	W. Fell, Gate House, Smithills Dean Road, Bolton, Lancs.
Fire Brigades Union <i>Delegates:</i> T. Parry E. Humphries	18,000	900	0	0	T. Parry, O.B.E., 59 Fulham High Street, London, S.W.6. W. Barber
French Polishers' Society, United <i>Delegate:</i> W. C. Clifton	375	18	15	0	W. C. Clifton, 95 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1.
Funeral and Cemetery Workers, National Union of <i>Delegate:</i> D. R. Coates	200	10	0	0	D. R. Coates, 42/44 Wellington Street, London, S.E.18.
Furniture Trade Operatives, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> A. G. Tomkins R. S. Shube	35,000	1,750	0	0	A. G. Tomkins, C.B.E., "Fairfields," Roe Green, London, N.W.9. H. G. Minter F. E. Sweetman
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C. A. Unwin		G. E. Ryan		A. Hammerton
H. E. Hickling		S. G. Lawler		
Gold, Silver & Allied Trades, National Union of	1,288	64	8 0	J. W. Hodgkinson, Kean Chambers, 11 Mappin Street, Sheffield, 1.
National Graphical Association	46,209	2,310	9 0	Messrs. J. M. Bonfield & R. W. Willis, Graphic House, 63-7 Bromham Road, Bedford.
<i>Delegates:</i> F. Simmons		R. Prosser		R. Davis
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F. Keating		A. Mulhearn		E. J. Harnell
D. L. Emmerson				
Graphical and Allied Trades, Society of	69,752	3,487	12 0	Messrs. R. W. Briginshaw and T. J. Smith, Sogat House, 13-16 Borough Road, London, S.E.1.
<i>Delegates:</i> J. A. O. Pointing		C. H. Fulford		O. O'Brien
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F. Reed		D. White		A. E. Powell
E. J. Dawes		A. E. Luck		
Health Service Employees, Confederation of	21,000	1,050	0 0	A. R. Akers, Glen House, High Street, Banstead, Surrey.
<i>Delegates:</i> R. W. Vickerstaff		C. Ambler		J. O'Neill
E. Wilson		A. R. Akers		
Insurance Workers (Prudential Section), National Union of	8,706	435	6 0	E. Lorenz, 91-93 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.
<i>Delegates:</i> E. Lorenz		F. R. Clarke		
Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, British	84,788	4,239	8 0	D. H. Davies, Swinton House, 324 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.
<i>Delegates:</i> D. H. Davies		J. C. Leonard		E. Makepeace
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L. Donne		H. Meckin		A. S. Seed
J. C. Evans		F. Bradley		
Journemen Felt Hatters, Amalgamated Society of	824	41	4 0	H. Walker, 14 Walker Street, Denton, Manchester.
Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers, Society of	9,924	496	4 0	H. G. Bellingham, 54 Doughty Street, London, W.C.1.
<i>Delegates:</i> L. Knapp		B. C. White		
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Associated Society of	11,818	590	18 0	A. E. Griffiths, 9 Arkwright Road, London, N.W.3.
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Metal Mechanics, National Society of	29,080	1,454	0 0	F. Briggs, 70 Lionel Street, Birmingham, 3.
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Mineworkers, National Union of	394,795	19,739	15 0	W. Paynter, 222 Euston Road, London, N.W.1.
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J. B. Commons		A. Hamilton		S. Driver
A. Lee				

Union	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
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Musicians' Union <i>Delegates:</i> T. Anstey	13,000	650	0	0	H. Ratcliffe, 29 Catherine Place, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1. J. Patrick
National Coal Board Labour Staff Association	400	20	0	0	R. Gordon, 20 Pettycur Road, Kinghorn, Fife.
Painters and Decorators, Amalgamated Society of <i>Delegates:</i> A. G. Austin P. H. Duffy	40,820	2,041	0	0	A. G. Austin, 55 South Side, Clapham Common, London, S.W.4. G. J. Senior W. H. Bennett
Patternmakers' Association, United .. <i>Delegates:</i> S. McLaren	10,500	525	0	0	S. McLaren, 15 Cleve Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.6. E. J. Pople
Plasterers, National Association of Operative <i>Delegates:</i> A. Dunne	12,156	607	16	0	A. Dunne, O.B.E., 1016 Harrow Road, Wembley, Middlesex. C. J. Wells
Post Office Engineering Union <i>Delegates:</i> Lord Delacourt-Smith S. C. Rosser R. Barnes G. Hooley	51,000	2,550	0	0	Lord Delacourt-Smith, Greystoke House, Hanger Lane, London, W.5. E. Firth J. G. Bartlett Miss D. C. M. Nolan
Post Office Workers, Union of <i>Delegates:</i> T. Jackson H. Burnett N. Stagg F. W. Moss	173,584	8,679	4	0	T. Jackson, U.P.W. House, Crescent Lane, London, S.W.4. A. D. Reid A. D. Tuffin T. Morrill
Public Employees, National Union of .. <i>Delegates:</i> A. Fisher A. V. Uren H. Brassington E. J. Mew J. Bruce A. G. Bottomley, M.P.	150,000	7,500	0	0	A. Fisher, 8 Aberdeen Terrace, London, S.E.3. F. Bell Mrs. M. Pendry A. W. Brookes J. E. Weston R. J. Cornell E. J. Allen
Railwaymen, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> J. McM. Watt C. Devine D. Shaw S. Welborn P. M. Edwards C. I. Morgan	199,603	9,980	3	0	S. F. Greene, C.B.E., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. S. F. Greene S. Weighell F. Lane L. Ellis G. W. Chambers M. Anglesea
Rubber Workers of Great Britain, United <i>Delegate:</i> T. Grimes	2,000	100	0	0	L. Walsh, J.P., 219 Bury New Road, Whitefield, Manchester.
Scalemakers, National Union of	535	26	15	0	S. W. Parfitt, 2-6 St. John Street, London, E.C.1.
Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (Division 1), Association of <i>Delegates:</i> G. Teesdale R. Goodfellow R. Kerr, M.P.	50,000	2,500	0	0	C. Jenkins, 15 Half Moon Street, London, W.1. C. Jenkins C. Davison
Seamen, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> R. Spruhan W. Brankley	25,000	1,250	0	0	M. Hogarth, Maritime House, Old Town, Clapham, London, S.W.4. J. Watt
Sheet Metal Workers, Copper-Smiths, Heating & Domestic Engineers, National Union of	33,791	1,689	11	0	L. W. Buck, 75-77 West Heath Road, London, N.W.3.
Sheet Metal Workers' Society	4,975	248	15	0	A. E. Cooper, 134 Bromsgrove Street, Birmingham, 5.
Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, Union of <i>Delegates:</i> R. B. Seabrook A. W. Allen J. Phillips J. M. Walker T. Bethell C. Stuart I. Williams E. J. Milne, M.P. G. Craddock, M.P. E. Fernyhough, M.P. H. Boardman, M.P. W. E. Padley, M.P.	307,094	15,354	14	0	A. W. Allen, C.B.E., 188 Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. W. J. Warren J. Brogden T. Cooney N. B. Hughes C. Ashton F. Chater C. H. Tyler W. H. Davis A. Kelly E. Atkinson J. Carroll D. N. Brown
Shuttlemakers, Society of	85	4	5	0	S. Brown, 6 Moysse Avenue, Walshaw, Bury, Lancs.

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Tailors and Garment Workers, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> J. E. Newton L. A. Matthews R. Bateman R. A. Bayman	58,246	2,912	6 0	J. E. Newton, 14 Kensington Square, London, W.8. S. Yeoman G. Browne L. Winteringham
Textile Craftsmen, Yorkshire Society of	420	21	0 0	C. Hall, Textile Hall, Westgate, Bradford, 1, Yorks.
Textile Factory Workers' Association, United <i>Delegates:</i> J. Browning J. Brown F. G. Hague J. Hinchcliffe	76,391	3,819	11 0	J. Milhench, Weavers' Offices, Bartlam Place, Oldham, Lancs. A. Howcroft J. Richardson Lord Wright J. Milhench
Beamers, Twisters and Drawers, Amalgamated Association of	..	..	..	J. Bleackley, 80 St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.
Cotton Spinners and Twiners, Amalgamated Association of Operatives	..	..	..	J. Richardson, 115 Newton Street, Manchester, 1.
Loom Overlookers, General Union of Associations of	..	..	..	A. Howcroft, Derby Chambers, 6 The Rock, Bury, Lancs.
Textile & Allied Workers, National Union of	..	..	..	J. King, 81 Fountain Street, Manchester. M2 2EE.
Textile Warehousemen, Amalgamated	..	..	..	T. Ashe, 6 The Rock, Bury, Lancs.
Warp Dressers' Association	..	..	..	C. W. Doodson, C.B.E., 2a New Brown Street, Nelson, Lancs.
Weavers' Association, Amalgamated	..	..	..	H. C. Kershaw, Chronicle Buildings, 74 Corporation Street, Manchester. M4 2BX.
Textile Workers and Kindred Trades, Amalgamated Society of <i>Delegate:</i> H. Lisle	4,500	225	0 0	H. Lisle, Foxlowe, Market Place, Leek, Staffs.
Theatrical and Kine Employees, National Association of <i>Delegate:</i> Sir T. O'Brien	4,174	208	14 0	Sir T. O'Brien, 20 Bedford Street, London, W.C.2.
Tobacco Workers' Union <i>Delegates:</i> C. A. Butler	8,483	424	3 0	C. A. Butler, 218 Upper Street, London, N.1. A. Betts
Transport and General Workers' Union <i>Delegates:</i> F. Cousins H. R. Nicholas J. L. Jones L. Forden M. J. Donnelly H. Brightmore M. Mountford A. C. Roberts G. H. Ingamells W. J. Curtis L. R. Kealey Miss E. McCullough J. Bennett, M.P. P. Doig, M.P.	1,000,000	50,000	0 0	Rt. Hon. F. Cousins, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. G. Low J. Riding A. J. Corfield M. Neve S. Glasstone H. Lugg B. McGoay K. Robbins F. Owen J. Tucker C. T. Williams T. Park, M.P. D. P. Riley D. Fisher L. Falland A. Hunter G. V. Drew G. A. Merchant J. Watson C. Atlee W. E. Gordon S. Davies N. Willis Miss V. White W. Wilkes H. Crocott
Transport Salaried Staffs' Association <i>Delegates:</i> T. G. Bradley, M.P. A. P. Coldrick W. H. Johnson D. A. Mackenzie S. Cohen	60,123	3,006	3 0	A. P. Coldrick, 10 Melton Street, London, N.W.1. W. M. Bryden Miss R. E. Warman W. Kilpatrick E. Corderoy D. D. Lee R. H. Whitehead H. Kent J. Mills
Vehicle Builders, National Union of <i>Delegates:</i> G. Hawley T. Cobb W. H. Peacey E. Bone	55,102	2,755	2 0	A. Roberts, 44 Hathersage Road, Manchester, 13. G. Wilcox C. Ollerton J. C. Hamill J. Hunter W. Atkins P. Duffy C. E. Smith B. Lamb
Wall Paper Workers' Union <i>Delegate:</i> G. A. Parker	1,400	70	0 0	D. A. McIntosh, 223 Bury New Road, Whitefield, Manchester.
Waterproof Garment Workers' Trade Union <i>Delegate:</i> F. C. Henry	1,050	52	10 0	F. C. Henry, O.B.E., 88a Miller Street, Manchester, 4.

Union	Members	Fees		Secretary and Address
		£	s. d.	
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	110,089	5,504	9 0	G. F. Smith, 9-11 Macaulay Road, London, S.W.4.
<i>Delegates:</i> C. T. Boulter		J. Jones		H. Roberts
W. Crichton		W. J. Martin		J. Rookledge
E. Dale		J. H. Mills		G. F. Smith
D. H. Dixon		E. Morrison		R. M. Unsted
L. Gibbons		C. L. Palmer		H. L. Wilkinson
J. Heapy		S. G. Reading		J. Young
E. V. Hughes		C. Richards		A. Afflick
Wool Sorters' Society, National	500	25	0 0	N. Newton, 40 Little Horton Lane, Bradford, 5, Yorks.

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

Society	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
		£	s.	d.	
Fabian Society <i>Delegate:</i> A. Blenkinsop, M.P.	2,750 ..	137	10	0 ..	Hon. T. Ponsonby, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.
Poale Zion <i>Delegate:</i> S. Goldberg	2,000 ..	100	0	0 ..	S. Goldberg, 2 Bloomsbury Place, London, W.C.1.
Socialist Educational Association <i>Delegate:</i> N. Morris	350 ..	17	10	0 ..	R. G. Wallace, 11 Bessborough Gardens, London, S.W.1.
Socialist Medical Association <i>Delegate:</i> Dr. D. S. Murray	515 ..	25	15	0 ..	Mrs. M. A. Thomas, 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8.
The Society of Labour Lawyers <i>Delegate:</i> A. Lester	375 ..	18	15	0 ..	C. Asher, 9 Kings Bench Walk, London, E.C.4.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

Society	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
		£	s.	d.	
Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society Ltd., Political Purposes Committee <i>Delegates:</i> A. M. Skeffington, M.P. J. W. Andrews	15,200 ..	760	0	0 ..	J. C. Cartwright, 147 Powis Street, London, S.E.18. J. C. Cartwright
					Mrs. H. Smith Mrs. M. I. Kingwell

FEDERATIONS OF LABOUR PARTIES

Federation	Members	Fees			Secretary and Address
		£	s.	d.	
Northern Area Cumberland <i>Delegate:</i> W. J. Connor	1	10	0 ..	Coun. W. J. Connor, 43 Sarsfield Road, Westfield, Workington, Cumberland.
Durham <i>Delegate:</i> Mrs I. Spry.	6	15	0 ..	Coun. E. Weirs, 1 Station Road North, Hetton-le-Hole, Co. Durham.
Southern Counties Hampshire	6	15	0 ..	N. Vann, 69 Leigh Road, Eastleigh, Hants.
Kent <i>Delegate:</i> G. E. Cheeseman	4	10	0 ..	G. E. Cheeseman, 41 Mill Road, Deal, Kent.
Surrey <i>Delegate:</i> Mrs. D. Bellerby	6	15	0 ..	D. Storer, 36a The Broadway, Stoneleigh, Epsom, Surrey.
South-Western Area Cornwall	2	5	0 ..	Miss J. Smith, 'Selon' Voguescloth, Illogan, Redruth, Cornwall.
Wiltshire	2	5	0 ..	T. Cook, 78 Castle Street, Salisbury, Wilts.
Eastern Area Essex <i>Delegate:</i> C. Lynch	4	10	0 ..	Mrs. E. V. Payne, 8 Chantry Way, Billericay, Essex.
Norfolk <i>Delegate:</i> H. Browne	3	0	0 ..	Coun. G. G. Stubbett, 4 Brewery Lane, Wymondham, Norfolk.

