

The Week

**WORKERS'
CONTROL
SUPPLEMENT**

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Vol. 5, No. 18, 5th May, 1966

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LABOUR'S JOB TAX

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Vol. 2, No. 18, 25th May 1988

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LABOUR'S JOB TAX

We were all wrong: every journal from the Todmorden Weekly Advertiser to the Times, from The Newsletter to I.R.I.S. News (and ourselves) had expected a very stiff Budget which would increase taxation, etc., and cause a wave of resentment against the Government. All of us will sigh a sigh of relief that income tax, fags and beer have not gone up. But before we rejoice we should take a look at the long-term effects of Mr. Callaghan's measures. In this respect it is useful to re-read what the Economist said last Friday:

"...Most Labour-inclined economists will agree, if pressed, that the British economy would benefit from the sort of strong direct action that we favour - big export incentives buttressed by a stern incomes policy, a heavy payroll tax but with its yield given back in larger investment incentives. They say simply that such a mixture is politically impossible. Nearly five years before the next general election is due, why on earth?..."

We are to commission articles from specialists who will explain the economic consequences of the complicated measures which Mr. Callaghan proposes but certain things are absolutely clear: the overall effect of the Budget is quite deflationary; it will lead to steady increase in the cost of living (officially estimated to be 1%); it will seek to help employers in manufacturing to resist the wages drift by drastically altering the relationship between supply and demand of labour; it is designed to complement a tough incomes policy; and finally it represents yet another stage in Mr. Wilson's endeavour to rationalise British capitalism. In a word the Budget is anti-working class, but anti-working class in a more obscure manner. Whereas we would have all have noticed an increase in the price of fags immediately, it will be only over a period of months that the full significance of this Budget and Labour's job tax is understood. One thing is absolutely obvious though: every union in the country should throw out the incomes policy. How can they be expected to implement at a time when the Government deliberately puts up the cost of living?

RHODESIAN TURN-ABOUT

All Mr. Wilson's brave words about standing up to treason and refusing to negotiate with the illegal regime of Smith are forgotten. The talks are now on and it is clear that Mr. Wilson put the pound before the political rights of Rhodesia's Africans. Once Verwoerd had made it clear that he was going to support Smith, the Government realised that it would have to take firmer action than face-saving sanctions. This it was not prepared to do. The left should make two demands: firstly, that the Labour Government should aid the Zambians with arms, which in turn should be distributed to Zimbabwe freedom fighters; secondly, the left should ensure that when Mr. Smith's representatives come to London that there is the biggest united demonstration since Suez. The left M.P.s should call this. If they don't we will know where ^{they} stand and we will call it

4,500 FIRMS GO BUST IN NINE WEEKS

from a London reader

The following report which appeared in the Sunday Times of April 24th is an interesting indication of how the concentration of British industrial capital is going ahead under Labour, indeed accelerated by Labour:

"Over 4,500 British companies reckoned to be worth £45 million have ceased to exist in the past nine weeks. In an unprecedented scramble which started at the end of February and accelerated into a full-scale rush over the last two weeks of the financial year the number of companies going into voluntary liquidation rocketed. In the week ending April 1 the London Gazette carried 872 notices announcing the winding up resolutions. The following week it published 868. Normally the figures are 150-200 a week. All liquidation notices have to appear in the Gazette within 14 days.

"Last Thursday the paper published an additional list to accommodate advertisements. They have been coming in parcels of 50 to 80 at a time. Friday's London Gazette added another 58 (some of which apply to the 1966-67 financial year) making the week's total of winding-up resolutions 507. Behind the rush lie Corporation Tax and Capital Gains Tax. Midnight, April 5 was the deadline for companies who wanted to wind up, transfer their businesses and start afresh with a new structure - perhaps in the form of a partnership - and either avoid Corporation Tax liability or with a new company designed to meet it. One tax advisor reports an extreme case of a man still trying to make up his mind at 11 p.m. on April 5 whether to appoint a liquidator or not. Many of the companies who have appointed liquidators are in the property and investment field. But overall they range wide - from subsidiaries of large groups like Cyril Lord, Dubonnet, Massey-Ferguson to small operations with assets of £2,000. It also includes people like Barro Equities with total assets of £8 million"

ADVANCE NOTICE OF C.S.E. MEETING IN CARDIFF

by Tom Nicholls

A meeting will be held in Cardiff at 3.00 p.m. on Sunday 15th May in the Council Chamber of the National Union of Mineworkers (by kind permission of the South Wales Area Executive) for the purpose of launching a South Wales branch of the Centre for Socialist Education.

