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November/December 1978

Founded 1921 by R. Palme Dutt

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF LEFT UNITY · 90p

Pat Sloan

Multinationals

Ron Todd

Fords—the Facts

Naison Khezwana

British Mass Media and Zimbabwe

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Labour Party and Women's Rights

D. Canavan MP/Devolution : P. Esam/Benefits

P. Hewitt/Secrets : T. Webb/Micro-Processors

LABOUR MONTHLY

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VOL 60

No 8

November/December 1978

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Survey—Workers Unite against Multinationals: Labour's Revolt— Peugeot-Citroën—Fords—Bingham—Crown Agents—Southern Africa—Camp David and After Pat Sloan	433
Fords—the Facts Ron Todd	445
Secrets Patricia Hewitt	448
Micro Processors Tim Webb	451
The Police and Liberty F. H. Amphlett Micklewright	455
Scottish Devolution Dennis Canavan MP	460
Jimmy Carter's Waning Popularity Simon W. Gerson	461
Thirtieth Anniversary of the GDR Gordon Schaffer	465
British Mass Media and Zimbabwe Naison Khezwana	468
Women's Rights at Labour Party Conference Eileen Phillips	477
High MacDiarmid—Socialist Poet	480
Supplementary Benefits Peter Esam	482
Ploughshares for Trade Unionists Frank Swift	485
Fifty Years Ago	487
South-East Asian Crossroads William Pomeroy	488
Letters: 'Freedom of Information', Tom Riley; 'Labour Monthly Reader', Sergey V. Sharov	493
An Occasion I.M.	494
Book Reviews: 'Nazi Ideology before 1933', Barbara Miller Lane and Leila J. Rupp: <i>Graham Shaw</i> ; 'The Generals' Strike: 20 Drawings', Andrew Turner: <i>Jeff Sawtell</i> ; 'A Window on Soweto', Joyce Sikakane: <i>Hilda Vernon</i> ; 'Privacy', edited by J. E. Young: <i>Howard Levenson</i> ; 'Engineering in the Ancient World', J. G. Landels: <i>Norman Simpson</i> ; 'Corporate and Government Deviance', edited by M. David Ermann and Richard J. Lundman: <i>Ralph Millner</i> ; 'The Elderly at Home', Audrey Hunt: <i>Doris Allison</i> ; 'Time Off', Robert Mackmurdo, and 'Appointment and Functions of Safety Representatives, Part 1', Bowes Egan: <i>Jock Shanley</i> ; 'Business Imperialism 1840-1930', edited by D. C. M. Platt, <i>D. Ben Rees</i>	495
Publications Received	503
From the Media	504
Index to Volume LX	505
Frank Exhortations Nicola Seyd	511

Survey—October 4, 1978

WORKERS UNITE AGAINST MULTINATIONALS

'One of the ways in which the capitalist system is trying to escape from the worsening crisis is through the development of the transnational corporations. To this end, they have embarked upon a vast movement of concentration and restructuring at an international level. This movement is increasing. With the direct aid of the capitalist states they are strengthening their hold over the principal sectors of production in the capitalist world—in the high output industries as well as in those using advanced technology. The centralisation of scientific and technological knowledge in the hands of an ever smaller number of transnational companies is being carried out with the assistance and complicity of the most powerful of the capitalist states. . . . It is normal that in the present period of internationalisation of production developing countries co-operate with capitalist countries through the channels of state to state bilateral agreements. Often it is the transnational corporations that are responsible for implementing these agreements . . . The participants in the 9th World Trade Union Congress call upon the workers and their trade union organisations, whatever their international affiliation, to create all the conditions necessary to act in unison by developing at all levels (local, national, regional, international) their initiatives for action, which is the only way to curb the activity of the transnational corporations, the cornerstone on which attempts to save the capitalist system depend.'

(Resolution of the World Federation of Trade Unions Congress, April 1978)

Labour's Revolt

The overwhelming defeat by 4,017,000 to 1,924,000 of the government's 5 per cent wage freeze by the Labour Party Conference is a sign that active Labour supporters do not fancy facing an election on this policy. Resulting from this defeat the *Times* on October 3 wrote:

In an election campaign Mr Callaghan now risks appearing more severely divided from his party over pay than he is from the Conservatives. More immediately, in its own pay negotiations with public service workers the government faces a much more difficult task in enforcing 5 per cent settlements.

The *Times* carried a headline: 'Mr Callaghan challenges unions . . . to find alternative.' But the trade union leaders have proposed

alternatives again and again to no avail. They have demanded a firm control on prices and profits, more public ownership, more finance for the National Enterprise Board—all to no avail. Messrs Callaghan and Healey have obviously been obsessed with the capitalist theory that wages alone account for price rises. They have completely ignored the extent to which monopolies nowadays fix prices—with no regard to real value, just 'charging what the traffic will bear.' Naturally, in pursuing this policy it is useful to inflate 'costs' as much as possible and in this multinational age it is relatively easy.

One of the main faults of the present government has been its total reliance on, rather than control of, the big business multinationals. To correct inflation, control must be exerted over these forces, yet it is in this field that the government has remained weak.

Only if Callaghan accepts the policy of the Labour Party Conference can Labour, united, face the country in an election. Unfortunately, the day after his defeat a buoyant 'Uncle Jim' lectured Conference as if no defeat had taken place and insisted with an undemocratic stubbornness that is hard to believe that wages were the main cause of inflation—throughout threatening that his defeated policy would be pursued if inflation increased.

Not one word about trying to modify his policy to meet Conference's declared wish but only attacks on Conference for giving no guidance as to alternatives.

Peugeot-Citroën

In our *Survey* last month we noted the news that the firm of Peugeot in France was bidding to take over Chrysler UK and we quoted the *Sunday Times* for the report that the government had agreed in principle though it intended meeting the trade unionists concerned to discuss the 'implications'. We noted with regret that consultation with the unions should have come only after the government's mind was made up. Subsequent reports suggest that the *Sunday Times* was not far out and the deal has now officially been endorsed.

The whole affair underlines how right is the WFTU resolution quoted above, where it refers to the 'direct aid of the capitalist states' being given to the vast multinationals (transnationals) to concentrate and restructure in the present crisis. While Chrysler UK was an American-owned company, part of Chrysler's multinational network, the fact that it had been generously subsidised by the British government had already given us an interest in it more than would

usually be the case. Demands by workers' organisations that we nationalise the firm instead of letting it simply pass from mainly American to mainly French control were sound expressions of socialism which the government has, as so often, ignored.

We are told, again and again, that we must fight inflation. And the way to do this, according to our establishment, Labour or Tory, is to freeze wages. Yet never do our establishmentarians face up to the fact that in the modern age of monopoly capitalism profits are yielded as much by overcharging on goods (selling above their value in ways which were impossible when Marx wrote *Capital*). Read the three volumes of *Capital* and you will note that competitive capitalism is always assumed, while monopoly is treated as a rare phenomenon not affecting consumption goods. It is only on page 209 of Vol 3 of *Capital* (Kerr edition) that Marx notes that for prices to correspond to values there must be 'sufficient quantities to meet natural requirements' without 'accidental or artificial monopoly'. Where such conditions exist, then it becomes possible 'to sell commodities above their value'.

In the world of today such conditions indeed do exist. Not only have monopolies developed in most capitalist countries (allegedly 'controlled' in Britain by the Monopolies Commission) but international corporations have been set up by a process of merger and take-over so that, registered in one country they sell in many. Such companies function as monopolies wherever they can—which occurs wherever they can cut out competition. But in certain countries they are still forced to face some degree of competition. The Peugeot-Citroën deal means a transfer of ownership from Chrysler, a well-entrenched US multinational to a French-registered company, also with multinational ramifications. The result of this deal is that Peugeot-Citroën will now be one of the largest car providers in Europe, as Mr Varley told the House of Commons.

The Scottish TUC has welcomed the news with a certain degree of caution, based on the assurance that the Linwood works (Chrysler in Scotland) will not be adversely affected. Peugeot has undertaken to provide continued employment 'to the extent consistent with prevailing economic conditions', and Chrysler is promised parity of treatment with all other members of the group (*Morning Star*, September 29). The assistant secretary of the Scottish TUC warned that trade union pressure might be expected if Peugeot-Citroën's 'declaration of intent' is not adhered to.

To one who is not directly involved, the government and trade union leaders have appeared rather too willing to accept a multi-

national's 'declaration of intent', especially when this is said to depend on 'prevailing economic conditions'. We know how the Monopolies Commission has been bought off time and again by just such references, and the government appears no nearer than before to taking a realistic stand.

How otherwise can we explain the situation which has arisen concerning the proposed merger of Allied Breweries and J. Lyons as described in the *Daily Telegraph* by William Kay on September 23 as follows:

The government surprised many City observers yesterday by announcing that it will not ask the Monopolies Commission to investigate Allied Breweries' £60 million bid for J. Lyons. . . . There is a marked contrast between the conciliatory tone of the Prices Secretary giving his blessing to the 'cakes and ale' merger, and the belligerent tone of the Green Paper on mergers earlier this year, which urged a 'neutral' stance on mergers, instead of assuming that they are basically a good thing.

A Whitehall spokesman is quoted: 'We could not turn this one down . . . it was really a rescue bid.' Just like the Peugeot-Chrysler deal! Which all goes to show that the present Labour government looks to multinationals and monopolies to save capitalism instead of stepping in with socialist ownership as the only alternative.

It will be remembered that one of the campaigning points for joining the European Common Market was preservation of competition. This claim has recently been put to the test—and succeeded, only to be reversed later. The Swiss-based multinational, the drug corporation Hoffman-La Roche, was fined DM 1 million two years ago by the European Commission. Offence: the multinational had

abused its dominant position in the vitamins market by making it impossible for rivals to compete for certain contracts and by effectively dictating prices. . . . Hoffman-La Roche immediately appealed. . . . the Advocate-General's opinion . . . which marks the penultimate stage . . . but . . . is purely advisory . . . agreed with the European Commission's basic findings but said the . . . guilt was so small that the fine should be waived. Hoffman-La Roche said . . . that competition law in the European Economic Community is so unclear the 'we could not reasonably have been expected to know whether we were breaking it or not.' (Sue Cameron, *Financial Times*, September 21)

The final ruling on the appeal 'is expected soon'. The allegation about EEC laws on competition is understandable when we appreciate the extent to which the EEC itself practises 'artificial monopoly' in its agricultural policy. The beef, butter, and sugar 'mountains' and wine 'lake' have become popular terms for the vast hoards of

unsold agricultural produce hoarded by the EEC with the deliberate intent of keeping up prices. The EEC is thus creating 'artificially' a monopoly price situation which is not eliminated by an occasional release of cheaper butter—either to the Soviet consumer or to ourselves.

Fords

The strike at Fords which is involving 23 works in Britain and Northern Ireland is a clear response to the firm's adherence to the government's 5 per cent pay limit for the coming year. Fords is of course one of the American-based multinationals, and we remember not long ago when it threatened to transfer business elsewhere. But, as the largest car producer in Britain, since it replaced Leyland in the first half of last year, it gave a pay rise greater than the government's last limit (10 per cent) and suffered no retaliation. Ford's workers are naturally not accepting the 5 per cent limit from a UK company whose profits have risen from £14.1 million in 1973 to £65.4 million in 1975 and £121.6 million in 1976. It is clear that the government's threat of retaliation if Fords give in to the present wage demand is an act solely in accord with the multinational's profit motive. On September 30 the *Financial Times* published a report from its labour correspondent Alan Pike that the

Ford strike hardened still further into a direct assault on the government's 5 per cent pay guidelines yesterday when union negotiators refused to take up a tentative offer of informal talks with the company Mr Ron Todd (National Organiser of the Transport and General Workers' Union) . . . accused Ford of using the government's guidelines as a 'shield'. He said the Ford workers had not set out to attack the Labour government but the strike . . . could last for weeks . . . until the company was willing to bargain in a free spirit. Meanwhile the Ford strike leaders are planning meetings with unions at the company's European factories to discuss ways of tightening the effects of the British action.

This decision, it should be noted, is entirely consistent with the WFTU resolution quoted at the beginning. Already, on October 12, the *Morning Star* was able to report international backing from the International Metalworkers' Federation with news that overtime would be banned in Ford's other European works for the purpose of producing cars or parts for the British market.

So international trade union action against a powerful multinational is taking place. If only the Labour government would realise that such action today is vital for governments as well as unions in fighting inflation.

Bingham

In the general hubbub caused by the Bingham Report on how the oil sanctions were evaded, Kevin Done was afforded most of the leader page in the *Financial Times* of September 23 to write on 'Bingham's lessons for multinationals'. According to the writer the Report

poses serious questions about how far the modern multinational can control its far-flung interests around the world, particularly when these come into conflict with opposing governments' policies and irreconcilable legal demands.

The article then points out that, according to Bingham,

in the early days after sanctions were imposed on December 17, 1965, both the government and the oil companies did strive to make them work. By April Rhodesia's only refinery . . . was shut down . . . Bingham drily remarks in his report: 'The stopping of crude oil supplies was . . . the first, perhaps the only, victory won by the oil sanction policy.' In the early months of 1966, as supplies in Rhodesia dwindled, its supporters in South Africa began to organise oil deliveries by lorry. . . .

A more reliable supply route was worked out involving BP and Shell plus other multinationals such as Total, Mobil, Caltex, Sonarep and the Lourenço Marques refinery in Mozambique.

The method of procurement was simple. Rhodesia used South African intermediaries, largely Freight Services in Shell's case, to order the oil products. These were pumped aboard rail tankers in Lourenço Marques. The trains, instead of crossing . . . into . . . South Africa, took a branch line to the north and headed into Rhodesia. Shell Mozambique—a British registered company supplied at first unsuspected, since it was responding to orders from the South African firm Parry Leon and Hayhoe, who were later replaced by Freight Services.

A Mr Louis Walker, a South African citizen, began to suspect what was happening. But he failed to communicate his suspicions to London for two years. Until early 1968 he continued to misinform London that Shell Mozambique was not supplying Rhodesia direct. This 'was stretching the truth thinner than London would dare to tolerate once it discovered the facts.' The fact that BP and Shell sent nobody to South Africa to investigate the rumours which had arisen was partly due to the strenuous South African official secrets legislation and also to the fact that such action

would have been entirely alien to the relationship . . . between the groups and fully incorporated subsidiaries. Instructions . . . had been given . . .

implementation of that policy was for the local general manager... Receiving assurances from the local general manager that the policy was being followed, Shell (and at second hand BP) accepted these assurances at their face value.

Portuguese reports of the sanctions violation were dismissed. Shell and BP, once the facts were known in early 1968, took their time before communicating with George Thomas, Commonwealth Secretary. And even then certain facts were withheld: '... ignorance led Her Majesty's Government and the top management of the groups unwillingly to make statements and give assurances which they would not have done with full knowledge of the facts.'

With this quotation Kevin Done concludes his article, having drawn attention to a new weakness of multinationals: first, friction between governments on whose territory they and subsidiaries operate; and secondly, lack of adequate communication and control by the parent body.

It is clear from the millionaire-owned press that the Tories are determined to place the blame on the government for the sanctions fiasco, failing to note that any Tory administration would have taken assurances from a multinational corporation just as readily or more so.

The fact is that the sanctions policy is in ruins, and the demand by independent African states that the same policy be now applied to South Africa is a logical solution, but again liable to be undermined by multinational manoeuvring. Is this not an occasion on which a rejuvenated Special Branch, MI5 and MI6 could be put on to the job of checking on how the multinationals were applying sanctions?

A recent development, reported in the *Times* of October 3 by Fred Emery alleged that a letter has been deposited by R. W. (Tiny) Rowland of Lonrho with the *Times* showing that Tanzania's recent action against his multinational had the support of the British Foreign Office. Questioned at Blackpool, Dr Owen intimated that legal action might be taken.

Crown Agents

Her Majesty the Queen has the reputation of being one of the wealthiest women in the world. Her private fortune remains an official secret. It is not administered by the 'Crown Agents'. Owing to substantial losses by these same 'Agents' in the recent period an inquiry is now taking place. According to Peter Scott, QC on behalf of the tribunal, quoted in the *Times* of September 25, the Agents

managed... funds and portfolios as agents and received management fees. On December 31, 1970, the Crown Agents were managing stocks, shares, bonds and money worth £824 million and had in their possession 85,000 fine ounces of gold; by the end of 1974 the funds and portfolios in their management were worth £719 million, a drop of more than £100 million, and the same amount of gold... the Bank of England were aware that the Crown Agents were managing those portfolios. They plainly gave their assent to what was happening with them.

The Crown Agents functioned without any exchange control on the ground that they 'were an emanation of the Crown.' The Crown Agents were 'custodians of sterling balances to the tune of 24 per cent of the country's entire official reserves. The Crown Agents have invested abroad substantially and not always wisely. Sir Stephen Luke, the first chairman, in his evidence to the tribunal described its

course of investment and money-lending... which ended in final disaster taking in November 1967 a 40 per cent shareholding in a small merchant bank, using their own money to buy their way into the company with Bank of England approval. (Peter Pryke, *Daily Telegraph*, September 28)

'From then on the tribunal heard that the Crown Agents put huge sums of money into the money and property markets until the financial collapse of 1974, in which they sustained a loss of £207 million.' The tribunal was informed of a letter from an accountant, Peter Nowers, of August 1971 warning that the Crown Agents' office had 'lost its sense of direction.' The tribunal was adjourned to October 4.

This tribunal, just like the Bingham inquiry, will be made the most of to show the Labour government's incompetence—this time in handling public property. It should not indeed be maintained that the management of national property under successive Labour governments has changed fundamentally. In fact, as Martyn Sloman has pointed out*:

The intensity of the Labour Party's post-war debates demonstrates the central place that public ownership occupies in orthodox British socialism. The failure to undertake a parallel debate on the organisation of publicly owned industry has, however, created a gap between theory and practice. Quite simply there have been insufficient attempts to relate the organisation structure and the operational rules of the nationalised industries to the socialist ideas that are held by many supporters of public ownership. (p 20)

**Socialising Public Ownership*, Martyn Sloman, Macmillan, 160 pp, £7.95.

The stereotype has been the public corporation. And as is well known the policies followed have come perilously near those of private monopolies again and again. The Crown Agents are of course not a nationalised industry but were a state-owned financial institution long before, but Labour government influence has obviously not changed policy fundamentally and its turn—as noted by the accountant, Peter Nowers, in the apparatus—to ‘money-making as an end in itself’ (*Daily Telegraph*, September 23) had simply been allowed to run on till it was faced by disaster.

The administration of nationalised industries and the Crown Agents under a Labour government all demand a qualitative change from capitalist principles. ‘The development of a new management style can be assisted by positive government support,’ writes Martyn Sloman (p 148). Reference is made to movement between publicly owned industries, but how can the Crown Agents be tackled while the Crown itself is not a socialised institution? To put the administration at least into competent hands is possible and why should not the investment potentialities be utilised in co-operation with the National Enterprise Board?

Such a change would at least co-ordinate the investment policy of the Crown Agents with that of the Labour-created NEB and redeem their investment policy from involving itself in flights abroad of capital more appropriately used at home.

Southern Africa

The flight of Premier Callaghan to explain away the sanctions crisis in a face-to-face meeting with President Kaunda of Zambia went off politely but with firm insistence that the Africans desire that positive steps now be taken against South Africa. The replacement of Vorster as Premier by Botha, the former foreign minister, with Mr Vorster as new President, does not suggest any basic change in South African policy.

Dr David Owen has promised the United Nations a British armed force of 1,000 for peace-keeping. He has since gone out of his way to forecast a British veto on a Security Council resolution on sanctions against South Africa. How such a veto should follow the Kaunda visit remains to be seen. There can be little doubt that Africans will once again say ‘Perfidious Albion’.

An interesting book on life in South Africa has just appeared from the pen of Bettie du Toit*. South African by birth and now, totally blind, living in London, Bettie spent years in South Africa

**Ukubamba Amadolo: Workers' Struggles in the South African Textile Industry*, Bettie du Toit, Onyx Press, 146 pp, £6.

working for a living and as a trade union organiser. She played a leading part in organising the African Workers' Textile Industrial Union and consistently struggled against apartheid. She was finally, like many other trade unionists white or black, deprived of the right to conduct any trade union activity. She eventually found her way to Ghana.

The period covered by this book is from the 1930s to the 1970s. Over this period we see the growth of trade unionism among the Africans, and see the extraordinary obstacles they have had to overcome. Not least of these has been the acceptance of 'white' trade unionism among the whites so that by 1975 the House of Representatives was informed of only 2,000 African committees in more than 30,000 factories, or less than 7 per cent. 'The black workers were not prepared to be saddled with bogus representation or company unions' (op cit, p 121).

To get an idea, and the atmosphere, of life in South Africa every trade unionist, textile worker or not, should read this book. The press is free enough about massacres, but very cautious about pass-books, the black South African's passport to life, which he must always have with him or face arrest. Throughout her life in South Africa Bettie du Toit fought apartheid, and she now recommends a nationwide go-slow—expressed in the title of the book *Ukubamba Amadolo*. She concludes with the original proposition:

Were the African workers to go to work as usual, filling those buses and trains and, instead of working normally, conduct go-slow strikes within the premises of their employers, functioning *en masse*, victory would ultimately and inevitably be theirs. . . . It is a tactic that has proved successful in local skirmishes. (p 126)

'Vorster is still in control of the laager,' headlined the *Sunday Times* on September 24. Now, with Botha as Premier and Vorster as President, South Africa continues along its fascist path. David Owen, in this situation, threatens to invoke the Security council veto against South African sanctions. Once again the Labour government in on the wrong side.