<i>Federation</i>		<i>Fees</i>		<i>Secretary and Address</i>
		£	s. d.	
Wales				
Glamorgan	.. .. .	6	15 0	R. Mitchell, 36 South Street, Ynyshir, Rhondda, Glam.
<i>Delegate: R. Mitchell</i>				
Monmouthshire	.. .. .	In arrears		R. Wallace, Dunmore, Oak Street, Abertillery, Mon.
Scotland				
Ayrshire	.. .. .	1	10 0	J. Sillars, 9a Limond's Wynd, Ayr.
<i>Delegate: J. Sillars</i>				
Dunbartonshire	.. .. .	1	10 0	J. MacGowan, C.B.E., J.P., Labour Party Rooms, 86 Dumbarton Road, Clydebank, Dunbartonshire.
Fife	.. .. .	1	10 0	R. Dunn, J.P., 6 Alexandra Street, Dunfermline, Fife.
Lanarkshire	.. .. .	3	0 0	F. Gormill, J.P., 1 School Lane, Allanton, Shotts, Lanarks.
<i>Delegate: P. Cook</i>				
Mid-East Scotland	.. .. .	In arrears		J. Cameron, 4 Ash Bank Road, Dundee, Angus.
North-East Scotland	.. .. .	In arrears		Mrs. G. Johnstone, 26 Glenbervie Road, Torry, Aberdeen.
Renfrewshire	.. .. .	1	10 0	Mrs. J. B. Davidson, Woodholm, Kilmacolm, Renfrewshire.
Stirlingshire	.. .. .	In arrears		D. Chisholm, 47 Bo'ness Road, Grange-mouth, Stirlingshire.
Northern Home Counties				
Bedfordshire	.. .. .	1	10 0	G. V. Doggett, The White Horse, 48 High Street, Stagsden, Bedford.
<i>Delegate: A. Speakman</i>				
Berkshire	.. .. .	2	5 0	N. H. Price, 18 West Drive, Harwell, Didcot, Berks.
<i>Delegate: N. H. Price</i>				
Buckinghamshire	.. .. .	In arrears		W. G. E. Smith, 10 Wingate Walk, Aylesbury, Bucks.
Hertfordshire	.. .. .	3	0 0	H. Fuller, 39 Whitethorn Lane, Letchworth, Herts.
<i>Delegate: W. E. Hughes</i>				
Oxfordshire	.. .. .	4	10 0	Coun. R. Y. Pomfret, High Bank, Wootton, Woodstock, Oxon.
<i>Delegate: C. D. Lindley</i>				

CONSTITUENCY AND BOROUGH LABOUR PARTIES

A. Northern
B. North-West
C. North-East
D. Southern
(a) Affiliation Fees in arrears.

KEY TO INDEX LETTERS REPRESENTING PARTY ORGANISING AREAS
E. London
F. South-West
G. Eastern
H. Wales
(b) By-Election Fees in arrears

J. Scotland
K. Northern Home Counties
L. East Midlands
M. West Midlands
(†) On Account

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees		Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears		
				£ s. d.			
Bedfordshire							
CC	K1 Bedford	500	500	50	0	0	G. Colling, 6a St. Mary's Street, Bedford
CC	K2 Mid Bedfordshire ..	450	550	50	0	0	H. Moseley, 6a St. Mary's Street, Bedford
CC	K3 South Bedfordshire ..	1200	700	95	0	0	M. Redman, 31 High Street North, Dunstable, Beds.
BC	K4 Luton	725	275	50	0	0	A. G. Carter, 3 Union Street, Luton Beds.
Berkshire							
CC	K5 Abingdon	950	500	72	10	0	E. Murphy, 27 High Street, Abingdon, Berks.
CC	K6 Newbury	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. A. Spiller, 6 St. Mary's Road, Newbury, Berks.
CC	K7 Windsor	610	390	50	0	0	J. A. Cracknell, 15 Longleat Gardens, Maidenhead, Berks.
CC	K8 Wokingham	600	400	50	0	0	W. G. Rogers, 12 Valley Crescent, Wokingham, Berks.
BC	K9 Reading	562	558	56	0	0	J. R. Collins, Labour Party Office, 56 Minster Street, Reading, Berks.
Buckinghamshire							
CC	K10 Aylesbury	629	499	56	8	0	W. G. E. Smith, 4 Bierton Road, Aylesbury, Bucks.
CC	K11 Buckingham	974	980	97	14	0	J. Lyons, Labour Hall, Buckingham Road, Bletchley, Bucks.
CC	K12 South Buckinghamshire ..	600	400	50	0	0	R. Everett, Corner Cottage, Jordans, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
CC	K13 Wycombe	740	597	66	17	0	The Secretary, Townfield House, Totteridge Road, High Wycombe, Bucks.
BC	K14 Eton and Slough	625	375	50	0	0	Mrs. P. Solomon, 6 The Grove, Slough, Bucks.
Cambridgeshire							
CC	G15 Cambridgeshire	500	500	50	0	0	J. R. Upshaw, 6 Tower Road, Sawston, Cambridge
BC	G16 Cambridge	500	500	50	0	0	M. Jones, Alex Wood Memorial Hall, Norfolk Street, Cambridge
Cheshire							
CC	B17 Cheadle	939	355	64	14	0	Coun. J. P. E. Howard, 16 Castle Hill, Bredbury, Stockport, Cheshire
CC	B18 Chester	500	500	50	0	0	G. Silvester, 17 Butterbache Road, Huntington, Chester
CC	B19 Crewe	650	350	50	0	0	J. Harrison, 42 Moreton Road, Crewe, Cheshire
CC	B20 Knutsford	750	250	50	0	0	F. P. Youell, Foxwood, Hulme Lane, Lower Peover, Knutsford, Cheshire
CC	B21 Macclesfield	700	300	50	0	0	Mrs. D. Maguire, 30 Swanscoe Avenue, Bollington, Macclesfield, Cheshire
CC	B22 Nantwich	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. J. M. Mellor, Flat 1a, Abbots Way, Winsford, Cheshire
CC	B23 Northwich	600	400	50	0	0	D. D. Jones, 31 Queen Street, Northwich, Cheshire
CC	B24 Runcorn	600	400	50	0	0	M. Taylor, 4 Rose Bank, Lynton, Cheshire
CC	B25 Stalybridge and Hyde ..	700	700	70	0	0	F. Richardson, 7 Sandringham Drive, Dukinfield, Cheshire
CC	B26 Wirral	603	701	65	4	0	H. Townsend, 41 Winchester Avenue, Ellesmere Port, Wirral, Cheshire
BC	B27 Altrincham and Sale ..	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. R. Mee, 243 Manor Avenue, Sale, Cheshire
BP	B28,9 Birkenhead	—	—	10	0	0	J. Harland, 110 Grange Road, Birkenhead, Cheshire
BC	B28 Bebington	500	500	50	0	0	W. Lungley, 255 New Chester Road, New Ferry, Bebington, Cheshire
BC	B29 Birkenhead	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. E. M. Brent, 15 Falcon Road, Birkenhead, Cheshire
BP	B30,1 Stockport	—	—	10	0	0	G. B. Slack, Adelphi Hall, 3 Duke Street, Stockport, Cheshire
BC	B30 Stockport North	677	323	50	0	0	J. Whitehead, 24 Tennyson Road, North Redditch, Stockport, Cheshire
BC	B31 Stockport South	678	322	50	0	0	Mrs. S. F. Robertson, 15 Bowdon House, York Street, Edgeley, Stockport, Cheshire
BC	B32 Wallasey	500	500	50	0	0	W. Edwards, 16 Church Road, Wallasey, Cheshire

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees			Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears	(a)		
				£	s.	d.		
Cornwall								
CC F33	Bodmin	650	350	—	—	—	E. Barrett, 15 Alamein Road, Saltash, Cornwall	M. M. Bath
CC F34	Falmouth and Camborne	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. M. R. Williams, Hayman House, 1 Station Hill, Redruth, Cornwall	
CC F35	North Cornwall	550	450	40	0	0(a)	S. Edwards, 'Shalom', Langdon Cross, Yeolmbridge, Launceston, Cornwall	R. S. Wills
CC F36	St. Ives	550	450	50	0	0	W. A. Carey, Morvah House, Chywoone Hill, Newlyn, Penzance, Cornwall	
CC F37	Truro	700	300	50	0	0	G. Read, 11 Halimote Road, St. Dennis, St. Austell, Cornwall	
Cumberland								
CC A38	Penrith and The Border	650	350	50	0	0	K. Duers, 4 Council Houses, Low Heskett, Carlisle, Cumberland	Mrs. C. Devenney
CC A39	Whitehaven	600	400	50	0	0	J. Eagles, Labour Party Office, 4 Scotch Street, Whitehaven, Cumberland	H. Petrie
CC A40	Workington	774	500	63	14	0	G. S. Taylor, The Labour Club, Falcon Street, Workington, Cumberland	G. G. Wilkinson
BC A41	Carlisle	500	500	50	0	0	R. A. Wilson, 3 Chatsworth Square, Carlisle, Cumberland	I. Burrow
Derbyshire								
CC L42	Belper	854	631	74	5	0	Mrs. L. Woodhall, 3 Straw's Yard, Kilburn, Derby	D. Bookbinder
CC L43	Bolsover	550	450	50	0	0	Coun. C. Thorpe, J.P., 11 Spring Hill, Whitwell, Worksop, Notts.	W. Gaskell
CC B44	High Peak	650	350	50	0	0	W. Fisher, 3 Lees Row, Padfield, Hyde, Cheshire	P. Mulrooney
CC L45	Ilkeston	631	369	50	0	0	T. Cook, 16 Lockton Avenue, Heanor, Derbys., DE7 7EQ	Miss C. Carrington
CC L46	North East Derbyshire	600	400	50	0	0	L. Howson, Quarry Farm, Alton, Chesterfield, Derbys.	E. Feather
CC L47	South East Derbyshire	595	447	52	2	0	J. Beadle, 26 Charnwood Street, Derby	J. Malby
CC L48	West Derbyshire	600	400	50	0	0	S. Borrington, 4 Mountford Avenue, Wirksworth, Derby	Mrs. L. Draper
BC L49	Chesterfield	650	350	50	0	0	D. Webster, 93 Saltergate, Chesterfield, Derbys.	E. M. Barker
BP L50/1	Derby	—	—	—	—	(a) (b)	G. H. Parker, 29 Charnwood Street, Derby	
BC L50	Derby North	625	375	—	—	(a) (b)	G. H. Parker, 29 Charnwood Street, Derby	
BC L51	Derby South	650	350	—	—	(a) (b)	G. H. Parker, 29 Charnwood Street, Derby	
Devonshire								
CC F52	Honiton	500	500	50	0	0	P. G. Shortland, 1 St. Mary's Park, Ottery St. Mary, Devon	
CC F53	North Devon	500	500	20	0	0(a) (b)	S. G. Butland, 58 Victoria Street, Barnstaple, Devon	R. C. Reynolds
CC F54	Tavistock	500	500	50	0	0	G. Draper, 1 Yelverton Terrace, Tavistock, Devon	
CC F55	Tiverton	500	500	50	0	0	Coun. W. Trickey, M.B.E., J.P., The Labour Hall, 18-20 Gold Street, Tiverton, Devon	W. R. Trickey
CC F56	Torrington	500	500	50	0	0	L. J. Mulholland, 2 Gammaton Road, Bideford, Devon	A. Conling
CC F57	Totnes	500	500	50	0	0	L. Lamb, 7 Western Drive, Laurie Estate, Newton Abbot, Devon	W. P. Hutchings
BC F58	Exeter	717	470	59	7	0	E. W. Maydon, 26 Clifton Hill, Exeter, Devon	L. R. K. Hill
BP F59/60	Plymouth	—	—	10	0	0	Mrs. D. E. Drake, 43 Royal Navy Avenue, Keyham, Plymouth, Devon	G. F. Drake
BC F59	Plymouth, Devonport	543	701	62	4	0	R. S. Lemin, 82 Royal Navy Avenue, Keyham, Plymouth, Devon	W. E. Evans
BC F60	Plymouth, Sutton	550	650	60	0	0	A. A. Sweetland, Beaumont Hall, Greenbank Avenue, Plymouth, Devon	R. Thomas
BC F61	Torquay	600	400	50	0	0	Miss H. Glasby, 107 Queensway, Chelston, Torquay, Devon	
Dorset								
CC F62	North Dorset	700	300	50	0	0	E. Amey, Labour Hall, Damory Street, Blandford, Dorset	E. Amey
CC F63	South Dorset	652	509	58	1	0	E. J. Clarke, 195 Abbotsbury Road, Weymouth, Dorset	T. R. Lloyd
CC F64	West Dorset	600	400	50	0	0	S. Balistari, 2 West Walks, Dorchester, Dorset	
BC F65	Poole	600	400	50	0	0	The Secretary, 22 Wimborne Road, Poole, Dorset	J. Skinner
Durham								
CC A66	Bishop Auckland	550	450	50	0	0	D. R. Harburn, 21 Durham Street, Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham	J. G. Keane
CC A67	Blaydon	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. J. Beaty, 3 Northlands, Winlaton, Blaydon-on-Tyne, Co. Durham	C. F. C. Lawson
CC A68	Chester-le-Street	670	870	77	0	0	W. Lewis, 10 Browns Buildings, Barley Mow, Birtley, Co. Durham	E. Wigham
CC A69	Consett	500	500	50	0	0	E. Wigham, 1 Railway Street, Craghead, Stanley, Co. Durham	T. Mullin
CC A70	Durham	600	400	50	0	0	E. Weirs, 1 Station Road North, Hetton-le-Hole, Co. Durham	Mrs. N. Crawford
CC A71	Easington	600	400	50	0	0	F. Alderson, 1 Cranford Terrace, Easington Village, Co. Durham	

CC	A72	Houghton-le-Spring ..	450	550	50	0	0	W. J. McKinley, 91 Whitefield Crescent, Penschaw, Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham	<i>H. Mitchell</i>
CC	A73	North West Durham ..	500	500	50	0	0	Coun. W. Green, 1 Cedar Gardens, Low Mown Meadows, Crook, Co. Durham	<i>L. Furness</i>
CC	A74	Sedgefield ..	500	500	50	0	0	H. Smith, 20 Surtees Terrace, Ferryhill Station, Co. Durham	<i>H. Smith</i>
BC	A75	Darlington ..	535	479	50	14	0	J. Hughes, 9 Victoria Road, Darlington, Co. Durham	<i>J. Hughes</i>
BP	A76/7	Gateshead ..	—	—	10	0	0	W. H. Bramhall, Labour Hall, 7 Walker Terrace, Gateshead, 8, Co. Durham	<i>H. Luxton</i>
BC	A76	Gateshead East ..	500	500	50	0	0	W. H. Bramhall, Labour Hall, 7 Walker Terrace, Gateshead, 8, Co. Durham	<i>F. Johnson</i>
BC	A77	Gateshead West ..	500	500	50	0	0	W. H. Bramhall, Labour Hall, 7 Walker Terrace, Gateshead, 8, Co. Durham	<i>F. X. Henry</i>
BC	A78	Jarrow ..	520	480	50	0	0	T. A. Bamford, 35 Park Road, Jarrow, Co. Durham	<i>S. Robinson</i>
BC	A79	South Shields ..	600	400	50	0	0	J. Grassby, 143 Westoe Road, South Shields, Co. Durham	<i>Mrs. E. Roberts</i>
BC	A80	Stockton-on-Tees ..	500	500	50	0	0	G. McGlurg, 168 Tith Barn Road, Hardwick, Stockton-on-Tees, Co. Durham	<i>D. Cooke</i>
BP	A81/2	Sunderland ..	—	—	10	0	0	M. Quinn, 5 Grange Crescent, Stockton Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham	
BC	A81	Sunderland North ..	500	500	50	0	0	M. Quinn, 5 Grange Crescent, Stockton Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham	
BC	A82	Sunderland South ..	500	500	50	0	0	M. Quinn, 5 Grange Crescent, Stockton Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham	
BC	A83	The Hartlepoons ..	500	500	—	(a)	(b)	Mrs. E. Reed, Labour Victory Hall, Park Road, West Hartlepool, Co. Durham	