About 50 individual contacts and union branches are being circulated with invitations. Readers of The Week in the area are also urged to attend.

N.B. If any reader knows of anyone they think should receive an invitation they should send the name and addresses to: Tom Nicholls, 33, Burghley Rd., St. Andrews, Bristol 6.

VICTORY FOR LEFT IN A.E.U. ELECTION

from an industrial correspondent

Reg. Birch, a firm supporter of left-wing policies on industrial and political questions, has been elected to the A.E.U. Executive Council in succession to Mr. Claude Berridge, a well-known Communist Party member, who retires in August. Reg Birch won on the first ballot, the voting figures being: R. Birch, 7,958; J.R. Whyman, 2,619; J.J. Walsh, 1,041; and J.T. Wrangle 770. Reg. Birch was on the Communist Party Executive until last year's conference of the party; he is an active supporter of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and spoke at the conference which found the London Shop Stewards' Defence Committee (in his individual capacity). The right wing still has a majority of five to two on the executive.

FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT LABOUR M.P.S

Labour Research* is, as usual, quick off the mark to provide the movement with essential and interesting information about the 'New House of Commons'. Although the whole article is of great value, we think readers of The Week will be especially interested in what it had to say about the new Labour M.P.s and have reproduced the relevant sections:

"...In this election Labour gained 49 seats and lost one, the Liberals gained 4 seats and lost 2, the Conservatives lost 51 and gained none. Of the 364 Labour MPs 67 are new and one (Mr. Gordon Walker) missed the last parliament. The new men are, so far as jobs go at least, markedly different from the 1964 crop. In 1964, 25 out of 83 (30%) were manual workers or technicians, which helped to reverse the trend a little. This time only 7 come from into this category and the biggest influx is of university lecturers (15, or 22% of the new MPs). Among the whole of the Labour MPs there are 41 trade union officials (including 8 miners' officials) and 14 Labour and co-op officials. Among industrial workers the big battalions are still only three: 17 miners, 16 engineers and 14 railwaymen (of whom half are clerks). But there are also 3 draughtsmen, 4 Post Office workers, 2 printers and one carpenter, constructional engineer, vehicle examiner, chainworker and master engraver. There are 4 clerks, 4 insurance officials and one bank clerk.

"Among the non-manual too the big battalions stay the same, though proportions have changed. There are now 30 university lecturers, 28 barristers, 16 solicitors, 29 journalists, authors and broadcasters, 26 teachers, 9 lecturers from the WEA, etc., 8 doctors, 10 other professional men (scientists, qualified engineers, accountants), 16 company executives of various kinds (including personnel officers, reps. PROs), 5 executives of other organisations, 4 university administrators, 4 from the civil service or local government, 4 managers, 3 supervisors, 13 with their own business (including 5 consultants), 6 company directors, 4 economists, 2 BBC producers, one actor, 2 farmers, 2 regular forces, 6 housewives and 4 professional politicians.

"The number of trade union sponsored candidates was one more than last time but they had a good deal more success: 13 more were elected. Altogether the unions have at least 276 members in the House (this includes some duplication." The article then gives a table of the number from various unions. We have extracted the number elected and the number of sponsored elected (the latter in brackets):

NUM: 29 (27); TGWU 46 (26); AEU (17) (17); NUGMW 30 (10); USDAW 18 (8); NUR 9 (7); TSSA 6 (5); NUPE 5 (5); Post Office Workers 4 (4); CAWU 19 (4); NUT 23 (3); DATA 4 (2); ASSET 16 (2); National Graphical Ass. 2 (2); ETU 1 (1); Agricultural Workers 2 (1); Builders Trade Workers 1 (1); Fire Brigades Union 1 (1); ASLEF 1 (1); Musicians Union 1 (1); Vehicle Builders 1 (1); Blastfurnacemen 1 (1); Constructional Engineers 1 (1); Woodworkers 1 (1); Textile Factory Workers 1 (1); NUJ 23 (0); Ass. University Teachers 9 (0); Ass. Teachers in Tech. Institutes 5 (0); Medical Practitioners Union 5 (0); Equity 4 (0). In addition the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, NALGO, Educational Institute of Scotland and the National Union of Co-operative Employees have 2 members each and SOGAT, COHSE, the Chemical Workers, Bank Employees, Professional Civil Servants, Society of Civil Servants, Electrical Power Engineers, Goldsmiths, Chainworkers and the Screenwriters Guild, one each.