Camp David and After

When President Carter summoned Begin and Sadat to 'peace talks' at Camp David, the end of the talks was met with such euphoria that any visitor from another planet might have been convinced that peace had really been secured.

However, no sooner were the celebrations over than cracks began to appear in the new structure. It is true that Begin has won approval in the Knesset, but at the cost of some members of his own party, and growing dissatisfaction among settlers on the West Bank. And while Sadat was welcomed home appropriately in Cairo he is now openly opposed by Syria, Jordan, Algeria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and other Arabs free from US influence. A special mission of Mr Vance to the Middle East has not smoothed things over as hoped, and now it has been announced that President Carter has summoned a recall Egypt-Israel meeting (*Times*, October 3).

Surprise Events

The patterns with which we ended the *Survey* last month have not been consistent. Pope John Paul I has not lived out his reign to the expected length but passed away in his sleep within 33 days.

In Iran a revolution against the Shah seemed to be gaining momentum when a natural earthquake occurred killing between 10 and 20 thousand, and appeared in its severity to outweigh all human signs of revolt. But newspapers once again refer to strikes. Unfortunately the weight of the British government had been used in support of the Shah's reactionary regime.

In Nicaragua the fighting continues, but there are reports that the US has sent a Mr Jordan as envoy to dictator Somosa. So much for President Carter's love of humanitarianism! In contrast, the International Monetary Fund has 'shelved' a credit (*Financial Times*, September 19), and the Nicaraguan Ambassador to the UN has resigned in protest at Somosa's atrocities (*Morning Star*, September 30).

In Britain the Campaign Against the Arms Trade is backing the workers of Lucas for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1979 in recognition of their corporate plan for peaceful production to replace the firm's military work. The corporate plan was developed by shop stewards' committees at the company's seventeen sites on the basic demand for the 'right to work on socially useful and needed products and technologies' to replace redundancies. The plan recommended production of 150 new products but was rejected by the firm. If the Lucas workers are awarded a Nobel prize this will be a landmark not only for British workers but for the Nobel prize itself.

'New optimism on SALT', headlined the *Financial Times* to a leading article on October 3. It went on: 'Both Washington and Moscow are once again making encouraging noises about prospects

for the signature of a new strategic arms limitation agreement (SALT II).' This at last, after long delay, holds out a ray of hope to the world. The leader adds that 'there is now much less talk in Washington of linking a new SALT agreement to Soviet good behaviour in other areas.' This is well and good. It is regrettable that a British union, the National and Local Government Officers' Association, has postponed an exchange with the corresponding Soviet trade union on the ground of alleged Soviet violation of civil liberties. What indeed would be NALGO's reaction if the boot were on the other foot and the Soviet delegation refused to visit a country responsible for the terror in Northern Ireland?

Every country has its own laws and its own way of observing them. As has been widely pointed out in the US, no country's treatment of this issue stands entirely above approach. It is a pity when a British trade union falls for the campaign of the monopoly press that the USSR is alone on this issue.

The Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party has decided to boycott the British government's inquiry following the revelations of Amnesty International this summer concerning torture being used. Denis Canavan, on behalf of the SDLP, said 'the committee would do best simply to wind itself up and declare in favour of the legal changes demanded by Amnesty.' (*Morning Star*, September 30).

At the US Assembly the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was unfortunately taken ill in the course of his speech. However the full text has been made available by Novosti Press Agency. Gromyko pointed out that the socialist countries had 'put forward fresh proposals in Vienna recently which even in the West have been recognised as constructive. We are expecting a practical and positive response to them.'

Maybe these proposals inspired the optimistic leader we have quoted from the *Financial Times*.

Pat Sloan

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FORDS—THE FACTS

Ron Todd*

National Organiser
Transport and General Workers' Union

ON August 24, 1978, the Ford trade unions presented to the company their Wages and Conditions Application for 1978/79 against the background of a company highly profitable and widely regarded as one of Britain's most successful companies. It was our submission that part of that success story must be attributable to the workers in the company. Both in terms of vast profits and future profitability we believed that the company were well in a position to have met all the aspirations in our claim.

In our submissions we illustrated that all the increases could be met without either putting up prices of Ford products and so contributing to inflation, or taking away money from much needed investment programmes.

The main items of the claim were a minimum £20 increase on basic rates, a reduction of five hours in the working week, and improvements in annual holidays, together with other fringe benefits.

In relation to the claim for reduced hours, we submitted that this would have an employment creation impact, so bargaining for jobs was an integral part of the claim.

We spelt out in considerable detail why we believe that Ford UK can afford to meet our claim, and our arguments were not based on one profitability-year in isolation. In estimating Ford UK's 1977 profits we indicated that they were double the 1976 pre-tax profit of £121.6 million. Our estimate was of a high degree of accuracy as illustrated by the 1977 figures of £236 million pre-tax profit.

Our projection to the company for 1978 is for £300 million pre-tax profits on a historic cost basis. This is after allowing for depreciation and also assuming that the main elements in our pay claim were achieved.

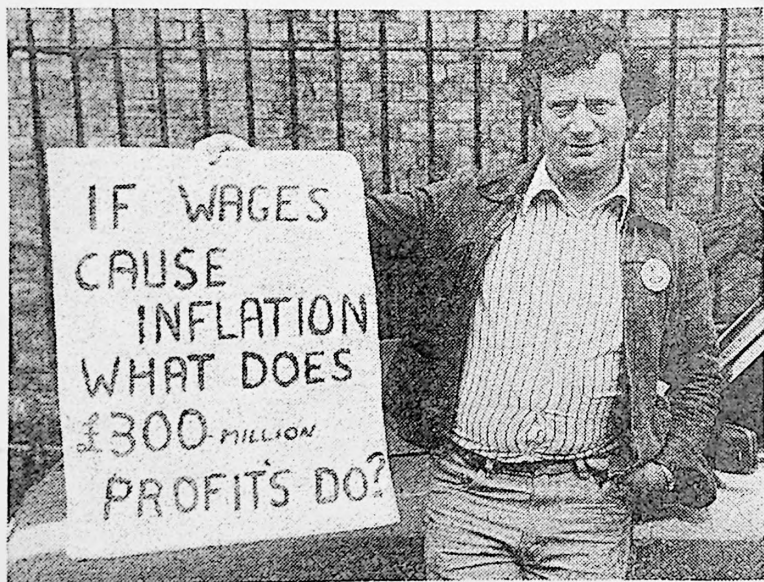
When we met the company on Thursday, September 21, 1978, in their reply they indicated that their response to the claim was taking full regard of the provisions of the government incomes policy. On the question of wages they offered an increase in the weekly basic wage of 5 per cent. They also indicated that they would be prepared to make additional payment if agreement could be reached on a plan for improved efficiency and capacity utilisation.

* Ron Todd is the Chairman of the Trade Union Side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Council.

They rejected the claim for a reduction in hours and for sabbatical leave and holidays, and they rejected all the remaining application with the exception of the holiday bonus in which regard they offered to increase the yearly bonus by £3.50. This was totally rejected by the unions, who insisted that we enter into free collective bargaining with the company on the basis of their ability to meet the claims, and not on arbitrary guidelines.

Following the announcement of the company's offer there was a spontaneous reaction from the plants, and within 24 hours 18,000 men had walked out. Their anger was understandable when you consider that in last year's offer, following a profit of £121 million, the company indicated that they could afford to give a Grade B worker £7.50, yet in 1978—having achieved a profit of £246 million—their offer to the Grade B man was £3.40. The men on the shop floor saw a situation where, whilst Ford's profits are climbing rapidly, their wage offers are going in the opposite direction.

At the Trade Union Side meeting on Friday, September 22, following a total rejection of the company's offer, I left the meeting and telephoned the Employee-Relations Director for Ford, Mr Paul



Photograph by courtesy of the *Morning Star*

Roots, to elicit the company's attitude with regard to free collective bargaining. His response was to the effect that the company had to 'face the realities of life.' This brought about an impasse between us, and in considering the company's views and all other relevant factors the Trade Union Side also had to face the realities of life. As a consequence, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The Trade Union Side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, having contacted the Ford Motor Company in an unsuccessful attempt to establish free collective bargaining, totally rejects the company's offer as expressed yesterday in response to the unions' Wages and Conditions Application, and decides to support the action of its members against what we consider to be a derisory offer. We further agree to recommend to the respective executives of signatory unions that they fully support any industrial action taken against the Ford Motor Company because of the company's refusal to negotiate in a free collective bargaining situation.

This was notified to the company, together with the trade union statement that we would be prepared to meet them at any time and anywhere, so long as they were prepared to discuss the problems between us in a free collective bargaining situation. By Monday, September 25, all the Ford plants in the United Kingdom were at a standstill.

In the resulting publicity, the company chose to make great play about 'poor performance' by its UK workforce, which is amazing when you consider that this came from a company who, prior to our wage claim, refused—under the Disclosure of Information arrangements—to provide the full details which we requested on capital investment, manning levels, production achievements and profit figures in relation to Ford's European workers. The company justified this refusal by saying that it had no relevance to collective bargaining in the UK. Nevertheless they chose to quote figures to indicate the man-hours required to complete an Escort at Halewood in comparison with Saar Louis.

If there is going to be this type of dialogue on productivity, I would have thought that the company would provide all the figures relating to its European operations and not just its own interpretation.

Productivity is dependent not just on the performance of workers but also on the equipment used, the work methods (which are management-determined) and management skills, and we have asked repeatedly for more investment in Ford UK, in the confidence that this, together with an improvement in wages and conditions of the Ford workers, would increase the level of productivity.

One thing we do make faster than the European plants is profit,

and this is because of the low wages and production costs which exist in Ford of Britain.

As I stated in the presentation to the company, the claim was in many ways a test case in the new development of collective bargaining. We presented what we believed to be a socially responsible programme of demands to increase the quality of working life for our members, and to increase employment. We illustrated how this could be done without increased prices or harm to profitability in an already highly profitable company. Ultimately Ford profitability depends on its work force. The conclusion of a bargain freely negotiated and based on the ability of the company to meet the claims would go a long way to creating conditions for a long-term enduring success story for Ford Motor Company.

SECRETS . . .

Patricia Hewitt

Secretary

National Council for Civil Liberties

IN January this year, the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) wrote to the Economic League asking them to disclose the contents of the file they held on a trade union activist. 'We do not maintain files on individuals and therefore we cannot help you,' was the League's reply.

Six months later, the *Guardian* revealed what had been widely known for some years—that the Economic League maintains a subscribers-only blacklist on trade unionists. *Guardian* reporters who phoned the League, giving a subscriber's code-number, were told that two London activists, Kevin Halpin and Tom Durkin, were a 'couple of right villains' and not to be employed.

NCCL is investigating the possibility of legal action against the League. But the League blacklist is only part of the growing problem of secret files, references and blacklists against which individual workers have virtually no legal protection.

In 1976, the Employment Appeal Tribunal (EAT) upheld the dismissal of a Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) member who had given a false name in order to get employment in defiance of a Birmingham Council instruction that he should not be employed. The EAT judgment said:

Mr Beyer is a man of deep conviction who feels that his sincerely held views

of a militant progressive nature compel him to enlist all building and construction workers into the well-known trades union known as UCATT. His motives may be admirable but his methods over the last few years have in certain quarters earned criticism and even hostility.

The true position in this case is that he was dismissed because he was discovered in a dishonest subterfuge to which he resorted in order to get round a *justifiable embargo* against his employment resulting from his activities [emphasis added].

The Employment Protection Act, of course, makes it unlawful for an employer to victimise a worker for joining a union or taking part in its activities. But it does nothing to help the person who is victimised for union activities by being refused a job in the first place. Blacklists and victimisation are, it seems, lawful.

Active trade unionists are not the only people to suffer from secret records. Henry O'Brien was dismissed by the Prudential Assurance company because he had a history of mental illness and because he had failed to disclose his medical history when he applied for the job. Everyone agreed that Mr O'Brien was an excellent employee, entirely capable of doing his job. But the tribunal decided that the Prudential's policy of not employing people with a history of mental illness was lawful, and that Mr O'Brien's dismissal was fair. MIND (National Association for Mental Health) are representing Mr O'Brien in an appeal against the tribunal decision.

A recent college leaver, who came to NCCL for help, discovered that he was being refused employment on the basis of a supposed history of mental illness—despite the fact that he had never been mentally ill! After about 90 unsuccessful job applications and interviews, he was taken on by a school as a laboratory technician. His contract said that, because his references mentioned his history of mental illness, the employers would need to be satisfied that he was entirely well before confirming the appointment. But this student had never been treated for mental illness although, like many students, he had been somewhat depressed and withdrawn in his first year. His head of department, who didn't know him well, later apologised for the 'unfortunate wording' of his reference—as did his tutor, who also didn't know the man well and had simply copied what the head of department had said!

The law is almost useless in dealing with such abuses. Employees have no legal right to see a record or reference: and, until you can see what the employer or former employer has to say about you, it is impossible to know what to do. NCCL investigated the possibility of a libel action on behalf of the college leaver whose job prospects

had been so harmed by an inaccurate reference. But we were advised that, because references are covered by 'qualified privilege', we would have to prove malice on the part of the departmental head in giving an inaccurate reference. Since the head later apologised for the harm he had done, he clearly wasn't being malicious—so nothing could be done.

A security guard who had been promised good references when he left his job, but then found himself barred from future employment, had been advised by his lawyer that he had a good case for libel. But he couldn't afford the £100 which his lawyer wanted: Since there is no legal aid for libel actions, very few people can afford to use even that legal protection. Some employers do, of course, allow their employees to see—and, if necessary, challenge—their personal records. The army, for instance, boasts in a recruiting advertisement:

Each year your senior officer writes a report on you. It gives his opinion of your development. . . . So how do you know it's a fair one? Suppose he has a grudge against you? There's a simple safeguard and basic human right built into the process. The report is shown to you before anyone else. . . . Nothing is done behind your back.

Quoting this precedent, the Society of Civil and Public Servants has recently started a campaign for open reporting within the Civil Service by asking its members to show any report to the person on whom the report is made, before passing the report on.

The National Union of Teachers membership card contains a clause instructing members who have to write reports on other teachers always to show the subject a copy of the report first. (Unfortunately, NUT's commitment to openness does not extend to allowing parents to see reports written on their children.) The Police Federation has campaigned for years for 'open reporting' on their members—although, unfortunately, they too seem less concerned about the fairness of the information they collect on members of the public.

In the United States, the Privacy Act gives every Federal employee the right to see his or her own record. Some states have similar legislation covering their employees. Records on school pupils and college students have been opened up for inspection and, where necessary, correction.

The right to see—and correct—personal records and references needs to be taken up through collective bargaining by the unions. Although employers will argue that an end to confidentiality would

mean an end to 'frankness', workers who have suffered from secret records know that only a commitment to openness will end the practice of storing and passing on information which is inaccurate, irrelevant or unfounded.

But the right to see employment files must also be taken up as part of the campaign for open government. Two new laws are needed. A privacy law, to ensure that personal records are opened up to inspection and correction by the individual they concern. And a freedom of information law, to replace the long-discredited Official Secrets Act, with a law which (to quote the 1974 Labour Party Manifesto) would place the onus on government to justify withholding information from the public.

MICRO-PROCESSORS

Tim Webb

National Officer

Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs

IT is extremely difficult nowadays to open a magazine or newspaper and not find some reference to micro-electronics and, more particularly, the micro-processor.

It is usually accompanied by a pun relating to 'chips'—referring, of course, to the silicon not the potato variety. Politicians of all colours genuflect to the micro-processor in attempts to prove varying and usually conflicting conclusions in a faint echo of Harold Wilson's 'white-hot heat of technology' speeches of 1964. Remembering the confident scientific and political predictions in the mid-1950s of the then imminent use of nuclear energy that would soon replace coal, and also the pundits' view that the computer would take over manual and clerical jobs by the late 'sixties, it would be easy to be somewhat cynical in response to the forecasts of the micro-processor 'revolution'.

However, the subject should be taken seriously by the labour movement as there is one significant difference between previous technological break-throughs and recent developments in micro-electronics, and that difference is cost, a factor which appeals to every private and public sector employer. Nuclear power stations and large mainframe computer systems are extremely expensive, and their manufacture and use are mainly restricted to large organisations. The current cost of a micro-processor is around £5 and, while its manufacture is itself highly automated and technically interesting

for practitioners in that field, it is its potential widespread application that should concern us most.

Basically, the micro-processor which contains the integrated circuit, or chip, is one of the family of semi-conductors, and performs high-speed, simple calculations rather than the more complicated data processing functions of the central processor in a conventional mainframe computer system. It serves as the central control point in any machine in which it is inserted. In the next two years chips with 64,000 elements or circuits, printed or etched on to a surface less than the area of a fingernail, will be produced. The possibilities of chips with everything are almost there but have so far been limited by the failure of British industry to comprehend their potential, whereas their main overseas competitors are swiftly developing products that use micro-electronics in the fields of *communications*—electronically controlled telephone exchanges and subscriber apparatus—Viewdata and Prestel, the means of obtaining detailed commercial information through a telephone and visual display unit (VDU); *home entertainment*—Teletext, the TV newspaper—video cassette recorders and video discs, sophisticated TV games; *medicine*—body scanners and patient monitoring systems—heart pacemakers—self diagnosis equipment; *offices and commerce*—the word processor, the electronic self-adjusting typewriter with a memory which can reproduce standard letters automatically—automated financial and cashless transactions at banks and large stores that can instantly debit or credit customers' bank accounts; *manufacturing*—electronically controlled machine tools—mass production involving robotic methods of assembly—motor car digital instrumentation that can make adjustments to speed and direction with advanced warning systems.

The above are just a few of the possible applications but all could have a major impact on employment levels. It will not have escaped the notice of company managements in the private sector, after years of failure to invest in modern plant and machinery, that there will be highly attractive possibilities of radically reducing labour costs.

The potential scale of reduction can be judged by the replacement of electro-mechanical equipment by electronic switching systems in the telecommunications manufacturing industry where employment has dropped by one-third in six years—from 91,057 in 1971 to 56,817 in 1977.

The effects of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts could be partially dissipated as women workers in offices, banks and shops will find their traditional job opportunities in banks, shops and

offices blocked and with lessened promotional prospects. School leavers will find it increasingly difficult to gain employment. The British trade union movement is not universally known to anticipate technological developments and create appropriate strategies in advance of their application but it can be fairly said that micro-electronics was a main topic of discussion at this year's TUC. This was acknowledged by the electronics journal, *Computer Weekly*, which said in an editorial that the trade unions were the only major sector of society giving serious consideration to the problem with all its social implications. After a wide ranging debate Congress called on the government to:

- (1) establish and develop British research and manufacture in this field;
- (2) Provide adequate training facilities to meet both manpower and manufacturing requirements;
- (3) Develop national and local plans to maintain and, if possible, expand job opportunities in adversely affected areas;
- (4) Give high priority to a comprehensive study of the employment and social consequences of advances in micro-electronic technology;
- (5) Consider resultant opportunities for greater leisure time;
- (6) Establish pre-emptive schemes of training, labour intensive and life-long educational job creation;
- (7) Support the move towards a shorter working week, month, year or lifetime, with no deterioration in living standards; and
- (8) Co-operate with overseas unions and governments towards an international agreement.

The TUC were also instructed to draw up a draft statement in consultation with affiliated unions and report to the 1979 congress. This is an important development but general statements and conferences will certainly not be enough, and a concerted campaign will be necessary with specific demands that can be appreciated and activated at trade union district and branch level. It would be important for the specific demands to include:

- (1) The statutory introduction of the 35-hour basic working week, without an increase in overtime, with its application to be jointly negotiated at plant level.
- (2) The establishment of the five-week minimum holiday, together with the lowering of the retirement age to 60.
- (3) Voluntary sabbatical leave to be taken after seven years of continuous service for all employees.
- (4) Management should be legally compelled to consult and reach agreement with the recognised trade unions prior to the installation of micro-electronic systems. A similar arrangement now operates in Scandinavia.

It has to be said that the current structure of society and industry in this country cannot adequately and humanly cope with a further

drastic loss of jobs. It has been clearly demonstrated that bodies such as the various Industry Training Boards and the Manpower Services Commission have little power and have not been able to ameliorate the ruthless job-reduction exercises of the private employer and the effect of public sector cuts. The Department of Employment currently pays far more attention to policing incomes restrictions than to considering the impact of technology on employment. Government reports on the subject have so far been significant only in that they have concentrated on the technological applications of micro-electronics and avoided the social issues.

The Redundancy Payments Act is now largely an anachronism in the face of potential widespread technological redundancy. The Act is based on relatively low lump-sum severance payments, and this one-off payment principle allows the employer to evade what should be a continuing social obligation to the discarded employee. Indeed, it often obscures the harsh reality of job loss from that employee. The whole concept of the work ethic needs to be questioned and the social stigma of not having a job during re-education and retaining will have to be removed.

