

The Week

6D

- INCOMES POLICY
- RACIALISM
- APARTHEID
- IRISH ELECTIONS
- STEEL NATIONALISATION

MAY DAY

SPECIAL

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PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Week in collaboration with people active in the fight against Apartheid is organising a school on Africa over Whitsun, i.e., June 5th, 6th and 7th. Sessions on Algeria, Neo-colonialism, South Africa, and fight for liberation and socialism in other countries, and the role of the British labour movement. Book this week end, further details in next week's issue.

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STOP PRESS: U.S.D.A.W. ON VIETNAM

By a 10 to 1 majority, the Annual Delegate Meeting of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers called upon the Government to dissociate itself from American policy in Vietnam.

VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONISTS' BOYCOTT CALL

The Vietnamese T.U.C. has called upon all dockers to boycott U.S. ships transporting war materials to South Vietnam. It did this in a special May Day message to world trade union movement. Dockers in Japan and Indonesia have already decided to carry out such a boycott, and sections of Australian dockers have passed resolutions along this line.

HOW MUCH PROFIT?

This journal came into existence around the time the question of an incomes policy began to be discussed. Since then we have tried to inject into this discussion two points: firstly, those advocates of merely saying "No" to the incomes policy underestimated the danger which came from the demagogic argument of "protecting the lower-paid workers from a wages rat-race"; secondly, that because the true level of profits is concealed, trade unionists, if they accepted the incomes policy, would be at a severe disadvantage in all negotiations. We concluded that the answer to this situation was to link the fight against a wage-freezing incomes policy with the slogan of "opening the books".

We believe that powerful confirmation for the first part of our argument has come from the U.S.D.A.W. conference (among other trade union gatherings). So far as the second part is concerned, we offer for consideration an extensive quotation from the Sunday Times business news section of April 18th. Entitled "Big Five banks lift the veil on their real profits", an article by Charles Raw reveals:

"Some of the Big Five Banks have decided, as a matter of policy, to reveal a larger proportion of their true profits. At least two, Barclays and Westminster, are, I believe, already disclosing a higher proportion each year. Under this programme they should... be disclosing some 70 to 80% of their true profits in two or three years' time. At present they are unwilling to disclose the complete figure.

"Opinion among the rest of the banks is also moving in favour of disclosing more to shareholders.....The Banks have never had any agreement between themselves on profit disclosure. The wide fluctuation in profitability on assets between the banks suggests that there has been no consistency on the ratios disclosed by each bank.....Over the past five years disclosed profits of National Provincial have risen by 58%, Barclays by 51%, Midland and Westminster by about 45% and Lloyds by 25%....Most estimates, which have usually put true profits at about double the disclosed figures, have probably understated the extent to which banks already reveal their true earnings."

Whatever else might emerge from this article one thing is clear: big business as a matter of routine does not reveal its true profits - even to its shareholders. Can anyone seriously argue, therefore, that they would be willing to reveal their true profits to their own work-people? And yet the mass of British workers and lower middle class people (among whose ranks the fiercest critics of trade unionism are sometimes found) would consider it a perfectly reasonable thing for trade union leaders to insist that there can be no discussion about incomes policy unless the true level of profits is revealed.

Later this week the trade union executives will be meeting Mr. Brown to discuss his incomes policy. They should insist upon the principle of no negotiations about an incomes policy without the true level of profits being revealed. That this means opening the books to the workpeople of the firms concerned follows. This will most clearly be rejected by the employers and therefore the onus of sabotaging the incomes policy will be theirs. With a fighting strategy, geared to increasing encroachment on the power of the employers by workers' control, the way will be clear to build a left in the labour movement committed to a real incomes policy under workers' control.

May Day is the time when we recall the struggles of the past, assess the situation of today and look with renewed hope at the possibilities of the future. It is above all the time when we reaffirm once again the internationalism of the world socialist movement; and when we lift our voice in support of the oppressed and exploited the world over. It is the time when we dedicate ourselves once more to the ideals of a society no longer based on the exploitation of man by man.

The story of working class internationalism has a long history and it runs as a red thread through the life of the working-class movements in all countries of the world. In Britain the internationalism of radicals and socialists has always been integrally linked with the struggle against their own oppressors, and the movement in Britain has a long and honourable record of protest and support for socialist and national liberation movements abroad.