* May issue, 1/6d or 1/9d post paid from 78, Blackfriars Rd., London S.E. 1.

WILSON ON VIETNAM (IN OPPOSITION)

from Mary Morris

May Day Speeches (May 3rd, 1954) Daily Worker "In his first major speech since taking Mr. Bevan's place on the Labour Party "shadow cabinet" Mr. Harold Wilson said in Liverpool: "Not a man, not a gun, must be sent from this country to defend French colonisation in Indo-China..." We must not join or in any way encourage an anti-communist crusade in Asia under the leadership of the Americans or anyone else. We must remember that the road to peace in Asia is the way of Nehru and not the way of Dulles".

May Day Speech in Manchester, 1954, Daily Worker "It was right to issue a warning to the government not to go any further in the subordination of British policies to the U.S. whatever may be said inside the Labour Party about it, what happened in Berlin is not what the Labour Party decided on at its Party Conference last October". "I believe at the moment the danger to a negotiated settlement in Asia is provided by a lunatic fringe in the American Senate... Asia like other parts of the world, is in revolution and what we have to learn today in this country is to march on the side of the peoples in that revolution and not on the side of their oppressors."

INDONESIAN GENERALS CLAIM FOR PURGE

from Hsinhua

The Indonesian right-wing generals' clique has demanded a thorough "purge" of the provisional People's Consultative Congress (People's Assembly), so as to deal a further blow at the middle forces and to complete fascistisation. This has followed in the wake of the banning of the Indonesian Communist Party and mass purge of communists and the nationalist middle-of-the-roaders from state organs. The Provisional People's Consultative Congress (M.P.R.S.) was set up in September, 1960 as the supreme organ of state power of Indonesia. It comprises members of the cooperation parliament belonging to several parties, and representatives belonging to various areas and professional organisations. After seizing power, the right-wing generals clique 'purged' more than sixty members of the Congress on April 8th "on suspicion of pro-communist activities".

BRITISH AID TO INDONESIA

from Hsinhua

The decision of the Government to give a million pounds as "emergency aid" to Indonesia's military regime followed the latter's repeated declaration of willingness to discontinue confrontation with Malaysia and enter into talks with Britain. Speaking in the Commons on April 25th Michael Stewart said that Britain "certainly wishes to improve relations with Indonesia and we are in touch with the Indonesian Government to that end." A Reuter report added that before making the offer, Britain "consulted the United States, Australia and New Zealand."

AMERICAN ARMS CAUSED INDO-PAKISTAN WAR SAYS GALBRAITH

American arms shipments caused the war between India and Pakistan last Autumn, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee was told by Prof. John Galbraith, former American Ambassador to India. "The full consequences of the policy of indiscriminate arms aid have revealed themselves with a kind of heroic clarity in South Asia" he said. "There is something intrinsically obscene in the combination of ill-fed people and well-fed armies deploying the most modern equipment."

HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUYANA

Letter appearing in 'The Times' of 29th April

You reported (April 4th) a statement by Mr. Forbes Burnham that his government plans to introduce a preventive detention Bill in British Guiana when it becomes independent on May 26th. This statement appears to have passed without much comment and we wish to draw attention to it. Many of your readers will know that a number of people in British Guiana are already imprisoned under Emergency Regulations. They have been detained a considerable time and it was to be hoped they would have been released prior to independence and the Emergency Regulations rescinded. It is most disturbing to learn that, on the contrary, the Guyana authorities envisage the permanent enactment of repressive legislation. The implication would seem to be that independence may be followed by a new wave of arrests despite the fact that conditions in the country are now quiet. For a government to take such powers permanently suggests that it intends to suppress its political opponents and to remove those fundamental freedoms of speech and opinion which are written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is clearly very difficult to intervene in this matter when independence is so near, yet the fact remains that at this stage the British Government still has a responsibility and it would surely be failing in its duty if it allowed independence to proceed unhindered under Mr. Burnham's threat. We trust that before May 26th effective steps will be taken to safeguard human rights in Guyana. Yours faithfully, Donald Bell (Gen. Sec., Amnesty International) John A.F. Ennals (Director Gen., U.N. Association). William Hamling. Eric Lubbock. Ian Gilmour.