The effect on employment patterns as well as numbers will be highly significant, and the trade unions that can recruit and organise employees trained in the new technology will grow in influence within the labour movement. New and more effective forms of industrial action should also be considered as possibilities. The micro-processor will not, in itself, produce a 'revolution', either political or industrial, but it may very well concentrate our minds on demands which are themselves useful, progressive and eventually essential.

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No 75

Fourth Quarter 1978

25p

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THE POLICE AND LIBERTY

F. H. Amphlett Micklewright

DURING recent years, a great deal of controversy has gone on in left-wing circles about the police force. On the one hand, there has been much discussion of the use of the police for political purposes. The police have been accused of oppressive behaviour at various demonstrations. A certain amount of confusion concerning police treatment of individuals has arisen out of the commonly forgotten fact that the status of political prisoner does not exist in English law. It is commonly assumed that the police force forms the strong arm of the governing classes. On the other hand, there has been a great deal of concern over the increase in violent crime and the need for criminal behaviour to be contained. Another image of the policeman as the friend of the law-abiding citizen has also coexisted, and such pictures as 'Dixon of Dock Green' have assisted in its propagation. As a result, a fundamental contradiction has grown up in the public mind concerning police action and the individual citizen.

It is perhaps unfortunate that all too little scholarly research has been published on the history of police forces. The late Tom Bowden was almost alone in seeking to fill the gap*. His thesis is beyond reproach. Police forces grew up from the end of the eighteenth century as security forces seeking to protect the government and thus to maintain the *status quo*. Bowden ranged over the continent of Europe and beyond to illustrate this thesis.

So far as Britain and Ireland are concerned, he was provided with an excellent example by the Royal Irish Constabulary. During the turbulent years of Irish revolt and the rise of Fenianism, the RIC established itself as the instrument of oppression at hand to be used by the occupying power. It was for this reason that the closing days of the struggle between the nationalists and the police.

The first police force was the Metropolitan Force established under the direct control of the Home Office. Although the RIC, the years of the Chartist struggle in which the new constabulary met the Chartist demands for political

at the policeman on the beat

London, Penguin, 302 pp, £1.25.

* See

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So far as Britain and Ireland are concerned, he was provided with an excellent example by the Royal Irish Constabulary. During the turbulent years of Irish revolt and the rise of Fenianism, the RIC established itself as the instrument of oppression at hand to be used by the occupying power. It was for this reason that the closing days of the struggle during the years immediately before 1922 saw open war between the nationalists and the police.

The first major English police force was the Metropolitan Force established in 1829 under the direct control of the Home Office. Although not so blatant as the RIC, the years of the Chartist struggle well illustrate the manner in which the new constabulary was used to suppress or contain the Chartist demands for political reform.

It was only as the force evolved that the policeman on the beat

* *Beyond the Limits of the Law*, Tom Bowden, Penguin, 302 pp, £1.25.

took on a new character. His early unpopularity gave way to a regard for the police as the foe of the criminal elements. There was a constant stress upon the fact that, save for a baton, they were unarmed and were civilians doing a particular job. The Criminal Investigation Department was developed, and provided a new approach towards the smashing of crime. The CID has many successes to its credit and managed to solve a number of notorious crimes. But it is too often forgotten that the governmental security side was never lost: the same years saw the Irish Branch, under such leaders as Sir Robert Anderson, evolve into the Special Branch, and a new type of political police undertake the old work of watching and containing working class movements.

The use of the police for governmental political ends is probably the greatest foe against the use of the police for the general protection of the private citizen. Unpopularity comes about, and the much-publicised exposure of a few corrupt policemen only serves to increase it. This is a fact that police reformers should consider. The present level of unpopularity has expanded to a point at which it threatens to parallel that of the eighteen-thirties and forties. It can be overcome only by stressing police duties concerning the protection of the law-abiding citizen.

One of the more serious problems faced by the modern police force is that of manning. Recruitment has shrunk to a level at which the police are seriously under strength. There is no longer the rush of recruitment which marked the years of mass unemployment in the 1930s when the force offered a safe job to the man of reasonable physique. As a result, police efficiency has suffered. Large firms and the like have found themselves unprotected. Strange activities demanding espionage of a certain type have come about and lie far beyond the scope of ordinary police duties.

As a result, new professions have come into being. Large forces have been recruited to offer security to buildings or to cash in transit. The profession of private detective has grown into that of private enquiry agent. There is no system of licensing or of control, with the result that anyone can set up an office and get to work. Some have been people with serious criminal convictions; others have been in trouble for doing a little blackmail on the side; yet others have found themselves in gaol for perjury in courts of law. A London barrister, Ms Hilary Draper*, labels these people as 'private police', and has written a first-rate survey which should be read by the

* *Private Police*, Hilary Draper, Penguin, 174 pp, 95p.

public at large. It is a frightening story reminiscent of an Orwellian world of 1984 dominated by science fiction.

Modern technology has developed a whole series of bugging devices which are on public sale and can be used to find out what is going on in a house or what is being said in a conversation several hundred yards away. Telephone-tapping is something which can be brought about with comparative ease by the use of a little ingenuity. Several of the private enquiry agents whose careers have come to an abrupt end have been found in possession of quantities of electronic devices and were well-equipped to undertake bugging upon a massive scale.

Nor must it be forgotten that methods of this kind are of the greatest use in such matters as industrial espionage and the poaching of secrets by rival undertakings. The evolution of security forces gives cause for some alarm. Over the years, the law has stepped in and has regulated their behaviour. It was made clear that they were not free to carry arms and to open fire in the event of attack. Batons were substituted, only to find that they were illegal under an Act passed in 1953 against the carrying of offensive weapons.

So far, there does not seem much evidence that these bodies of security guards have been used for political purposes, although there are some traces of their use for strike-breaking. But the fact must be faced. Just as the average policeman is an establishmentarian psychologically, so too do these privately recruited security guards depend upon capitalist enterprise resting upon the *status quo*. It is not a mere flight of imagination to picture their employers turning to them at some moment of political crisis, nor to believe that a force of this kind would, in the last resort, support those who had been their paymasters over the years.

The 'private police' situation is one which calls for a great deal of investigation and for the introduction of far-reaching changes. It would seem that nobody should be allowed to set up as a private investigator unless he has been thoroughly vetted and licensed. There are of course various fields where it will prove necessary to employ a private detective to investigate some person. Credit-worthiness is one obvious field for such activities. Over the years, private enquiry agents have been used by reputable solicitors in divorce enquiries. But these enquiries should be strictly limited in method and application. It is one thing to seek out something to assist in a defended divorce case. It is quite another matter if the information is used to extract money or to cause serious embarrassment.

Debt-collecting need not, and should not, mean a course of violent

harassment. Any investigator who used such methods should be firmly excluded from the profession by law, just as a barrister would be disbarred or a solicitor struck off the rolls. Doubtless, many investigators provide services in a perfectly reputable and proper manner. But the records of recent years show that there are disreputable investigators who should be checked in their careers and prevented from pursuing their evil courses.

Private armies of security men raise different questions. It may well be asked how far they are desirable in their present form. It certainly seems undesirable that they should be allowed to go about in a uniform which has every appearance of suggesting some sort of link with the official police. Nor can it be considered desirable that they carry a certificate of employment which the uninitiated could mistake quite easily for a police warrant card. There seems no reason why, for example, strongarm men guarding a transit of cash must wear an official uniform designed by their employers.

The Public Order Act, 1936, performed a valuable service by banning political uniforms. It might well be extended to ban both security uniforms and the sale of bugging devices to private individuals. The law should be modified and clarified so that the use by private individuals of such devices or of such practices as telephone-tapping would be turned into a specific criminal offence carrying with it very heavy penalties.

The question also arises as to whether the recruitment of private security armies is desirable in itself. If somebody needs a handful of men to protect some undertaking, he can hire them privately and they can act as his servants. There is no need to have a permanently organised pool of such men on which to draw. The rise of bodies like the Mosleyites of past years or the National Front of today serves as a warning against the recruitment of strong-arm groups for the carrying out of tasks in the field of public order. Incidentally, the private hirer of individual men on his own behalf might find that he is making a financial saving and providing a more efficient service to fulfill his interests. Ms Draper has several interesting accounts of the methods used by some security companies to cheat their customers.

Some reforms of this kind firmly applied would go far to take the Orwellian sting out of contemporary life. It is not a pleasant thought to remember that one's telephone could be tapped, that one's home or office could be bugged or that the man strolling along the path across the road may be a private investigator. It is unlikely that many citizens undergo such treatment, partly because it is too costly as an everyday activity. But the very fact that it could be so creates a

miasma of suspicion which corrupts society at large.

For example, the telephone service is no doubt run down, out of date and suffering badly from being worn out and in serious need of refurbishing. As a result, defects and crossed lines become the constant order of the day. Large numbers of people start sending in complaints that their telephones are being tapped. It could well be that only a microscopic number have been tapped whether officially or unofficially. Yet suspicion is at work and society is corrupted to this extent.

But taking a long term view, the whole working class movement could be put into peril by the introduction of devices of this kind. It has always suffered from the spy and it is not for nothing that the informer has a detested place in Irish political history. The situation is far more frightening when the spy or the informer is equipped with the various devices of modern technology and can further scare a society already corrupted by suspicion. The day of big brother is indeed at hand and political totalitarianism could be just round the corner. The working class movement should demand that the police should be used only for the protection of private individuals and not as a political security force. It should also demand that the whole area of private security forces and private investigators should be placed under close scrutiny and that very necessary reforms should at once be instituted.

One further point should be mentioned. There is no tort of infringement of privacy in English civil law although some American systems have managed to evolve such a cause of action. As a result, serious intrusions upon the right to privacy cannot be used alone as the grounds for an action in the civil courts. Efforts made from time to time to invoke the tort of nuisance have failed invariably. No nuisance in the legal sense has been committed. Thus, as in one case, it is not a cause of action in nuisance that one has decorated one's garden with mirrors which reflect the interior of a neighbour's rooms! From time to time, representatives of the less reputable newspapers have been guilty of a gross intrusion upon private grief. The issue has been much extended by the type of practices which Hilary Draper exposes in her book. Following the American model, it would be possible to shape a new tort which should cover the issue and which should make the offender liable to having unliquidated damages granted against him. It is unlikely that such a course would stop bugging and other obnoxious practices entirely but it would certainly cause some to think again before they resorted to intrusions upon privacy themselves.

SCOTTISH DEVOLUTION

Dennis Canavan MP

IT is very fashionable, these days, for nationalists to blame all Scotland's ills on the London (English) government. Looking around Scotland today, it is not difficult to find problems such as high unemployment, slum housing, multiple deprivation, maldistribution of wealth and one of the highest crime rates in Europe, to name but a few. However, the solution to those problems is a bit more complex than some imagine. A recent letter to the *Scotsman* even claimed that the high incidence of dental cases in Scotland was due to the fact that Scotland is not an independent state.

If John Mercer* has done nothing else, he had helped to expose the myth that, before the Act of Union, Scotland was a Utopia which will assuredly return with the great panacea of independence.

He shows how Scottish history influenced the contemporary political scene, with varying demands for devolution or independence or the *status quo*. The author's account does not contain the same degree of class analysis as, for example, Tom Johnston's *History of the Working Classes in Scotland*. Nevertheless, he outlines some of the historical reasons for the feeling of oppression by the Scottish proletariat.

As the old Scots parliament represented only 2,000 voters in Scotland, the people were never consulted about the Act of Union. The flames of discontent have burned ever since, fuelled by such events as the Jacobite rebellions, the cultural anglicisation, the Highland clearances, the absentee landlords, the growth of the multinationals, the oil discoveries and the increasing remoteness of government.

John Mercer's description of the various options for constitutional change is interesting but his own preference for a federal UK with Scotland divided into three states ignores the most cogent argument for a Scottish dimension to any devolved structure. Devolution already exists in Scotland but only at bureaucratic level. The Scottish Office is responsible for education, social work, housing, health, home affairs, agriculture, fisheries, planning, local government and certain energy, transport, industrial and economic functions. Different Scottish laws are already required for many of these matters and a Scottish Assembly therefore presents an opportunity for more legislative scrutiny and an opportunity to make the bureaucratic

* *Scotland: The Devolution of Power*, John Mercer, John Calder, 250 pp, £3.50.

machinery of government more accountable to the people.

But whether or not you agree with John Mercer's conclusions, there is much in his book which is unarguable. The book's publication has in some ways been overtaken by events. For example, the author seems to view the Scottish Nationalist Party advance as inevitable and he uses the May 1977 district election results to suggest that the next general election will bring a confrontation between the Tories and the SNP, with the latter holding more Scottish seats. The accelerated pace of political change in Scotland has brought the rout of the SNP at Garscadden, Hamilton and the regional elections.

Nevertheless, John Mercer's book will make a very useful and readable contribution to the devolution debate, during the forthcoming referendum campaign.

JIMMY CARTER'S WANING POPULARITY

Simon W. Gerson*

IT is not only the US dollar that is declining: President Carter's popularity is also on the wane. The currency markets of Tokyo, Zurich, Frankfurt and London tell the story of the dwindling dollar; the pollsters mark the curve of a diminished Carter.

A recent *New York Times*/Columbia Broadcasting System poll put the question: 'Do you approve of the way Jimmy Carter is handling his job as president?' The reply staggered the White House: Carter's standing had fallen to an unprecedented 38 per cent, a drop of 26 per cent in about a year. In short, only a little better than one-third of the population okayed the president's work.

Now the White House communications experts are moving frantically to strengthen the president's image, even as the Federal Reserve Board is making some efforts to bolster the sagging dollar. Withal, the muggy Washington summer has been filled with speculation that Jimmy Carter is fated to be a one-term president.

Already it is clear the Congress is beyond his control, despite the fact—incredible to many Europeans—that it is dominated by Carter's own Democratic Party. All 435 members of the House of Representatives, the lower body of Congress, must stand for re-election this November, as does about one-third of the 100-member Senate.

*Simon W. Gerson, a veteran political journalist, was executive editor of the *Daily World* (New York).

Significantly, few members of Congress want Carter to come into their districts to campaign for them; they prefer to keep their distance from him. They want to be perceived by their constituents as independent of the administration—and they frequently display that independence by voting against administration wishes.

It is, of course, the conventional scrambling for survival characteristic of capitalist politicians. But it is more. At bottom, it reflects the disarray within the nation's ruling party and, yes, of the country's ruling circles—over fundamental questions of policy. A clear case is the issue of *détente*.

From reading hysterical press headlines parroting the anti-Sovieteers' 'The-Russians-Are-Coming' cry, one might get the idea that the country is in the throes of a new cold war. This is not the case, as far as mass feeling is concerned the American people are clearly against such a policy and have demonstrated it unmistakably. Proof is given in a recent poll by the respected Louis Harris survey organisation. The Harris poll showed that: (1) by 71 to 15 per cent the US people favoured '*détente*—that is, the United States and Russia seeking out areas of agreement' (about 14 per cent had no opinion); (2) by 75 to 12 per cent they favoured a new SALT agreement; (3) by 70 to 18 per cent they favoured 'increasing trade between the United States and Russia'.

This deep mass feeling has its impact on the nation's ruling circles and the government where two different lines of approach are visible. There is, on one hand, the 'Mad Rasputin' of the cabinet, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the president's national security advisor who, along with some of the Pentagon brass, heads the cold war camp. On the other hand, there are more realistic groupings personified by Secretary of State Vance and United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young who advance a more sober policy in the face of pressures of Brzezinski and the ultra-right.

In the Congress the struggle also rages. On the one hand there are rabid cold warriors like Senators Henry Jackson and Daniel Moynihan who fan the anti-Soviet flames and promote intervention against African liberation movements. Opposed to the Jackson-Moynihan cold warriors is a substantial bloc which while not always consistent is generally closer to the line of Vance and Young. One of these is Senator Dick Clark, a Democrat of Iowa, author of the so-called Clark amendment which prohibits the executive (that is, the president and the Pentagon) from conducting any 'military or paramilitary operations in Angola unless and until the Congress expressly authorises such assistance by law.'

Congress, facing an election, clearly has no appetite for such interventions, no matter how loudly the war hawks shriek. They have to face voters who recall vividly the Vietnam experience. That is why the honourable members fear even 'limited' actions which 'could start us down the long road to another Vietnam,' as Senator Clark warned in a recent article (*Nation*, August 5-12, 1978).

And where is Carter in all this? Doing the vacillation waltz. His zig-zags reflect the contradictions within the ranks of monopoly capital faced with deep popular anti-war and anti-intervention feeling. Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, addressing a recent session of the Central Committee, put it thus: 'It is a crisis of imperialist frustrations . . . We must separate that which the class enemy would like to do from what it is able to do.' From all of which he drew the conclusion that 'the course of events can be reversed by the people's active opposition.'

Nowhere is this clearer than in the resistance labour is putting up to ruling class policy of putting the burdens of the crisis on the worker's back. We now have double-digit inflation, that is a rise in prices of about 10 or 11 per cent a year. Unemployment went up in June and July, bearing most heavily on the black and other minority peoples and most catastrophically on the black and Latino youth. There are officially about six million unemployed; actually the figure is about ten million, if one counts those too discouraged even to look for work.

In this situation, the Carter administration, accommodating itself to big business, emphasises the fight on inflation and the fraudulent 'theory' that wage rises are the root of inflation—ignoring the effects of the swollen military budget and monopoly superprofits. Thus, Carter called for a 5.5 per cent limit on wage increases which, from the point of view of any worker, is obvious nonsense. Why accept a 5.5 per cent rise in his or her wage contract when inflation is running at 10 or 11 per cent?

The reaction of the workers has been sharp and clear. In the summer months we saw strikes of municipal workers in Detroit, Philadelphia, Louisville and New Orleans as well as rejection of a proposed contract by workers in the postal system, some of whom went on unauthorised (wildcat) strikes. Union leaders who try to 'sell' poor contracts to their members are sometimes booed off the platform with workers voting strike, sanctioned or not. And we will see more of such actions. As Philip Shabecoff, the *New York Times* labour reporter, wrote: '. . . the business-labour struggle is likely to get more fierce' (July 30, 1978). His article, interestingly enough, was

headlined: 'Class Struggle Has Become Washington's Latest Rage.'

Obviously, the workers recall the stubborn miners' strike of last winter with its gain of an over 30 per cent rise.

This fighting mood is even affecting middle levels of the union leadership and in some cases the very top. This was dramatised by the resignation on July 19 of Douglas Fraser, head of the giant United Auto Workers (UAW), from the joint Labour-Management Committee, which is headed by a government appointee. Fraser's words were eloquent and bitter:

I believe leaders of the business community, with few exceptions, have chosen to wage a one-sided class war in this country—a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old and even many in the middle class. . . .

I would rather sit with the rural poor, the desperate children of urban blight, the victims of racism, and working people seeking a better life than with those whose religion is the *status quo*, whose goal is profit and whose hearts are cold. We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930s and who marched in Selma in the 1960s.

Fraser did not exclude the two capitalist parties from his scathing attack.

The Republican Party remains controlled by, and the Democratic Party heavily influenced by, business interests. The reality is that both are weak and ineffective as parties, with no visible, clear-cut ideological differences between them, because of business domination.

Fraser startled some of his listeners by raising the question: 'Should we start rethinking the old question of a Labour Party?' He quickly answered it by insisting that 'I don't think we're there yet, really.' But by opening the question, Fraser, a long time supporter of Jimmy Carter, was serving notice that perhaps labour had other alternatives than simply accepting Carter and the Democratic Party.

This does not mean that we are on the eve of a new anti-monopoly political alignment with labour at its head, much as we would like to see it. But it does mean that many forces are at work in the complicated US political scene, forces for struggle and progress. The black people's movement, to which Carter owes his election, is deeply dissatisfied with Carter who, many blacks feel, betrayed his pre-election promises. Many sections of labour are clearly unhappy. So are many sections of the women's movement. So are the fighters for peace who view with horror the steadily rising military budget. Ditto those who actively work for *détente* and are dismayed at Carter's failure to give battle to the ultra-right-inspired anti-Soviet

campaign. In fact, many see Carter's selective 'human rights' campaign as simply a gigantic anti-Soviet ploy.

It is the combination of all these that explains the mass disillusionment with Carter and his precipitate drop in the polls. His retreats before the ultra-right have served only to weaken his political base among the workers and the black and other minority peoples. Whether he will reverse his course and regain lost ground by the 1980 presidential election is an open question.

But what is not in question is the growing class struggle in the country, focussing principally around economic issues. These class battles of the workers are merging with the struggles of other sections of the population who feel the crushing weight of monopoly domination of the economy and government. In these struggles—for wage demands, against runaway prices, extortionate taxes and against racism—there can already be seen the elements of a great people's anti-monopoly coalition.

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GDR

Gordon Schaffer

IN the spring of 1947, I spent ten weeks in what was then the Soviet Zone of Germany, collecting material for a book. On my way home, I talked to British members of the Control Commission in Berlin. They asked me my impressions. I said: 'They are cold and hungry, but they are getting rid of the Nazis from all the positions where they could be a danger. They are beginning to rebuild, and they know where they want to go. In a few years, they will astonish the world.' They gave me a pitying look. 'You've been brain-washed by the Communists,' said one. 'I'll tell you the real position. The Zone is bankrupt, and soon we'll have to go in to save it.'