May Day in its modern form dates from the establishment of the Second International in 1889. The First International - the International Working-Men's Association which was founded in 1844 - had effectively disappeared when its headquarters were moved to New York in 1872. There were a number of international conferences in the years which followed but it was not until the second half of the 1880s that a new International became possible. There were two Congresses in Paris in 1889 but it was the marxist one - attended from Britain by Keir Hardie, William Morris, the Avelings (Eleanor Aveling was a daughter of Marx) and the Scottish Radical, R.B. Cunninghame Graham - from which the second International developed.

It was this Congress which took the decisions to hold simultaneous demonstrations in all countries on the first of May, 1890. The date was agreed by these Paris delegates because the American Federation of Labour had already decided, at their Congress held at St. Louis in December 1888, to choose May 1st as the day for labour to demonstrate its will and purpose.

The British demonstration on the fourth of May, 1890, was an impressive manifestation of the power of the newly-organised unskilled workers and the growing militancy and understanding of the movement as a whole. Frederick Engels, who was a close observer of English working-class politics, greeted the 200,000 who demonstrated in London's Hyde Park with immense enthusiasm. He wrote in a Vienna socialist paper:

"And I consider this the grandest and most important part of the whole May Day festival, that on 4th May, 1890, the English proletariat, newly awakened from its forty years' winter sleep, again entered the movement of its class."

Engels was wrong about the "forty years' sleep" of the British working-class movement because its life had been much more vigorous than he recognised, but he was right to underline the new possibilities that were developing. This first May Day of 1890 was organised in most countries around the slogan of the Eight-Hour Day; and at a later Congress the political slogans of the international movement were enlarged. At a Congress in August, 1891, it was decided to the international May Day around three main issues: the first, the Eight-Hour Day; the second, the spread of international labour legislation and the third, the maintenance of world peace.

This Congress also resolved that wherever possible the workers should abstain from work on May Day and this tradition has continued in many countries of Europe and elsewhere. But not, alas, in Britain where the trade union and labour movement has always demonstrated on the Sunday nearest to May Day. Could we not begin to insist that May Day is OUR day for demonstrating afresh our belief in the new society of socialism?

Britain is to request a drawing on nearly the whole of the \$1,450m. (£517,857,000) credit available to her at the International Monetary Fund. The final figure, it is thought will be in the region of \$1,300m. (£458.6m.) and it is anticipated that only a token proportion will be left undrawn.

It is still not clear how much the British drawings will be bolstered by renewed swap arrangements with countries who put together the \$3,000m. rescue operation last November. The swap facilities with the New York Federal Reserve of \$750m. and the \$250m. credit at the American Export-Import Bank will certainly be renewed, but which Continental countries will be prepared to renew their credit lines remains obscure.

The Fund has not yet decided to what extent it will rely on the General Arrangements to Borrow and how much it will use its own resources by sales of gold. In order to finance the British drawing of \$1,000m. last year the Fund borrowed \$405m., mainly from Germany and France and sold \$250m. in gold for Continental currencies.

WAGE RATES NOW ONE PER CENT BEHIND PRICE RISES

The Economist calculated in its last week's issue changes in wage rates and prices in the last 15 months. It concluded: "During the past 15 months weekly wage rates and prices have both risen by about 5%. The increase in the real value of money incomes will therefore have come entirely from the upward drift in earnings..." It went on to say that the budget would probably add 1% to the cost of living. Thus trade unionists have had a powerful argument presented to them for wage increases from a rather unexpected source!

DOCTOR BRAY RESIGNS

Dr. Jeremy Bray made a statement on April 24th, explaining his decision to resign from the post of Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. George Brown. He said: "They are not really jobs at all. They are really more sort of being prepared to be the errand boy for the Minister in the House. I was perfectly prepared to do it, but not to be able to say anything on economic affairs did not seem to be for the best."

Dr. Bray is M.P. for Middlesborough West and has always been considered to be well to the right of centre in the Labour Party. He denied that there had been any policy disagreements.