NEW ULSTER M.P. URGES ENQUIRY

Mr. Gerry Fitt, the Republican Labour M.P. from Northern Ireland, in his maiden speech called for an attack on religious discrimination in his home country. He said that, to perpetuate their authority, the Ulster Unionists had an electoral system which could give six votes to one person and deny even a single vote to another. Those who had no home had no local government vote; and Unionist supporters were given homes before their opponents. Mr. Fitt declared that the likelihood was that in the coming few years council estates would be built in his constituency and stocked with Unionist supporters to oust him at the next election. Mr. Fitt appealed to members to support an enquiry into the Government of Ireland Act.

ALLEGED COLOUR BAR AT BUS DEPARTMENT

from "The MorningStar"

Is there a colour-bar in operation in the Stockton-on-Tees Transport department? "Yes" says the Teeside International Friendship Council. "No" replies Mr. W.C. Wilson, the transport manager, who also claims that all applications for employment are treated "on their merits". Mr. Nawab Mirza, leader of the local Pakistani Association, claims that coloured applicants have been turned down as "unsuitable". A spokesman for the busmen's branch of the transport workers' union has denied allegations that the union supports a colour-bar, but the local press carried interviews with busmen who say they will resign if coloured workers are introduced. There are at present 35 vacancies in the department... (Mr. Wilson) said there had been no recent applications for jobs from coloured people but Mr. Mizra said: "We will find a few people who want jobs on the buses. They will go and ask for jobs and if they are refused then we will all know what the situation is".

DRAFT STATEMENT OF AIMS OF THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

This is the first discussion statement put out by VSC. Readers who are going to attend the conference should send their comments, suggestions, etc., to: Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 8 Roland Gardens, London, SW.7.

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The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has been created to help to bring a just and lasting peace to Vietnam. It, therefore, has three aims: first to support, by all possible means, the Vietnamese struggle for national liberation; secondly, to develop a broad movement in Britain for this purpose; and thirdly, to provide information and analysis of the reasons for American involvement in Vietnam.

The campaign will struggle for an immediate end to US aggression in Vietnam; the withdrawal from Vietnam of all forces, weapons and bases of the US and its satellites; and end to British complicity in the war; and solidarity with those leading the struggle in Vietnam - the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. We will campaign in Britain against those policies which led to a compromise of the Vietnamese people's right to national self determination. In particular the Campaign will reject the concept of settlement by "Negotiations" as is suggested by Washington and Whitehall, when they deliberately use it to de-rail the anti-war movement, thereby showing the folly of making that the focal point of resistance to the war in Vietnam.

Draft of proposed structure: Support for the VSC is of two kinds:

1. Individual membership, organised into local committees, wherever possible, with the greatest local autonomy, and with full democratic rights, based upon the acceptance of the aims of the Campaign.
2. Organisational affiliation, whereby supporting organisations will be entitled to representation upon all committees. This will likewise be determined by acceptance of the aims of the Campaign.

Individual membership will be subject to:

1. Working for the aims of the Campaign, both in organisations of which the member belongs, and in general campaigns initiated by our movement.
2. The payment of subscriptions, which will be determined by the founding conference and thereafter by national conference.

Affiliated membership will be subject to:

1. Publicly supporting the aims of the Campaign and assisting its activities.
2. Payment of an affiliation fee, determined by the founding conference and thereafter by national conference.

At the conference, a Council will be set up representing all local groups and affiliated organisations, which will be the governing body between conferences. This Council will appoint such officers and sub-committees as are necessary to run the Campaign. The Council will be accountable to National Conference.

Amendment submitted by Chris Farley : In second para, line 6, delete everything from "we will campaign....." to the end of the para, and substitute:

"In particular, it will campaign in Britain against suggestions from Washington and Whitehall that Vietnam's right to self determination is negotiable."

As the conference begins to loom on the horizon the activities of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign are intensifying. May Day was culmination of several days' intense activity: on the Friday before a work team had circularised every Constituency Labour Party, every trade union and every trades council in the country with an invitation to the conference and a Vietnam Voice. In addition several hundred trade union branches and individuals were circularised. University Socialist Societies received an invitation together with the appeal from Bertrand Russell. Saturday saw the production of the second issue of the Vietnam Solidarity Bulletin and a social in the evening.

