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long-neglected overmanning and restrictive practices that had been at the heart of the British disease.

The outcome is not adequately measured by the shedding of, commonly, 10 percent to 25 percent of under-employed labor, by the containment of wage costs, by the record rise in productivity, or even by the astonishing way exports have held up. Despite the routine squeals from the Confederation of British Industry, as always reflecting yesterday's jobs rather than tomorrow's enterprise, there are better grounds for hope than in half a century or more. It is not only the political optimists who talk of a transformation in the climate of self-confidence among businessmen. Almost all tell how managers have gone over the heads of union obstructionists to win their employees' support for efficient and flexible working arrangements. At last companies are poised to take advantage of improving trade.

A Manifesto

But there are plenty of obstacles, stemming mostly from the familiar inefficiencies, regulations, and monopoly industries of the public sector. One indication is that the prices of state services (postage, telephone, transport, gas, electricity) have commonly risen twice as fast as private output prices. Another is that taxes, local rates, and so-called national insurance contributions have increasingly chipped away at take-home pay so that millions of people are little, if any, worse off living in leisure on indexed welfare benefits than working at an unskilled job for forty hours a week. At the same time mobility of labor is still obstructed by rent control, and employment especially of school dropouts is discouraged, particularly in retailing and hotels, by statutory minimum wages that

have pushed starting wages up to 50 or 60 percent of those earned by experienced adults.

Whenever I have urged Conservative politicians since 1979 to move more radically and rapidly in dismantling their collectivist inheritance, I have been regularly told that all that was for the second term. So I was encouraged by the Conservative manifesto, which sought a broad vote of confidence for the record to date, particularly on inflation, while leaving the way open for more extensive denationalization, deregulation, diminution of trade union privileges, and shifting toward private provision of the welfare services now largely monopolized by the state. Labour critics also noticed this open-ended prospectus and began asking whether there was a secret manifesto. I was a little dismayed by the vehemence with which Conservative ministers thereupon denied any intentions to cut back government services—which remains essential to reduce taxes.

As we wait to see what the new government will put into its first program of legislation, I can only hope it proves a more dramatic step toward changing the mix of the present unduly mixed economy. We would not then have to keep waiting for the fall of U.S. interest rates to be certain of a sustained British recovery. Our target should follow Colin Clark's prescription of reducing total taxes from a half to a quarter of national income. And so long as her aim gets better, I should not mind waiting for Mrs. Thatcher's third term to hit that final bull's-eye.

Ralph Harris

RALPH HARRIS, *Lord Harris of High Cross*, was one of the founders of the *Institute of Economic Affairs* in London.

The Shape of Things to Come

So predictable was Margaret Thatcher's victory that postelection press accounts treated it as at best a minor triumph. Most articles granted the Conservatives their landslide, then quickly proceeded to the subtler aspects of the contest—Labour's bumbling disasters and the fortunes of the plucky little third party. It wasn't so much that Mrs. Thatcher won, they said, but that Labour lost.

This statement is true, it so happens, but its truth has cheated the prime minister of her due. That Labour fell apart is an intriguing story; demise is usually far more compelling than stodgy solidity. Nonetheless, Mrs. Thatcher's victory was a magnificent one—and no less stunning for having been foreseen.

The day after the election, a *Daily Telegraph* editorial reminded readers that Mrs. Thatcher's "measure of achievement has to be related to the obstacles which have faced her. It has not been nearly so easy as it looks early this morning." She had 3 million unemployed. The econ-

omy was in such dismal shape that she was forced, as political scientist Richard Rose put it, to "boast to a Smith Square Press conference that under the Conservatives the national product had only *fallen* by one percent." She had fought inflation but was still fighting the calls for reflation. Measured against the obstacles, her electoral achievements are remarkable.