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FOUNDRY WORKERS' LEADER ON VIETNAM

Writing in the latest issue of the journal of the Foundry Workers' Union, Mr. William Thompson, the union's assistant general secretary, has this to say about the war in Vietnam:

"How long are we to condone the barbarous colonial war being fought by the U.S. Government in Vietnam? High explosives, napalm fire bombs, and vomiting gas are being rained down on the men, women and children in a desperate effort by the U.S.A. to subjugate the people and place them under the control of a South Vietnam puppet Government that the Americans themselves cannot rely on to exist any day of the week.

It is certain, Mr. Thompson continued, that without American forces the South Vietnam Government would be removed and replaced by one which had the support of the people.

PRINTING UNIONS IN MERGER

The National Union of Press Telegraphists, with a membership of 1,500, is to amalgamate with the National Graphical Association, which has 82,000 members, it was announced last week. The former N.U.P.T. members will form a telecommunications and electronics trade group of the N.G.A. with their present general secretary, Mr. M.A. Clayton, as a national trade group officer of that group. The amalgamation will come into force on June 28th this year.

N.U.P.E.'S STATEMENT ON THE INCOMES POLICY

The annual report of the National Union of Public Employees gives the union's position on the incomes policy question. The section dealing with this states quite categorically that an incomes policy must help break down "the present class structure of society by redistributing the nation's wealth in favour of the working class. For members of N.U.P.E. such a policy involves consistent and deliberate measures designed to secure a substantial increase in the earnings of public employees in order to narrow the existing earnings differential between public employees and workers in manufacturing industries.

"As the details of an incomes policy emerge in the forthcoming months we shall test their acceptability to our union by measuring them against the standards we have outlined. The degree of enthusiasm the union can accord to the finalised incomes policy must depend on how far it satisfies those standards."

It is widely reported that the N.U.P.E. delegation will abstain at the meeting of union executives which is to be held on Friday 30th of April.

A NEW TRADE UNION IN CATERING?

On Monday April 26th, the London branch of the Catering Managers' Association announced proposals to change the constitution of the Association. These changes would turn it into the catering industry's first trade union by bringing in both management and shop floor workers and thus creating a normal industrial organisation. The committee points out that catering is the country's fourth largest industry with 1m. workers.

HEALTH IN EDINBURGH

"Several years ago, in Edinburgh, ten patients had their appendices removed before their illnesses were correctly diagnosed as paratyphoid," Dr. Sharp, a senior medical officer of the City Health Department, reported to the 13th April meeting of Edinburgh Trades Council. Dr. Sharp had been asked to address the Trades Council on health following last year's outbreak of Typhoid in Aberdeen. In the course of his address, several significant points were raised, that obviously concerned the 150 delegates present.

In contrast to workers in England and Wales, who are kept from work under orders from the Health Department following outbreaks of epidemics and compensated for loss of earnings, Scottish workers are not covered in this way at all. This naturally does not lend itself to co-operation in controlling diseases and is a serious disability that must be remedied by Government action. Edinburgh, which is used as a training school for Sanitary Inspectors, continually had a staffing problem until recently, due to the lower wage rates paid in Scotland compared with south of the border. This obviously left gaps in the city's health work. Dr. Sharp felt that much would be done to eliminate T.B. in the community, if schemes would be operated similar to that agreed to by the City Transport Department, which guarantees sickness pay to any of its drivers or conductors, who contract T.B. and are held off work. Regular check-ups are thereby rendered possible for workers, who do not need to fear any financial difficulties. Similar schemes operate in Corporation schools.

Much work remains to be done to make employers introduce such sick pay guarantees and the Trade Unions could play an important part in the battle against T.B. and other diseases. There is more than casual connections between good housing, nutritious food, healthy working conditions and good health.

Gavin Kennedy.

15,600 WORKERS WIN 40-Hour WEEK.

About 15,000 manual workers in the corn trade in the United Kingdom are to get their hours reduced from 42 to 40 hours a week, without loss of pay, from May 3rd under an agreement between the Transport and General Workers Union and the National Association of Corn and Agricultural Merchants announced in London on April 22nd.

From the same date, there will be increases in job earnings, which are paid in addition to the minimum rates. The increases range from 5/- a week for operators in charge of grinding and packing to 15/- for foremen. The present basic rates range from £10. 9. 6. to £10.6.8. for men according to mill grading, with proportionate rates for women and young workers. The new job rates will range from 12/6 at one end of the scale to 45/- a week. The present shift allowances of 6/- a week for those working two shifts and 10/- for those on three shifts, will be doubled from May 3rd.