The least valuable exercise in life is to say 'I told you so', but it is useful to recall that incident as the German Democratic Republic enters her thirtieth anniversary year. For years, Western propagandists tried to paint the GDR as a backward, poverty-stricken country, in contrast to the 'economic wonder' of the Federal Republic. Now, they cannot deny that it is one of the advanced industrial states, with social services equal to, and in some respects in advance of, most other countries, with no unemployment and steadily rising living standards.

West German commentators sometimes explain that these successes are 'because they are Germans and not because they are communists'. They do not explain why the Federal Republic, like the rest of the capitalist world, suffers mass unemployment, while in the GDR they are applying every advance in technology to increase labour productivity because of labour shortage. Nor do they explain how it is possible for the GDR to operate a completely free health service, crèches and kindergartens with places for most of their children, six months pregnancy and maternity leave with full pay (a year for mothers with four children or more), and an educational system which ensures opportunities for higher education for all with the assurance of a suitable job at the end. An economy too, where, apart from some increases due to world factors, prices have remained stable through the whole thirty years, while wages and social services have steadily improved and rents, transport, gas and electricity remain a very small proportion of the family expenditure.

The GDR has proved that socialism can deliver the goods. 'They have no unemployment,' said Mr Callaghan in a House of Commons exchange about the socialist countries, 'but they have no freedom.' Let us examine this contention. The obvious retort is that the GDR population would regard it as a grave encroachment on their freedoms if their young people walked the streets looking for jobs, if they saw hospitals closed because of economy cuts and if wages were held down below the rising cost of living, instead of the other way about. There are grumbles of course. An economy which subsidises necessities and social services cannot ensure luxuries comparable with the capitalist West. Hard-earned foreign currency has to be allocated to the most important needs, there are sometimes scarcities of goods in the GDR that are freely available in the West and there are still limitations on travel outside the socialist countries. (An afterthought: the GDR would not allow a football club to buy an Argentine player for a quarter of a million.)

As far as the GDR is concerned, it has an obligation to curtail what some in the West regard as 'freedom'. The Potsdam agreement, imposed on defeated Germany by *all* the wartime allies set out the duty of all the zones to eliminate Nazism and the economic base of the Nazi regime. In the GDR, that duty was carried out. The first nationalisation measures implemented the Potsdam demand to end the power of the trusts and cartels and that of the great landowners.

The GDR was thus founded as an anti-fascist state, and it is not going to allow these evil forces to return. It also has laws banning

all forms of racialism and forbidding war propaganda.

The GDR took the decision thirty years ago to build socialism. There were times when the going was very hard. East Germany, like West Germany, in those early years faced the problem that most of the population had been poisoned by Nazi propaganda and had only one quarrel with Hitler—that he lost the war. The dedicated anti-fascists were pitifully few. They set out under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party headed by Communists and Socialists, who had suffered together under the Nazis. There are other parties who play an active part in discussions on policy, but they do so within the framework of the socialist state. There is no going back: no nationalising with compensation in one parliament and denationalising and returning to the capitalists at cheap rates in the next, all in the name of democracy! Within this framework, the people play a much greater part in formulating policies than in the formal democracies of the capitalist world. When new laws are proposed, they are thrown open to public discussion and hundreds of thousands take part.

The long battle for recognition of the GDR was at the heart of the problems of Europe for many years. There could be no hope of peaceful co-existence while the Federal Republic claimed sovereignty over the territory of the GDR and demanded the return of the areas taken from Germany by decision of all the allies. Recognition of the two sovereign German states made possible the Helsinki conference. The GDR made a vital contribution to one of its main conclusions—the inviolability of frontiers—for one of its early acts was to declare the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland a frontier of peace. One of the most hopeful factors in Europe today is the way Poles and Germans cross the bridge over the river, with just the showing of an identity card.

There are many clauses in the Helsinki Final Act which the GDR is anxious to implement. It has much to offer in the carrying out of the sections calling for increased trade, technological exchanges, control of the environment, meetings of young people, expansion and co-operation in sport, culture and science. This is the pattern for coexistence between countries with different social and economic systems, but it cannot be achieved unless the most important pledge of all, to complement these measures of co-operation with genuine steps to disarmament, is also carried out. The GDR has pressed with other Warsaw Pact states for substantial balanced reductions of forces in central Europe. It fully supports the calls for disarmament in the final document of the 1978 UN Special Session on Disarmament.

Those who take the section on human rights in the Helsinki agree-

ments to mean the right to encourage opposition and even sabotage of the socialist society, so painfully created, will continue to be disappointed. The hatred of any country seeking to build a socialist society, which the capitalist world has never attempted to conceal, is more bitter than ever today, because of the very success of the socialist countries, in contrast to the capitalist world.

These forces have no concern for the flagrant flouting of human rights in dozens of countries under their control. But in holding back progress towards disarmament and peaceful coexistence, they are jeopardising the very existence of humanity, and some, no doubt sincere, people play into their hands.

The GDR, on this thirtieth birthday goes forward to still greater advances in the well-being of her people and in further progress in the economic alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. But she looks too for friendship and co-operation with all countries, and for support in the united struggle of the peoples to end the arms race and to lift the shadow of war from our continent and the world.

BRITISH MASS MEDIA AND ZIMBABWE

Naison Khezwana

London Representative

Zimbabwe African People's Union (Patriotic Front)

THE racist regime of Rhodesia has over many years built up a vast apparatus of repression in Zimbabwe, in its futile attempt to hold back the struggle of the Zimbabwean people for liberation. Many thousands of Zimbabwean patriots have been detained or imprisoned by the regime. Over 200 people have been illegally executed because they struggled to free their country. Over half a million people have been forced into concentration camps, the so-called 'protected villages'. In the past ten years thousands of Zimbabweans have been killed by the terrorist armed forces of the regime.

Over six million black Zimbabweans have been forced into 45 million acres of land, whilst 250,000 whites have been allowed to occupy a similar amount. This works out as seven acres for each black person and 147 for each white. Blacks employed in the white-owned economy earned an average of only R\$517 in 1976, whilst whites earned R\$5,583.

This inequality which permeates every aspect of life—education, housing, medical services, etc—reflects the real issues in Zimbabwe. It was to destroy this system of oppression and exploitation that the Zimbabwean people organised themselves into trade unions and political organisations, and when these were violently suppressed by the settler regime, the Zimbabwean people took up arms for the same reason.

The major legislative weapon against the liberation struggle, the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, is a sweeping catch-all act of repression, and a full discussion of its principal provisions lies outside the scope of this article. However, in order to provide a brief background to the repressive character of the racist regime, we can summarise its basic clauses.

Part I (Sections 6 to 17) provides for the prohibition of meetings and gatherings of all kinds, the banning of persons from gatherings, the dispersal of crowds and the entry by police into any premises where such gatherings are being held.

Part II (Sections 18 to 20) empowers the regime to prohibit the publication, printing, dissemination, or possession of publications.

Part III (Sections 21 to 51) is directed against political organisations and activities, and contains several clauses carrying the death penalty. Its scope is too wide even to summarise it, but it encompasses the prohibition of political strikes, boycotts and political activities of all kinds, the possession of badges, membership cards and printed materials relating to banned political organisations, and numerous offences connected with the armed struggle. It also contains numerous provisions dealing with the utterance of 'subversive statements' and prohibits the publication of statements involving court proceedings involving 'subversive activities'. It allows for the imprisonment (for five years) and subsequent banning (for three years) of persons convicted of having made or been in possession of 'subversive statements'.

Part IV (Sections 52 to 67) empowers the regime to restrict people's movements, set up detention camps, implement curfews and prohibit gatherings and processions.

The regime introduced direct press censorship immediately after UDI (the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence) was declared. A mass of legislation was introduced to control the media, including the Official Secrets Act (under which Pieter Niesewand was sentenced to two years imprisonment), the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act and various Emergency Powers Regulations.

All information about the economy, the military operations of the regime and the political and military activities of the liberation movement were closely controlled by the regime. A number of newspapers which resisted this control and censorship have been banned.

In the early stages of the armed struggle the regime was faced with limited areas of military operations. But by 1976 fighting was taking place in large areas of the country. The regime had to hide its losses and cover up the numerous brutal atrocities that its forces were committing. Well documented accounts of these massacres and tortures committed against the Zimbabwean people were published by the Roman Catholic Justice and Peace Commission. The regime reacted by banning these reports and deporting, arresting and threatening those responsible.

Father Pascal Slevin, deported in October 1977, told the press on his arrival in Britain of the close relationship his mission at Wedza had developed with the guerrillas, 'for whom our respect grew with every meeting' (*Observer*, October 9, 1977; *Times*, October 12, 1977).

Sister Janice McLaughlin, a Maryknoll nun from Pittsburg, whose three-month stay in Zimbabwe ended in arrest, trial and deportation, reported that wherever the guerrillas go 'people are ready to accept them and help them. . . . Everybody refers to them as "the boys". And people speak very highly of them. It's with real pride—"our boys" did this and "our boys" did that.'

The regime had accounts to settle with these missionaries both because they were supporting and assisting the liberation movement and because they were exposing the true situation to the outside world.

An ominous indication of the regime's intentions was learnt in early 1977, when the racists set up a secret unit known as the Department of Psychological Warfare. PSYAC, as the unit became known, was headed by a former Guard Force commander, Major-General Andrew Rawlins, and linked up its activities with those of the Rhodesian Intelligence Corps (RIC) and the Special Branch in addition to several military units including the Selous Scouts. Its areas of operations were:

- probing the weaknesses of the Patriotic Front and undermining its cohesion;
- countering opinion hostile to the regime (referring to anti-apartheid groups, Rawlins himself said: 'These groups must be countered, neutralised and their support for the terrorists alienated'—*Sunday Mail*, March 20, 1977);
- supporting pro-regime racist organisations outside the country and assisting them;
- winning overseas public opinion to support the regime.

The Selous Scouts, operating since 1973 and now at a strength of

over 1,000, comprise the most sadistic and criminal elements of the regime's armed forces, including mercenaries from the US, the UK, France, Israel and West Germany.

As far as discrediting the guerrillas amongst the Zimbabwean people is concerned, the regime has failed miserably. But the regime also realised the importance of influencing world public opinion by committing atrocities which could be blamed on the Patriotic Front. The missionaries and others who were supporting the liberation movement became targets for the Selous Scouts, and PSYAC then arranged carefully stage-managed publicity stunts for the press to witness.

Sister McLaughlin, who spent some time investigating these atrocities, confirmed that the black population were well aware of the real identity of the culprits: 'Definitely all the Africans I ever met assume the government did it.' Her research into a massacre of workers at a tea plantation confirmed popular suspicion that the regime had been responsible.

In order to facilitate these manoeuvres the regime needed to exercise a closer control over foreign correspondents operating in Zimbabwe. And so in October 1977 new Emergency Powers Regulations were gazetted under which the regime selected a corps of 'journalists considered by the authorities to serve the best interests of the country', who were then accredited as official defence correspondents. More than 50 local and overseas correspondents were told that they would be allowed to visit the 'operational areas' only if they had been accredited and even then only under close control. All copy had to be submitted to military censors before publication, and accreditation would be withdrawn if any correspondents embarrassed the regime.

After the creation of PSYAC, massacres of African civilians, which had been taking place for years, became more widespread, and missionaries began to be killed. The regime, which had been so reticent about publicity of the war, began offering to fly journalists to the scenes of these brutalities, and in carefully arranged 'briefings' provided so-called eye-witnesses who claimed that guerrillas were responsible.

After the massacre of seven white missionaries at Musami (well known for support for the liberation movement) in February 1977, the regime even invited the British government to send an all-party team to investigate the killings. Many British people may have found it difficult to believe that even the fascist Smith regime could resort to such a cold-blooded strategy of mass murders.

In April 1976 a Rhodesian officer remarked: 'You can forget about hearts and minds and all that softy, softy stuff. The gloves are off now and it's going to be rough on everybody.' As far as using missionaries as targets is concerned, Rodney Simmonds (MP for Mtoko) declared that many missions were involved in 'African nationalist intrigues'. Mission stations had 'outlived their usefulness', he said, and it was 'a security risk to allow missionaries to run around freely'.

When the regime began killing missionaries, however, their previously publicly-stated animosity towards missionaries was forgotten. Instead, they were now trying to 'protect' the very missionaries they had previously accused of supporting the guerrillas. And inexplicably the Patriotic Front was alleged to have turned against the very people who had long been their allies against racism and oppression.

This strange turn-about was not examined at all by the majority of British papers. Instead they faithfully repeated the allegations of the regime in great detail. The denials and explanations of the Patriotic Front were reported in one line, if at all.

An illuminating example of this distorted treatment occurred in late January 1977 when the regime claimed that ZAPU had abducted 400 schoolchildren from the Manama Mission. The *Evening Standard* (January 31, 1977) and the BBC early news bulletin unquestioningly accepted the regime's concocted story. But within 24 hours, as the children began explaining from their refuge in Botswana how they had fled to escape the harassment of the regime, newspaper reports became less vociferous in their defence of the regime's claims. Nevertheless, the British government allowed Conservative MPs to call a debate in the House of Commons on the issue. Mr Ronald Bell claimed that the children were British subjects and entitled to British protection (*Times*, February 3, 1977). Protection from ZAPU! While they were being terrorised by the regime, no Conservative MP ever worried about their fate!

Such has been the case with each one of the numerous atrocities committed by the regime and blamed on the Patriotic Front. With the exception of the *Morning Star*, all the major daily British newspapers have devoted large amounts of space to the regime's propaganda claims, and little or no space to the Patriotic Front's version. The massacre of over 800 people at Nyazonia in Mozambique, which UN officials reported was carried out on defenceless and unarmed refugees, is still referred to in the British media, with one or two exceptions, as the killing of 800 'guerrillas'.

On Zimbabwe Day (March 17, 1977) ZAPU President Joshua Nkomo said:

The regime announces daily that a number of African women, men, children have been killed in either what is called crossfire or for breaking the regime's curfew. The frequency and regularity with which these announcements are made have become such a natural thing that the world does not seem to realise that these figures mean human lives. The world seems to think that it is a natural thing that people should be shot dead like vermin. I mean the capitalist world that has been protecting and promoting the Smith regime by all devious ways. It is only when a non-African is killed that the capitalist world makes a noise. This is most horrible. It is a very disgraceful thing. We condemn it unreservedly in the strongest terms.

This statement, and countless others made by the Patriotic Front, was never printed in Britain.

Over the years the regime has deported dozens of fair-minded journalists, leaving those who are prepared to co-operate. Men such as Ian Mills, a well-known racist and Smith supporter: it is a little known fact that Ian Mills is also a musician and, as a part-time band leader of a group called 'Sounds Anonymous', agreed in 1970 to play at a fund-raising function for the Rhodesian Front. This man now operates as correspondent for the *Guardian* (under the name of Henry Miller), the *Daily Telegraph* (Brian Henry), the *Daily Mail* (Peter Norman) and the *BBC New Statesman*, February 25, 1977.

There are independent sources of information about the situation. Organisations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund, through their work of aiding victims of repression inside the country, obtain a great deal of first-hand information. Anti-Apartheid and similar groups in Western Europe are useful sources.

However, the British media cannot escape the fact that it is the liberation movement which is the real source of news of Zimbabwe. It is the Patriotic Front which is in constant contact with the people, in villages and towns all over the country. It is the Patriotic Front which represents the hopes and aspirations of the Zimbabwean people and expresses their views.

The Patriotic Front releases numerous press statements, and its leaders give frequent press conferences. We produce our own journals (*Zimbabwe Review* and *Zimbabwe People's Voice*), and we have a regular radio news service. Regular war communiqués are released by the liberation movement with detailed news about the internal situation. But despite all our efforts, the Western media largely ignore our information releases. They are even accorded less

credibility than the racist regime's lies. At best, most of the media regard both these sources as 'biased':

How did the British media treat the March 3 agreement between Smith, Sithole, Chirau and Muzorewa? Newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* have made no secret over the years of their support for the racist regime. Others, however, among them the *Times* and *Guardian*, have to various degrees expressed an equal distaste for both the racist regime and the liberation movement, though in fact this has not prevented them from uncritically reproducing the regime's propaganda claims. Above all, they have claimed, despite their editorial comments, that they observe a fair and impartial policy towards news reporting.

Their attitude towards the March 3 agreement, however, clearly exposed their biased handling of the situation. Inordinate space was devoted to the fanciful claims of Smith's new allies, and reports contradicting the optimism of the regime dwindled even further. A glaring example of this was the disappearance from the *Times* on May 8, 1978, after the early editions, of a major story revealing how the Smith regime believed it had hoodwinked world opinion with its puppet agreement. The implications of this revelation were quite clear. The story was removed in its entirety, despite having been the lead story, on the instructions of deputy editor Louis Heren (*Guardian*, May 9, 1978).

Previously, Heren had written several articles supporting the internal agreement and claiming that 'Rhodesians do seem to have accepted the internal settlement. . . . Bishop Muzorewa represents a majority of blacks. . . . Chief Jeremiah Chirau . . . has a large following in the Tribal Trust Lands,' and 'there is no reason to assume that the Patriotic Front represents the black majority. All the calculations, admittedly on a tribal basis, suggest that they are a minority' (*Times*, March 6, 1978).

Small wonder then that he should remove an article which exposes the internal agreement. One of Heren's claims was that 'the army is well on the way to becoming multiracial. About 68 per cent of the troops are black.' This was clearly misleading and appeared several times in British newspapers. These, and other similar claims, seem intended to present the racist regime and its black puppets in the best possible light.

The facts, which are easily obtainable, are that fewer than 15,000 of the 120,000 so-called security forces are black. It is only in the regular army, which has long since stopped being the regime's decisive fighting force, that blacks are in a majority. The majority of

those fighting for the regime are so-called conscripts who now spend at least six months out of twelve fighting. There are reasons why the regime does not recruit more white regulars: they are needed in commerce and industry, for example. And there are reasons why blacks join the regime's security forces: there is large-scale unemployment and many people are starving.

In an editorial, the *Guardian* (March 25) claims:

The Bishop [Muzorewa] is nobody's stooge, and the agreement he has signed is nothing that a nationalist leader, given the conditions of the country, need be ashamed of. Certainly the agreement entrenches clauses of the constitution designed to protect some white interests, but they are not obnoxious in themselves, they are in the economic interests of Zimbabwe, they last only ten years, and they do not restrict the power of an African government to govern in African interests with effect from January 1.

Is this a fair and honest assessment of the March 3 agreement? Leaving aside the *Guardian's* assessment of African nationalism and Bishop Muzorewa, does the March 3 agreement 'restrict the power of an African government to govern in African interests' or not? The entrenched provisions of the agreement ensure that the judiciary, the civil service, the police and the security forces well remain in overwhelmingly white hands for ten years at least. In fact, all major institutions of state power will be left in the control of the very people who have oppressed and exploited the Zimbabwean people all along.

Considerable publicity was given to the regime's release of 800 political detainees, but the impression given was that the majority of *political prisoners* had been released. In fact none of the estimated 1,500 'convicted' political prisoners was released, and at least 200 additional people were arrested. Many of them have simply disappeared.

On April 2, 75,000 ZAPU supporters attended a massive rally organised by the African National Council, ANC(Z), in Bulawayo, before they were attacked and brutally dispersed by the regime's so-called security forces. Why was this large demonstration, and numerous smaller ones around the country, not accorded the same massive publicity which was given earlier gatherings attended by Bishop Muzorewa? Was it not significant or news-worthy?

The British media claim that our leaders are 'power-hungry' and that we do not want democratic elections. They forget that it was the liberation movement which first demanded majority rule for Zimbabwe (before it was fashionable to do so) at a time when it was the British government who had the power to grant it, but

refused. They claim that we are racist and 'anti-white', when we have always made it clear that we are fighting a system and not white people as such. They do not print our policies or the statements of our leaders on such issues. No attempt is made to report seriously on our policies and programmes, or how these have developed historically.

The circumstances of severe repression in which the liberation movement has had to operate for nearly two decades are not explained, and hence, when restrictions are lifted on certain individuals allowing them to organise legally and openly, they can be presented as 'the most popular'.

Most of the British media have approached the internal agreement with the same perspective as the puppet signatories and their master, Ian Smith. The March 3 document defines the purpose of the agreement as 'the termination of . . . sanctions and the cessation of the armed conflict'. But these are only symptoms, and not the causes of the problem. The causes are inequality of wealth and opportunity, discrimination, exploitation and oppression.

Yet rarely, if ever, have the British media seriously addressed these issues. How to end exploitation and oppression? How to create a free and democratic form of government? And likewise the British and other Western governments see the problem as 'preventing Soviet and Cuban influence', and creating a 'peaceful agreement' which safeguards Western interests.

The revelations of oil sanctions-busting, which we consistently drew attention to for years and years, show just how serious the British government was about bringing down the Smith regime. Although the British government realised that Smith was leading that system to destruction, they could offer no alternative which would equally safeguard their economic interests. Hence their disgraceful history of covert support for Smith and their consistent betrayal of the interests of the Zimbabwean people.