Few would have wagered in 1979—or even 1982—that the prime minister could so handily win reelection with so many problems remaining. But then, few would have guessed that she could win against inflation, win over the new working class, and win a war. Most of all, few foresaw how successful she would be at setting for Britons an example of what they and their nation should be willing to do: to endure hardship without despair, to challenge orthodoxy, and to risk disfavor. And the people followed her determined lead.

Just how did she manage this?

Surprisingly, Margaret Thatcher is not overwhelmingly personally popular. In fact, fewer than a third of the public (29 percent) think she is "a nice person," according to a Harris poll conducted for the *Observer* shortly before the election.¹ Personal appeal has shored up more than one national leader faced with seemingly intractable problems and unappealing solutions, but Mrs. Thatcher

party had "the best policies," exactly half of the Conservatives' support.¹⁸

The litany of Labour failures goes on and on. The party attracted only 39 percent of the trade union vote, down 14 percentage points from its 1979 share. When unemployment was indisputably the most important issue, and was seen as Labour's issue, the party claiming to be the great champion of the jobless earned less than half the votes of the unemployed. Altogether, the Labour party received the lowest share of the manual workers' vote (38 percent) since 1959.¹⁹

With Labour doing so badly and the Conservatives doing so well, where did the Alliance fit in? It seems it would have been the reasonable choice both for those put off by Labour's left extremism and for those discouraged by the Conservatives' economic and defense policies. Indeed, the new party pulled in a greater share of the popular vote (25.4 percent) than had been expected, and it performed better than any center party for the last sixty years. But as every SDP or Liberal partisan has repeated endlessly, the Alliance came away with fewer than 4 percent of the Parliamentary seats: less, they say, than their fair share.

The Alliance drew so evenly from all classes that it was unable to establish its own constituency. It lured defectors from both parties, and it hung onto 84 percent of its own identifiers. Those few who abandoned the Conservatives tended to go to the Alliance, and so did three-fifths of Labour deserters. But it failed to attract *all* of the disenchanted Labour votes: "For every three switching to the Alliance, one went to the Conservatives, and one stayed home."²⁰

Part of the Alliance's problem was the meandering universality of its appeal. To attract "protest votes from all directions, [it] had to avoid any clear-cut ideological definition of its own."²¹ When added to the widespread perception that the Alliance could not win, this failure to distinguish itself with specific policies ensured that it

would earn only a small number of seats. Few associated with the Alliance the policies it *had* stressed—incomes policy and proportional representation—and fewer still identified the Alliance as the party with the best policies on any issue.

Labour narrowed its emphasis to accommodate its most radical members and lost votes because of it. The Alliance, with its broad appeals, made the opposite mistake but suffered the same consequences. But it is more likely that the latter's mistakes can be corrected.

In a gloomy prophecy, Michael Foot speculated that a Labour party loss in the 1983 election would be "the most fateful . . . since the party was founded in 1900. More peremptorily than ever before, if in a new form, R. H. Tawney's fundamental question is presented to us: Who is to be master? If democratic socialists cannot secure the right answer at the next parliamentary opportunity, we may not be asked again, or rather this old famous socialist stream could perish in sectarian bogs and sands."²² If that fate has indeed befallen the Labour party, the Alliance will most probably be the beneficiary.

The 1983 election could portend the demise of the Labour party as we have known it, the solidification of the Alliance as a respectable opposition party, and the invincibility of the Conservatives. If new voters presage the future, this might be exactly what happens. First-time voters traditionally lean toward Labour, and they tend to vote heavily against the incumbent party. In 1983 they did neither. Even with youth unemployment at 1.2 million, the Conservatives came in first among those casting their initial ballots. Richard Rose has said that to win elections, a "party must combine the continuing support of a major section or class of society with an appeal to newly emerging groups." The Conservatives have done this, and they have Margaret Thatcher to thank.

Victoria Sackett

VICTORIA SACKETT is associate editor of *Public Opinion*.