Cambridgeshire

CC	G84	Isle of Ely ..	650	350	50	0	0	M. Cleverly, Labour Hall, City Road, March, Cambs.	<i>E. Parsloe</i>
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Essex

CC	G85	Billericay ..	1460	810	113	10	0	E. Batchelor, Co-operative Hall, High Street, Billericay, Essex	<i>J. Potter</i>
CC	G86	Chelmsford ..	600	400	50	0	0	The Secretary, 63 New London Road, Chelmsford, Essex	<i>H. A. Woodcraft</i>
CC	G87	Chigwell ..	700	300	50	0	0	S. Palfreman, 106 Lawton Road, Loughton, Essex	<i>J. Hammond</i>
CC	G88	Colchester ..	500	500	50	0	0	W. P. Alston, Eld Lane Hall, Eld Lane, Colchester, Essex	<i>S. Collins</i>
CC	G89	Epping ..	1360	720	104	0	0	M. A. Gerrard, 15 Buxton Road, Theydon Bois, Essex	<i>M. Lawton</i>
CC	G90	Harwich ..	600	400	50	0	0	W. Dudley White, Crestland Wood, Alresford, Colchester, Essex	<i>J. D. Gibson</i>
CC	G91	Maldon ..	1240	1040	114	0	0	G. H. Catchpole, The Labour Hall, Colingwood Road, Witham, Essex	<i>T. E. N. Driberg, M.P.</i>
CC	G92	Saffron Walden ..	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. A. Gibson, The Labour Hall, Colchester Road, Halstead, Essex	<i>R. Bartlett</i>
CC	G93	South East Essex ..	550	450	50	0	0	Miss M. Grimshaw, 207 High Street, Great Wakering, Southend-on-Sea, Essex	<i>Mrs. J. M. Lynch</i>
CC	G94	Thurrock ..	700	300	50	0	0	J. Cooper, 40 Elm Road, Grays, Essex	<i>D. Nisbett</i>
BC	G95	Barking ..	1004	641	82	5	0	J. Luff, 2 Endeavour Way, Barking, Essex	<i>P. Hartly</i>
BC	G96	Dagenham ..	656	466	56	2	0	H. Kay, Beacontree Hall, Green Lane, Dagenham, Essex	<i>Mrs. D. Jones</i>
BC	G97	East Ham North ..	617	573	59	10	0	W. H. Brown, 232 Shrewsbury Road, London, E.7	<i>E. E. Hennem</i>
BC	G98	East Ham South ..	1191	1037	11	8	0	C. C. Calcott, 2a Gresham Road, East Ham, London, E.6	<i>Mrs. M. Lawes</i>
BC	G99	Hornchurch ..	1473	755	111	8	0	K. Wiblin, 79 Market Place, Romford, Essex	<i>J. C. Taylor</i>
BC	G100	Ilford North ..	700	300	50	0	0	H. J. Greenhill, 224 Fencepiece Road, Hainault, Ilford, Essex	<i>V. C. Rumsey</i>
BC	G101	Ilford South ..	802	431	61	13	0	H. C. Biggs, Central Labour Hall, 298-300 High Road, Ilford, Essex	<i>B. Wallington</i>
BC	G102	Leyton ..	942	565	75	7	0	G. H. Foreman, 70 Grange Park Road, London, E.10	<i>T. Reynolds</i>
BC	G103	Romford ..	1176	699	93	15	0	K. Wiblin, 79 Market Place, Romford, Essex	<i>A. Wiegold</i>
BP	G104/5	Southend ..	—	—	10	0	0	R. Beson, Southend Labour Hall, 49 Alexandra Street, Southend-on-Sea, Essex	<i>T. Ward</i>
BC	G104	Southend East ..	500	500	50	0	0	R. Beson, Southend Labour Hall, 49 Alexandra Street, Southend-on-Sea, Essex	<i>R. Howgego</i>
BC	G105	Southend West ..	600	400	50	0	0	R. Beson, Southend Labour Hall, 49 Alexandra Street, Southend-on-Sea, Essex	<i>T. Quinlan</i>
BC	G106	Walthamstow East ..	765	549	65	14	0	M. Tarling, 342 Hoe Street, London, E.17	<i>C. Roper</i>
BC	G107	Walthamstow West ..	689	629	65	18	0	J. C. Manning, 188 Forest Road, London, E.17	<i>C. Winter</i>
BC	G108	West Ham North ..	1106	773	93	19	0	L. Wood, 43 Dacre Road, London, E.13	<i>F. Dowling</i>
BC	G109	West Ham South ..	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. W. Dunlop, 40 Parker Street, Silvertown, London, E.16	<i>W. Dunlop</i>
BC	G110	Wanstead and Woodford ..	500	500	50	0	0	R. G. Harrison, Sunnycroft, The Green, London, E.11	<i>J. Lewis</i>

Gloucestershire

CC	F111	Cirencester and Tewkesbury ..	650	350	50	0	0	L. G. Godwin, 10 Long Mynd Avenue, Hatherley, Cheltenham, Glos.	<i>L. G. Godwin</i>
CC	F112	South Gloucestershire ..	655	368	51	3	0	T. W. Walker, 19 Forest Edge, Hanham, Bristol	<i>I. W. Bosisto</i>
CC	F113	Stroud ..	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Clements, Far Hill, 37 Cainscross Road, Stroud, Glos.	<i>Mrs. D. Wafer</i>
CC	F114	West Gloucestershire ..	750	250	50	0	0	F. Salamon, Tivoli, Five Acres, Coleford, Glos.	
BP	F115/20	Bristol ..	—	—	30	0	0	G. Easton, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol, 2	<i>G. Easton</i>
BC	F115	Bristol Central ..	500	500	50	0	0	D. J. Bryan, The Co-operative Hall, County Street, Wells Road, Bristol, 4	<i>G. Cole</i>

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees		Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears By-Election	(b) Arrears		
				£ s. d.			
BC F116	Bristol North-East	650	350	50	0	0	P. Howe, 157 Fishponds Road, Eastville, Bristol. B55 6PR
BC F117	Bristol North-West	800	700	75	0	0	J. Whitehead, Co-operative Premises, 345A Southmead Road, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol
BC F118	Bristol South	650	350	50	0	0	E. Short, 122 East Street, Bristol, 3
BC F119	Bristol South-East	600	400	50	0	0	H. E. Rogers, 326A Church Road, St. George, Bristol, 5
BC F120	Bristol West	500	500	50	0	0	S. Notley, 3 Normanton Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8
BC F121	Cheltenham	600	400	50	0	0	A. H. Yates, 67 Clarence Street, Cheltenham, Glos.
BC F122	Gloucester	700	300	50	0	0	F. Davenport, 115 Barton Street, Gloucester
Hampshire							
CC D123	Aldershot	600	400	—	(a)		E. Donnelly, 16 Glen Road, Fleet, Hants.
CC D124	Basingstoke	700	300	50	0	0	J. Chambers, 69 Mullins Close, Basingstoke, Hants.
CC D125	Eastleigh	1500	2000	175	0	0	N. Vann, 69 Leigh Road, Eastleigh, Hants.
CC D126	New Forest	750	250	50	0	0	W. T. Boots, 16 Waltons Avenue, Holbury, Southampton
CC D127	Petersfield	550	450	50	0	0	R. Rowe, 5 Heatherfield, Buriton, Petersfield, Hants.
CC D128	Winchester	1000	—	50	0	0	Mrs. B. Kingsley Williams, Danesacre, Worthy Road, Winchester, Hants.
BP D129/30	Bournemouth	—	—	10	0	0	S. T. Hollinrake, The Labour Hall, Lincoln Avenue, Bournemouth, Hants.
BC D129	Bournemouth East and Christchurch	500	500	—	(a)		S. T. Hollinrake, The Labour Hall, Lincoln Avenue, Bournemouth, Hants.
BC D130	Bournemouth West	500	500	—	(a)		S. T. Hollinrake, The Labour Hall, Lincoln Avenue, Bournemouth, Hants.
BC D131	Gosport and Fareham	500	500	50	0	0	D. Wright, 145 Brockhurst Road, Gosport, Hants.
BP D132/4	Portsmouth	—	—	15	0	0	Miss Stennett-Willson, Unity Hall, St. John's Road, Fratton, Portsmouth, Hants.
BC D132	Portsmouth, Langstone	628	499	56	7	0	N. Hawkin, 254 Laburnum Grove, North End, Portsmouth, Hants.
BC D133	Portsmouth South	709	578	64	7	0	J. L. Bishop, 20 Shore Avenue, Southsea, Hants.
BC D134	Portsmouth West	1096	762	92	18	0	D. G. Hughes, 84 Kingston Crescent, North End, Portsmouth, Hants.
BP D135/6	Southampton	—	—	10	0	0	Ald. H. T. Willcock, 81 Bedford Place, Southampton, Hants.
BC D135	Southampton Itchen	1711	1369	154	0	0	Ald. H. T. Willcock, 81 Bedford Place, Southampton, Hants.
BC D136	Southampton Test	1837	1758	179	15	0	Ald. H. T. Willcock, 81 Bedford Place, Southampton, Hants.
Herefordshire							
CC M137	Hereford	550	450	50	0	0	W. Meale, 46 Chartwell Road, Hereford
CC M138	Leominster	600	400	—	(a) (b)		E. Ponti, Clifton Villa, Woodleigh Road, Ledbury, Herefords.
Hertfordshire							
CC K139	Barnet	838	488	66	6	0	C. J. Grammer, 118a East Barnet Road, New Barnet, Herts.
CC K140	East Hertfordshire	773	444	60	17	0	Coun. D. Clare, Labour Hall, Rye Road, Hoddesdon, Herts.
CC K141	Hemel Hempstead	1190	625	90	15	0	P. A. Jolly, 60 Alexandra Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.
CC K142	Hertford	1127	600	86	7	0	R. E. Brewer, Labour Party Headquarters, Wheatley Road, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
CC K143	Hitchin	1600	970	128	10	0	A. Quinn, 32 Lannock, Letchworth, Herts.
CC K144	St. Albans	550	450	50	0	0	M. Grossmith, 46 Woodstock Road South, St. Albans, Herts.
CC K145	South-West Herts.	1500	700	110	0	0	P. J. Howfield, 33 Middle Furlong, Bushey, Herts.
BC K146	Watford	966	630	79	16	0	D. Maurice, 5 Woodford Road, Watford, Herts.
Huntingdonshire							
CC G147	Huntingdonshire	650	350	50	0	0	Mrs. J. Cruse, J.P., 44 Beech Close, Huntingdon.
Kent							
CC D148	Ashford	500	500	50	0	0	D. E. Madgett, 34a High Street, Ashford, Kent
CC D149	Canterbury	600	400	50	0	0	J. V. Caesar, 19 Nunnery Road, Canterbury, Kent
CC D150	Chislehurst	1448	893	117	1	0	W. J. Gilroy, 121 Main Road, Sidcup, Kent
CC D151	Dartford	1156	785	97	1	0	Miss B. Webb, 99 Kent Road, Dartford, Kent
CC D152	Dover	1135	1120	112	15	0	F. Whitnall, 68 Target Firs, Temple Ewell, Dover, Kent

CC	D153	Faversham	1795	2177	198	12	0
CC	D154	Folkestone and Hythe	500	500	50	0	0
CC	D155	Gravesend	806	773	78	19	0
CC	D156	Isle of Thanet	705	714	70	19	0
CC	D157	Maidstone	596	467	53	3	0
CC	D158	Orpington	600	400	50	0	0
CC	D159	Sevenoaks	564	467	51	11	0
CC	D160	Tonbridge	575	425	50	0	0
BC	D161	Beckenham	661	477	56	18	0
BC	D162	Bexley	1282	824	105	6	0
BC	D163	Bromley	600	400	50	0	0
BC	D164	Erith and Crayford	1340	995	116	15	0
BC	D165	Gillingham	707	664	68	11	0
BC	D166	Rochester and Chatham	979	877	92	16	0

Lancashire

CC	B167	Chorley	600	500	—	—	(a)
CC	B168	Cliethroe	500	500	50	0	(b)
CC	B169	Darwen	600	400	50	0	0
CC	B170	Farnworth	2660	860	176	0	0
CC	B171	Heywood and Royston	689	311	—	—	(a)
CC	B172	Huyton	1368	953	116	1	0
CC	B173	Ince	700	300	50	0	0

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CC	B174	Lancaster	500	500	50	0	0
CC	B175	Middleton and Prestwich	656	409	53	5	0
CC	B176	Morecambe and Lonsdale	500	500	50	0	0
CC	B177	Newton	897	616	75	13	0
CC	B178	North Fylde	500	500	50	0	0
CC	B179	Ormskirk	750	250	50	0	0
CC	B180	South Fylde	500	500	—	—	(a) (b)
CC	B181	Westhoughton	600	400	—	—	(a)
CC	B182	Widnes	1702	725	121	7	0
BC	B183	Accrington	575	425	50	0	0
BC	B184	Ashton-under-Lyne	750	250	50	0	0
BC	B185	Barrow	500	500	50	0	0

BC	B186	Blackburn	600	600	60	0	0
BP	B187/8	Blackpool	—	—	10	0	0
BC	B187	Blackpool North	500	500	50	0	0
BC	B188	Blackpool South	500	500	50	0	0
BP	B189/90	Bolton	—	—	10	0	0
BC	B189	Bolton East	800	600	70	0	0
BC	B190	Bolton West	600	500	55	0	0
BC	B191	Bootle	500	500	50	0	0
BC	B192	Burnley	1000	1000	100	0	0
BC	B193	Bury and Radcliffe	989	693	83	2	0
BC	B194	Crosby	600	400	50	0	0
BC	B195	Eccles	663	534	59	17	0
BC	B196	Leigh	725	275	50	0	0
BP	B197/205	Liverpool	—	—	45	0	0
BC	B197	Liverpool, Edge Hill	600	400	50	0	0
BC	B198	Liverpool, Exchange	555	445	50	0	0
BC	B199	Liverpool, Garston	600	400	—	—	(a) (b)
BC	B200	Liverpool, Kirkdale	500	500	50	0	0
BC	B201	Liverpool, Scotland	580	420	50	0	0
BC	B202	Liverpool, Toxteth	500	500	50	0	0