What role then does the bulk of the Western media play in this system? Most British newspapers and media are owned by private individuals and companies. In 1974, 80 per cent of British newspapers—over 130 daily and Sunday papers—were owned and produced by only three companies. These are: the International Publishing Corporation (IPC) which publishes the *Daily Mirror* amongst others and yielded a pre-tax profit of £13 million in 1973; the News International of Rupert Murdoch which made over £8 million in 1973; and the Thomson Organisation which also made £8 million in 1973. The remaining monopolies are the Pearson-Longman

Group with the *Financial Times* and eleven provincial daily papers, the Associated Newspapers with the *Daily Mail* and fourteen provincial daily papers, and Beaverbrook Newspapers with the *Daily Express* and several others (*Le Monde*, October 31, 1974). The *Morning Star*, owned by the People's Press Printing Society, is the only British daily paper actually owned and controlled by its readers. It is also the only daily newspaper which gives a fair coverage (though limited by space) of events in Zimbabwe.

Private individuals and companies also own and exploit the resources and labour of Zimbabwe. Whether the connection is direct or not, the British media by and large consistently support the interests of those who own and exploit foreign and local resources. Thus when the *Guardian* says that the internal agreement is 'in the economic interests of Zimbabwe', they mean in the economic interests of British companies in Zimbabwe.

We are sacrificing and fighting for the elimination of exploitation and oppression in Zimbabwe. British companies exploit Zimbabweans, and hence we are fighting against their interests. Smith is merely their local agent and policeman. Our struggle really threatens the multinational companies based in London and Washington, Paris and Bonn. Therefore, we are not surprised when the media they own attempt to discredit us, to create divisions amongst us, and to bolster up Ian Smith.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Eileen Phillips

AT the Labour Party Conference on Tuesday, October 3, there was a meeting organised by the National Labour Women's Advisory Committee and the National Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations on the subject 'Women's Rights—Future Action'. As the chairperson Renée Short MP pointed out it was the first of its kind at Conference and, although it was encouraging that the meeting was taking place, there were enormous tasks facing women in the Labour Party.

The discussion ranged over tax and social security legislation, women in employment and health care for women. The first speaker, Patricia Hewitt, Secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties,

pointed out that the proposed Treasury reforms in tax are a 'white-wash' which do not confront the two major necessities of (1) abolishing the married man's tax allowance which at the moment means for married women that unequal tax gives them unequal pay, and (2) treating married men and women as separate and equal individuals. A delegate remarked that the motion on tax reform which had been passed that morning hadn't mentioned anti-discrimination legislation. The composited motion put to Conference which did include this was a general sex discrimination resolution also involving education and social security. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this had been squeezed out of the agenda, so a crucial reform had not been raised.

The second speaker, Diana Juden, Research Officer of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, discussed the problem of women being segregated into low pay, low skill jobs. This means that it is not just inadequacies in equal pay legislation and the use made of it which prevents women from gaining equal pay, but their position in the labour market. Ms Juden also discussed the issue of unemployment for women: during August 1976-78 the level was stable for men and rose 100,000 for women. One of the most staggering aspects of the discussion at Conference on unemployment was the way it was posed as a problem for the 'blokes' who had 'wives and kids' dependent on them. At no point was it recognised that as the figures show it is a crucial difficulty for women workers as well. It is particularly disheartening to hear trade union delegates from the strongest unions seeming unconscious of the fact that there are women workers (40 per cent of the labour force). The minimal government response to dealing with unemployment by Job Creation Programmes reflects this sex bias: out of every four JCP jobs, three go to men and one to a woman.

It was agreed in the ensuing discussion that one of the biggest problems is the women's relation to the trade union movement, one of under-representation at every level. An organiser for the National Union of Railwaymen raised the point that he found that women in his area of work seemed unwilling to engage in union activities. He was prepared to accept that he might be approaching them in the wrong way, and was asking for advice. Ms Juden agreed that it was not simply a matter of prejudice on the part of male trade union organisers but that women often found the structure of trade unions alien and with the pressures of their domestic responsibilities could tend to see union concerns as not their own, particularly, as she pointed out, given the tendency within a trade union that if you take on one job you land yourself with 25. She reiterated the need for

work-place union meetings within work hours so that at least it would give all women the possibility of attending them.

The third speaker, Rose Lambie, National Officer for the Confederation of Health Service Employees, discussed health care for women and the need for an expansion of both preventative medicine (breast and cervical testing services) and, for example, abortion facilities so that the provisions of the 1967 Abortion Act could be carried out. On the first day of the Conference a delegate failed to get the resolution on an inquiry into the use of hormone drugs in pregnancy tests included in the composite motion on the National Health Service. Again this meant the issue was not raised, and neither was there any specific mention of women's health needs in the motions passed calling for a halt in the deterioration of the NHS. One of the motions did call for a change in the proposed closure of the Elizabeth Garret Anderson Hospital (a women-only hospital).

A very positive aspect of the discussion was that the men present were keen to take up issues which only directly affect women, such as maternity service provision. A member of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs said that his union were sending six delegates (not all women) to the National Abortion Campaign conference this autumn, organised for the trade unions.

It was agreed in the discussion after the speakers that the most basic problem was that issues affecting women's rights were 'ghettoised' and not integrated into the major political discussions. This leads at best to their being unheeded, at worst, avoided. It was also agreed that much of the prejudice against women shown by men in the Labour Party was a function of ignorance about women's issues. Changes could be seen, for instance, in trade unions beginning to consider part-time workers (mainly women)—not because of a desire to end sexual discrimination but rather as they could be used to undercut full time workers. People present agreed that women's sections in the Labour Party have to build on this and struggle to raise the problem of women's position in society so that a clear commitment to end sex discrimination is an integral part of union and Labour Party campaigning and policies.

It seemed obvious that there was a need to raise the level of women's organisation within the Labour Party. It was agreed to meet prior to next year's Conference to co-ordinate motions on women's rights so that a re-run of this year's silence on the range of issues involved could be avoided. In the meantime much work needs to be done both in Constituency Labour Parties and trade union branches.



Hugh MacDiarmid—Socialist Poet

AGAINST INFANTILISM

Art must be related to the central issues of life,
 Not serve a sub-artistic purpose that could as well
 Be served by the possession of a new motor-car
 Or a holiday on the Continent perhaps.
 What do we Scottish writers most lack, most need?
 —An immediate experience of the concrete,
 A rich overflowing apprehension of the definite
 Day-by-day content of our people's lives,
 A burningly clear understanding of the factors at work,
 Of the actual correlation of the forces, in labour to-day;
 A Dundee jute mill, Singer's, Beardmore's,
 The ghost towns, ruined fishing villages, slave camps,
 And all the derelict areas of our countryside;
 The writer not first and foremost concerned with these
 Lacks the centrality that alone can give
 Value to his work—he is a trifler, a traitor,
 To his art and to mankind alike,
 A fool choosing flight and fantasy,
 Not to be pitied, but despised.

It is a lying cry to say
 That human nature cannot be changed.
 It can be, and is being, completely.
 We are long past the time when doubt of an accepted system
 Liberates great minds while yet the system itself
 Has not fallen into such contempt as to be
 Incapable of their action within its limits.
 Long past the affection of being above the battle,
 Of being socially agnostic, seeing all systems
 As subject to historic change, and the will
 Of great men, and accepting none.

(continued over page)

The poem 'On Infantilism' by Hugh MacDiarmid appeared in *Lucky Poet* (1943) and is reproduced in part here, together with the cover portrait based on a drawing by Morris Grassie, from *The Socialist Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid*, edited by T. S. Law and Thurso Berwick, *Routledge & Kegan Paul*, 106 pp, £2.95. Hugh MacDiarmid (Dr Christopher Murray Grieve) was born on August 11, 1892, and died on September 9, 1978. An extract from 'The Kind of Poetry I Want' was published in *Labour Monthly* of September 1967 as his 'Declaration of Intent' on his 75th birthday. As on that occasion, we pay tribute to 'this great poet and fearless fighter'.

required for each claim. If the means test is supposed to be nationally consistent, the multiplication of rules is immense. (The notorious 'A' code consists of two heavy volumes of supposedly secret rules.) (2) A scheme which purports to act as a 'safety net' must include elements of discretion to deal with unforeseen situations.

Claimants' Unions, Advice Centres and so on, have seized on the second factor in order to exert pressure for better provision. Since you can't get better basic benefits from the local office, you demand they use their discretion. If they refuse, you argue, and, eventually, appeal. These tactics have contributed to a situation in which an assistant manager in Lambeth admitted that at any one time there were one thousand unopened letters in the office.

The first important political fact is that tactics used by the 'claimants' movement' are fundamentally *defensive*. Designed to secure a better standard of living for claimants in the short-term, they do not provide the basis for a campaign. The system is caused 'problems', but is not fundamentally challenged.

The natural response of the state in this situation is not to yield to the pressure for better benefits; it is to 'simplify' or 'rationalise' the system, to cut out the scope for pressurising it. A major theme of *Social Assistance* is the aim of limiting discretion: this will relieve the burden on local offices, and ensure that claimants 'know their rights'. But if flat-rate benefits are not increased to compensate for the limiting of discretion, 'knowing your rights' will just mean *having less rights*.

The other important political fact is the lack of mass organisation. This is no doubt partly a result of the high proportion of employment which is short-term. But it clearly raises more fundamental issues.

Claimants' Unions have attempted to build on the basis of action around individual problems, occasionally resorting to direct action to confront the practices of some local offices, and other issues. In addition they, and some advice workers, have welcomed opportunities to build links with the labour movement: for example during the firemen's strike. But such action has been very limited.

It seems that protest action alone is not the way forward. We have to propose changes based on an understanding of the social security system and its history. It is only the belief that there are realistic alternatives that will mobilise people. The alternative is to hope that simple discontent will do so: this appears neither very likely (at least not yet) nor very constructive.

Clearly we should not ignore the closely related issues of unemployment levels, low wages, retirement age, and the length of the working week. But the unemployed are not immediately nor solely concerned with such issues. Their concerns are tied up in the social security system—and this interest they share with pensioners, single parents, the sick—and all the others officially considered to be 'out of work'.

The first stage must be to respond to the supplementary benefit review, by pointing out that it can't solve the problems of claimants given its absurdly limited brief. The point is not merely to write letters, but to raise the issue in trade union branches and other groups. Hopefully, doing so may be a step forward in a long process: mounting a campaign against the oppression of those 'not employed'.

PLOUGHSHARES FOR TRADE UNIONISTS

Frank Swift*

IT is not difficult to understand why Gordon Schaffer is revered by millions around the world who yearn for peace and lasting friendship between the nations. In everything he has written in the past his basic sense of humanity is coupled with the campaigner's need for grasp of practical detail. His latest pamphlet† is concerned with the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament which was held this summer. In the Final Document agreed by 148 states (including the US and Britain as well as the USSR, in fact by all the nations of the world with the exception of South Africa, which did not attend, and Albania, which abstained) the warning is six times repeated in unmistakable terms that 'mankind is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-annihilation.' It recognises the stark fact that 'existing arsenals of nuclear weapons alone are more than sufficient to destroy all life on earth,' and poses the grim possibility that the arms race, stimulated by scientific research for new and ever more horrifying means of destruction, could soon get out of control. As Schaffer comments:

We shall then have lost our last chance. Never before has humanity faced

*Frank Swift, who is Deputy General Secretary of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, writes here in his personal capacity.

†*Swords into Ploughshares—the Only Way*, Gordon Schaffer, London Co-op Political Committee and the All-Britain Peace Liaison Group, 10 pp, 20p.

such a stark choice. It dwarfs all the differences that have existed in the past—between pacifists and non-pacifists, between different social systems and conflicting ideologies. The conflicts and tensions which divide the nations would become irrelevant in a dead, radioactive planet.

And these warnings, he stresses, come not from 'over-zealous peace workers but from the world's leaders, some of whom have their finger on the button that could doom us all.'

As with the Helsinki Agreement, the signatories to the Final Document of the Special Disarmament Session firmly pledged themselves to publicise their declaration and 'to give priority to the preparation and distribution of printed and audio-visual material relating to the dangers represented by the armaments race and to disarmament efforts.' Just as the mass media in Britain virtually boycotted the Helsinki Accords until they could be misused in connection with so-called dissidents and the general stoking-up of anti-Soviet propaganda, so has the UN Special Disarmament Assembly been ignored by the press, and the government's pledge to 'give priority . . .' has been limited to a Stationery Office publication which, priced at £2.25 a copy, has made little or no impact upon the British people as a whole. Schaffer rightly deplores this and comments that

one would have expected that in a situation of such gravity there would have been at least as much publicity, directed at every household in the land, as we saw during the campaign to take us into the Common Market.

This calculated and dangerous blanket of silence thus imposes an urgent and tireless obligation upon *all* progressives, whether within political, trade union or peace organisations, to do everything in their power to alert the masses to the grave dangers that confront mankind and to the need to force governments to match their words with deeds *before it is too late*. Dr Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, put it succinctly when he declared that 'the United Nations alone cannot do the job; it can only do so in alliance with the peoples.'

Gordon Schaffer analyses the different stands taken at the Special Session by the main groupings. The Chinese delegate alone talked of the inevitability of war. The Western powers continued to attach their hopes to the 'mutual deterrence' theory, while the non-aligned nations felt that the security of all nations could not be maintained on such a precarious basis and called instead for a general renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons and withdrawal of troops from all foreign countries where they constituted potential tinder boxes of a third and final world war. For the socialist countries

the Soviet foreign minister renewed previous proposals for an end to production of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and a phased reduction of existing stockpiles leading eventually to their total elimination. Schaffer's further exploration of some of these proposals in greater detail provides invaluable material for the arsenal of every peace fighter. He concludes that

the Special Session has put squarely before governments and peoples the stark alternative. There is no other way for the human race except to end the arms race and to find the way to peaceful co-existence, however great the difficulties that must be overcome.

If I might interpolate a personal note here I would add that since Gordon Schaffer penned those words he has been much heartened by the almost unanimous passage at last month's Trades Union Congress, *and acceptance by the General Council*, of the motion which I moved on behalf of my union calling for 'an urgent national campaign to counter the current revival of cold-war propaganda and to reassert the principles, in the interests of the British as well as of all other peoples, of peaceful coexistence.' This is not to say that either of us has become complacent: on the contrary, we know only too well, not least from the way the press almost totally ignored this historic decision at Brighton, that the adoption of the resolution marks only the beginning and not the end of the battle. But the General Council now has an overwhelming mandate from its 11½ million constituent members to campaign *urgently* for peace, and it is up to every progressive in the trade union movement, from national to shop-floor level, to ensure that that instruction is carried out. Albeit in a small way we shall then have taken another step towards turning our 'swords into ploughshares'.

LABOUR MONTHLY

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The most vicious and ferocious onslaught against the workers has been proceeding all over the country since the general strike. While rationalisation proper may still be in the propaganda stage, speeding-up is going on everywhere on an unprecedented scale. New machinery and technical devices result in continuous dismissals; the workers remaining have to work harder for less pay. Closing down of uneconomic plants involves many workers in great hardship, forcing them to break up their homes and move to new places or to join the unemployed. Victimisation is rampant. Men dare not protest against even the most shameful abuses of their own agreements by the employers. Blacklisting and factory espionage flourish and company unionism rears its head.

(From 'What Next in the Trade Unions?' by John A. Mahon, *Labour Monthly*, December 1928)

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CROSSROADS

William Pomeroy

AN unfortunate tropical downpour at the South Pacific island of Tuvalu, which produced a fever in Princess Margaret, led to the cancellation of what would undoubtedly have been one of the more interesting of the trade and investment promotion stopovers on the itinerary of the royal family—in the Philippines. The special supplement on the Philippines turned out by the *Financial Times* on October 2 to coincide with the subsequently aborted visit was an indication of the significance attached to it; this reflected as much of an interest on the part of the Philippines in the development of ties with Britain as it did the interest of British businessmen in that corner of south-east Asia.

Nearly a century ago Britain had the dominant trade and investment position in the Philippines, when it was still a colony of Spain that never scratched the archipelago's potential. Colonial conquest by the United States, however, which wrested the Philippines from Spain in 1898, virtually ended British penetration and lopped off most of the footholds it had made, none too gently.

In 1974 the long period of almost total control of the Philippines and its economy by US interests reached a cut-off point, with the termination of the economic agreement that had perpetuated, in neo-colonial fashion, thoroughgoing US domination for 28 years after the Philippine 'independence' of 1946. This formally ended the preferential position that the US had held over its capitalist rivals.

During the 1970s a major shift has been occurring in the pattern of Philippine trade and investment. The US share in Philippine overall trade, which in its heyday had hit 80 to 90 per cent, had shrunk last year to 27 per cent. Japan has been the chief beneficiary, and now runs the US a close second. The European Economic Community share has moved up to 15 per cent and is the fastest growing, jumping by 14 per cent in 1977 alone and topping \$1 billion. In this, Britain has elbowed out West Germany and the Netherlands to become the Philippines' leading EEC trade partner.

Foreign investment in the Philippines, although still dominated by US capital, has also been undergoing the same pattern changes. Possibilities have risen for British investment. The planned visit by Princess Margaret was no purely social affair.

It is no accident or simple evolution that has brought about the

change. Philippine trends and development are being directed by the hand of President Ferdinand Marcos and his authoritarian regime. Since 1972, when he declared an emergency and instituted rule by decree backed up by martial law, President Marcos has been redirecting Philippine society, political structure, economic development and foreign affairs. A central part of this has been a loosening of ties with the United States and a shaping of an independent foreign policy.

In essence, President Marcos represents that sector of the Philippine national bourgeoisie that desires an independent, Filipino-controlled capitalist development. It is still not wholly dominant in a ruling spectrum that includes a swarm of comprador Filipino interests and of Filipino joint-venture firms tied to US, Japanese and West European multinationals, as well as of landlords strong enough to impede the land reform that is a part of the Marcos programme. Despite his use of martial law, President Marcos has had tough going with his 'new society', having to contend with powerful pressures from these domestic and foreign traditional interests.

Readers of the daily news services will have noted that Mr Marcos has been receiving an increasingly bad press. He is portrayed as a dictator, a violator of human rights, a trampler of democracy. The fact that the source of this portraiture is, in the main, US news services and such voices of US foreign policy as the *New York Times*, and that the Carter administration itself has openly criticised the Philippine president on human rights grounds, should be enough to indicate the reason for this kind of knife-work: for these quarters 'human rights' is a weapon devised and used against socialist countries, anti-imperialist leaders and those who proclaim independence from neo-colonial influences.

President Marcos is not a revolutionary or a national liberation leader; he is not even a mildly left-wing nationalist. His is a restrictive regime that cracks down on opponents who bring their opposition into the streets (but he also has entered into an agreement with the Partido Komunistang Pilipinas, which endorses his positive reforms and his independent policies, has released all PKP political prisoners and has permitted the party to build legal mass organisations). What has turned the US against Mr Marcos is his tendency to start the whittling down of the once overwhelming US dominance.

The most sensitive area of US control so far touched upon by the Marcos regime is that of the huge US military bases that have been in the Philippines since early in the century and that were enormously expanded after 1946. Occupying over 100,000 hectares of

Philippine territory, these include the biggest US air base in Asia, Clark Air Base, and the biggest US naval base west of Hawaii, Subic Bay, the base of the US Seventh Fleet.

US bases have an extra-territorial status beyond Philippine sovereignty, pay no rent, prohibit Philippine jurisdiction over US personnel who commit crimes or offences, have been used to commit aggression against neighbouring countries, exist outside Philippine labour laws or customs, and are a perpetual threat of intervention in Philippine affairs. The treaty permitting them runs to 1990.

For nearly a decade President Marcos has called for renegotiation of the bases agreement, and for revision of the US-Philippine military assistance pact that has made the Philippine army dependent on the US. In 1976 the US finally sat down to negotiate, but has since then stalled, postponed, adjourned talks and otherwise put obstacles to a new agreement.

US intransigence, and the Carter 'human rights' attack on President Marcos, stem from the Philippine base demands. These are: recognition by the US of full Philippine sovereignty over the bases, Philippine control over the bases including stationing of Philippine commanders on each base, Philippine jurisdiction over offences committed by US servicemen, the payment of annual rental by the US (which Marcos spokesmen say will be used for economic development), drastic reduction of the area of the bases, customs duties on goods imported for the use of the base personnel, no introduction of nuclear or other offensive weapons into the bases, and the cutting of the lease period to no more than five to ten years.

Over the past year, while the US has dragged its feet on the bases negotiations, the Carter administration has made repeated statements about the US intention to remain as a power in Asia and the Western Pacific. In May 1978 Vice-President Mondale made a tour of the south-east Asia area, including Australia, during which he strongly stressed the US intention to maintain a strong military presence in the region.

On May 6, following the Mondale visit (in course of which he openly snubbed the Philippine president and consorted with his political opponents), President Marcos delivered a speech in which he denounced US attempts to destabilise his government, revealing that he had warned Mondale against using the 'human rights' issue as a means of putting pressure on him to force him to yield to US wishes regarding negotiations on military bases as well as economic and political questions.