On May Day, supporters marched under the banner of the Campaign from the Embankment to Hyde Park. At Hyde Park several thousand copies of Bertrand Russell's appeal were distributed together with several hundred of the Voices. About 100 copies of the Bulletin were sold - although strictly speaking one shouldn't sell on the Park and therefore they were sold on the march. The response to all this material was very good and several people gave in their names and addresses to be contacted.

The applications for delegates' credentials for the June 4/5 conference continue to come in. A welcome development is that a number of organisations have applied, among them: Ealing No. 2 N.U.R. branch, the Catholic Libertarians, Sheffield Labour Club, Hampstead Young Socialists, the Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace, Torch, Malysian Students, Arab Revolution, and several Youth and anti-Vietnam war groups. Individual applications have come from as far afield as Edinburgh, Bristol, Brighton, Cheltenham, Lancaster, Kent, Nottingham, Hull, Lancashire as well as numerous ones from London. This is promising ^{out} as the conference draws nearer and nearer it is vital that every effort is made by the supporters to get as big and as wide a conference as befits the political job the campaign has set itself.

HUMBERSIDE VOICE BACKS VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

The May issue of Humberside Voice contains an article expressing support for the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The article reproduces Bertrand Russell's appeal and then adds:

"If you wish to forward the work of the campaign in Hull, or to join the delegation which will go from here to the Conference, write to: Vietnam Solidarity Committee, 12 Sunnybank, Hull. The local Solidarity Committee includes: Tony Topham, Dave Godman, Mike Martin, Dan Hussey, Tony Elger, Colin Lilley, Janet Blackman, Moira Sheridan. N.B. Members from Hull were prominent in the demonstration of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee outside the American Embassy at the end of the Easter March in London.

FUTURE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Sunday, May 8th: The Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace are having a rally on Trafalgar Square to commemorate the 21st Anniversary of VE Day. The main theme of the demonstration will be against American aggression in Vietnam. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has been asked to provide a speaker. Supporters are asked to turn up at the demonstration to assist in the distribution of the Voice and sell the Bulletin. The meeting starts at 3.00 p.m.

Saturday, May 14th, YCND have organised a demonstration in the form of a march, beginning at 2.30 p.m., down Oxford St., Bond St., Piccadilly, the Haymarket to Trafalgar Sq., a rally in Trafalgar Sq., is timed for 4.00 pm, after which demonstrators will march to Downing St. The Campaign has been asked to take part. We will march under our banner and distribute literature.

THE MYTH OF CHINA'S MILITARY THREAT TO THE WEST

The following quotations from the American magazine 'Newsweek' have been extracted from the current edition of Vietnam Solidarity Bulletin, which is published monthly price 6d. A subscription for 12 issues, inclusive of postage, costs 9/-, and may be ordered from Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 8 Roland Gardens, London, S.W.7.

"What is remarkable ... is the speed with which the necessity for containment of China has become an axiom of U.S. foreign policy, and the almost total absence of opposition to the proposition in official circles. Within the space of a few years, China has been elevated to the status of chief menace to the security of the U.S., a rôle once reserved for the Soviet Union. In fact, however, this proposition is open to argument. Bluntly stated, the Chinese threat is not as self evident as commonly assumed in Washington.

"In terms of sheer numbers, the combined land, sea and air forces of China are not, as is often thought, the largest in the world. The People's Liberation Army (PLA), which includes all three services, totals an estimated 2.7 million men - as compared with the Soviet Union's 3.2 million and the U.S.'s 2.8 million. In broad terms, moreover, the Chinese military machine is little more than a light infantry force; of the 150 divisions which comprise China's ground forces, only four or five are armored, one or two are airborne - and three are horse cavalry.

"Essentially a defensive force, the Chinese land army has not significantly shifted its strategic deployment for nearly a decade. This, according to Western military sources, reflects Peking's unaltered view of the major external threats to Red China's security. Thus, 1 million Chinese soldiers stand guard in the southeast, facing the Nationalist forces on Taiwan; somewhere between 300,000 and 400,000 are stationed in the areas bordering Laos, Vietnam and Burma; another 75,000 patrol the Tibetan border with India; 500,000 are garrisoned around Peking and Inner Mongolia; and the remaining 450,000 are deployed along the Russian border from Sinkiang to Manchuria.