W. H. Gray, 1 London Road, Sittingbourne, Kent	..... E. Finch
Miss V. Hibbert, 54 East Cliff, Folkestone, Kent	..... R. Wilson
J. Little, 17 Singlewell Road, Gravesend, Kent	..... Mrs. E. Van de Hurste
R. Sankey, 42 Hawley Square, Margate, Kent	..... Mrs. E. M. Boxall
O. Shaw, J.P., East Sutton, Maidstone, Kent	..... A. Wright
C. E. Baker, 25 Tower Road, Orpington, Kent	..... Mrs. P. Kass
J. Wood, Pass Christian, Westerham, Kent	..... G. Lott
A. E. Francis, 51 Forge Road, Southborough, Tunbridge Wells, Kent	..... Miss B. Pedley
Mrs. P. Doe, 87a Park Road, Beckenham, Kent	..... Mrs. V. Davis
J. Pittard, 26 Crook Log, Bexleyheath, Kent	..... K. A. Munro
K. A. Munro, William Morris Hall, Masons Hill, Bromley, Kent	..... D. Enticknap
F. Coates, 315 Bexley Road, Erith, Kent	..... C. Spelman
D. Merrick, The Labour Hall, Beimont Road, Gillingham, Kent	..... Mrs. A. Kerr, M.P.
L. E. Burch, Henderson House, 32 New Road, Rochester, Kent	

W. T. Allen, 7 Ennerdale Close, Leyland, Lancs. PR5 2BE	..... D. Dingwall
H. Doswell, 15 Shaftesbury Avenue, Great Harwood, Blackburn, BB6 7ST	..... J. Riley
Mrs. M. Hargreaves, 34 Hampton Grove, Bury, Lancs.	..... J. King
S. Stout, Emllyn Hall, Emllyn Street, Walkden, Worsley, Manchester	..... P. Bond
E. King, 3 Holland Street, Hursthead, Rochdale, Lancs.	..... J. Lodge
A. Smith, Huyton Labour Club, Woolfall Crescent, Huyton, Liverpool	..... G. Sharkey
P. Bond, Stubshaw Cross Labour Club, 379/81 Bolton Road, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancs.	..... A. Harmer
J. Lodge, 24 Endsleigh Grove, Lancaster	..... H. Heede
Coun. L. Worsley, 38 Aspinall Street, Middleton, Manchester	..... R. Steele
Coun. W. K. Crook, 2 Gloucester Square, Ulverston, Lancs.	..... T. A. Grant
J. Pimblett, Central Labour Party Offices, Earlestown, Newton-le-Willows, Lancs.	..... G. James
H. Heede, 23 Kendal Avenue, Cleveleys, Blackpool, Lancs.	..... W. Panton
Mrs. G. L. Langham, 38 Derby Street, Ormskirk, Lancs.	..... Mrs. B. A. Castle, M.P.,
E. E. Barker, J.P., 66 Walter Avenue, St. Annes, Lytham St. Annes, Lancs.	..... W. Worswick
H. Alvarez, 138 Church Street, Westhoughton, Lancs.	..... D. Owen
Mrs. H. Keane, Labour Hall, Deacon Road, Widnes, Lancs.	..... I. J. Taylor
T. A. Grant, 221 Blackburn Road, Accrington, Lancs.	..... Mrs. M. Riley
H. Taylor, 292 Whitelands Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.	..... Mrs. E. Bocoock
W. Panton, Labour Party Headquarters, 22 Hartington Street, Barrow-in-Furness, Lancs.	..... J. Knight
J. Robinson, 4 Barton Street, Blackburn, Lancs.	..... Mrs. F. Mitchell
A. Lindley, 59 Stainforth Avenue, Bispham, Blackpool, Lancs.	..... A. McGrady
J. Turton, 3 Leaford Avenue, Blackpool, Lancs.	..... M. Noble
Mrs. V. Hargreaves, 47 Norfolk Road, Marton, Blackpool, Lancs.	..... L. Hallows
E. W. Collett, Spinners' Hall, St. George's Road, Bolton, Lancs.	..... O. Brady
J. Walker, 22 Southgrove Avenue, Sharples, Bolton, Lancs.	..... C. Edwards
Mrs. P. Howarth, 29 Mona Street, Halliwell, Bolton, Lancs.	..... F. Roberts
Coun. Miss M. F. Morley, J.P., 30 Watts Lane, Bootle, 20, Lancs.	..... E. Loyden
M. Noble, 162 St. James Street, Burnley, Lancs.	..... Mrs. S. Benson
Miss P. A. Cooper, 147 Cross Lane, Radcliffe, Lancs.	..... J. Parry
Miss B. Brindle, 91 Alexandra Road, Crosby, Liverpool, 23.	
Coun. Mrs. C. D. Rhodes, 1 Grosvenor Road, Eccles, Manchester	
E. Jones, Atherton Labour Club, Tyldesley Road, Atherton, Manchester	
S. Fraser, Transport House, 39 Islington, Liverpool, 3	
G. Henshaw, 20 Quorn Street, Liverpool, 7	
J. Parry, 8a Gerard Crescent, Liverpool, 3	
R. Ludvigsen, 49 Darby Road, Grassendale, Liverpool, 19	
F. Goff, 14 Dorset Road, Liverpool, 6	
F. Marsden, 1b Anfield Court, Anfield Road, Liverpool, 4	
G. Walsh, Labour Party Rooms, 80 North Hill Street, Liverpool, 8	..... L. Williams
	..... T. J. Harrison

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees		Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)		
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears				
				£	s.	d.			
BC	B203	Liverpool, Walton ..	500	500	50	0	0	Miss L. Kirton, J.P., 3 Appleton Road, Liverpool, 4	.....D. Hughes
BC	B204	Liverpool, Wavertree ..	550	450	50	0	0	W. Higginson, 7 Eastham Close, Liverpool, 16	.....K. Stewart
BC	B205	Liverpool, West Derby ..	721	604	66	5	0	K. Stewart, 62 Ballantyne Road, Clubmoor, Liverpool, 13	.....P. L. Pike
BP	B206/14	Manchester ..	—	—	45	0	0	P. L. Pike, A.E.U. Building, 120 Rusholme Road, Manchester, 13	.....A. E. Jones
BC	B206	Manchester, Ardwick ..	550	450	50	0	0	P. Perris, 23 Craston Road, Manchester, 13	.....S. Brooks
BC	B207	Manchester, Blackley ..	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. B. Barlow, 20 Scarborough Street, Manchester, 10	.....J. B. Ogden
BC	B208	Manchester, Cheetham ..	584	660	62	4	0	Coun. J. B. Ogden, 5 Ringley Street, Harpurhey, Manchester, 9	.....T. Thomas
BC	B209	Manchester, Exchange ..	500	500	50	0	0	A. Goldstone, Times Mill, Grimshaw Lane, Middleton, Manchester	.....G. Conquest
BC	B210	Manchester, Gorton ..	940	318	67	18	0	E. W. P. McQueen, J.P., 9 Schools Road, Gorton, Manchester, 18	.....J. Broderick
BC	B211	Manchester, Moss Side ..	650	350	50	0	0	D. Beetham, 33 Chandon Road South, Manchester, 21	.....H. W. Bliss
BC	B212	Manchester, Openshaw ..	500	500	50	0	0	J. Gilmore, 7 Bartlett Street, Openshaw, Manchester, 11	.....S. H. Higgins
BC	B213	Manchester, Withington ..	700	300	50	0	0	C. W. Drew, 82 Avon Road, Levenshulme, Manchester, 19	.....Mrs. S. Healey
BC	B214	Manchester, Wythenshawe	1638	940	128	18	0	F. H. Price, c/o Wythenshawe Labour Club, Greenwood Road, Manchester, 22	.....F. Riley
BC	B215	Nelson and Colne ..	900	550	72	10	0	L. A. Dole, 27 Every Street, Nelson, Lancs.	.....Mrs. M. Hayhurst
BP	B216/7	Oldham ..	—	—	10	0	0	Coun. A. Tweedale, J.P., 133 Yorkshire Street, Oldham, Lancs.	.....F. D. Thornton
BC	B216	Oldham East ..	650	350	—	(a)		Coun. A. Tweedale, J.P., 133 Yorkshire Street, Oldham, Lancs.	
BC	B217	Oldham West ..	650	350	—	(a)		Coun. A. Tweedale, J.P., 133 Yorkshire Street, Oldham, Lancs.	
BP	B218/9	Preston ..	—	—	—	(a) (b)		H. Jackson, Central Labour Hall, Lancaster Road, Preston, Lancs.	
BC	B218	Preston North ..	550	450	50	0	0	M. Atkins, 6 Buttermere Close, Fulwood, Preston, PR2 4BE	.....Mrs. M. Hayhurst
BC	B219	Preston South ..	625	375	50	0	0	F. D. Thornton, 12 Central Avenue, Houghton, Preston, Lancs.	.....F. D. Thornton
BC	B220	Rochdale ..	700	500	60	0	0	The Acting Secretary, 14 Smith Street, Rochdale, Lancs.	
BC	B221	Rossendale ..	658	569	61	7	0	B. Clegg, 8 Clover Street, Bacup, Lancs.	A. Greenwood, M.P., G. Bland
BC	B222	St. Helens ..	600	400	50	0	0	M. E. Hirons, 5/7 Hardshaw Street, St. Helens, Lancs.	.....D. Denson
BP	B223/4	Salford ..	—	—	10	0	0	P. Grimshaw, 29 Worcester Street, Salford, 7, Lancs.	.....P. Grimshaw
BC	B223	Salford East ..	942	1202	107	4	0	R. Marsden, 78 Hulton Street, Salford, 5, Lancs.	.....H. Williams
BC	B224	Salford West ..	1304	1221	126	5	0	P. Duffy, 141 Gerald Road, Salford, 6, Lancs.	.....S. Orme, M.P.
BC	B225	Southport ..	600	400	50	0	0	W. Wilkinson, J.P., 30 Leybourne Avenue, Birkdale, Southport, Lancs.	.....W. Wilkinson
BC	B226	Stretford ..	1050	747	89	17	0	G. E. Griffiths, 10 Lydney Road, Flixton, Urmston, Manchester	.....A. Bailey
BC	B227	Warrington ..	500	500	50	0	0	Coun. J. Phoenix, J.P., 19 Egerton Avenue, Warrington, Lancs.	.....B. S. Arnold
BC	B228	Wigan ..	750	250	50	0	0	F. Simm, 20 King Street, Wigan, Lancs.	.....A. Pratt
Leicestershire									
CC	L229	Bosworth ..	800	250	52	10	0	Mrs. S. Clifford, 75 Hinckley Road, Stoke Golding, Nuneaton, Warwicks.	.....R. Peberdy
CC	L230	Harborough ..	700	300	50	0	0	B. Lee, 26 Marsh Drive, Kibworth Harcourt, Leics.	.....D. Williams
CC	L231	Loughborough ..	750	250	50	0	0	M. Gallagher, Unity House, Fennel Street, Loughborough, Leics.	.....Mrs. E. Price
CC	L232	Melton ..	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Robinson, 18 Highgate Road, Sibley, Leics.	
BP	L233/6	Leicester ..	—	—	20	0	0	R. Delafield, 169 Belgrave Gate, Leicester	.....E. Marston
BC	L233	Leicester North-East ..	600	400	50	0	0	G. Meddings, 59 Ocean Road, Thurnby Lodge, Leicester. LE5 2ER	.....A. J. Wickham
BC	L234	Leicester North-West ..	600	400	50	0	0	E. G. Taylor, 28 Dundonald Road, Leicester	.....R. Trewick
BC	L235	Leicester South-East ..	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Wells, 54 Buxton Street, Leicester	
BC	L236	Leicester South-West ..	600	400	50	0	0	R. Delafield, 169 Belgrave Gate, Leicester	.....R. Picken
Lincolnshire									
CC	L237	Holland-with-Boston ..	620	380	50	0	0	A. G. Townsend, 22 Lansdowne Court, Roman Bank, Spalding, Lincs.	.....R. L. Smith
CC	L238	Grantham ..	600	400	50	0	0	Miss M. Craven, The Westgate Labour Club, Westgate, Grantham, Lincs.	.....W. Bevan
CC	L239	Rutland and Stamford ..	550	450	50	0	0	J. MacGillivray, 20 New Road, Ryhall, Stamford, Lincs.	.....B. E. Gulliver
CC	L240	Brigg ..	691	578	63	9	0	H. O'Hara, Kinsley Labour Hall, Cole Street, Scunthorpe, Lincs.	.....L. H. Hancock
CC	L241	Gainsborough ..	600	400	50	0	0	G. A. Twigger, 299 Lea Road, Gainsborough, Lincs.	.....W. Sternfeld
CC	L242	Horncastle ..	550	450	50	0	0	Mrs. F. M. Handford, 176 Roman Bank, Skegness, Lincs.	.....R. Sackur
CC	L243	Louth ..	500	500	50	0	0	B. West, 11 Kathleen Avenue, Cleethorpes, Lincs.	.....A. Green
BC	L244	Grimby ..	600	400	50	0	0	M. Dolphin, 22/3 Old Market Place, Grimby, Lincs.	.....M. Dolphin
BC	L245	Lincoln ..	746	342	54	8	0	P. Mulligan, Grafton House, Newland, Lincoln	.....K. D. Pompa

London

BP	E246/87	London Labour Party	..	—	—	100	0	0
BC	E246	Barons Court	..	906	771	83	17	0
BC	E247	Battersea North	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E248	Battersea South	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E249	Bernoldsey	..	1300	1000	115	0	0
BC	E250	Bethnal Green	..	650	350	50	0	0
BC	E251	Camberwell, Dulwich	..	1276	807	104	3	0
BC	E252	Camberwell, Peckham	..	655	484	—	(a)	(b)
BC	E253	Chelsea	..	500	500	50	0	0
BC	E254	Cities of London and Westminster	..	599	488	54	7	0
BC	E255	Deptford	..	685	429	55	14	0
BC	E256	Fulham	..	966	633	79	19	0
BC	E257	Greenwich	..	1490	891	119	1	0
BC	E258	Hackney Central	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E259	Hammersmith North	..	677	460	56	17	0
BC	E260	Hampstead	..	886	806	84	12	0
BC	E261	Holborn and St. Pancras South	..	650	550	60	0	0
BC	E262	Islington East	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E263	Islington North	..	500	500	—	(a)	
BC	E264	Islington South West	..	500	500	50	0	0
BC	E265	Kensington North	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E266	Kensington South	..	550	450	50	0	0
BC	E267	Lambeth, Brixton	..	638	472	55	0	0
BC	E268	Lambeth, Norwood	..	399	601	50	0	0
BC	E269	Lambeth, Vauxhall	..	500	500	50	0	0
BC	E270	Lewisham North	..	1282	816	—	(a)	(b)
BC	E271	Lewisham South	..	3034	1556	229	10	0
BC	E272	Lewisham West	..	1208	686	94	14	0
BC	E273	Paddington North	..	682	465	57	7	0
BC	E274	Paddington South	..	500	500	50	0	0
BC	E275	Poplar	..	1400	1400	140	0	0
BC	E276	St. Marylebone	..	500	500	50	0	0
BC	E277	St. Pancras North	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E278	Shoreditch and Finsbury	..	700	300	50	0	0
BC	E279	Southwark	..	680	403	54	3	0
BC	E280	Stepney	..	700	400	55	0	0
BC	E281	Stoke Newington and Hackney North	..	667	467	56	14	0
BC	E282	Wandsworth Central	..	1080	820	20	0	0(a)
BC	E283	Wandsworth, Clapham	..	522	584	55	6	0
BC	E284	Wandsworth, Putney	..	1286	957	112	3	0
BC	E285	Wandsworth, Streatham	..	600	400	50	0	0
BC	E286	Woolwich East	..	2651	1435	204	6	0
BC	E287	Woolwich West	..	3102	2124	261	6	0