The union and employers also agreed on a third weeks holiday for employees, who have completed 12 years continuous service by March 31st, 1966.

From our Industrial Correspondent.

FIGHT CONTINUES TO FREE ALEXANDER ELEVEN

The British Alexander Defence Committee met earlier this month to consider its further course of action in light of the rejection by the South African court of the appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten co-defendants against the miscarriage of justice in their case.

The eleven political opponents of the apartheid system, including four women, were sentenced to terms of up to ten years for their political opinions, since no overt act was charged against them. They are now serving their sentences in the dungeons of South Africa. The seven men are confined in the notorious Robben Island prison where more than 1,000 political prisoners are held.

The British Alexander Defence Committee came to the conclusion that the court's decision is unacceptable. It therefore decided to keep up the fight to free the Alexander Eleven and to extend the work to include other victims of the apartheid system.

The committee decided to work along the following lines:

To continue to publicise as widely as possible the case of Dr. Alexander and his colleagues;

To explore new legal avenues for their appeal and providing funds for their defence and the support of their families;

To assist the prisoners in any way possible to continue their studies;

To organise such actions as it is able to compel the Government of South Africa to renounce its apartheid policies, to amnesty all political prisoners and improve the unspeakable conditions under which political prisoners are held;

To assist, where possible, other victims of apartheid whose needs are brought to the attention of the committee;

To co-operate as closely as possible with all organisations in Britain and other countries who have similar aims.

This decision by the British committee follows a similar decision by the Alexander Defense Committee in the United States. It is expected that the committees in Algeria, Ireland, Japan, Norway, Canada and West Germany will take similar decisions.

The committee is at present drawing up plans for a wide range of future activities and these will be announced in The Week as they become finalised. The committee has produced literature on the case and can provide speakers for organisations on the Alexander Eleven and others aspects of the fight against apartheid. Anyone interested should contact: Mrs. C. Kirkby, 27, Thursley House, Holmewood Gardens, London S.W. 2.

SOUTH AFRICAN BIG BUSINESS JOURNAL ADVISES THE WEST TO RETHINK

A recent issue of the South African Financial Gazette had some advice for Western leaders concerning their attitude towards Africa. It is worth quoting to illustrate the scarcely-concealed glee which South African circles feel about the mess the Americans have got into. It also outlines an alternative strategy for the U.S. leaders which may very well appeal to them after their recent defeats.

"Western powers, and more particularly the United States, can hardly avoid some rethinking about Africa as the result of the tragedy at Stanleyville. The Africa of today is, to a large extent, the outcome of American diplomacy. Not the outcome that it was intended to produce, of course, although American policy makers were often enough and insistently enough warned by those who know Africa, of the type of situation they were likely to create.

"They were warned that a premature, complete withdrawal of European leadership would not make freedom, in the Western sense...Misgivings were expressed as to how it would affect what Africa needs more desperately than anything else - economic development, education, and improved standards of living and the intellectual and material wellbeing of peoples....

"Finally, American policy makers were warned that the absence of real authority and the emergence of internal rivalries would open the floodgates of Communist intrigue upon Africa. Western powers, it was maintained, would either have to look on while the Russians and Chinese were putting their stooges into power, or step in and forcibly prop up their own inefficient and, by themselves, helpless allies in what were going to be continuously 'aid' requiring territories....

"Britain has already had to send troops to Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda in support of supposedly friendly disposed leaders against Communist inspired insurrections. French soldiers have had to put Mr. Mba back into power in Gabon, and now Americans and Belgians have had to rush to the assistance of Mr. Tshombe in the Congo to prevent what Mr. Spaak described as "an historic tragedy of our time."

".....The withdrawal of European leadership has left a vacuum of real authority in Africa. Opportunities have now been opened to the Communist powers to compete on equal terms with the West - to set intrigue against old-fashioned Western diplomacy on a Continent that is, in the years to come, to be the world's most fertile field for intrigue. The Communists will apply whatever is called for, including force, to secure power for their supporters everywhere in Africa and to keep them in power once they are there. The West will have to do the same - and forget the unrealistic nonsense about Western democracy in Black Africa.