Recent US statements on the question of remaining in Asia are in

contrast to the speculations, in the wake of the shattering US defeat in Vietnam, about US withdrawal from south-east Asia. The outlook today was reflected in the speech made by the US representative on the Pacific Basin Economic Council (made up of business executives in the region), James D. Hodgson, at a Council meeting in Manila on May 8, 1978. He pointed out that US investment holdings in the region, with south-east Asia the principal area, rose from \$7 billion in 1970 to \$14 billion in 1977 and that these would 'increase sharply' in the coming years. He also said that Japan's investment of \$10 billion in south-east Asia in 1975 would soar to \$50 billion by 1995.

The importance of US bases in the Philippines, which are the only foreign military bases in the region now, are emphasised in a recent US policy study, *Washington Papers, No 47: US Overseas Bases: Problems of Projecting US Military Power Abroad*. The authors of this (which include the former chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer) state that the US can never find any satisfactory substitute for its Philippine bases. The paper says:

The need for naval support capabilities in the Pacific is being enhanced by other developments such as the incipient global energy crisis and the commensurately increasing importance of the sea lanes. Many of the countries in this area are major sources of supply of fuel and other strategic resources. . . .

It should be clear from the outset that, regardless of the outcome of our negotiations with the Philippine government, Japan could never be considered as an alternative location for increasing the US naval presence in the Pacific basin should the United States withdraw from the Philippines. Taiwan, which would probably welcome an increased US naval presence, seems politically out of the question as an alternative, given the US intent to improve relations with the People's Republic of China. Prospects for an increased US naval presence in Australia seem more promising. However, such facilities could never duplicate geographically or even in other ways those in the Philippines without unacceptable financial costs.

Arguing that 'there exists no satisfactory alternative to the US basing complex in the Philippines,' the report stresses:

The United States has enjoyed virtual sovereignty over its facilities with few constraints by the Philippine government . . . this stands in contrast to the situation in Japan where US bases are subject to numerous constraints upon their operations (particularly with respect to nuclear weapons) by the host government.

In its whole tone, this document conflicts with the demands put forward by the Marcos government. Its inflexible attitude lends credence to reports from sources in both the Philippines and the

United States that US destabilisation moves against President Marcos include a CIA-engineered *coup* to install a new regime in the Philippines.

The trends and contradictions in regard to the Philippines cannot be seen in isolation from those in south-east Asia as a whole. A renewed determination by US imperialism to remain in that region, to step up its trade and investment position there, and to keep a strong military presence to accompany it, along with the drive by Japan to control an even greater share of the region's resources are in conflict with the growing development desires of south-east Asian nations.

These may be seen in the maturing of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), to which the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand belong. Once viewed as a creation of the US to replace the discredited South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (Seato), now defunct, ASEAN has increasingly tended to become a vehicle for regional industrial development and for pressure to revise unequal economic relations with the US, Japan and the EEC.

ASEAN has resisted pressure from the US to transform itself into a military as well as an economic alliance, and most strikingly has adopted a policy of making south-east Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, which includes the elimination of all foreign military bases from the region. The Philippines endorsement of this policy is a factor in its demands for revision of the US bases agreement.

A trend toward independence and nationalism is evident in other members of ASEAN besides the Philippines. Malaysia, which was the moving spirit for the resolution on creating a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, has a 'new economic policy' that insists on Malays having 30 per cent ownership and control of corporations (with the perspective of 80 per cent by the end of the century); foreign companies are being permitted only a 30 per cent share in new mining ventures. Indonesia, which was virtually handed to the foreign multinationals after the bloody overthrow of the Sukarno government in 1965, is experiencing a revival of nationalist sentiment and of disenchantment with foreign exploitation of its resources; the present Suharto government has even felt it necessary to restore Sukarno to the status of a national hero. In Thailand a nationalist revolution is just below the surface of an unstable right-wing regime.

A potent ingredient in the south-east Asian broth is the presence of socialist-oriented countries—Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea—

in the region. The question is under discussion of Vietnam's membership in ASEAN. It will undoubtedly take a long time for this question to be settled, but it is not an improbability. Vietnam, significantly, has increasingly good relations with the Philippines (in September President Marcos accepted an invitation to visit Hanoi). Having dealt US imperialism a military defeat, Vietnam can well contribute to its economic and political frustration in south-east Asia as well.

LETTERS

Freedom of Information

SINCE my article appeared in your magazine, entitled 'Freedom of Information in Canada' (*Labour Monthly*, July/August 1978), the government here in Britain has brought out a White Paper on the Official Secrets Act, making it clear that they do not intend to deal with the question of access to government documents in the foreseeable future and definitely not before the next general election.

The Freedom of Information Campaign, chaired by Mr Kenneth Warren, Conservative MP (Hants) held an open meeting in the House of Commons in July to protest against the weak recommendations of the White Paper. Mr Arthur Lewis, Labour MP, chairman of the all-party committee, stressed that those present should work to make this an election issue while Mr Leslie Chapman, a former Civil Servant and author of the book *Your Disobedient Servant*, claimed that the government's using costs as an excuse for not having an Act was a red herring. He said that 'the real costs of secrecy versus FOI legislation can only be measured by the cost of freedom, and set against that the costs of secrecy and make a balance between the two.'

Recently, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party came

out for legislation, producing a strong, draft bill.

It is obvious from the widespread reaction to the White Paper and the amount of interest that has developed on FOI that the government, whoever they are after the election, cannot go on ignoring the issue. It won't go away no matter how much senior ministers and mandarins might wish it would.

TOM RILEY
East Grinstead

Labour Monthly Reader

MY NAME is Sergey. I am 18. I live in USSR. I often read *Labour Monthly*. I study English language and take an interest in your country, life, literature, cinema, art, architecture and especially rock music and books about this kind of music.

I want to begin correspondence with any young man who takes an interest in the life of Soviet people, Russian language, our literature (books on Russian and English languages), music (Russian and English) and many many other interesting things.

My address is: Poste Restante, Main Post Office, 190000 Leningrad, USSR. I ask you to give my letter and address to anyone from your young (20-25 years old) friends, who'll want to answer to me.

SERGEY V. SHAROV
Leningrad

AN OCCASION

ON Friday, September 9, at the Ambassador's Hotel, London, took place a festive event organised by the Marx Memorial Library to celebrate the 80th birthday of Andrew Rothstein, its present President. Unfortunately Andrew was resting on doctor's orders but his many friends among our readers will be glad to hear he is already on the way to active fitness again.

The messages received and the 200 present testified to the respect and affection in which Andrew is held throughout the labour and trade union movement in this country and in many lands abroad.

No fewer than nine embassies were represented.

Parliamentarians who sent messages included Lord Milford and MPs Sydney Bidwell, Joan Maynard, Stan Newens, Renée Short and William Wilson; and Hugh and Mrs Jenkins were there.

Prominent members of political organisations included Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Tony Gilbert of Liberation, Desmond Greaves of the Connolly Association, Hilda Vernon of the Britain-Vietnam Association, Dick Woolf of the British-Soviet Friendship Society, Connie Seifert of the Women's Assembly, Eileen Bernal of the Bernal Peace Library and Christine Coates of the TUC library; for the London Co-op, John Atkinson of the Education Department and Alf Lomas of the Political Committee.

Trade Union prominents who either sent greetings or were present included Moss Evans (Transport and General Workers' Union), Ken Gill (Technical, Administration and Supervisory Section of the AUEW), George Guy (Sheet Metal Workers), Terry Parry (Fire Brigades' Union), Ben Rubner (Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union), Alan Sapper (Association of Cinematograph, Television and allied Technicians) and Bob Wright (Engineering Section of the AUEW).

Members of the academic and teaching world, including Ron and Joan Bellamy, Eric Burhop, Alan Bush, Bill Carritt, Jim Fyrth, Monty Johnstone, Sam Lilley, Ralph Millband, Ralph Millner, A. L. Morton, John Saville and Brian Simon, paid tribute to Andrew as a scholar.

Labour Monthly figured too, of course: Robin Page Arnot, Associate Editor and senior member of our Editorial Board, who was in fact the first Principal of the Marx Memorial Library, and many contributors and supporters well-known to our readers, Bill Laithwaite, Bill Pomeroy, Bert Ramelson, Gordon Schaffer (of the World Peace Council and the All-Britain Peace Liaison Committee), Angela Tuckett, with Stanley Forman, producer of the *Labour Monthly* film.

Young faces and lively veterans alike demonstrated the remarkable duration and variety of Andrew Rothstein's political and literary contribution. Frank Jackson, in his tenth decade, led on this social occasion a unity of those who worked with Andrew from two generations ago and young members of their families.

John Shanley, former Deputy General Secretary of the furniture workers' union and now Vice-Chairman of the Marx Memorial Library, made his tribute to its President the occasion of announcing an important development in its progress: the occupation of the entire historic building of which the library formerly occupied only a part, and the need to launch an appeal to house adequately the new acquisitions that will ultimately double its size.

I.M.

BOOKS

Nazi Ideology before 1933

Barbara Miller Lane and

Leila J. Rupp

Manchester University Press, 180 pp,
£6.95

EVERY SOCIAL or political movement has its 'intellectuals'—people more or less versed in the 'theoretical' basis of their own political activity—who can draw together various ideological positions, and present them to the masses outside. Nazism was such a movement and the political activists represented in *Nazi Ideology before 1933* were its 'intellectuals'. This comparatively short collection of articles brings together original articles written and published in various journals in the period from the early 1920s through the 'Years of Waiting' to 1933. The aim of the book is not to present a history of the period, but to draw together articles representing the diverse trends in Nazi ideology.

Little of this material has appeared together, or even in English, before. This is in part due to the 'over-personalisation' of Nazi history, and the concentration on Hitler rather than on the often contradictory tendencies in the Nazi Party. To redress this imbalance nothing by Hitler himself appears in the collection. In fact the editors suggest that *Mein Kampf* can be seen as borrowing most of its major aspects from other Nazi writings.

The collection brings together articles dealing with the diverse themes that went to make up Nazi ideology. For example Gottfried Feder's articles show the early introduction of ideas about 'corporatism'—the nationalisation of banking and control over credit, wages and prices. In 'The Social State' Feder actually sets out a plan for the structure of the 'new

German state'. Feder had been working with both Eckart and Rosenberg in Munich, even before Hitler joined the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, both contributing to the early anti-Semitic elements in Nazi ideology, linking in with Feder's belief in the 'community of folk' as the basis for his new state. Rosenberg's commentary on the famous forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 'exposes' the plot to overthrow national governments and establish the Jewish World State, a conspiracy, Rosenberg suggests, being evidenced both in the Bolshevik revolution and the crippling reparations demanded by the allied powers after the first world war. In this early period Eckart introduced the notion of 'The Second Revolution'—the need to sweep away the Weimar Republic and establish a truly 'socialist' state. Thus even by the early 1920s some of the recognisable themes of Nazi ideology were present.

With Gregor and Otto Strasser the ideas of the second revolution, true socialism and corporatism were developed, although, as the editors indicate, the degree to which their positions were considered too far to the left, or 'socialist' as opposed to 'national socialist', by Hitler, has been exaggerated, the murder of Gregor Strasser being more likely due to an internal power struggle, rather than to deep ideological differences.

Richard Darré developed the anti-Jewish theme and became one of the most authoritative Nazi racists. He argued that both culture and society depended on race, and so any social revolution must include a eugenics programme—only the 'racially fit Nordic' could carry it through. Because of his influence on Himmler, Darré played a more obvious role in putting ideology into practice than many other Nazi ideologists. Only three contributors to the book—Rosenberg,

Goebbels and Darré—retained their position in the Nazi Party and in the state after 1933.

The collection puts in a new light the need for study of Nazi ideology, for example raising the questions: What factors led to the unification of diverse positions into a single party? What were the relations between these sections and German society—with workers, peasants, farmers, capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie, etc.? And what impact did the ideology have on the structure and operation of the Nazi state after 1933?

With the growth of fascist movements during the present time any improvement in the historical understanding of their predecessors cannot but be useful.

GRAHAM SHAW

The Generals' Strike: 20 Drawings

Andrew Turner

Journeyman, 50 pp, £2.50

THE recently-published drawings by Andrew Turner called *The Generals' Strike* is the first artistic attempt to illustrate the heroic events of those nine historic days in 1926 known as the general strike, and how they relate to the on-going class war in Britain.

I stress class war since war is the central metaphor of the drawings; from the overall title, that refers to the class collaborationist leadership that has dominated the British labour movement, to the title of each of the drawings that illustrate the similarity of class and military war strategies: Truce, Surrender, Offensive, Defensive, Reconnaissance, Attack, Guerrilla War, Peace, Allies, Casualties, etc. But mostly one is aware of the role of the respective general staffs, the supremely confident and cunning ruling class against the divided working class; the majority led by class traitors, the class conscious by the small Communist Party—the leadership of which

had been arrested just before the government declared war. This is illustrated in the drawing 'Offensive' that followed the so-called truce of July 31, with pictures of the twelve arrested on the end of soldiers' bayonets.

Turner utilises a number of recurring props in his drama as symbolic reminders of how the war was conducted: a table, the symbol of negotiation and all that goes on above and below it, a trade union banner, reflecting in its changing portraits the ebb and flow of class struggle, and a trench that symbolises the irreconcilable difference between capital and labour. Most of the action takes place on centre stage with important interventions from the trench, notably in the drawing 'Attack' where the miners overturn the negotiating table, and from behind the most constant element in the drawings, a hedge, that occupies the mid-ground and understudies for a coalface landscape.

The only individuals that are recognisable, apart from Andrew and his father (the storytellers), are the collaborators, the class enemy and leading revolutionaries; the miners are seen as the representatives of 'the proletariat organised as a class' (Marx).

The strongest formal attribute of the drawings is the composition, which never becomes cluttered or confused; the eye is fully engaged and never allowed to stray away from the conflicting ideological issues. The drawing utilises extreme tonal values and often employs coarse hatching to emphasise what Andrew calls the 'terrible beauty' of class war.

The value of the drawings will, I am sure, be measured in their ability to raise, in a comprehensible manner, our understanding of the important lessons of the general strike, and what relevance they have to our discussion about a revolutionary strategy in Britain today.

Andrew Turner's message is simple: no war has ever been won without a disciplined and experienced army, as totally committed and as clear in its objectives as the class enemy and led by an imaginative and incorruptible leadership.

These drawings should be the property of the movement and take pride of place on any socialists' bookshelf as a guide to understanding the complexities of that terrible necessity—class war.

JEFF SAWTELL

A Window on Soweto

Joyce Sikakane

International Defence & Aid Fund,
80 pp, 80p

SOWETO is a sort of compound on the outskirts of Johannesburg, housing over 1½ million people in row upon row of little brick houses, most of them overcrowded. Few are equipped with a water supply, electricity or indoor sanitation. Only at seven years can children find a place in the overcrowded schools—there are no facilities in Soweto for higher education.

It is mostly the men who are lucky enough to have employment and the 'pass' entitling them to enter Johannesburg. It is much more difficult for the women. Unemployment is high in the township. All the population live under continual police surveillance and harassment by officialdom.

All this, and much else, Joyce Sikakane, herself a child of Soweto, sets out in this absorbing book. To read it means the better to understand the wrath and frustration of a people with such enormities, and to appreciate the courage and deep thinking of those ardent young people who time and time again have faced death and oppression in their protest against the lot imposed on them by an alien state.

HILDA VERNON

Privacy

Edited by J. E. Young

Wiley, 350 pp, £12

ESSAYS from different disciplinary perspectives by members and former members of the staff of Southampton University have been collected. The law on privacy is reasonably straightforward (there is hardly any), and much has been written, especially since the publication of the Younger Report in 1972, on legal aspects. This book brings together many other perspectives as well as the legal, and the issues it raises are fascinating.

Concepts of privacy vary between times, places and people; lack of privacy hinders subjective feelings of autonomy and choice that are central to being human; but excessive regard for private life endangers civil liberties by leaving the body politic unattended; increases in the extent of government involvement in our affairs might be thought a reasonable price to be paid for the ensuing economic and social benefits; although there is no express right of privacy in English law there is increasing indirect legal and extra-legal protection; how do we reconcile the needs of individual recipients of social security and social services with the need to avoid both the abuse of public money and infringements of the privacy of others (reconcile the powers of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children with the rights of parents not to be unfairly accused of child beating!); there is an inevitable tension in reconciling the objectives of the media and claims for confidentiality; many privacy problems arise when we seek medical care, when we have dealings with lawyers or other professionals, and when we seek credit for hire-purchase, mortgages and anything else; developments in electronics and computers have caused further threats to our privacy. These are all themes

explored and developed by this collection.

However, to campaign or even think in terms of 'privacy' as a general concept does not get us very far. No amount of legal protection will affect those who determine to whom credit is to be allocated, will prevent black-listing of militant trade unionists, or surveillance by the Special Branch and security services. On the other hand, it is correct that privacy should give way to tax inspectors, public health measures, examination of company accounts and so on. The answers to these and other problems and dilemmas lie not in our general attitude to privacy but in our political, economic and social ideas. Nevertheless the interdisciplinary approach of this book is a welcome broadening of some of the debates around these specific questions.

HOWARD LEVENSON

Engineering in the Ancient World

J. G. Landels

Chatto & Windus, 224 pp, £5.50

THIS IS AN EXTREMELY interesting study of Ancient Greece and Rome by a classical student who is also an engineer, and who has made and tested replicas of some of the machines he describes. He begins by discussing power sources, human, animal, wind and water, and considers some possible reasons for the failure to develop steam power. Here perhaps he tends to emphasise the purely technical difficulties, and suggests possible social and economic factors without discussing them in detail. Henry Ford is credited with the comment that when a steam engine is necessary, someone invents one, and the work would have benefited from an analysis of why the Ancient World did not find a steam engine necessary.

In fact his treatment of this problem is in marked contrast to his analysis, in the chapter on land transport, of the reasons for the failure to develop a satisfactory method of harnessing horses to vehicles. Horses were harnessed in the same way as oxen, but because of the structural differences between the two animals, the method used strained the horse's heart and nearly choked it if it was called upon to pull a heavy load. The horse's collar, which enables the animal to pull with its shoulders instead of its neck, did not come into use until the tenth or eleventh centuries. The writer points out that in Greece and Rome horses were used for pulling light loads fast; heavy horses like the Clydesdale had not yet been developed, and if heavy loads had to be moved, oxen were used. For this reason, he argues, no better method of harnessing was felt to be necessary.

We tend to associate the Romans with impressive feats of civil engineering, roads, water supplies to cities and buildings, and the writer deals with



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these aspects of their achievements in considerable detail. The provision of water supplies to the cities necessitated the building of aqueducts over valleys, such as the one at Segovia in Spain which is still in use, and the digging of tunnels. The techniques used are described very fully, as are the types of equipment used, and even the size and carrying capacity of the pipes and conduits. The design and performance of various water pumps are dealt with, and this leads to a discussion of lifting equipment in use in the construction industry.

In the chapter on shipping, some surprising information is given about the size of some of the vessels. One in particular, the *Syracusia*, built in the third century BC, had a carrying capacity of about 1,800 tons, and must have been the largest floating object built up to that time. The chapter concludes with an interesting appendix on the speeds of different types of oared vessels.

The work is well illustrated with diagrams and graphs, and the descriptions and calculations are clear and easy to follow. It is one of a number of studies in a series on *Ancient Culture and Society*.

NORMAN SIMPSON

Corporate and Government Deviance

Edited by M. David Ermann and Richard J. Lundman

Oxford University Press, 324 pp, £2.75

ABOUT 100,000 American workers die each year as a result of exposure to job health hazards. The ultimate reason for this tremendous toll is 'the drive of corporations to extract as much profit as possible from the workers.'

The American businessman who violates the law does not normally lose prestige amongst his associates, for 'a violation of the legal code is not necessarily a violation of the business

code. . . . The businessman's contempt for law, like that of the professional thief, grows out of the fact that the law impedes his behaviour.'

A kind of 'medical terrorism' prevails in some US prisons, through the use of 'behaviour modification' techniques—including 'drugs, hypnosis, electro-convulsive shocks, brainwashing and psychosurgery' (the last-mentioned consisting of operating on the brain with intent to change behaviour).

These are some of the facts described and illustrated in this lively, well-arranged book. It is concerned with misconduct by commercial corporations and governmental agencies in the US, but the information given, and the social and political problems discussed, are relevant also for Britain, and indeed any other highly developed capitalist country.

Designed primarily for courses on 'social deviance, social problems, and criminology,' it brings together a variety of interesting studies and reports.

Explaining their approach, the editors emphasise that it is necessary for sociologists to move forward from the study of deviance in individuals (social psychology) to that of unlawful conduct by organisations, and the question of the prevention and control of this. 'Since Watergate,' they write, 'there has been a virtually endless series of public reports of corporate and governmental misconduct,' and they give instances.

The section on 'corporate deviance' contains some eye-opening information about various forms of corruption practised in the pursuit of commercial profit; that on governmental misconduct probes such topics as spying on private citizens, the unlawful interception of mail, killings by police officers, and the treatment of convicted prisoners.

The final section, concerned with the problem of prevention and control of misconduct by organisations, is less impressive than the previous ones, largely because the approach of most of the contributors assumes the continued existence of the present system of society and existing legal codes of law.