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Middlesex

CC	K288	Spelthorne	..	650	600	62	10	0
CC	K289	Uxbridge	..	730	418	57	8	0
BC	K290	Acton	..	859	514	68	13	0
BC	K291	Brentford and Chiswick	..	550	450	50	0	0
BC	K292	Ealing North	..	1300	500	90	0	0
BC	K293	Ealing South	..	580	420	50	0	0
BC	K294	Edmonton	..	750	432	59	2	0
BC	K295	Enfield East	..	600	400	50	0	0

Coun. E. P. Bell, G.L.C., Herbert Morrison House, 195/7 Walworth Road, London, S.E.17
 A. F. Clarke, Robert Owen House, 160 Shepherds Bush Road, London, W.6
 Mrs. D. M. Loftus, 177 Lavender Hill, London, S.W.11
 Mrs. D. M. Loftus, 177 Lavender Hill, London, S.W.11
 J. R. Thomas, 133 Lower Road, London, S.E.16
 H. Bloom, 349 Cambridge Heath Road, London, E.2
 S. F. Dunce, 95 Grove Vale, London, S.E.22
 Miss A. G. Liddle, 41 Camberwell Grove, London, S.E.5
 Miss G. Swanson, 9 Langton Street, London, S.W.10
 R. May, 39 Morpeth Mansions, London, S.W.1
 A. Scutt, 435 New Cross Road, London, S.E.14
 Ald. L. H. Hilliard, C.B.E. 861/3 Fulham Road, London, S.W.6
 J. Austin-Walker, 32 Woolwich Road, Greenwich, London, S.E.10
 E. Millen, 31 Lesbia Road, London, E.5
 F. Ing, 446 Uxbridge Road, London, W.12
 M. Totten, 84c Canfield Gardens, London, N.W.6
 H. W. Bellamy, 8 Camden Road, London, N.W.1
 Mrs. A. Seeley, 111 Petherton Road, London, N.5
 M. O'Halloran, 9 Pemberton Gardens, London, N.19
 R. Mabe, 295 Upper Street, London, N.1
 A. Bates, 92 Ladbroke Grove, London, W.11
 P. L. Anderson, 71 Warwick Gardens, London, W.14
 A. M. M. Douglas, 50 Wiltshire Road, London, S.W.9
 E. A. Lopez, 20 Hurst Street, London, S.E.24
 Ald. Mrs. E. L. Boltz, J.P., 179 Kennington Road, London, S.E.11
 R. Pepper, 61 Lee High Road, London, S.E.13
 C. J. Hillam, 35 Brownhill Road, London, S.E.6
 B. Lake, 43 Sunderland Road, London, S.E.23
 V. E. Carpenter, 39 Chippenham Road, London, W.9
 P. R. Caswell, 15 Westbourne Gardens, London, W.2
 J. R. Searle, 172 East India Dock Road, Poplar, London, E.14
 R. A. Balfe, 11 Wendover Court, Chiltern Street, London, W.1
 Miss D. Gardner, 8 Camden Road, London, N.W.1
 J. R. Braggins, 108 Shepherds Walk, London, N.1
 Coun. Rev. H. W. Hinds, M.A., G.L.C., 148 Walworth Road, London, S.E.17
 Coun. A. S. Dorrell, 1 Troon House, Whitehorse Road, London, E.1
 Coun. H. Freeman, 1 Filey Avenue, London, N.16
 K. Solly, 611 Garratt Lane, London, S.W.18
 P. E. Fedarb, 33 Clapham Park Road, London, S.W.4
 Coun. I. McGarry, 168 Upper Richmond Road, London, S.W.15
 J. Dixon, 89 Nimrod Road, London, S.W.16
 L. D. Stevens, 3 Woolwich New Road, London, S.E.18
 L. D. Stevens, 3 Woolwich New Road, London, S.E.18
 Mrs. F. Niyogi, 62 Dorset Road, Ashford, Middlesex
 T. Ashton, 12 Hercies Road, Hillingdon, Uxbridge, Middx.
 Ald. J. H. High, 16 Church Road, London, W.3
 Mrs. G. Walker, J.P., 98 Chiswick High Road, London, W.4
 I. Davis, Co-operative Hall, 462 Greenford Road, Greenford, Middx.
 Mrs. G. M. Barnes, 57 Baronsmede, London, W.5
 E. C. Pain, 205 Fore Street, London, N.18
 H. Rogers, 3 River Front, Enfield, Middlesex

..... F. Sawbridge
 F. Shaw
 N. Prichard
 J. R. Thomas
 J. Docherty
 P. Cather
 T. Wilson
 C. May
 Mrs. C. L. Cole, J. G. Campbell
 T. Champion
 J. C. Binns
 W. R. E. Evans
 M. Silverman
 A. Souther
 J. Mills
 Mrs. A. Seeley
 D. Turner
 R. Pope
 J. Pratt
 A. M. Douglas
 D. A. N. Jones
 Mrs. E. L. Bo
 W. Holmes
 D. Smith
 K. E. Dickinson
 E. R. Packer
 P. Beasley
 I. Mikardo, M.P., R. A. Balfe
 Edward Rhodes
 K. G. Wilson
 J. McCoid
 A. Fenton
 I. Bing
 P. Ackhurst
 Miss R. Verden
 L. D. Stevens
 D. J. Dean, T. A. Malone
 J. F. Middleton
 A. J. Ainsworth
 Mrs. B. Youngday
 D. Heap
 M. Wallis
 J. Chapple
 F. J. Melvin
 F. Cunneen

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees			Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)	
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears	Arrears			
				£	s.	d.			
BC	K296	Enfield West	600	400	50	0	0	H. Rogers, 3 River Front, Enfield, Middlesex	K. W. Humphrey
BC	K297	Feltham	730	434	58	4	0	H. E. J. Hawkes, 133 Bedford Lane, Feltham, Middlesex	S. A. A. Painter
BC	K298	Finchley	550	450	50	0	0	Mrs. V. Adair, 166 Regent's Park Road, London, N.3	J. R. Foskett
BC	K299	Harrow Central	713	396	55	9	0	H. Poole, 31 Salisbury Road, Harrow, Middlesex	J. Mansfield
BC	K300	Harrow East	882	531	70	13	0	T. Evans, 2 Ashdale Grove, Stanmore, Middlesex	M. B. Cohen
BC	K301	Harrow West	630	370	50	0	0	Miss P. M. Trott, 20 Hereford Gardens, Pinner, Middlesex	Miss P. M. Trott
BC	K302	Hayes and Harlington	600	400	50	0	0	G. Evans, The Labour Hall, Pump Lane, Hayes, Middx.	Mrs. K. Johnson
BC	K303	Hendon North	600	400	50	0	0	E. W. Hill, 10a Rosslyn Mansions, Watling Avenue, Edgware, Middlesex	B. E. McCormack
BC	K304	Hendon South	550	450	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Dunwell, George Richardson House, 7 Sunningfields Road, London, N.W.4	B. Le Maré
BC	K305	Heston and Isleworth	781	642	71	3	0	E. H. Wilson, 20 Heath Road, Hounslow, Middlesex	J. Coveney
BC	K306	Hornsey	762	613	68	15	0	D. Hendry, 28 Barrington Road, London, N.8	T. O'Sullivan
BC	K307	Ruislip-Northwood	600	400	50	0	0	R. Taylor, 216 Long Drive, South Ruislip, Middlesex	A. Blundell
BC	K308	Southall	836	235	53	11	0	Mrs. J. Thrift, Labour Office, 73 The Broadway, Southall, Middlesex	S. S. Gill
BC	K309	Southgate	500	500	50	0	0	I. Thomas, 12 Drayton Gardens, Winchmore Hill, London, N.21	M. Frohnsdorff
BC	K310	Tottenham	600	400	50	0	0	The Hon. Secretary, Trades Hall, 7 Bruce Grove, London, N.17	A. J. Chaplin
BC	K311	Twickenham	550	450	50	0	0	H. Davies, 1 Waverley Avenue, Twickenham, Middx.	Miss H. Schaler
BC	K312	Wembley North	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. H. Unger, 3 Woodford Place, Wembley, Middx.	N. Mikardo
BC	K313	Wembley South	650	350	50	0	0	R. E. Wyatt, Labour Party Offices, New Hall, Union Road, Wembley, Middx.	T. Davies
BC	K314	Willesden East	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. Mrs. L. Lesser, 111 Ashford Court, Ashford Road, London, N.W.2	J. Holtz
BC	K315	Willesden West	650	350	—	—	(a) (b)	J. Buck, 12a Church Road, London, N.W.10	
BC	K316	Wood Green	714	518	61	12	0	G. A. Page, Stirling House, 4 Stuart Crescent, London, N.22	F. Carnell
Norfolk									
CC	G317	Central Norfolk	682	601	64	3	0	D. F. Howe, 25 Magdalen Road, Norwich, Norfolk, NOR 55P	Mrs. O. Haseltine
CC	G318	King's Lynn	750	600	87	10	0	J. Roper, 4 Broad Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk	L. V. Wilkinson
CC	G319	North Norfolk	1000	1000	100	0	0	A. H. Amis, 16 Market Street, North Walsham, Norfolk	Mrs. P. Garwood
CC	G320	South Norfolk	850	662	75	12	0	Coun. G. G. Stubbart, 4 Brewery Lane, Wymondham, Norfolk	Mrs. E. Sporre
CC	G321	South West Norfolk	837	574	70	11	0	B. V. Marjoram, 26 London Street, Swaffham, Norfolk	W. A. Boughen
CC	G322	Yarmouth	915	763	83	18	0	C. Barrows, 21 Euston Road, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk	E. Canham
BP	G323/4	Norwich	—	—	10	0	0	A. V. Clare, 59 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk	A. Clare
BC	G323	Norwich North	1004	1014	100	18	0	A. V. Clare, 59 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk	Miss M. Bale
BC	G324	Norwich South	1192	1245	121	17	0	A. V. Clare, 59 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk	Miss J. Hall
Northamptonshire									
CC	L325	Kettering	1364	676	—	—	(a)	H. Nairn, Trade Union Offices, Club Street, Kettering, Northants.	
CC	L326	Peterborough	550	450	50	0	0	P. A. Coleman, Peterborough Labour Club, Geneva Street, Peterborough	Mrs. P. Hall
CC	L327	South Northants	700	300	50	0	0	F. O. Rowell, Co-op Rooms, Station Road, Long Buckby, Rugby, Warwicks.	S. G. Whitmore
CC	L328	Wellingborough	561	446	50	7	0	R. L. Davis, Strode Road, Wellingborough, Northants.	Mrs. J. Mann
BC	L329	Northampton	500	500	50	0	0	G. W. Attewell, 97 Charles Street, Northampton	H. Dunkley
Northumberland									
CC	A330	Berwick-on-Tweed	500	500	50	0	0	A. E. Short, 19 Ubbanford, Norham, Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland	J. Gilgannon
CC	A331	Hexham	500	500	50	0	0	G. Pitcher, 42 Calvus Drive, Heddon-on-the-Wall, Northumberland	
CC	A332	Morpeth	700	700	70	0	0	A. K. M. Rainbow, 94 Station Road, Ashington, Northumberland	J. Turnbull
BC	A333	Blyth	411	770	59	1	0	P. J. Mortakis, Labour Rooms, Seaforth Street, Blyth, Northumberland	J. E. Collier
BP	A334/7	Newcastle	—	—	20	0	0	Coun. W. Wilson, 13 Victoria Square, Jesmond Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE2 4DD	R. J. W. Scott-Batey
BC	A334	Newcastle Central	300	700	50	0	0	Mrs. I. Birts, 5 Greenfield Place, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE4 6AX	Mrs. I. Birts
BC	A335	Newcastle East	400	600	50	0	(b)	B. Brennan, J.P., Labour Hall, 24 Shields Road, Newcastle upon Tyne, 6	
BC	A336	Newcastle North	500	500	50	0	0	B. Flood, Ferngarth, 12 The Oval, Benton, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE12 9PP	B. J. Flood
BC	A337	Newcastle West	500	500	50	0	0	D. Hodson, C.C., 25 Chadderton Drive, Newcastle upon Tyne, 5	D. Stuart
BC	A338	Tynemouth	600	400	—	—	(a)	Coun. Robinson, Labour Party Office, 44 Alma Place, North Shields, Northumberland	