"Another major consideration ... is China's absence of a modern highway system and the inadequacy of the rail lines between the industrial areas of East China and the hinterlands. As a result, Chinese military leaders face immense problems in logistics.

"The weakest branch of the armed forces is the 125,000 man navy, consisting of four pre-World War II Soviet destroyers, four destroyer escorts and about 700 patrol craft. In addition, the Chinese are believed to have 30 submarines, including two Soviet G-class subs capable of firing ballistic missiles. But, says one naval expert, 'The Chinese have no deep-water submarine experience and their subs are confined mostly to coastal waters.'

"China's overall military posture is likely to remain defensive and its strategic doctrine heavily dependent on Mao Tse-tung's concept of 'people's war'. At the heart of this concept is the Chinese militia of 10 million men. As the war in Vietnam has escalated, an estimated 500,000 regular army personnel have been reassigned as instructors to militia units. Whereas in the past many of these units had no rifles, today they are undergoing training ... in laying land mines, throwing grenades and manning anti-aircraft guns.

"So far as Western analysts can detect, a U.S. invasion of China is the only kind of direct military confrontation with the U.S. which Peking is prepared to contemplate."

THE CAMPAIGN FOR WORKERS' CONTROL GATHERS MOMENTUM.

After some years of meeting in small discussion groups and seminars the movement for workers' control is now beginning to break through into the centre of the political argument.

As an example of its success we may take the item in the Daily Mail on Thursday 28th April 1966.

Under the heading "Workers' Councils - A phrase from the past (Russian Revolution, British General Strike) crops up in the latest talks of nationalisation", the Mail drew together two stories which will interest all those who took part in the Week-Voice study conferences last year. They read as follows:

"A sudden spurt towards nationalisation of two big industries - steel and the docks - came yesterday. In both industries, badly lagging at present, ambitious development of full-blooded workers' management is urged and seems likely to be acted upon by the Government. Mr. Harold Wilson himself described the secret docks report at the Labour Party National Executive yesterday as "splendid". It envisages "group operating committees" on which management will sit with working dockers to handle manpower problems, pay and productivity, discipline, safety, training, and generally supervise the dock groups.

The report hails the idea as introducing a new radical element of industrial democracy. It is the work of a team led by Mr. Ian Mikardo, MP, and trade unionists Mr. Jack Jones and Mr. William Simpson. In steel, workers' councils to run the industry have been urged on the Power Minister and on the Labour Party Executive.

Craftsmen led by party vice-chairman Mr. John Boyd declare: "We no longer live in the conditions or the atmosphere of the pre-war years, when we were always on the defensive, always ignored and forced to be rigidly sectional. We are concerned with the economy as a whole and regard it as vital to have an effective influence in the fixing of prices, the moulding of production and investment policies, and the shaping of labour policies."

Steel Unions Want Their Men on the Board.

A demand for the creation of workers' councils in the nationalised steel industry has been laid before the new Power Minister, Mr. Richard Marsh, by the steel craftsmen's unions. The 30-page recommendations have also gone to the Labour Party national executive and to leaders of unions likely to be involved. The 12 unions include engineers, electricians, bricklayers, boiler-makers, and foundrymen.

The document produced by the steel craftsmen calls for full-blooded workers' representation at all levels in the State-run industry. This covers national board level, group level, and actual plant level involved in the day-to-day administration of the individual mills. The recommendations, produced by the national craftsmen's co-ordinating committee under the chairmanship of Mr. John Boyd, break completely new ground.

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The Campaign for Workers Control Gathers Momentum --continued.

Some of the findings, if accepted, will chill the blood at management-level in the paternalistic steel industry.

Until now, in other state-owned industries, trade union or worker representation has taken two courses. Either retired union leaders took full-time posts, or senior union officials have taken part-time posts on nationalised boards. The craftsmen in steel protest in their document that this makes the worst of both worlds. The retired men have no longer any link with their members and the part-timers tended to become "stooges" of the employers.

For State steel they demand:-

1. An Economic Development Council for the whole industry to supervise the whole industry on which trade unions would be represented.

2. At national board level, a chairman and 12 full-time members without other private directorships, answerable to the Power Minister. The vice-chairman and four members would be appointed by the Minister but selected from a panel of names submitted and agreed by the unions. The board would be responsible for running the whole industry, its production, by-products, exports, research and other industry-wide activities.