Facts are stubborn things, however, and the value of this book lies precisely in the wide array of revealing facts which it presents. And at least one of the writers is quite clear as to the kind of social and political conclusion to which the facts that he himself has examined lead; the chapter on occupational diseases, entitled 'Silent Killers at Work', ends with these words: '... the system functioning the way it is, rewards certain criminals very handsomely. The ultimate success in the battle to improve health and safety conditions will require getting rid of these criminals, and the system which enables them to operate.'

RALPH MILLNER

The Elderly at Home Audrey Hunt

HMSO, 178 pp, £7

THIS IS A SURVEY which was carried out on behalf of the Department of Health and Social Security. Its purpose was to investigate the social circumstances of people aged 65 and over living in private households in the community in 1976. The information was obtained by means of a postal questionnaire to 11,849 addresses in England; from the replies personal interviews were carried out at those houses containing elderly persons.

The survey is exhaustive and covers a lot of ground such as types of housing, those living alone or with relations, incomes and outgoings, interests, social contacts and mobility. From the mass of information the following facts are of particular interest.

Physical old age does not begin at 65 for the great majority of people. Those aged 65-74 are for the most part not much more disadvantaged than the age group immediately preceding their own, but with increasing age there is a decline in mobility, ability to perform personal and domestic tasks, and a sharper decline in social contacts.

Thirty per cent of the elderly lived alone, 35 per cent of these being women of 75 or more. Fifteen per cent of households with heads of 85 or over had only an outside lavatory, and just over a quarter of elderly persons of limited mobility had any means of summoning aid in an emergency. A quarter of such people lived alone.

Between 7 per cent and 12 per cent of those interviewed said they were not warm enough all the time—in bed, in living room, in kitchen and out of doors. Ill health was the principal thing they disliked, followed by loneliness, and when asked for suggestions to help, financial suggestions predominated.

Cases of transport difficulties were cited especially in view of distance from home in some areas of post office, chemist and doctor, and sometimes no concessional fares. London was best serviced in this respect.

An analysis of income was made, from pensions (state and other pensions), supplementary benefits, employment, investments, etc. At one end of the scale 6 per cent of all elderly married couples had an income of £3,000 or more and assets worth over £2,500, while at the other end of the scale 21 per cent had incomes of less than £1,500 and no assets or less than £300, or were on supplementary benefit. I wish the summary had told us what percentage had less than £1,200 per annum, bearing in mind that the pension for a married couple at the time was £21.20 per week (£1,102.40 per

annum) and that many pensioners who are entitled to it do not draw supplementary benefit. Amongst non-married 3 per cent had incomes of £2,000 or more together with assets exceeding £2,500, and 16 per cent had incomes of less than £750, no assets or less than £300, or were on supplementary benefit.

One-quarter of those interviewed had received no visits during the previous six months from any of a selected list of people from health and social services.

The survey can be of use to those campaigning for a better pension and the improvement of the lot of the elderly, although the price of the book is a bit prohibitive. It is somewhat ironical that it should have been published by the DHSS at a time when extensive cuts in the social services are being carried out.

DORIS ALLISON

Time Off

Robert Mackmurdo

New Commercial Publishing Company,
132 pp, £5.50

Appointment and Functions of Safety Representatives Part I

Bowes Egan

New Commercial Publishing Company,
90 pp, £4.95

TWO GUIDES to labour legislation have been written because their authors found employers were in a state of 'panic', prepared for 'terror and resistance' and convinced that the legislation meant 'management was finished, chaos would reign.' As it happens that makes them of exceptional usefulness for trade unionists. Their quality justifies the seemingly high price.

With *Time Off* to hand no workers' representative will be caught out with the question 'Am I entitled to time off for...?' The 'seven statutory rules' under the Employment Protection Act that 'allow employees to

absent themselves from work as a matter of right, irrespective of what their contract terms may state,' are tabulated, illustrated and explained in jargon-free layman's language. The appropriate sections of the Act and the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) Code of Practice are set out in a manner that ensures easy reference in relation to the specific circumstances for which the time off is sought. An excellent contents table and index give further aid. Many publications specifically prepared for the guidance of trade unionists fail to reach the standard of this work. The content goes beyond the title. There are chapters on contracts of employment, dismissal, trade union organisation and agreements, tribunals and safety. Mackmurdo knows his subject.

Bowes Egan's task with the Health and Safety at Work Act is more complex. The Act codifies and makes statutory the best practice of the best firms. The most important aspect of the Act is the authority it gives to trade unions to appoint safety representatives and for such representatives to carry out regular safety inspections within the factory. The essential information on this important aspect of the Act is fully documented and critically analysed. In reassuring employers, Egan highlights the points that are essential for trade unionists to know. A particularly important point to which he gives attention is the 'schizophrenic' role a workers' representative may find he has to play at the scene of an accident, caught between the requirements of safety and revealing evidence that could have an adverse effect on a claim for damages for death or injury; strangely Egan does not explain the fundamental distinction between a claim under the Industrial Injuries Act where the cause of the accident is not important beyond providing evidence that it happened arising out of and in

the course of employment, as contrasted with a claim under Common Law where responsibility for the accident is the crux of the issue, a point workers should keep in mind.

A warning is necessary. In safety matters a knowledge of the Act is not enough, although such knowledge is adequately provided in this guide. The bricks to trip over and the pits to fall into when carrying out safety representative duties are such that they should not be undertaken without adequate training and only in close co-operation with the appropriate union. That is where *Time Off* will be useful. As easy to use as a ready reckoner, it will enable workers to verify their entitlement for time off for such training.

JOCK SHANLEY

Business Imperialism 1840-1930

Edited by D. C. M. Platt

Clarendon Press: OUP, 450 pp,
£12.50

THIS ACADEMIC book is about an area of the world that has been continually exploited by greedy men throughout the centuries, and that is Latin America or the continent of South America, including Central America and Mexico. The sub-title of the book is 'An Inquiry based on British Experience in Latin America', and the bulk of the work was done by Dr Robert Greenhill and Dr Charles Jones.

The authors of the book have studied at great depth the involvement of Britain and a large number of companies in Latin America during an era of material progress. In some respects the period under consideration should have been from 1850 to 1914 rather than from 1840 to 1930. Great Britain was the largest supplier of funds in South America as this book shows, and its capital went into railroads, shipping, mines, agriculture,

commerce and a large number of other ventures. By 1914 parts of Latin America, such as Argentina, were economic colonies of Great Britain. After 1930 Britain's place was taken by the United States of America and their domination has been expressed in all aspects of Latin America—economic as well as political.

The case against British enterprise and capital in Latin America is spelt out in the editor's Introduction (p 13): ' . . . it consistently outstayed its welcome,' and he goes on to say, 'and came ultimately to serve as a barrier to, rather than the promoter of Latin America's economic development.' The moral of this is simply that the United States of America are today in the same position as Britain was in the 1920s; they have 'outstayed their welcome'. Repressive military governments in Latin America (Peru, Chile, for example) are opposed by genuine revolutionaries from the left who have suffered for their commitment. The simple remedy voiced by the Peruvian peasant organiser, Hugo Blanco, is the remedy not only for Peru, but for the whole continent of South America. Blanco believes that 'the Peruvian people must renounce their debts contracted by their oppressors. We will not repay to the imperialists the loans that were used to suppress us.'

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- Tories—New Turn to the Right*, Labour Research Department, 24 pp, 25p.
A Soldier's Life, David Dragunsky. Progress, 280 pp, available on order from Central Books.
The Marxist-Leninist Teaching of Socialism and the World Today, D. N. Fedoseyev and others. Progress (Central Books), 526 pp, £2.50.
Lenin and Modern Natural Science, edited by M. E. Omelyanovsky. Progress, 422 pp, available on order from Central Books.
A Catalogue of Some Labour Records in Scotland and Some Scots Records Outside Scotland, edited by Ian MacDougall. Scottish Labour History Society, 598 pp, £10.50.
The Economics of Devolution, edited by Edward Nevin. University of Wales Press, 160 pp, £2.95.
Peace in the Middle East, David Astor and Valerie Yorke. Corgi, 174 pp, £1.95.
Trujillo: The Death of the Goat, Bernard Diederich. Bodley Head, 266 pp, £5.95.
Writing, foreword by Greg Wilkinson. Worker Writers and Community Publishers, 252 pp, £1.
State Monopoly Incomes Policy: Conception and Practice, Felix Burdjalov. Progress (Central Books), 272 pp, £2.25.
The Tory Party: Its Policies, Divisions and Future, Trevor Russel. Penguin, 176 pp, 85p.
The Hague Congress of the First International (September 2-7, 1872): Reports and Letters, Lawrence & Wishart, 702 pp, £4.
On Dialectical Materialism, Marx, Engels, Lenin. Lawrence & Wishart, 422 pp, £2.50.
Big Red Diary 1979, researched by Dave Smith and others. Pluto, 160 pp, £1.50.
Selected Philosophical Works Vol 1, Georgi Plekhanov. Lawrence & Wishart, 818 pp, £4.50.
Guide to the Pay Policy Phase 4, Labour Research Department, 12 pp, 16p.
Grunwick: Bravery and Betrayal, Tom Durkin. Brent Trades Council, 20 pp, 15p.
Ford Wage Claim 1978, Transport and General Workers' Union, 18 pp, £1.25.

From the Media

1978 has been marked by a spate of films for, by and about women. At the Cannes, Berlin and Edinburgh festivals this year, such films were omnipresent: but with the time-lag usual in movies journeying from festivals to commercial cinemas, you are unlikely to see most of them until 1979.

(Nigel Andrew, *Financial Times*, September 22, 1978)

The Albanian party leader Mr Enva Hoxha... has personally attacked China... as a 'former socialist country led by a revisionist party which betrayed Marxism-Leninism' in no way different from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.... 'Our people will always fight unwaveringly against US imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and all reactionaries and nobody should cherish the smallest delusion that Albania will change its stand,' he stressed.

(Paul Lendvai, *Financial Times*, September 22, 1978)

The oldest peace group in the world has announced that it will nominate a group of British workers for the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize. The International Peace Bureau, based in Geneva, will recommend that the Prize be awarded to the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee, for their contribution to disarmament. The Combine Committee, representing all 12,000 Lucas Aerospace workers in Britain, developed a Corporate Plan containing 150 ideas for socially useful products which could be produced in place of Lucas's traditional aerospace and military products.

(Bulletin of Campaign Against Arms Trade, September 19, 1978)

Twenty-four hours after Vietnam accused China of building up military forces along their joint frontier, Peking yesterday retaliated by unilaterally 'adjourning' Sino-Vietnamese political discussions.

(Ian Ward, *Daily Telegraph*, September 27, 1978)

Israel is actively planning a big drive to settle thousands more Jews in the occupied Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip over the next five years, I learnt last night.

(A. J. McIlroy, *Daily Telegraph*, September 27, 1978)

Anti-Hunt saboteurs yesterday claimed that their first action to stop a grouse shoot was so successful that they plan to repeat it next year.

(*Daily Telegraph*, September 27, 1978)

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INDEX TO VOLUME LX

I—AUTHORS

Author	Title (R indicates book review)	Page
AARONOVITCH, Sam	The Evolution of Giant Firms in Britain (R)	428
	Concentration in Modern Industry (R)	428
A.B.	The Rise of the Corporate Economy (R)	428
ALLAUN, Frank MP	Moscow: A Short Guide (R)	205
	Election Prospects: Can we Stop the Arms Race?	181
	Direct Labour	392
ALLEN, Marika	Philosophy and Class Struggle (R)	69
ALLEN, Professor Vic	The Burial of 'The Gould Report'	237
ALLISON, Doris	The Case for the Pensioners (R)	325
	The Elderly at Home (R)	500
A.T.	Peter Kerrigan (1899-1977)	142
ATKINSON, Norman MP	The UN and Cyprus	15
BALFE, Richard	Drawing on Lessons from Crossman	187
BARR, Andrew	Northern Ireland's Economic Situation	417
BENN, Hilary	The EEC and Britain: A Socialist Perspective (R)	197
	Direct Elections to the European Parliament	349
BIDWELL, Syd MP	Election Prospects: Race and the General Election	95
BIRD, Reg	Cut the Cuts!	11
BLOOM, John M.	Labour and Women's Rights	241
BOLANOS, Jorge A.	Quality of Life in Cuba	223
BOLTON, George	Where Now on the Wages Front?	105
BROWN, Alan	The Hague Congress of the First International September 2-7, 1872 (R)	77
	Karl Marx Frederick Engels Collected Works, Vol 7 (R)	157
	The World in a Classroom (R)	205
BROWN, David	The Last Bunker: A Report on White South Africa Today (R)	250
BUNTING, Brian	Fire Service Strike: A Personal View	37
CAHILL, Bernard	Scottish Devolution	460
CANAVAN, Dennis MP	Free Collective Bargaining	107
COSTELLO, Mick	Race and the General Election (Letter)	196
CRU, MP, Frank	Tribune 40 (R)	135
DIX, Bernard	The Concept of Freedom (R)	69
DOUGLAS, Greg	Racism and Fascism	296
DUNN, Bill	Supplementary Benefits	481
ESAM, Peter	Karl Marx: Selected Writings (R)	149
EVERS, H. C.	Pablo Neruda	64
FIGUEROA, R. A.	The Ninth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions	217
GASPAR, Sándor	Lucas Aerospace Workers Campaign	273
GEORGE, Mike	Give Purpose to the Co-ops	227
GERSHMAN, Jack	Jimmy Carter's Waning Popularity	461
GERSON, Simon W.	John Forrester	405
GILL, Ken	Why I Sought Freedom (1) Remember McCarthy	47
GOLDSTEIN, Leonard	Yours in the Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck (R)	332
GOLDMAN, Dave	Inside Right: A Study of Conservatism (R)	204
GOODWIN, Phil	Building Britain's Future: Labour's Policy on Construction (R)	201
GORDON, Martin	Civil Liberty: The NCCL Guide to Your Rights (R)	253
GRIFFITH, John	Why I Sought Freedom (2) A Yankee in the GDR	393
GROSSMAN, Victor	The 1978 TUC	377
GUY, George	Journalists and the New Technology (R)	448
HARRISON, Stanley	Secrets	357
HEWITT, Patricia	Election Prospects: Some Lessons of the Recent Period	379
HODGSON, Geoff	The Politics of Economic Planning (R)	379
HOOKHAM, Maurice	Unemployed Struggles 1919-1936 (R)	381
HUNT, Michael	An Occasion	494
I.M.	Guyana: Rigged Referendum	396
JAGAN, Cheddi	Multinational Menace (Letter)	140
JENKIN, Alfred	What's Wrong in Fleet Street?	225
JERROLD, George	Socialism with a German Face: The State that Came in from the Cold (R)	327
KARRER, Madeleine	Proletarian Internationalism (Letter)	141
KESSNER, Karel Jr	British Mass Media and Zimbabwe	468
KHEZWANA, Naison	Class and Status in France: Economic Change and Social Immobility 1945-1975 (R)	74
KNIGHT, Frida	Three Structural Crises	100
KUCZYNSKI, Jürgen	Attacks on Democracy in West Germany	401
LATHAM, Hugh	Negotiated Justice: Pressures on Defendants to Plead Guilty (R)	73
LEVENSON, Howard	Unmet Need: The Case of the Neighbourhood Law Centre (R)	199
	Claims in Time: A Study of the Time Limit Rules for Claiming Social Security Benefits (R)	326
	Landlord v Tenant (R)	326
	Representation in the Juvenile Court (R)	378
	Legal Services for the Community (R)	430
	Privacy (R)	497

Author	Title (R indicates book review)	Page
LEWIS, Arthur W. J. MP	Restore the Voice of the People	44
LING, Margaret	Secret Weapon in Africa (R)	380
MACDIARMID, Hugh	Against Infantilism	481
MCLEAN, Brian	Consumer Co-ops in Hungary	365
MALLINSON, Peter	The Politics of Health	135
	Growing Tenant Power	231
MARSHALL, Michael	Relating to the Community	324
MAY, Eric	Zimbabwe: The Facts about Rhodesia (R)	324
MICKLEWRIGHT, F. H. Amplett	Are Judges Impartial?	57
	Revolt of the Peasantry 1549 (R)	251
	Radcliffe and Cross: The English Legal System (R)	333
	Law and the Rise of Capitalism (R)	333
	The Cross and the Sickle (R)	382
	Law and Society: Ideas and Ideologies (R)	428
	Human Rights (R)	428
	The Police and Liberty	425
MILLNER, Ralph	Crime in England 1550-1800 (R)	359
	Corporate and Government Deviance (R)	499
MONTAGU, Ivor	The Self-Isolation of Israel	175
	Armies and Politics (R)	249
	Lysenko—A New Look	280
MORRIS, Max	Teachers in Action against Unemployment	127
NICHOLSON, Fergus	Revolution in Western Europe	234
	Socialism Now— and Other Essays (R)	378
	Soviet Man (R)	378
NICOLSON, Bridget	Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848 (R)	71
	Housewives, Menus and Class	146
	Black People in Britain 1555-1833 (R)	198
	An English Academic View of GDR Literature	318
NORWOOD, Graham	The Long March of Everyman 1750-1960 (R)	205
	Thinking Politically (R)	327
	The Press and the Perks	363
	The Afghan Revolution	307
	The Old Knight's Network	133
	Vietnam	143
	Women's Rights at Labour Party Conference	477
	A Study of Soviet Foreign Policy (R)	203
	Fire Service Strike (Letter)	140
	Making Soviet Policy	242
	A Rumor of War (R)	151
	Imperialism at Bay 1941-1945: The United States and the Decolonisation of the British Empire (R)	330
	South-East Asian Crossroads	488
	Sixty Years Ago	111, 192, 247, 278
	The Marxist Conception of Ideology (R)	335
	Rail Workers get at the EEC	315
	Right to Organise	171
	The Delusion of Incomes Policy (R)	329
	South Africa	19
	John L. Lewis: A Biography (R)	254
	Business Imperialism 1840-1930 (R)	502
	Technical Change (Letter)	425
	Freedom of Information in Canada	301
	Freedom of Information (Letter)	493
	Technical Change	285, 425
	John Bull	291
	Foul Play on Fair Play?	129
	Georges Cogniot	193
	Election on the Horizon (Letter)	196
	Imperialist War (R)	252
	The Times and the USSR	265
	The Cousins (R)	383
	The Revolution in Russia	62
	Art for Society (Exhibition)	255
	The Generals' Strike: 20 Drawings (R)	496
	All for Disarmament	34
	Thirtieth Anniversary of the GDR	465
	Decolonising the Land Rover	26
	English Lesson	295
	Fund Page	80, 159, 208, 256, 336, 384, 432, 511
SEYD, Nicola	The Industrial Tribunals Handbook: Fighting your Case at the Industrial Tribunals (R)	376
SHANLEY, Jock	Time Off (R)	501
	Appointment and Functions of Safety Representatives (R)	501
	Labour Monthly Reader (Letter)	493
	Nazi Ideology before 1933 (R)	495
	Bonn Offers Nothing (Letter)	427
	Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century (R)	252
	The Politics of Educational Change (R)	376
	Engineering in the Ancient World (R)	498
	Where Was the Amnesty Report?	305
SIMPSON, Norman	The Steel Crisis	169
SINCLAIR, Betty		
SIRS, Bill		

Author	Title (R indicates book review)	Page
SLOAN, Pat	The Multinational Menace	81
	Election on the Horizon	161
	160 Years of Marx	209
	UN Anti-Apartheid Year	257
	Nato Mobilises against Africa	337
	Bonn Offers Nothing	385
	No Five Per Cent—No Election Yet	433
	Workers Unite against Multinationals	102
	The Ideology of Permanent Incomes Policy	213
	The Ninth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions	299
SMITH, Harry	East-West Trade Union Relations	405
	John Forrester	485
SPANSWICK, Albert	Ploughshares for Trade Unionists	380
	Thinking it Over: 30 Stories from the German Democratic Republic (R)	445
STARRS, Des	Fords—the Facts	271
	Our Conference	55
SWIFT, Frank	Problems of Anti-Sovietism	421
	Jomo Kenyatta and D. N. Pritt	335
TAYLOR, Sheila	Catapult to Freedom (R)	414
	Vietnam—Myth and Reality	497
TODD, Ron	A Window on Soweto (R)	281
	British Arms: Peace on Earth?	151
TOWILL, Bill	Micro-Processors	148
	Trade Union and Human Rights in Chile and Bolivia (R)	406
TRORY, Ernie	Reading Goal	118
	Charles Chaplin	229
TUCKETT, Angela	Getting the Chaplin Family Right	75
	Politics of Decolonization: Kenya Europeans and the Land Issue 1960-1965 (R)	153
VERNON, Hilda	A Critique of Arms, Vol 1 (R)	200
	The Homeless and the Empty Houses (R)	70
WARREN, Jenny	An Eye to India: The Unmasking of a Tyranny (R)	150
	Red Bologna (R)	202
WEBB, Tim	Up Against a Brick Wall: The Dead-End in Housing Policy (R)	311
	Housing and Democracy	426
WHELAN, Joe	Tenants' Charter (Letter)	426
	Double Issue (Letter)	426
WILDE, Oscar		
WINTER, Ella		
WOODIS, Jack		
WOLMAR, Christian		
WOOD, Conrad		
WOODBURN, Jack		
ZAK, Molly		