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BC	A339	Wallsend	550	450	50	0	0	D. F. McCormack, 31 Sycamore Street, Wallsend-on-Tyne, Northumberland	D. B. Hogg
Nottinghamshire									
CC	L340	Ashfield	663	337	50	0	0	Coun. J. C. Booler, 47 Midfield Road, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Nottingham	J. C. Booler
CC	L341	Bassetlaw	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. J. Smy, J.P., 58 Mary Street, Rhodesia, Worksop, Notts.	J. Ashton
CC	L342	Carlton	700	300	50	0	0	D. Cheetham, 8 Second Avenue, Carlton, Nottingham	D. W. Cheetham
CC	L343	Mansfield	600	500	50	0	0	J. T. Pearson, 9 Hammerwood Drive, Warsop, Mansfield, Notts.	M. Banks
CC	L344	Newark	574	782	72	16	0	D. J. Robertson, The Labour Hall, 10 Albert Street, Newark, Notts.	
CC	L345	Rushcliffe	500	500	—	—	(a) (b)	C. E. Hartshorne, 154 Wollaton Road, Beeston, Nottingham	
BP	L346/9	Nottingham	—	—	20	0	0	Mrs. N. Bailey, 46 Teesdale Road, Nottingham, NG5 1DB	J. Bird
BC	L346	Nottingham Central	550	450	50	0	0	L. Maynard, 4 Arthur Street, Nottingham, NG7 40W	E. Pate
BC	L347	Nottingham North	700	300	50	0	0	J. Hunt, 4 Petworth Drive, Heathfield Estate, Nottingham	S. Gibbons
BC	L348	Nottingham South	700	300	50	0	0	S. Gibbons, 33 Grazingfield, Wilford, Nottingham	T. Harby
BC	L349	Nottingham West	600	400	50	0	0	The Secretary, c/o The Labour Party, 542 Woodborough Road, Nottingham	
Oxfordshire									
CC	K350	Banbury	600	400	50	0	0	J. R. Hodgkins, Rooms 4 and 6, 19 North Bar, Banbury, Oxon.	A. C. Booth
CC	K351	Henley	603	417	51	0	0	E. J. Brooker, 2 Co-op Flat, Market Place, Watlington, Oxford	Mrs. S. Freeborn
BC	K352	Oxford	755	492	62	7	0	H. B. Cole, 46 Cowley Road, Oxford	Mrs. M. McCarthy
Shropshire									
CC	M353	Ludlow	700	300	—	—	(a) (b)	R. H. Rickards, 3 Whitbread Road, Ludlow, Salop.	T. H. Jones
CC	M354	Oswestry	550	450	50	0	0	J. James, 15 Drenegydd, Park Hall, Oswestry, Salop.	J. G. Ball
CC	M355	Shrewsbury	600	400	50	0	0	J. G. Ball, M.B.E., Morris Hall, Bellstone, Shrewsbury, Salop.	Mrs. G. Morgan
CC	M356	Wrekin	859	587	72	6	0	L. Jones, 8 Dee Close, Dothill, Wellington, Salop.	
Somersetshire									
CC	F357	Bridgwater	656	357	50	13	0	Coun. F. Phillips, Unity House, Dampiet Street, Bridgwater, Som.	G. Smith
CC	F358	North Somerset	700	700	70	0	0(b)	R. J. Parry, 22a Wells Road, Radstock, Bath, Som., BA3 3RH	P. Comrie
CC	F359	Taunton	772	727	74	19	0	L. C. N. Hardy, 24 East Reach, Taunton, Som.	Mrs. J. Milroy
CC	F360	Wells	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. J. Milroy, Orchard House, Compton Road, Shepton Mallet, Som.	T. A. G. Davis
CC	F361	Weston-super-Mare	500	500	50	0	0	J. R. Blizzard, 19 Shelley Road, Weston-super-Mare, Som.	R. Miles
CC	F362	Yeovil	600	400	50	0	0	L. J. A. Deacon, 67 Combe Park, Yeovil, Som.	
BC	F363	Bath	550	450	50	0	0	P. J. Howarth, Century House, 4 Pierrepont Street, Bath, Som.	
Staffordshire									
CC	M364	Brierley Hill	600	400	50	0	0	Dr. R. Kenchington, 5a Moss Grove, Kingswinford, Brierley Hill, Staffs.	A. J. Royle
CC	M365	Burton-on-Trent	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. P. Hancox, Labour Party Office, 343 Shobnall Street, Burton-on-Trent, Staffs.	T. Hancox
CC	M366	Cannock	500	500	50	0	0	Coun. R. Inley, 6 Hallcourt Crescent, Cannock, Staffs.	Miss J. Lee, M.P., J. O'Leary
CC	M367	Leek	600	400	50	0	0	I. P. Peake, 15 Westwood Grove, Leek, Staffs.	I. P. Peake
CC	M368	Lichfield and Tamworth	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. W. Shewan, 70 Wigginton Road, Tamworth, Staffs.	G. W. Newman
CC	M369	Stafford and Stone	600	400	—	—	(a)	Mrs. N. R. Benzie, 88 Weeping Cross, Stafford	S. Martin
BC	M370	Bilston	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. Mrs. M. Pointon, 5 Ettingshall Road, Colesey, Bilston, Staffs.	E. H. Beet
BC	M371	Newcastle-under-Lyme	800	200	50	0	0	J. Brennan, 18 Greenside, Newcastle, Staffs.	G. Shaw
BC	M372	Rowley Regis and Tipton	500	500	50	0	0	K. C. Saunders, 32 Wellington Road, Park Estate, Tipton, Staffs.	A. Tuhey
BC	M373	Smethwick	650	350	—	—	(a)	Mrs. F. M. Westwood, 54 Green Street, Smethwick, Warley, Worcs.	G. L. Barber
BP	M374/6	Stoke City	—	—	15	0	0	A. L. Ballham, 21 Wenger Crescent, Trentham, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.	R. W. E. Wilkinson
BC	M374	Stoke-on-Trent Central	500	500	50	0	0	H. Smallwood, 274 Etruria Vale Road, Etruria, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.	D. Dalton
BC	M375	Stoke-on-Trent North	650	350	50	0	0	The Secretary, 45 Farndale Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.	W. Westwood
BC	M376	Stoke-on-Trent South	560	440	50	0	0	Coun. Mrs. M. Dash, 5 Swanton Place, Trentham, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.	J. Coyne
BC	M377	Walsall North	700	300	—	—	(a)	J. W. Withnall, 21 Somerfield Road, Bloxwich, Walsall, Staffs.	
BC	M378	Walsall South	800	200	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Hadley, 13 Aldis Road, Pleck, Walsall, Staffs.	
BC	M379	Wednesbury	1000	500	75	0	0	S. Jones, Arundell House, Church Hill, Wednesbury, Staffs.	
BC	M380	West Bromwich	700	300	50	0	0	Dr. H. Roy, Springfield House, Sandwell Road, West Bromwich, Staffs.	
BC	M381	Wolverhampton North	—	—	—	—	—	J. Bird, 5 Giffard Road, Bushbury, Wolverhampton, Staffs.	A. Burrows
		East	750	250	50	0	0		
BC	M382	Wolverhampton South	—	—	—	—	—	R. Reynolds, 5 Stanford Road, Blakenhall, Wolverhampton, Staffs.	A. Garner
		West	550	450	50	0	0		

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		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears			
				£	s. d.			
Suffolk								
CC G383	Bury St. Edmunds	1504	951	124	15	0	B. A. Young, Lansbury House, Crown Street, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk	A. Dale
CC G384	Eye	1268	1148	120	16	0	J. Campbell, 46a Bury Street, Stowmarket, Suffolk	A. Dunn
CC G385	Lowestoft	1000	1300	115	0	0	Ald. D. G. Durrant, Labour Party Offices, 79 St. Peter's Street, Lowestoft, Suffolk	W. J. Adams
CC G386	Sudbury and Woodbridge	1077	963	102	0	0	R. Risebrow, 33 Lower Brook Street, Ipswich, Suffolk	F. C. Shinn
BC G387	Ipswich	579	440	50	19	0	R. A. Bates, 14-16 Upper Brook Street, Ipswich, Suffolk	Mrs. P. Stocks
Surrey								
CC D388	Carshalton	624	424	52	8	0	C. L. Crooks, 136 Preston Lane, Tadworth, Surrey	A. V. Dawson
CC D389	Chertsey	700	300	50	0	0	Mrs. D. R. Weight, 22 Clarence Street, Egham, Surrey	C. Slater
CC D390	Dorking	552	503	52	15	0	W. J. Walsh, 83 South Street, Dorking, Surrey	M. Reardon
CC D391	East Surrey	600	400	50	0	0	E. R. Tigg, 13 The Bridle Road, Purley, Surrey	M. Christie
CC D392	Epsom	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. C. Kay, 43 Highfield Drive, Ewell, Surrey	J. Palmer
CC D393	Esher	800	400	60	0	0	P. Osborne, 6 Hotham Close, Hurst Road, West Molesey, East Molesey, Surrey	R. O'Connor
CC D394	Farnham	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. E. Denningberg, 145 Ockford Ridge, Godalming, Surrey	R. Hayward
CC D395	Guildford	541	470	50	11	0	B. Bellerby, The Grange, Grange Road, Guildford, Surrey	H. Smith
CC D396	Reigate	1165	785	98	0	0	D. Bettie, 164 Garlands Road, Redhill, Surrey	Mrs. A. Watson
CC D397	Woking	700	300	50	0	0	Miss M. Meer, 15 Chertsey Road, Byfleet, Weybridge, Surrey	T. E. Sharp
BC D398	Croydon North East	650	350	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Johnson, 104 Portland Road, London, S.E.25	F. A. Messer
BC D399	Croydon North West	575	425	50	0	0	S. Boden, 5 Queens Court, Church Road, London, S.E.19	Mrs. N. Evans
BC D400	Croydon South	900	800	85	0	0	S. Z. Shah, 24 Oakfield Road, Croydon, Surrey	P. L. Cheney
BC D401	Kingston-on-Thames	1000	367	68	7	0	T. E. R. Griffin, 18 Long Walk, New Malden, Surrey	W. E. R. Haddock
BC D402	Merton and Morden	1500	750	112	10	0	J. Heardeley Walker, 1 Crown Road, Morden, Surrey	T. Harri
BC D403	Mitcham	1168	717	94	5	0	H. Shindler, 484 London Road, Mitcham, Surrey	Mrs. W. Johnson
BC D404	Richmond	525	475	50	0	0	Mrs. J. Mostyn, 100 Castelnau, London, S.W.13	
BC D405	Surbiton	1178	860	101	18	0	P. R. Coysh, Ellerton Hall, Ellerton Road, Surbiton, Surrey	
BC D406	Sutton and Cheam	585	418	50	3	0	S. C. Terry, 123 Morden Way, Sutton, Surrey	
BC D407	Wimbledon	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. M. E. Chadwick, 112 Queens Road, London, S.W.19	
Sussex								
CC D408	Eastbourne	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. L. J. Caine, 283 Seaside, Eastbourne, Sussex	F. A. Pope
CC D409	East Grinstead	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. J. Husbands, 24 Greenways, Haywards Heath, Sussex	Mrs. J. M. Husbands
CC D410	Lewes	650	350	50	0	0	Coun. G. Burfield, 12 The Course, Lewes, Sussex	J. Leather
CC D411	Rye	500	500	50	0	0	W. J. Loader, 33 Beaconsfield Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex	A. S. J. Stevens
BP D412/3	Brighton	—	—	10	0	0	D. Ranger, 85 London Road, Brighton, 1, Sussex	G. Humphrey
BC D412	Brighton, Kemptown	770	546	65	16	0	W. J. Clarke, 179 Lewes Road, Brighton, 7, Sussex. BN2.3LD.	R. Apps
BC D413	Brighton Pavilion	550	450	50	0	0	F. E. Spicer, 27 Baronscraig Avenue, Brighton, Sussex. BN1 8RF	T. C. Skeffington-Lodge
BC D414	Hastings	600	400	50	0	0	R. A. Wallis, 25 Wellington Square, Hastings, Sussex	D. C. Perry
BC D415	Hove	550	450	20	0	0(a)	S. Burridge, 26 Hove Park Villas, Hove, Sussex. BN3 6HG	Mrs. M. Colquhoun
CC D416	Arundel and Shoreham	550	450	50	0	0	Coun. Mrs. M. Colquhoun, 16 Kings Walk, Shoreham-by-Sea, Sussex	R. Turner
CC D417	Chichester	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. L. Linn, William Morris House, 11 St. John's Street, Chichester, Sussex	G. E. Waller
CC D418	Horsham	824	383	60	7	0	G. E. Waller, Tyneside, Ifield Road, West Green, Crawley, Sussex	Mrs. M. A. Crane
BC D419	Worthing	500	500	50	0	0	Miss D. Cole, 71 Southfield Road, Worthing, Sussex	
Warwickshire								
CC M420	Meriden	630	370	50	0	0	Mrs. E. E. Blower, 105 Long Street, Atherstone, Warwick.	T. Hayes
CC M421	Nuneaton	500	500	50	0	0	A. H. Allen, 3rd Floor, Westminster Bank Chambers, 25 Market Place, Nuneaton, Warwick.	G. Fitzgerald
CC M422	Rugby	500	500	—	(a)	(b)	J. Watkinson, 7 Horton Crescent, Rugby, Warwick.	S. Overy
CC M423	Solihull	700	300	50	0	0	Mrs. S. Crimp, 8 Ravenscroft Road, Olton, Solihull, Warwick.	Mrs. K. Powell
CC M424	Stratford-on-Avon	550	450	—	(a)		E. Wainwright, 17 Lodge Road, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick.	D. Mumford
CC M425	Warwick and Leamington	700	350	52	10	0	Mrs. K. Powell, 25 Remburn Gardens, Warwick	
BP M426/38	Birmingham	—	—	65	0	0	W. G. White, Cornwall House, 31 Lionel Street, Birmingham, 3	