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U.S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development
Office of the Secretary



From: B. A. Smith
Assistant to the Secretary
for Labor Relations

7/20/82

To *Morton Blackwell* date

F. Y. I.



Issued by British Information Services, an agency of the British Government,
845 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

No 86/FSB/81
Classification 4(d)
Revised
March 1981

Fact sheet on Britain

Housing

A substantial improvement in housing conditions in Britain has been achieved during the last 35 years. Much of the run-down inner-city housing built during the nineteenth century has been replaced, other substandard property has been renovated and many large houses have been converted into units more suitable for the smaller families of today. Some 9 million new dwellings have been built in Britain since 1945, representing more than two-fifths of the total housing stock. There is now a reasonable balance between supply and demand in the country as a whole, although localised problems remain, especially in London, Glasgow, Belfast and certain other large cities. The growing number of small households, consisting of only one or two people, has also resulted in a surplus of large homes and a shortage of small ones.

There are more than 21 million homes in Britain, of which about three-quarters are houses and the rest flats. Almost all houses have their own gardens. Over half of all homes are owned or being bought by their occupiers and more than a third are rented from public housing authorities; most of the others are rented from private landlords. There are variations in the pattern of tenure in different parts of the country. In Scotland, for example, homes rented from public authorities predominate, and in Britain as a whole privately rented property tends to be concentrated in older inner-city areas. About 93 per cent of households in England, Scotland and Wales have exclusive use of a bath or shower, and 97 per cent sole use of a lavatory.

Policy

In the public sector the main emphasis in housing policy from the 1940s to the 1970s was on new building. Now, however, the emphasis has shifted to modernisation, improvement and making better use of the existing stock; the need for labour mobility and the concentration of limited resources in the areas of greatest need are further considerations. Public expenditure provision in Britain for housing stood at £4,900 million in 1980-81, but the figure is likely to decline in subsequent years in line with government expenditure plans. In the private sector encouragement of home ownership and a revival of the rented sector are central policy aims. The Housing Act 1980, together with the Tenants' Rights, Etc (Scotland) Act 1980, reflect this in establishing the right for the majority of tenants of publicly owned dwellings to buy them, and providing new systems of 'shorthold' and 'assured' tenancies (see p 4) in the private sector, a more effective improvement

and repair grant system and a more flexible subsidy system.

Administration

The Secretary of State for the Environment is responsible for formulating housing policy and for supervising the housing programme in England and, with the Secretary of State for Wales, in Wales; the Secretaries of State for Scotland and Northern Ireland have similar responsibilities in their own parts of Britain.

Most public housing in England, Scotland and Wales is provided by 459 local authorities. These are: the district councils in England and Wales (outside London); the Greater London Council, the London borough councils and the Common Council of the City of London; and the district and islands authorities in Scotland. In Northern Ireland public housing is the responsibility of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive. Other public housing authorities are the new town authorities and the Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA), which was established in 1937 to supplement building by local authorities in Scotland. Local authorities are also responsible for carrying out slum clearance and redevelopment programmes.

Central government departments specify certain standards for the construction and equipment of new dwellings; these standards are enforced by local authorities. The location of all housing, its design and relation to the environment are subject to approval by local authorities under the planning laws, but there are rights of appeal to the Secretary of State against local planning decisions.¹ Other aspects of housing which involve the local authorities include the payment of home improvement grants and of rent and rate rebates to those in need; the granting of mortgages for people to buy their homes; and the provision of assistance to people who are homeless or threatened with homelessness. Local authorities also have the power to give financial and other help to voluntary organisations concerned with homelessness. Many authorities have established housing advisory centres to provide the public with information on most aspects of housing.

Home Ownership

The number of people owning or buying their own homes has more than doubled in the last 20 years
¹For further details on planning see COI fact sheet *Planning and the Environment*, No 87/FSB/81.



Craigavon New Town, Northern Ireland, built to rehouse people from Belfast.

A modern estate of owner-occupied houses in Dartford, Kent.



Aberdeen Park, north London. On the left are modernised nineteenth-century houses converted into flats. In the background new housing has been constructed in the gardens of the old houses.