"It will, by the very nature of the terrain, be a difficult and costly struggle, and President Johnson, having thought again, would be well advised to impress upon Mr. Wilson the stupidity of adding Rhodesia to the burden already undertaken."

from Julian Atkinson.

The salient fact about the result of the recent Irish General Election is that both Fianna Fail and the Labour Party are strengthened; the former may now rule in comfort for most of the new (18th) Dail's maximum term, the latter holds 22 seats now, more than at any time in its history, apart from the brief Dail of 1927, when Fianna Fail was still refusing to occupy its seats.

75% of the electorate voted in the election, this was the largest percentage since the General Election of 1954. It would have been higher still, but for Dail Eireann's known weaknesses as a part of the Irish power structure, and the unrealism, up to now, of political party proposals for dealing with it. That the vote was so large, was due to the centre of the General Election debate. This turned on the twin questions concerning the division of the benefits of the economic programme, and whether this division would not best be left to the single party Fianna Fail administration, that had so far failed in this task, or to a coalition of its opponents, such as broke up in the midst of the 1957 economic crisis. The electorate decided in favour of the former, though only after pressure from the opposition had caused Sean Lemass to hint that major changes would take place, when his Government returned to power.

Is this likely to be fulfilled? Little is known, as yet, about the composition of the reconstituted Government, but what is known is fairly hopeful; the retirement from office of the veteran Minister for Health, Sean MacLentea, seems to foreshadow an advance towards a National Health Scheme. In agricultural matters, the new Minister, Charles Haughey, has probably done as much by grants, etc. as anyone to lessen a move towards Fine Gael. In these and other spheres, progress will be encouraged by the opposition parties who are unlikely to stop relevant propaganda however slack they may be elsewhere. Even more important is the evidence (in articles, lectures, etc.) that the chief controlling groups in Irish society are now aware of the flaws in that society's welfare provisions and of the necessity to buy their position's survival by drastic reforms in the services concerned. Such changes are unlikely to be adequate, lest they jeopardise present economic policy, but they will be adequate to outdo Fine Gael, except as far as the latter can resort to obvious demagoguery.

For Fine Gael seems to be paying the price of its divisions. A month before the election, it announced adoption of the Costello scheme for a planned economy without its regulators that would have ensured the efficacy of the planning; the only proposed new economic control was the extension of the powers of the Central Bank so that it might enjoy parity of strength with its equivalents in such states as the U.K.; extended public ownership was not mentioned; and Costello himself has proclaimed his support for foreign companies investing in Ireland. Thus, all that could be seriously emphasised was a demand for greater social welfare expenditure, a matter in which Fine Gael's record is unconvincing, and greater agricultural expenditure, from which it had already gained most possible benefits. The party actually lost three urban seats; its gains were two seats from the Mayo smallholders, and

/continued over.

Irish Election Post-Mortem continued.

and these, in the view of the Government's new agricultural policy, are likely to prove symptoms of what was, rather than will be.

Fine Gael might have done better had not Brendan Corish, the Leader of the Labour Party, come out firmly against any coalition, and declared his party's readiness to hold any balance of power in the new Dail. Since no-one believed Fine Gael could obtain in one election the twenty odd seats it needed to put up a credible single-party Government, the party's vote was lessened proportionately, those who valued stability voting Fianna Fail, and the more radical preferring to vote Labour rather than support Fine Gael's doubtful reformism. Thus today the Irish Labour Party not only holds a record 22 seats, but holds, amongst them, more seats in Dublin than ever before.

Yet there is a real danger in euphoria. In the election, the Labour Party lost two seats: that of the Socialist Republican, Noel Browne, and that of its only Connacht T.D., Jack McQuillan. Few of the new Deputies seem likely to adequately replace the former, while a number of them seem only too representative of the opportunist tradition that he opposed. McQuillan's defeat shows, yet again, the Party's weakness among the small farmers and the necessity to proselytise more determinedly in their areas. But there is also the danger in the party's traditional ranchland strongpoints; in these areas, its constituency organisations are controlled by its Deputies, who are rarely prepared to tolerate rivals; thus, under the Irish system of P.R., a Labour T.D. may head the poll in a 4-seater constituency and then have his surplus second-preference votes distributed entirely among the candidates of the bourgeois Parties, there being no Labour second-string to ensure doubtful areas. The Labour T.D.'s refusals to act like members of a potential governing party caused Labour to actually lose votes in the ranchlands while it gained votes elsewhere.