BC	M426	Birmingham All Saints	500	500	—	(a)	J. Bamfield, 30 Pattison Gardens, Erdington, Birmingham, 23	T. Price	
BC	M427	Birmingham, Aston	800	300	55	0	A. Groves, 6 Milverton Road, Birmingham, 23		
BC	M428	Birmingham, Edgbaston	650	350	50	0	A. R. Roulstone, 4 Lordswood Square, Lordswood Road, Harborne, Birmingham, 17	Mrs. E. Yapp	
BC	M429	Birmingham, Hall Green	500	500	50	0	Miss D. S. Bradley, 533 Fox Hollies Road, Birmingham, 28	F. Locke	
BC	M430	Birmingham, Handsworth	700	300	50	0	Mrs. M. Osborne, 36 Dunsink Road, Birmingham, 6	R. Gregory	
BC	M431	Birmingham, Ladywood	600	400	50	0	A. Benton, 182 Baltimore Road, Birmingham, 22	R. Thrupp	
BC	M432	Birmingham, Northfield	717	416	56	13	J. M. Pearson, 23 The Green, King's Norton, Birmingham, 30	J. M. Pearson	
BC	M433	Birmingham, Perry Barr	625	375	50	0	G. Saunders, 8 Endhill Road, Kingstanding, Birmingham, 22C		
BC	M434	Birmingham, Selly Oak	600	400	50	0	Mrs. T. Stewart, 15 Selly Wick Road, Birmingham, 29	W. R. Morry	
BC	M435	Birmingham, Small Heath	600	400	50	0	J. Llewellyn, 36 Dora Road, Small Heath, Birmingham, 10	J. Davies	
BC	M436	Birmingham, Sparkbrook	650	350	50	0	Coun. W. H. Raybone, 16 Westfield Road, Birmingham, 27	F. Carter	
BC	M437	Birmingham, Stechford	600	400	50	0	D. P. Brennan, 33 Fowey Road, Birmingham, 34	Mrs. D. Brunson	
BC	M438	Birmingham, Yardley	803	454	62	17	R. Mason, 17 Pitfield Road, Tile Cross, Birmingham, 33	A. Taylor	
BP	M439/41	Coventry	—	—	15	0	G. Daly, 30 Coundon Road, Coventry, Warwick.	G. M. Park	
BC	M439	Coventry East	650	350	50	0	A. Rose, 433 Beake Avenue, Coventry, Warwick.	J. Cunningham	
BC	M440	Coventry North	700	300	—	(a)	A. T. Bachelor, 343 Beake Avenue, Coventry, Warwick.	D. Laws	
BC	M441	Coventry South	700	300	50	0	G. Daly, 128 Tile Hill Lane, Coventry, Warwick.	W. T. Grant	
BC	M442	Sutton Coldfield	500	500	50	0	J. Merriman, 391 Lichfield Road, Sutton Coldfield, Warwick.		
Westmorland									
CC	B443	Westmorland	500	500	50	0	Mrs. O. Phillipson, 68 Peat Lane, Kendal, Westmorland	Mrs. O. Phillipson	
Isle of Wight									
CC	D444	Isle of Wight	500	500	50	0	T. Godfrey, Labour Hall, Lügley Street, Newport, Isle of Wight	R. S. Steele	
Wiltshire									
CC	F445	Chippenham	600	400	50	0	E. Whiting, 1 The Hyde, Purton, Swindon, Wilts.	D. J. Cleverly	
CC	F446	Devizes	693	553	62	6	W. Francis, 9 Oxford Street, Marlborough, Wilts.	W. A. Rees	
CC	F447	Salisbury	600	400	50	0	T. D. W. Cook, 78 Castle Street, Salisbury, Wilts.	C. Johnson	
CC	F448	Westbury	587	480	53	7	J. F. W. Selway, Labour Party Office, Trades and Labour Club, Trowbridge, Wilts.	B. Gray	
BC	F449	Swindon	650	350	50	0	P. Cunnington, 28 Milton Road, Swindon, Wilts.	A. Roberts	
Worcestershire									
CC	M450	Bromsgrove	700	380	54	0	R. J. W. Pinfold, Bromsgrove Labour Club, 174 Worcester Road, Bromsgrove, Worcs.	P. Casell	
CC	M451	Kidderminster	600	400	50	0	H. Lewis, 49 Lowe Lane, Kidderminster, Worcs.	H. Lewis	
CC	M452	South Worcestershire	550	450	—	(a)	R. Read, 201 Guarlford Road, Malvern, Worcs.	M. Roberts	
BC	M453	Dudley	700	300	50	0	Mrs. E. Welch J.P., 32 Dingle Close, Dudley, Worcs.	M. Buckley	
BC	M454	Oldbury and Halesowen	1254	659	90	13	Mrs. M. Gunn, J.P., 29 Tittford Road, Langley, Oldbury, Birmingham	S. Legge	
BC	M455	Worcester	600	400	50	0	A. Farmer, 19 New Street, Worcester		
Yorkshire, East Riding									
CC	C456	Bridlington	500	500	50	0	T. R. Ellis, 32 Prince's Avenue, Hedon, Hull, Yorks.	S. Schofield	
CC	C457	Haltemprice	550	450	50	0	N. B. Dickinson, Eastholme, East Street, Leven, Hull, Yorks.	L. Cross	
CC	C458	Howden	500	500	50	0	Mrs. A. Robinson, 10 Manor Drive, Dunnington, York	T. Hanson	
BP	C459/461	Hull	—	—	15	0	F. Hall, 66 Wright Street, Hull, Yorks.	Mrs. H. Collinson	
BC	C459	Hull East	600	400	50	0	Coun. Mrs. P. Clarke, 69 Village Road, Garden Village, Hull, Yorks.	D. Brown	
BC	C460	Hull North	500	500	50	0	J. Medforth, 6 Ainslaw, Orchard Park Estate, Hull, Yorks.	W. Smith	
BC	C461	Hull West	600	400	50	0	Ald. W. E. Body, C.B.E., 810 Hessele Road, Hull, Yorks.	L. Pearlman	
Yorkshire, North Riding									
CC	A462	Cleveland	561	500	53	1	A. S. Noble, 36 High Street, Marske-by-the-Sea, Redcar, Yorks.	T. Collins	
CC	A463	Richmond	550	450	50	0	F. Cawkhill, Cricket Cottage, Fingall, Leyburn, Yorks.	R. Hoyle	
CC	C464	Scarborough and Whitby	550	450	50	0	L. Woodhead, 30 Blenheim Terrace, Scarborough, Yorks.		
CC	A465	Thirsk and Malton	700	400	55	0	Coun. Miss J. Maynard, J.P., 76 Front Street, Sowerby, Thirsk, Yorks.	Miss J. Maynard	
BP	A466/7	Middlesbrough	—	—	10	0	C. Shopland, 2 Elliot Street, Middlesbrough, Yorks.		

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees		Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears		
				£	s.	d.	
BC A466	Middlesbrough East	500	500	—	—	—	
BC A467	Middlesbrough West	500	500	—	—	(a) (b) C. Shopland, 2 Elliot Street, Middlesbrough, Yorks.	
Yorkshire, West Riding							
CC C468	Barkston Ash	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. W. Webster, 22 Oxford Drive, Kippax, Yorks.
CC C469	Colne Valley	688	435	56	3	0	Coun. A. Belcher, 10 Britannia Road, Slaithwaite, Huddersfield, Yorks.
CC C470	Dearne Valley	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. B. G. Goddard, 14 Quern Way, Darfield, Barnsley, Yorks.
CC C471	Don Valley	600	400	50	0	0	H. Schofield, 5 Pinewood Avenue, Armthorpe, Doncaster, Yorks.
CC C472	Goole	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. W. O'Brien, 4 Elizabeth Drive, Ferry Bridge, Knottingley, Pontefract, Yorks.
CC C473	Harrogate	550	450	—	—	(a) (b) Mrs. Patterson, 8 Woodlands Close, Harrogate, Yorks.	
CC C474	Hemsworth	650	350	50	0	0	A. Woodall, 2 Grove Terrace, Hemsworth, Yorks.
CC C475	Normanton	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. H. Hall, 20 The Grove, Little Preston, Woodlesford, Leeds
CC C476	Penistone	750	250	50	0	0	J. Senior, J.P., 47 Ward Street, Penistone, Sheffield, Yorks.
CC C477	Ripon	500	500	50	0	0	F. M. Emery, 27 Athelstan Lane, Newall, Otley, Yorks.
CC C478	Rother Valley	600	400	50	0	0	F. Cooper, 43 Pontefract Road, Brampton, Wombwell, Barnsley, Yorks.
CC C479	Shipley	500	500	50	0	0	B. Prince, 12 Carnona Gardens, Shipley, Yorks.
CC C480	Skipton	500	500	50	0	0	A. Mosley, 2 Jessamine Place, Cross Hills, Keighley, Yorks.
CC C481	Sowerby	800	500	65	0	0	A. Pettengell, Labour Club, Holme Street, Hebden Bridge, Yorks.
BC C482	Barnsley	600	400	50	0	0	Ald. A. E. McVie, C.B.E., J.P., 13 Rowland Road, Barnsley, Yorks.
BC C483	Batley and Morley	500	500	50	0	0	P. Booth, 216 Soothill Lane, Batley, Yorks.
BP C484/7	Bradford	—	—	20	0	0	J. S. Senior, 41 Montserrat Road, Tong Street, Bradford, 4, Yorks.
BC C484	Bradford East	550	450	50	0	0	T. J. Mahon, 122 Knowles Lane, Bradford, 4, Yorks.
BC C485	Bradford North	700	300	50	0	0	C. W. Garnett, 471 Killinghall Road, Undercliffe, Bradford, 2, Yorks.
BC C486	Bradford South	700	300	50	0	0	C. Fieldhouse, 7 Deneside Mount, Bradford, 5, Yorks.
BC C487	Bradford West	500	500	50	0	0	F. G. Swift, 23 Thurston Gardens, Allerton, Bradford, Yorks.
BC C488	Brighouse and Spenborough	534	519	52	13	0	K. Smith, 44 Bradford Road, Brighouse, Yorks.
BC C489	Dewsbury	560	440	55	0	0	Coun. J. Lill, 128 Bywell Road, Dewsbury, Yorks.
BC C490	Doncaster	575	440	50	15	0	Coun. W. Kelly, Trades Institute, 7 North Bridge Road, Doncaster, Yorks.
BC C491	Halifax	590	410	—	—	(a) (b) C. Ward, 7 St. James Street, Halifax, Yorks.	
CP C492/3	Huddersfield and Kirkburton	—	—	10	0	0	A. J. E. Waite, Byram Buildings, 2 Station Street, Huddersfield, Yorks.
BC C492	Huddersfield East	650	350	50	0	0	A. J. E. Waite, Byram Buildings, 2 Station Street, Huddersfield, Yorks.
BC C493	Huddersfield West	650	350	50	0	0	A. J. E. Waite, Byram Buildings, 2 Station Street, Huddersfield, Yorks.
BC C494	Keighley	750	250	50	0	0	N. Ibbetson, Airedale Buildings, North Street, Keighley, Yorks.
BP C495/500	Leeds City	—	—	30	0	0	R. Knowles, 9 Queen Square, Leeds, 2
BC C495	Leeds East	700	300	50	0	0	J. H. Marshall, 26 Valley Drive, Leeds, 15
BC C496	Leeds North East	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. J. B. Gould, 39 Spencer Place, Leeds, 7
BC C497	Leeds North West	620	380	50	0	0	H. Swain, 2 Laith Green, Leeds, 16
BC C498	Leeds South	600	400	50	0	0	G. Murray, 6 Thorpe Mount, Middleton, Leeds, 10
BC C499	Leeds South East	600	400	50	0	0	Coun. W. Merritt, 2 Carlton Gate, Leeds, 7
BC C500	Leeds West	650	350	50	0	0	F. Meredith, 109 Butterbowl Drive, Leeds, 12
BC C501	Pontefract	810	190	50	0	0	Coun. H. Wright, 238 Featherstone Lane, Featherstone, Pontefract, Yorks.
BC C502	Pudsey	550	450	50	0	0	J. R. Dawson, 14 South View Terrace, Yeadon, Leeds
BC C503	Rotherham	700	300	50	0	0	Coun. Mrs. S. Cameron, 1 Nelson Street, Rotherham, Leeds
BP C504/9	Sheffield	—	—	30	0	0	V. M. Thornes, Second Floor, 66 Fargate, Sheffield, 1
BC C504	Sheffield, Attercliffe	500	500	50	0	0	Ald. S. I. Dyson, The Labour Hall, Balfour Road, Sheffield, 9
BC C505	Sheffield, Brightside	550	450	50	0	0	J. Thorpe, 36 Merlin Way, Sheffield, 5
BC C506	Sheffield, Hallam	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. M. Rodgers, 19 Ashdell Road, Sheffield, 10
BC C507	Sheffield, Heeley	550	450	50	0	0	G. Machin, 246 Blackstock Road, Gleadless Valley Estate, Sheffield, 14
BC C508	Sheffield, Hillsborough	700	300	50	0	0	F. Tuffnell, 5 Walders Avenue, Sheffield, 6
BC C509	Sheffield, Park	600	400	50	0	0	Ald. S. I. Dyson, 430 City Road, Sheffield, 2

BC	C510	Wakefield	600	400	50	0	0
BC	C511	York	1032	661	84	13	0

Coun. G. S. Pickard, 122 Agbrigg Road, Wakefield, Yorks.
J. Stonehouse, 57 Micklegate, York

.....G. S. Pickard
.....M. Meacher

WALES

Anglesey							
CC	H512	Anglesey	750	250	50	0	0

A. Evans, 19 St. Catherine's Close, Beaumaris, Anglesey

.....G. Morgan

Brecon and Radnorshire							
CC	H513	Brecon and Radnor	500	500	50	0	0

Mrs. J. Watkins, Labour Party Office, 23 Castle Street, Brecon

.....Mrs. B. H. Williams
.....J. O. Williams

Caernarvonshire							
CC	H514	Caernarvon	800	700	75	0	0
CC	H515	Conway	600	400	50	0	0

Mrs. B. H. Williams, Ardwyn, Talysarn, Caernarvon
Miss E. Owen, 73 Caellepa, Bangor, Caerns.

.....J. R. Hinchliffe

Cardiganshire							
CC	H516	Cardiganshire	600	400	50	0	0

Coun. D. L. Evans, 14 Maesmaelior, Penporcan, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire

.....Mrs. M. R. Griffiths

Carmarthenshire							
CC	H517	Carmarthen	700	300	50	0	0
CC	H518	Llanely	700	300	50	0	0

I. Morris, Labour Party Offices, Spilman Street, Carmarthen
Coun. W. J. Davies, 17 Cwmamman Road, Glanamman, Ammanford, Carms.

.....Mrs. M. E. Kitts
.....M. Hughes

Denbighshire							
CC	H519	Denbigh	600	400	50	0	0
CC	H520	Wrexham	700	300	50	0	0

Mrs. Kitts, Clwyd Hotel, 64 Greenfield Road, Colwyn Bay, Denbighs.
M. Hughes, 4 Caernarvon Terrace, Clarke Street, Ponciau, Wrexham, Denbighs.

.....D. K. Hopkins

Flintshire							
CC	H521	East Flint	640	642	64	2	0
CC	H522	West Flintshire	700	300	50	0	0(b)

D. K. Hopkins, 17 Prince of Wales Avenue, Flint
Coun. W. E. Conway, Labour Club and Institute, Bodfar Street, Rhyl, Flint.

.....Mrs. S. A. Davies
.....Mrs. E. M. Griffiths

Glamorganshire							
CC	H523	Aberavon	640	637	63	17	0
CC	H524	Barry	579	527	55	6	0
CC	H525	Caerphilly	824	413	61	17	0
CC	H526	Gower	679	326	50	5	0
CC	H527	Neath	500	500	50	0	0
CC	H528	Ogmore	603	399	50	2	0
CC	H529	Pontypridd	649	464	55	13	0
BC	H530	Aberdare	500	500	50	0	0
BP	H531/3	Cardiff	—	—	15	0	0
BC	H531	Cardiff North	500	500	50	0	0
BC	H532	Cardiff South East	350	650	50	0	0
BC	H533	Cardiff West	400	600	50	0	0
BC	H534	Merthyr Tydfil	600	400	50	0	0
BP	H535/6	Rhondda	—	—	10	0	0
BC	H535	Rhondda East	500	500	50	0	0
BC	H536	Rhondda West	500	500	50	0	0
BP	H537/8	Swansea	—	—	10	0	0

W. Harry Williams, 45 Mansel Street, Port Talbot, Glam.
J. G. Smith, 122 High Street, Barry, Glam.
R. Jewell, Bryn Eglur, High Street, Nelson, Treharris, Glam.
J. H. Thomas, Brynglas, Talbot Street, Gowerton, Swansea, Glam.
Ald. W. R. Hopes, 1 George Street, Neath, Glam.
R. Powell, 38 Dunraven Place, Bridgend, Glam.
G. Williams, 53 Park Street, Treforest, Pontypridd, Glam.
J. Jones, 19 High Street, Hirwaun, Aberdare, Glam.
F. G. Tyrrell, Transport House, 42 Charles Street, Cardiff, Glam.
M. Thomas, 19 Ontario Way, Lakeside, Cardiff, Glam.
J. Brooks, 57 Janet Street, Splott, Cardiff, Glam.
Mrs. E. Thomas, 117 Cowbridge Road, Ely, Cardiff, Glam.
W. R. King, 22 Nantygwenith Street, Georgetown, Merthyr Tydfil, Glam.
Mrs. S. Jones, 32 Hughes Street, Penygraig, Rhondda, Glam.
R. Mitchell, 36 South Street, Ynyshir, Rhondda, Glam.
E. Hopkins, 17 Pontrhondda Road, Llwynypia, Rhondda, Glam.
Mrs. M. England Jones, J.P., Labour Hall, Elysium Buildings, High Street, Swansea

.....Mrs. S. A. Davies
.....Mrs. E. M. Griffiths
.....R. Jewell
.....W. A. Davies
.....W. R. Hopes
.....R. Powell
.....G. Williams
.....H. Dennis
.....P. Jones
.....R. Frew
.....J. Callaghan, M.P.
.....L. Paul
.....W. R. King
.....Mrs. S. J. Jones
.....G. E. Davies, M.P.
.....E. Evas

BC	H537	Swansea East	500	500	50	0	0
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Mrs. M. England Jones, J.P., Labour Hall, Elysium Buildings, High Street, Swansea

.....T. S. Rees

BC	H538	Swansea West	500	500	50	0	0
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Mrs. M. England Jones, J.P., Labour Hall, Elysium Buildings, High Street, Swansea

.....Mrs. M. E. Jones, J.P.