3. At group level, half of the workers' councils should be elected directly by the unions in relation to their strength in the combine or group. The other half would be elected from the shop, mill, or office committee. "The workers' council would have the power to receive reports on all policies," says the document, "and to ask for detailed costings of all departments." Even more drastic is the demand that the council should have the right to approve - or disapprove - the appointment of the group's chairman or managing director to the national board.

4. At plant level a local committee would be appointed composed of six departmental managers or foremen and six workers elected by the group workers' council.

5. At the individual shop, mill, or office level, workers' democracy would come down to fine details - a secret ballot organised by the unions would select the members, white collar as well as manual workers. "Appointment of shop managers, deployment of labour, promotion, hiring, even disciplinary matters would be subject to approval by these committees."

The delegates unanimously approved a list of industries for state takeover - engineering, shipbuilding, the aircraft industries, steel and road haulage.

Labour's Docks Plan aired and put away again.

Labour's blueprint for the nationalisation of the docks was given its first private airing and approved yesterday at the Labour Party Executive meeting. It was then quickly locked up for fear that it could open up a major split between the

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The Campaign for Workers' Control Gathers Momentum - continued
Government and party executive of the way to modernise the ports.

The report shows that while the Labour Party is firmly committed to nationalisation as the answer to dockland inefficiency, the Government is going on with its plans to implement the Devlin Report, which said that nationalisation was outside its brief.

Although some executive members took the view that publication of the docks report was unnecessary because its main recommendations were in the party manifesto and the Queen's Speech, there is no doubt now that the future of the docks is now a front-line political issue.

Mr. Ian Mikardo, MP, the Left-wing chairman of the sub-committee which drew up the report, apparently expressed no opinion and supported a move to send the document to the Home Policy Committee and the Publicity Committee for their decision whether to publish. Had Mr. Gunter, Minister of Labour, been present at the meeting, it is pretty certain that he would have opposed publication. It is said that he and Mr. Callaghan are not enchanted with outright nationalisation, but on the other side of the Cabinet there is the unusual alliance of Mr. Frank Cousins and Mr. George Brown favouring all-out public ownership to "cure the chaos" in dockland.

The report calls for a new State-backed National Ports Authority which would be the sole operator of cargo handling and the sole employer of labour. This must be an embarrassment for Mr. Gunter, for he is about to publish a Bill calling for the licensing of a reduced number of private port employers. The argument that one is a short-term and the other a long-range plan has already been killed by the dockland militants.

The Mikardo report says plainly that the National Ports Authority and publicly-owned regional port authorities should be the sole supplier of dock labour whenever it is required by private wharfingers. They should also be the sole operators of all port services, including lighterage, pilotage, conservancy, and navigation control. The two new authorities would be invested with power to take over the assets of all the existing port authorities like the Port of London Authority, the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, the Manchester Ship Canal, and the Clyde Navigation Trust.

A complete break with past nationalisation boards is called for with some members being working dockers, elected by the rank and file. Membership of the group committees in each port would range from dockers to dock managers. They would accept personal responsibility for the efficient use of manpower and equipment, pay and productivity outside of national agreements, discipline, safety, and welfare. The new National Ports Authority will be responsible, says the Labour Executive, for planning and investment policy. It would select the ports for development and provide the industry with research and statistical data.

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The Campaign for Workers' Control Gathers Momentum - continued

As this is almost the same ground as the existing National Ports Council already covers, Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Transport, will be asked to spell out in detail the Government's actual plans when she meets Lord Rochdale, the NPC chairman, today.

Under the Mikardo plan, the Ministry of Transport will be responsible through Parliament for the work of the local port authorities.

The report is certain to alarm the port employers, who have already had a meeting with Mr. Gunter at which it was made plain that the Government was not thinking in terms of nationalisation, but only the more limited Devlin proposals. Mr. Gunter's main aim is to introduce a scheme for the regular employment of all dockers, instead of the present daily hiring system, and to reduce the number of employers.

Against this union leaders are saying that Labour's election manifesto meant that all private employers would eventually be eliminated from port operations.

In their anxiety to paper over the divisions in Labour's top ranks, no statement was issued after the executive meeting and no Press conference was held. Nobody would admit that the 42-page Mikardo Report was even tabled."