Such are the prospects for the 18th Dail and the Parties therein. On the evidence, Fine Gael is likely to decline, appearing as the impertinence it is, but for Labour to supplant it will entail much hard work from that Party both inside and outside the Oireachtas.

THE IRISH GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

by William Barrett

Voting in the Irish Republic is by proportional representation* but by using the first preference votes it is possible to make a comparison in voting trends. Thus we see the following picture:

	1957	1961	1965
Fianna Fail	51.1% 78 seats	45.2% 70 seats	47.6% 72 seats
Fine Gael	28.1% 40 "	33.1% 47 "	34.1% 47 "
Labour	9.6% 12 "	12.0% 16 "	15.4% 22 "
Oth rs	11.2% 17 "	9.7% 11 "	2.9% 3 "
Total	147 "	144 "	144 "

* For a full explanation of proportional representation in Ireland read: "Voting in Democracies" by E. Lakeman and J.D. Lambert (1955) London, Faber and Faber, pages 103-118.

STOP THE ROT OF RACIALISM IN BRITAIN. By Gordon Henderson.

The Government's Race Relations Bill is a disappointing document, because it fails to tackle the areas of racial discrimination that really matter. By making racial discrimination a criminal offense, it leaves the implementation of the law to the police and the ordinary courts, who are ill-equipped to deal with the complex problems of race relations (this is confirmed by the experience of other countries) and it fails to create a machinery to give effect to the law, by setting up a statutory commission such as that suggested by C.A.R.D. It limits itself to punitive action, and fails to provide for the possibility of mediation and conciliation by such a body as the statutory commission, before the state of punitive measures is at all reached.

There has been an alarming increase in racial discrimination and racial prejudice in Britain in recent years. Far too often, it is the British worker who is blamed for this. The fact of the matter is that it is the political leadership of the country, which has pandered to racist pressure and stimulated its growth. Initiative in the field of race relations has been allowed to remain in the hands of the racists. People of Britain, faced with serious and difficult social problems, such as that of the housing shortage, are offered racist explanations. The political leadership has used debates on immigration only to confirm the racist thesis. This obscures the real issues that must be grasped, if we are to carry forward an effective struggle for their solution. The race issue has become a cloak to hide the failures of successive governments. The left has failed to confront the racist thesis squarely. The racists are winning through our default.

It is a matter of urgency for socialists to face up to the dangers of the rapid growth of racialism in Britain, which is taking place today. Racialism threatens not only the immigrant people, who are the immediate victims, it threatens also all that is best in British society, it threatens the very basis of the labour movement and the movement for socialism.

We must act now; to secure an adequate and effective law against racial discrimination is only part of our task, but it is the one before us now. Unfortunately, the Government's choice of a very long title for the bill, which specifies its purposes in some detail, greatly limits the possibility of extending its scope by amendment. C.A.R.D. had made proposals for legislation against discrimination on grounds of colour, religion or national origin, in fields of employment, housing, advertising, insurance, public places, education, the grant of credit facilities, clubs offering largely public facilities, and all Government Departments and bodies receiving Government grants, subsidies and licences. The Government's bill covers only discrimination in places of public resort and the transfer of tenancies. C.A.R.D. also recommended the setting up of a statutory commission to give effect to the law. C.A.R.D. has launched a petition campaign in support of these proposals. It is hoped that the Petition Campaign will help to shift the balance of opinion in Parliament in support of amendments which might remove at least a few, if not all gaps in the bill.

Readers of the Week, who wish to support the C.A.R.D. campaign, should write to C.A.R.D., 23, St. Georges House, Gunthorpe St., London E.1. for details.

STEEL NATIONALISATION - A DRAFT PLAN

The following document was the result of the work of a study group which has ^{been} meeting for some considerable time. This study group has consisted of trade union members and officials drawn from several of the different unions in the steel industry. After circulating a document to other steel workers, Members of Parliament and a few university lecturers, they convened a conference. The original document was subject to many revisions and additions, and is now presented in this form for wider discussions.