II—SUBJECTS

Subject	Title	Page
AFGHANISTAN	The Afghan Revolution	307
	ART	255
	Art for Society	291
BUILDING INDUSTRY	John Bull	392
	Direct Labour	301
CANADA	Freedom of Information in Canada	118
	CHAPLIN, CHARLES	Charles Chaplin
CHILE	Getting the Chaplin Family Right	229
	COMMON MARKET	Pablo Neruda
CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT	Election on the Horizon	81
	Rail Workers get at the EEC	315
CUBA	Direct Elections to the European Parliament	349
	Give Purpose to the Co-ops	227
CYRUS	Consumer Co-ops in Hungary	365
	Quality of Life in Cuba	223
DEMOCRACY	The UN and Cyprus	15
	Restore the Voice of the People	44
DEVOLUTION	Fire Service Strike	140
	Freedom of Information in Canada	242
EDUCATION	Making Soviet Policy	301
	Attacks on Democracy in West Germany	401
ENVIRONMENT	Secrets	448
	The Police and Liberty	435
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	Freedom of Information	493
	Scottish Devolution	460
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF	Teachers in Action against Unemployment	127
	The Burial of 'The Gould Report'	237
GUYANA	Relating to the Community	354
	Why I Sought Freedom	47
HEALTH	An English Academic View of GDR Literature	318
	Thirtieth Anniversary of the GDR	465
HISTORY	The Old Knights' Network	133
	Attacks on Democracy in West Germany	401
	Guyana: Rigged Referendum	396
	The Politics of Health	135
	The Revolution in Russia	62
	Sixty Years Ago	111, 192, 247, 278
	John Bull	291

Subject	Title	Page
HOME AFFAIRS	Cut the Cuts!	11
	Election on the Horizon	81
	The Ideology of Permanent Incomes Policy	102
	Where Now on the Wages Front?	105
	Free Collective Bargaining	107
	Foul Play on Fair Play?	129
	160 Years of Marx	161
	Lucas Aerospace Workers Campaign	273
	Technical Change	285, 425
	Bonn Offers Nothing	337
	No Five Per Cent—No Election Yet	385
	Workers Unite against Multinationals	433
	Supplementary Benefits	482
	Growing Tenant Power	231
	Housing and Democracy	311
Tenants' Charter	426	
HUNGARY	Consumer Co-ops in Hungary	365
ILLUSTRATIONS	40-1, 99, 114, 117, 119-25, 156, 184-3, 202, 232-3, 263, 291-4, 310, 360-2, 406-7, 446, 480	
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	The Multinational Menace	1, 140
	Election on the Horizon	81
	Three Structural Crises	100
	Proletarian Internationalism	141
	160 Years of Marx	161
	UN Anti-Apartheid Year	209
	The Ninth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions	213
	Nato Mobilises against Africa	257
	East-West Trade Union Relations	299
	Bonn Offers Nothing	337, 427
	No Five Per Cent—No Election Yet	385
	Workers Unite against Multinationals	433
	South-East Asian Crossroads	488
	Where Was the Amnesty Report?	305
	Northern Ireland's Economic Situation	417
	The Self-Isolation of Israel	175
	Double Issue	426
	Labour Monthly Reader	493
	IRELAND	Drawing on Lessons from Crossman
Election Prospects: Some Lessons of the Recent Period		357
No Five Per Cent—No Election Yet		385
Workers Unite against Multinationals		433
Women's Rights at Labour Party Conference		477
Are Judges Impartial?		57
Secrets		448
The Police and Liberty		455
An English Academic View of GDR Literature		318
Hugh MacDiarmid—Socialist Poet		480
ISRAEL	Election on the Horizon	81, 196
LABOUR MONTHLY	160 Years of Marx	161
LABOUR PARTY	What's Wrong in Fleet Street?	225
LAW	The Times and the USSR	265
LITERATURE	The Press and the Perks	363
MACDIARMID, HUGH	British Mass Media and Zimbabwe	468
MARXISM	Fords—the Facts	445
MEDIA	Decolonising the Land Rover	26
MOTOR INDUSTRY	Pablo Neruda	64
MOZAMBIQUE	British Arms: Peace on Earth?	28
NERUDA, PABLO	All for Disarmament	34
PEACE MOVEMENT	Election on the Horizon	81
PHILIPPINES	Election Prospects: Can we Stop the Arms Race?	181
POETRY	Ploughshares for Trade Unionists	485
RACISM	South-East Asian Crossroads	488
RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS	Decolonising the Land Rover	26
ROTHSTEIN, ANDREW	Pablo Neruda	64
SCIENCE	Kate	115
SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY	John Bull	291
SOUTH AFRICA	English Lesson	295
STEEL INDUSTRY	Reading Gaol	406
UN ANTI-APARTHEID YEAR	Hugh MacDiarmid—Socialist Poet	480
WORKERS UNITE AGAINST MULTINATIONALS	Revolution in Western Europe	234
THREE STRUCTURAL CRISES	Election Prospects: Race and the General Election	95, 196
THE STEEL CRISIS	Racialism and Fascism	296
	Relating to the Community	354
	No Five Per Cent—No Election Yet	385
	An Occasion	494
	Lysenko—A New Look	280
	Micro-Processors	451
	Our Conference	271
	South Africa	19
	UN Anti-Apartheid Year	209
	Workers Unite against Multinationals	433
	Three Structural Crises	100
	The Steel Crisis	169

Subject	Title	Page	
TRADE UNIONISM	Fire Service Strike: A Personal View	37, 140	
	Free Collective Bargaining	107	
	Right to Organise	171	
	The Ninth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions	213	
	Our Conference	271	
	East-West Trade Union Relations	299	
	Rail Workers get at the EEC	315	
	The 1978 TUC	393	
	Fords—the Facts	445	
	Micro-Processors	451	
	Rail Workers get at the EEC	315	
	Charles Chaplin	118	
	TRANSPORT TRIBUTES	Peter Kerrigan	142
Georges Cogniot		193	
John Forrester		405	
Jomo Kenyatta		421	
Hugh MacDiarmid		480	
Why I Sought Freedom		47	
Jimmy Carter's Waning Popularity		461	
Problems of Anti-Sovietism		55	
The Revolution in Russia		62	
Election on the Horizon		81	
USSR	Sixty Years Ago	111, 192, 247, 278	
	Making Soviet Policy	242	
	The Times and the USSR	265	
	Lysenko—A New Look	280	
	Vietnam	143	
	Vietnam—Myth and Reality	414	
	Housewives, Menus and Class	146	
	Labour and Women's Rights	241	
	Women's Rights at Labour Party Conference	477	
	Nato Mobilises against Africa	257	
VIETNAM	Congo Diary	261	
	Election on the Horizon	81	
	UN Anti-Apartheid Year	209	
	English Lesson	295	
	British Mass Media and Zimbabwe	468	
	WOMEN	Representation in the Juvenile Court (Howard Levenson)	378
		The Last Bunker: A Report on White South Africa Today (Brian Bunting)	250
		The Homeless and the Empty Houses (Christian Wolmar)	200
		Negotiated Justice: Pressures on Defendants to Plead Guilty (Howard Levenson)	73
		The Long March of Everyman 1750-1960 (Graham Norwood)	205
Years in the Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck (Dave Goodman)		332	
Thinking Politically (Graham Norwood)		327	
Beyond the Limits of the Law (F. H. Amplett, Micklewright)		455	
The Delusion of Incomes Policy (Bert Ramelson)		329	
The Politics of Economic Planning (Maurice Hookham)		379	
ZAIRE	Catapult to Freedom (Hilda Vernon)	335	
	Unmet Need: The Case of the Neighbourhood Law Centre (Howard Levenson)	199	
	A Rumor of War (William Pomeroy)	151	
	'Eurocommunism' and the State (Pat Sloan)	89	
	The Concept of Freedom (Greg Douglas)	69	
	Moscow: A Short Guide (A.B.)	205	
	Crime in England 1550-1800 (Ralph Millner)	329	
	Long-Term Strategy for Energy Policy (Pat Sloan)	387	
	Speakers' Notes: The Co-operative Development Agency (Pat Sloan)	431	
	Revolt of the Peasantry 1549 (F. H. Amplett Micklewright)	251	
ZIMBABWE	Socialism Now—and Other Essays (Fergus Nicholson)	378	
	The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister, Vol 3 (Richard Balfe)	187	
	A Critique of Arms, Vol 1 (Jack Woddis)	153	
	Philosophy and Class Struggle (Marika Allen)	69	
	Building with Direct Labour: Local Authority Building and the Crisis in the Construction Industry (Frank Allauan MP)	392	
	Private Police (F. H. Amplett Micklewright)	456	
	John L. Lewis: A Biography (D. Ben Rees)	254	
	Multinational Companies and the Trade Unions (Pat Sloan)	1	
	The Industrial Tribunals Handbook: Fighting your Case at the Industrial Tribunals (Jock Shanley)	376	
	Appointment and Functions of Safety Representatives Part 1 (Jock Shanley)	501	
The Cousins (Andrew Rothstein)	383		

III—BOOKS REVIEWED

Author or Editor	Title and Reviewer	Page
Anderson, Richard	Representation in the Juvenile Court (Howard Levenson)	378
Arnold, Guy	The Last Bunker: A Report on White South Africa Today (Brian Bunting)	250
Balley, Ron	The Homeless and the Empty Houses (Christian Wolmar)	200
Baldwin, John, and Michael McConville	Negotiated Justice: Pressures on Defendants to Plead Guilty (Howard Levenson)	73
Barker, Theo	The Long March of Everyman 1750-1960 (Graham Norwood)	205
Beeching, William, and Dr Phyllis Clarke	Years in the Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck (Dave Goodman)	332
Blondel, Jean	Thinking Politically (Graham Norwood)	327
Bowden, Tom	Beyond the Limits of the Law (F. H. Amplett, Micklewright)	455
Brittan, Samuel, and Peter Lilley	The Delusion of Incomes Policy (Bert Ramelson)	329
Budd, Alan	The Politics of Economic Planning (Maurice Hookham)	379
Burchett, Wilfred	Catapult to Freedom (Hilda Vernon)	335
Byles, Anthea, and Pauline Morris	Unmet Need: The Case of the Neighbourhood Law Centre (Howard Levenson)	199
Caputo, Philip	A Rumor of War (William Pomeroy)	151
Carrillo, Santiago	'Eurocommunism' and the State (Pat Sloan)	89
Caudwell, Christopher	The Concept of Freedom (Greg Douglas)	69
Chernov, V.	Moscow: A Short Guide (A.B.)	205
Cockburn, J. S.	Crime in England 1550-1800 (Ralph Millner)	329
Communist Party of Great Britain	Long-Term Strategy for Energy Policy (Pat Sloan)	387
Co-operative Party	Speakers' Notes: The Co-operative Development Agency (Pat Sloan)	431
Cornwall, Julian	Revolt of the Peasantry 1549 (F. H. Amplett Micklewright)	251
Crosland, Anthony	Socialism Now—and Other Essays (Fergus Nicholson)	378
Crossman, Richard	The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister, Vol 3 (Richard Balfe)	187
Debray, Régis	A Critique of Arms, Vol 1 (Jack Woddis)	153
Dialego	Philosophy and Class Struggle (Marika Allen)	69
Direct Labour Collective	Building with Direct Labour: Local Authority Building and the Crisis in the Construction Industry (Frank Allauan MP)	392
Draper, Hilary	Private Police (F. H. Amplett Micklewright)	456
Dubofsky, Melvyn, and Warren Vin Tine	John L. Lewis: A Biography (D. Ben Rees)	254
Edwards, Bob MP	Multinational Companies and the Trade Unions (Pat Sloan)	1
Egan, Bowes	The Industrial Tribunals Handbook: Fighting your Case at the Industrial Tribunals (Jock Shanley)	376
Egremont, Max	Appointment and Functions of Safety Representatives Part 1 (Jock Shanley)	501
	The Cousins (Andrew Rothstein)	383

Author or Editor	Title and Reviewer	Page
Ermann, M. David, and Richard J. Lundman ...	Corporate and Government Deviance (Ralph Millar)	499
Gilmour, Ian ...	Inside Right: A Study of Conservatism (Phil Goodwin)	204
Grant, Lawrence, Patricia Hewitt, Christine Jackson and Howard Levenson ...	Civil Liberty: The NCCL Guide to your Rights (John Griffith)	253
Griffith, J. A. G. ...	The Politics of the Judiciary (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright)	58
Hand, G. J., and D. J. Bentley	Radcliffe and Cross: The English Legal System (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright)	333
Hannah, Leslie ...	The Rise of the Corporate Economy (Sam Aaronovitch)	428
Hannah, Leslie, and J. A. Kay	Concentration in Modern Industry (Sam Aaronovitch)	428
Hannington, Wal ...	Unemployed Struggles 1919-1936 (Michael Hunt)	381
Harper, Michael ...	Landlord v Tenant (Howard Levenson)	326
Hill, Douglas ...	Tribune 40 (Bernard Dix)	155
Hunt, Audrey ...	The Elderly at Home (Doris Allison)	500
Hutchinson, Peter ...	Literary Presentations of a Divided Germany (Bridget Nicolson)	318
Ignatyev, Oleg ...	Secret Weapon in Africa (Margaret Ling)	380
International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa ...	Zimbabwe: The facts about Rhodesia (Eric May)	324
International Labour Office ...	Social and Labour Practices of Multinational Enterprises in the Petroleum Industry (Pat Sloan)	8
International, The ...	The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872 (Alan Brown)	77
Jagger, Max, Roger Müller and Sil Schmidt ...	Red Bologna (Jack Woodburn)	150
Jones, Jack ...	The Case for the Pensioners (Doris Allison)	325
Kamenka, Eugene, and Alice Ehr-Soon Tay ...	Human Rights (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright)	428
Kamenka, Eugene, Robert Brown and Alice Ehr-Soon Tay ...	Law and Society: Ideas and Ideologies (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright)	428
Kogan, Maurice ...	The Politics of Educational Change (Brian Simon)	376
Labour Party ...	International Big Business: Labour's Policy on the Multi-nationals (Pat Sloan)	2
Landels, J. G. ...	The EEC and Britain: A Socialist Perspective (Hilary Benn)	197
Lane, Barbara Miller, and Leila J. Rupp ...	Building Britain's Future: Labour's Policy on Construction (Martin Gordon)	201
Leia J. Rupp ...	Engineering in the Ancient World (Norman Simpson)	498
Law, T.S., and Thurso Berwick	Nazi Ideology before 1933 (Graham Shaw)	495
Lecourt, Dominique ...	The Socialist Poems of Hugh MacDiarmid	481
Louis, William Roger ...	Proletarian Science? The Case of Lysenko (Ivor Montagu)	281
McCann, Phillip ...	Imperialism at Bay 1941-1945: The United States and the Decolonisation of the British Empire (William Pomeroy)	330
McClellan, David ...	Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century (Brian Simon)	252
Mackmurdo, Robert ...	Karl Marx: Selected Writings (H. C. Evers)	149
Marceau, Jane ...	Time Off (Jock Shanley)	501
Marwick, Arthur ...	Class and Status in France: Economic Change and Social Immobility 1945-1975 (Frida Knight)	74
Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels ...	Women at War 1914-1918 (Bridget Nicolson)	146
Mercer, John ...	Karl Marx Frederick Engels Collected Works, Vol 7 (Alan Brown)	157
National Union of Journalists ...	Scotland: The Devolution of Power (Dennis Canavan MP)	460
National Union of Mine- workers' Delegation ...	Journalists and the New Technology (Stanley Harrison)	377
National Union of Public Employees/Services to Community Action and Tenants ...	Trade Union and Human Rights in Chile and Bolivia (Joe Whelan)	148
Neruda, Pablo ...	Up Against a Brick Wall: The Dead-End in Housing Policy (Jack Woodburn)	202
Ovsyany, I. D. and others	Residence on Earth (R. A. Figueroa)	64
Partington, Martin ...	Fully Empowered (R. A. Figueroa)	64
Paxton, John ...	A Study of Soviet Foreign Policy (Julius Filchick)	203
Platt, D. C. M. ...	Claim in Time: A Study of the Time Limit Rules for Claiming Social Security Benefits (Howard Levenson)	326
Pocock, Gerry ...	The Statesman's Year Book 1977-1978 (Pat Sloan)	94
Prais, S. J. ...	Business Imperialism 1840-1930 (D. Ben Rees)	502
Schaffer, Gordon ...	The Common Market Fraud (Pat Sloan)	344
Searle, Chris ...	The Evolution of Giant Firms in Britain (Sam Aaronovitch)	428
Sedgemore, Brian MP ...	Swords into Ploughshares—the Only Way (Frank Swift)	485
Selbourne, David ...	The World in a Classroom (David Brown)	205
Seliger, Martin ...	The How and Why of Socialism (Pat Sloan)	6
Shyllon, Polaryn ...	An Eye to India: The Unmasking of a Tyranny (Conrad Wood)	70
Sikakane, Joyce ...	The Marxist Conception of Ideology (P.S.)	335
Sloman, Martyn ...	Black People in Britain 1555-1833 (Bridget Nicolson)	198
Smirnov, Georgi ...	A Window on Soweto (Hilda Vernon)	497
Steel, Jonathan ...	Socialising Public Ownership (Pat Sloan)	440
	Soviet Man (Fergus Nicholson)	378
	Socialism with a German Face: The State that Came in from the Cold (Madeleine Karrer)	327

Author or Editor	Title and Reviewer	Page
Stockwood, Mervyn ...	The Cross and the Sickle (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright) ...	382
Thoms, Malcolm I., and Peter Holt ...	Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848 (Bridget Nicolson)	71
Tigar, Michael E., and Madeleine R. Levy ...	Law and the Rise of Capitalism (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright) ...	333
Toit, Bettie du ...	Ukabamba Amadolo: Workers' Struggles in the South African Textile Industry (Pat Sloan) ...	442
Trory, Ernie ...	Imperialist War (Andrew Rothstein) ...	252
Turner, Andrew ...	The Generals' Strike: 20 Drawings (Jeff Sawtell) ...	496
Wander, Fred ...	The Seventh Well (Bridget Nicholson) ...	318
Wasserman, Gary ...	Politics of Decolonization: Kenya Europeans and the Land Issue 1960-1965 (Jack Woddis) ...	75
Whale, John ...	The Politics of the Media (F. H. Amphlett Micklewright) ...	61
Wilde, Oscar ...	The Ballad of Reading Gaol ...	407
Wilms-Wright, Carl ...	Transnational Corporations: A Strategy for Control (Pat Sloan) ...	1
Witt, Hubert ...	Thinking It Over: 30 Stories from the German Democratic Republic (Sheila Taylor) ...	380
Woddis, Jack ...	Armies and Politics (Ivor Montagu) ...	249
Wolf, Christa ...	The Reader and the Writer: Essays, Sketches, Memories (Bridget Nicolson) ...	319
Young, J. E. ...	Privacy (Howard Levenson) ...	497
Zander, Michael ...	Legal Services for the Community (Howard Levenson) ...	430

FRANK EXHORTATIONS

IN spite of a 'returned postal packet' which revealed that a dozen copies of our October issue had not reached a Labour Party Conference delegate who had offered to sell them, others seem to have reached their destinations safely and sales were up on last year. Sixty copies doesn't sound a lot compared with the 140 or so which is the usual sale at the TUC. (This pair of statistics reflects in a small way the different compositions of the two conferences, the Communist left in the labour movement being excluded from the Labour Party Conference.) But the increase in the sale, compared with last year's, is an indicator of the new united strength of many trade union, Tribune and broadly left delegations which was noticeable in so many ways this year.

Not so encouraging is a comment from a reader who feels that 'frankly the "magazine of left unity" leaves too much unsaid and is lacking in bite.' He expects, too, 'that with a general election in the offing the same exhortations to "vote Labour" will reverberate through your pages—that same Labour Party which has foisted capitalist policies on the working class of this country as it has done since Attlee's administrations in 1945-51.' If he hadn't finished his letter by saying 'I wish to renew my subscription to *LM*,' his criticisms might have had a serious confidence-undermining effect. But with that Party Conference behind us, we can surely point all the more clearly to the difference between Labour *administrations* off the Callaghan-Attlee variety and the Labour *Party* within which the battle rages as to who *is* the responsible policymaker. One of the contributors to our October issue was Frank Allaun MP, who

is now the Party's chairman: would anyone have any hesitation about 'exhorting' his constituents to 'vote Labour'?

Another letter is from a National Union of Public Employees district secretary from whom we hear regularly as one of our most consistent sellers and fund contributors. He says:

I saw in the October issue that the price is to go up to 55p in January. I do not think that this will create any problems, although obviously people are more ready to give one 50p coin rather than give two coins. In some ways the new price breaks a kind of psychological barrier. Anyway, I think I can manage to increase my monthly sales by another five copies. Finally, you should be able to expect a doubled regular contribution from me to the fund, especially if the council and health workers manage to crash through the pay code!

After a month when our fund total didn't reach its £120 target, his letter has a serious confidence-restoring effect.

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