The craftsmen's demands for steel will be recognised by readers of The Week and The Voice as the programme elaborated by the Sheffield seminars on the structure of a democratic steel bill. The success of those discussions in helping to form the policies of a key section of the trade union movement will encourage an even more substantial attendance at the Seminar arranged by the Centre for Socialist Education, on Industrial Democracy, for June 25th-26th.

If we may draw encouragement from these news items, there have appeared others which show that there is a very great need for practical work on the issue. The following report from The Times makes the point most sharply.

"At the resumed meeting of the national committee of the Amalgamated Engineering union, by Mr. J. Boyd, a member of the executive, said: "sometimes we spend too much time sloganizing without thinking out the problems." His comments were supported by Sir William Carron, the president.

Referring to steel nationalisation, Mr. Boyd said district committees and shop stewards had been asked for their views on how workers' participation in management could be put into effect. "The ideas we got could have been put in a thimble, and you could still have got your middle finger in it," he said."

A strong contingent of engineers can be expected to attend the Nottingham conference, and for this reason we may hope that Mr. Boyd will soon be inundated with practical proposals on this vital matter.

2nd May 1966

Dear Sir and Brother,

No question is of greater importance to the Labour Movement today than that of Industrial democracy. Indeed it could be said that the whole future of British Trade unionism is now bound up with the question of how workers' trade union rights can be extended, and how the Labour Movement can encroach upon the so-called prerogatives of management in order to move towards a real control of the economy. Issues like the Incomes Policy raise in a very clear way the whole problem of how trade union powers can be defended and extended, and the idea of workers' control takes on a new and crucial importance. The election of a Labour Government with a working majority makes it necessary for trade unionists to begin to spell out in detail the sort of reforms they wish to secure in industrial government, and to agree upon practical programmes for action.

Already in the past two years there has been a great deal of thought and work put into the movement for workers' control. Three important conferences, organised by the Voice of the Unions, together with other socialist newspapers like Tribune and The Week, served to bring together active trade unionists, leaders of important unions included, and economists and sociologists from the universities, to prepare highly important blueprints for a democratic Steel Nationalisation Act, studies on workers' control in the Docks, and proposals for a number of other important industries as well. The enclosed papers describe some of the results of this work.

In order to co-ordinate past researches and to develop an extended campaign on these matters, our organisation has been asked to convene the Fourth Seminar on Industrial Democracy. It will meet in Nottingham on June 25th and 26th 1966. Among the trade union leaders who have been invited to speak or submit papers are Jack Jones of the T&GWU, Ernie Roberts of the AEU, Walter Kendall of USDAW and Lawrence Daly of the NUM. A number of other leading trade unionists will also be taking part. From the academic world Michael Barratt-Brown, Anthony Topham, Professor W. Wedderburn and a number of other authorities have been invited. Richard Clements of Tribune, Alan Rooney of Labour's Northern Voice, and speakers from other socialist newspapers and magazines have been invited.

The seminar will consist of a few general sessions in which short public lectures will be given, and a large number of small study groups which will examine particular problems. Already arrangements have been made to convene study groups on workers' control in Docks, Mines, Steel, Public Services, and the Engineering Industry. Other groups will consider the problem of Company Law reform, Co-operative Democracy, the Incomes Policy and Trade Union Rights. If there is any desire for other groups to be established, they can be arranged with the Conference Organiser.

We think your organisation will be interested in this work, and would welcome your participation. If you wish to send delegates, please return the form to the address below. The conference fee is five shillings, which is levied on each delegate in order to meet administrative costs. The fee includes the cost of papers circulated for discussion at the conference, which will be sent only to registered delegates.

A limited amount of free hospitality can be offered in the Nottingham area for the duration of the conference. Local socialists and co-operators are willing to accomodate a number of delegates. Since the supply will be much smaller than the demand, however, it is advisable to apply early.

yours fraternally,

Ken Coates.

The following persons,

| Names | Addresses |
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will be attending the CSE seminar on Industrial Democracy, June 25-26th.

They will be representing(Organisation)

Delegation fees of 5/- per head are enclosed.

The delegates *would like/do not need accomodation if it is available.

Our organisation *would/not/ like to submit a paper for distribution to delegates.

*Please delete where inapplicable

Please return this form to the Conference Organiser, Mr. G. Coggan, 47 Brinley Rd., Bilborough, Nottingham. Tel 281364.