Merionethshire							
CC	H539	Merioneth	726	466	59	12	0

O. Edwards, M.B.E., J.P., School House, Maen Offeren Boys' School, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Merioneth

.....W. Williams

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees		Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears		
				£	s. d.		
Monmouthshire							
CC H540	Abertillery	500	500	50	0 0	L. Hill, 66 Newall Street, Abertillery, Mon.	.....L. Hill
CC H541	Bedwelty	500	500	50	0 0	W. D. G. Cole, 68 Sunnysbank Road, Blackwood, Mon.	.....W. D. G. Cole
CC H542	Ebbw Vale	615	397	50	12 0	Coun. D. R. Evans, Minafon, Riverside, Beaufort, Ebbw Vale, Mon.	.....R. Evans
CC H543	Monmouth	580	554	—	(a) (b)	F. Aveyard, 3 Lyncroft, Green Meadow, Cwmbran, Mon.	.....G. R. Morgan, 32 Barkley Crescent, Sebastopol, Pontypool, Mon.
CC H544	Pontypool	500	500	50	0 0	The Secretary, 84 Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.	.....R. Wellington
BC H545	Newport	350	650	—	(a) (b)		
Montgomeryshire							
CC H546	Montgomery	600	400	50	0 0	Ald. H. J. B. Watkins, Bryn Siriol, Penygreen Road, Llanidloes, Montgomerys.	.....B. Watkins
Pembrokeshire							
CC H547	Pembrokeshire	722	532	62	14 0	L. H. Davis, 60 St. Martins Park, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire	.....J. C. C. John
SCOTLAND							
Aberdeenshire							
CC J548	East Aberdeenshire	500	500	—	(a) (b)	I. S. Davidson, 119 Hope Street, Peterhead, Aberdeenshire	
CC J549	West Aberdeenshire	700	300	50	0 0	Mrs. M. Kemp, 12 Primrosehill Road, Cults, Aberdeenshire, AB1 9ND	
BP J550/1	Aberdeen	—	—	10	0 0	W. J. Fraser, 79 Salisbury Place, Aberdeen	
BC J550	Aberdeen North	500	500	50	0 0	Mrs. J. M. Thom, J.P., 24 Adelphi, Aberdeen	.....R. Hughes
BC J551	Aberdeen South	600	400	50	0 0	G. A. Whyte, J.P., 139 Victoria Road, Torry, Aberdeen	.....R. Middleton.....G. A. Whyte
Angus and Kincardine							
CC J552	North Angus and Mearns.. ..	500	500	50	0 0	J. Caution, Jr., 19 Guthrie Park, Brechin, Angus	
CC J553	South Angus	500	500	50	0 0	L. Thoms, 4 School Park, Kettins, Coupar Angus, Perthshire	
BP J554/5	Dundee	—	—	—	(a) (b)	A. Stewart, 1 Rattray Street, Dundee, Angus	
BC J554	Dundee East	500	500	—	(a) (b)	A. Inglis, 44 Monifieth Road, Broughty Ferry, Dundee, Angus	
BC J555	Dundee West	500	500	—	(a) (b)	J. Cameron, 4 Ashbank Road, Dundee, Angus	
Argyllshire							
CC J556	Argyll	500	500	—	(a)	J. Y. Stewart, 9 Foullis Road, Inverary, Argyll.	
Ayrshire and Bute							
CC J557	Ayr	600	400	50	0 0	J. Sillars, Labour Club, 9a Limond's Wynd, Ayr	
CC J558	Bute and North Ayrshire	500	500	50	0 0	G. Aitken, 39 Millglen Road, Ardrossan, Ayrshire	.....J. Peterkin
CC J559	Central Ayrshire	550	450	50	0 0	F. J. Shirley, 40 Lochlea Avenue, Troon, Ayrshire	.....D. McMillan
CC J560	Kilmarnock	700	400	55	0 0	J. G. Paton, 30 Cragie Road, Hurlford, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire	.....J. Boë
CC J561	South Ayrshire	1592	572	108	4 0	J. Tanner, 219 Main Street, Auchinleck, Ayrshire	.....T. D. Graham.....J. Tanner
Banffshire							
CC J562	Banffshire	500	500	50	0 0	A. Meldrum, 18 Main Street, Newmill, Keith, Banffshire	
Berwickshire and East Lothian							
CC J563	Berwick and East Lothian	935	437	68	12 0	G. Brown, 65 High Street, Tranent, East Lothian	.....A. Greenan
Caithness and Sutherland							
CC J564	Caithness and Sutherland.. ..	800	200	50	0 0	N. J. Treasurer, 8 St. Andrew's Drive, Thurso, Caithness	.....L. McClean
Dumfries-shire							
CC J565	Dumfries-shire	700	300	50	0 0(b)	Coun. J. M. Newlands, 71 Dalswinton Avenue, Dumfries.	
Dunbartonshire							
CC J566	East Dunbartonshire	730	519	62	9 0	J. MacGowan C.B.E., J.P., 86 Dunbarton Road, Clydebank, Glasgow	.....R. E. Black

CC	J567	West Dunbartonshire	700	300	50	0	0	P. O'Neill, 18 Valeview Terrace, Bellsmyre, Dumbarton	.....H. Flowers
Fifeshire										
CC	J568	East Fife	500	500	50	0	0	H. Peaker, 4 Denbert Loan, Kennoway, Fife	.....R. Ness
CC	J569	West Fife	700	300	50	0	0	R. Ness, 7 Proudfoot's Way, Kinglassie, Fife	.....G. Sinclair
BC	J570	Dunfermline Burghs	500	500	50	0	0	R. Dunn, J.P., 6 Alexandra Street, Dunfermline, Fifeshire	.....A. Mitchell
BC	J571	Kirkcaldy Burghs	700	300	50	0	0	Mrs. C. Haddow, 91 Cotburn Crescent, Burntisland, Fife	.....J. Cumming
Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty										
CC	J572	Inverness	700	300	50	0	0(b)	R. A. Page, 1 Aultnaskiach Avenue, Inverness	.....J. Cumming
CC	J573	Ross and Cromarty	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) G. D. Finlayson, The Birches, Muir of Ord, Ross-shire	.....J. Cumming
CC	J574	Western Isles	585	415	—	—	—	(a) (b) J. MacMillan, Schoolhouse, Lurebost, Lochs, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis	.....J. Cumming
Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire										
CC	J575	Galloway	500	500	—	—	—	(a) Miss E. M. Clark, Hillcrest, Stirling Acres Road, Kirkcudbright	.....F. Kennedy
Lanarkshire										
CC	J576	Bothwell	700	300	50	0	0	F. Kennedy, 108 Crofthead Crescent, Bellshill, Lanarks.	.....F. Kennedy
CC	J577	Hamilton	500	500	50	0	0	A. S. Reid, Labour Rooms, 23 Church Street, Hamilton, Lanarks.	.....V. Mathieson
CC	J578	Lanark	1111	854	98	5	0	J. Noble, 19-23 Wellgate, Lanark	.....R. Stewart
CC	J579	Motherwell	600	400	50	0	0	J. Fyfe, 27 Alexander Avenue, Wishaw, Lanarks.	.....I. Wilson
CC	J580	North Lanarkshire	606	400	50	6	0	R. Stewart, 28 Hawthorn Drive, Harthill, Lanarks.	.....T. Clarke
CC	J581	Rutherglen	600	400	50	0	0	Miss M. Stephen, 8 Spittal Road, Rutherglen, Glasgow	.....P. McEachran
BC	J582	Coatbridge and Airdrie	550	450	50	0	0	E. Cairns, 33 Addiewell Place, Coatbridge, Lanarks.	.....P. McEachran
BP	J583/97	Glasgow	—	—	75	0	0	T. G. Simpson, 8 Royal Crescent, Glasgow, S.E.3	.....P. McEachran
BC	J583	Glasgow, Bridgeton	500	500	50	0	0	T. McLaren, 21 Buddon Street, Glasgow, S.E.2	.....W. Harley
BC	J584	Glasgow, Cathcart	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) G. Stewart, 141 Ardmory Avenue, Glasgow, S.2	.....Mrs. H. R. Cameron
BC	J585	Glasgow Central	500	500	50	0	0	R. Dynes, 125 Alexandra Parade, Glasgow, E.1	.....H. Selby
BC	J586	Glasgow, Craigton	500	500	50	0	0	J. Cameron, 294 Bellahouston Drive, Glasgow, S.W.2	.....H. Selby
BC	J587	Glasgow, Gorbals	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) G. M. Shaw, 74 Cleland Street, Glasgow, C.5	.....H. Selby
BC	J588	Glasgow, Govan	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. H. Selby, 20 Watt Street, Glasgow, C.5	.....H. Selby
BC	J589	Glasgow, Hillhead	520	480	—	—	—	(a) (b) I. A. Brand, 5 Rosslyn Terrace, Glasgow, W.2	.....Miss M. McCusker
BC	J590	Glasgow, Kelvingrove	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) Mrs. J. Sproule, 146 Park Road, Glasgow, C.4	.....Miss M. McCusker
BC	J591	Glasgow, Maryhill	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. E. Buchanan, 207 Sandbank Street, Glasgow, N.W.	.....Miss M. McCusker
BC	J592	Glasgow, Pollok	600	400	—	—	—	(a) (b) B. Biggins, 252 Nether Auldhouse Road, Glasgow, S.3	.....E. Taylor
BC	J593	Glasgow, Provan	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) A. C. Edgerton, 994 Gartloch Road, Glasgow, E.3	.....E. Taylor
BC	J594	Glasgow, Scotstoun	700	300	50	0	0	Mrs. B. Forman, 168 Knightswood Road, Glasgow, W.3	.....E. Taylor
BC	J595	Glasgow, Shettleston	600	400	—	—	—	(a) (b) W. Kerr, 82 Cokenzie Street, Glasgow, E.2	.....E. Taylor
BC	J596	Glasgow, Springburn	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) J. Clarke, 182 Burnbrae Street, Glasgow, N.1	.....E. Taylor
BC	J597	Glasgow, Woodside	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) T. Southall, 97 Otogo Street, Glasgow, W.2	.....E. Taylor
Midlothian										
CC	J598	Midlothian	1000	1000	100	0	0	S. Campbell, 3 The Square, Danderhall, Dalkeith, Midlothian	.....E. Clarke
BP	J599/605	Edinburgh	—	—	35	0	0	Mrs. G. Wilson, Room 4, Ruskin House, 15 Windsor Street, Edinburgh, 7	.....I. Jordan
BC	J599	Edinburgh Central	500	500	50	0	0	Miss P. Bee, J.P., 114 Viewforth, Edinburgh, 10	.....Miss P. Rigby
BC	J600	Edinburgh East	550	450	50	0	0	L. J. O'Reilly, 7F Newbigging, Musselburgh, Midlothian	.....G. Alexander
BC	J601	Edinburgh, Leith	500	500	50	0	0	Mrs. H. S. Khatri, 55 Ferry Road, Edinburgh, 6	.....R. K. Murray
BC	J602	Edinburgh North	550	450	50	0	0	Miss A. B. S. Clark, 11 Dundonald Street, Edinburgh, 3	.....R. Cook
BC	J603	Edinburgh, Pentlands	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. J. M. Jordan, 32 Morningside Road, Edinburgh, 10	.....W. Wallace
BC	J604	Edinburgh South	750	250	—	—	—	(a) Miss A. Pollack, 295 Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh, 9	.....W. Wallace
BC	J605	Edinburgh West	600	400	50	0	0	J. E. Boyack, Willowbank, Braepark Road, Edinburgh, 4	.....D. Kelly
Moray and Nairnshire										
CC	J606	Moray and Nairn	500	500	—	—	—	(a) R. P. Stuart, 2 Cockburn Place, Bishopmill, Elgin, Morayshire	.....D. Kelly
Orkney and Shetland										
CC	J607	Orkney and Shetland	500	500	—	—	—	(a) (b) Mrs. Miller, 10 Broadsands Road, Kirkwall, Orkney	.....D. Kelly

Index No.	Constituency Party	Members		Fees			Secretary and Address	Delegate(s)
		Men	Women	(a) Arrears	(b) By-Election Arrears	£ s. d.		
Perthshire and Kinross-shire								
CC J608	Kinross and West Perth- shire	550	450	—	(a)		R. Shaw, 19 Alligan Crescent, Crieff, Perthshire	
CC J609	Perth and East Perthshire	600	400	—	(a)		D. White, 21 Tummell Road, Letham, Perth	
Renfrewshire								
CC J610	East Renfrewshire	750	250	50	0	0	J. H. Paterson, 38 Broadloan, Renfrew	.....R. N. Mitchell
CC J611	West Renfrewshire	600	400	50	0	0	Mrs. T. Hanlon, Wayside, Dargavel Avenue, Bishopton, Renfrewshire	.....A. Johnstone
BC J612	Greenock	500	500	50	0	0	K. Boyd, 32 South Street, Greenock, Renfrewshire	.....J. Reid
BC J613	Paisley	700	300	50	0	0	J. Allison, 35 Garry Drive, Foxbar, Paisley, Renfrewshire	.....T. McBrearty
Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire								
CC J614	Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles	600	400	50	0	0	D. Fisher, 18 Talisman Avenue, Galashiels, Selkirkshire	.....C. Lindsay
Stirlingshire and Clackmannanshire								
CC J615	Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire	600	400	50	0	0	D. J. Graham, 32 Greenpark Drive, Polmont, Falkirk, Stirlingshire	.....J. Anderson
CC J616	West Stirlingshire	960	40	50	0	0	A. Lafferty, 86 Anderson Drive, Denny, Stirlingshire	.....T. Crainey
BC J617	Stirling and Falkirk Burghs	500	500	50	0	0	D. Chisholm, 47 Bo'ness Road, Grangemouth, Stirlingshire	.....W. Mathew, Mrs. A. Hay
West Lothian								
CC J618	West Lothian	843	687	76	10	0	A. Fairley, 40 George Street, Bathgate, West LothianA. Fairley

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