The re-enacting of the 1949 Act would not provide a proper basis because:

- (1) The steel industry must be rationalised and concentrated into five or six main groups;
- (2) The steel industry must be brought under national control by Parliament as part of the basis of national economic planning;
- (3) The power of the British Iron and Steel Federation and the interlocking directors must be broken and private monopoly replaced by public control;
- (4) The hiving off of profitable sections and the sub-contracting of profitable work left the state with the least profitable parts of the industry;
- (5) Steel must be integrated with coal, power, transport, ports, etc, into economic regional planning;
- (6) Parliament, the steelworkers and the public must be supplied with maximum information on the costings which lead to location, investment and pricing policies; detailed costings to be made available to workers' representatives at all levels;
- (7) Representatives of trade unions in steel must be associated at national and plant level, not only with control decisions but directly in management, subject to not prejudicing the present rights of unions in collective bargaining over wages and conditions.

What to take over

- (1) All iron ore deposits shall be vested in the nation;
- (2) All companies engaged in steel manufacture to be registered: some to be operated under a state corporation; others to operate under licence. Those under the state corporation to include (a) the larger companies in both bulk steel and specialised steel sections of the industry; (b) other companies necessary for rationalisation of production and to protect the public against monopoly positions in special products; (c) all subsidiaries of such companies at home and abroad.
- (3) All iron ore workings in the U.K. or overseas belonging to British companies;
- (4) British Iron and Steel Corporation and B.I.S.C. (Ore) installations, ships, offices, etc.;
- (5) B.I.S.R.A.

Compensation

- To be paid to ordinary shareholders according to average Stock Exchange prices over the last two years in the form of Government fixed-interest stock;
- to be paid to directors for loss of office (to encourage them to go).

What to set up:

A public board of twelve full-time members not holding other private directorships, responsible to Parliament through the Minister. Members to
continued over/

retire in rota, after a maximum term of five years but may be eligible for reappointment. The vice-chairman and four members to be appointed like the other members by the Minister, but from a panel of names submitted by agreement among the various trade unions engaged in the industry. Fresh panels of names to be submitted at retirements.

The Minister to be responsible for issuing general directives from time to time for pricing and investment policies, taking into account NEDC recommendations, and for ratifying the Group structure which the Board recommends.

What powers:

- To mine, import and sell iron ore;
- To manufacture and sell iron and steel;
- To fabricate and sell iron and steel products;
- To manufacture and sell chemicals, gas, electric power, slag, and other subsidiary products;
- To operate engineering, processing and other associated undertakings;
- To develop joint operations with state and private companies operating overseas;
- To carry out research; and establish training colleges for management at all levels;
- To build, own and manage housing, recreational and other allied activities either alone or in association with other nationalised undertakings; and to carry on any other operations necessary to the successful work of the Board.

What organisation:

To rationalise and reform the industry by grouping companies, establishing Group Boards and devolving powers as appropriate to them.

Subject to the above, to retain company and brand names where all the workers desire this; otherwise to introduce new names based on local associations;

To provide for joint conciliation machinery between management and trade unions at national, group and plant level;

To provide on enterprise boards and at lower levels of management for a significant element of representation of the workers by lay members, without prejudice to the negotiating rights of their trade unions;

To make the appointment of chairman (or managing director) of Enterprise Boards and of lower management subject to the agreement of representative Workers' Councils and for five years only with the possibility of further terms subject to reappointment;

Negotiations on wages and conditions of all workers, whether on staff or weekly wage terms of contract to be made only through the appropriate trade unions.

To provide for a system of shop, mill or office committees elected by secret ballot, with all members eligible to vote and stand as candidates. Nominations and elections to be organised by trade unions. Shop managers' appointment and the deployment of labour, promotion, hiring and firing and safety, welfare and disciplinary matters to be subject to ratification by these committees. Where necessary department committees elected from shop committees should be provided for with appropriate higher powers....One half of the Workers' Council to be elected through the shop and department committees, and the other half through trade union branches in proportion to the strength of each union...The Workers' Council to be responsible for electing representatives to the enterprise board, for ratification of the chairman's appointment and for receiving reports on all enterprise policies, with power to ask for detailed costing of all departments....