(Photo: Martin Charles)



Glenrothes New Town, Scotland, showing two-storey high-density housing with gardens.

and now amounts to over 11 million. In the year to June 1980 some 75,000 publicly owned homes (often referred to as 'council' homes) were sold to private individuals, and the number of owner-occupied dwellings from this source is likely to be increased further by the Housing Act 1980 and the Tenants' Rights Etc (Scotland) Act 1980 (see p 4). Many houses which were previously rented from private landlords have also been sold for owner occupation. Houses sold on the open market are generally sold through estate agents or advertisements in newspapers.

Local authorities have been asked to encourage low-cost home ownership in their areas by selling land which they own to builders for homes for first-time buyers, or building plots to individuals or groups formed to build their own homes; by building 'first-time' homes in partnership with private builders on local authority land, which is retained by the authority until the houses are sold; by improving homes for sale; by selling unimproved properties for improvement by the purchaser ('homesteading'); by offering shared ownership (part owning, part renting) to bring home ownership within reach of those on low incomes; and by using local authority guarantee powers to facilitate lending by building societies to borrowers.

Mortgage Loans

Most people buy their homes by a system of instalment purchase through loans from such sources as building societies, insurance companies, industrial and provident societies, local authorities and banks. Some companies also make loans for house purchase to their own employees.

Building societies are the most important of these agencies, their share of the market being about 80 per cent. They do not build houses themselves but lend money upon security by way of a mortgage on the home bought for owner occupation. They usually advance up to 80 per cent of their valuation of a house provided it does not exceed a certain multiple (generally about 2½) of the borrower's income. Mortgages of up to 100 per cent can, however, be obtained in some circumstances. Loans are normally repayable over periods of 20 or 25 years (up to 30 or 35 years in certain circumstances) by equal monthly instalments to cover capital and interest (which varies roughly in line with general interest rates). The average price in Britain of all houses bought with a building society mortgage at the end of 1980 was about £24,700 (average earnings in 1980 were some £5,600) and the average mortgage advance was about £14,700, or nearly 60 per cent of the purchase price. Banks have recently offered increasing competition to the building societies as a source of mortgage finance, although their share of the market is still small.

Financial Assistance

Owner-occupiers are entitled to tax relief on their mortgage interest payments arising on up to £25,000 of their mortgages (on their main home only), and in 1979-80 this totalled about £1,450 million. An alternative form of assistance is the option mortgage scheme, designed to help those with smaller incomes who pay little or no tax and therefore do not benefit from tax relief. It allows the borrower to receive, instead of tax relief, a subsidy which has the effect of reducing the rate of interest on the loan. In England, Scotland and

Wales assistance under this scheme totalled £190 million in 1979-80. There is an associated guarantee scheme under which mortgage loans of up to 100 per cent of the valuation of a house (not exceeding £14,000) may be made to option borrowers.

Other ways of helping people with lower incomes to become owner-occupiers include schemes operated by a number of local authorities which allow those buying homes for the first time, subject to certain conditions, to defer part of the mortgage payments that would normally be due in the early years until later in the mortgage term; and shared ownership schemes, under which the occupant purchases a part share of the home, paying rent on the remaining share. A new homeloan scheme came into operation in 1980 under which first-time home buyers who have saved for two years and are buying a home in the lower price-range may qualify for a loan of £600, interest-free for up to five years, and a tax-free cash bonus of up to £110.

Building Standards

For building in the private sector the National House Building Council sets standards and enforces them by inspection and certification. Almost all new private houses are covered by the Council's insurance scheme, which provides ten-year protection against major structural defects. Two-year protection is also given against faulty workmanship. Most lenders will not grant mortgages on a new house unless it is covered by a Council certificate.

Public Sector Housing

Public housing authorities own nearly 7 million houses and flats. The number of homes owned by each authority varies widely, several of the larger authorities having a stock of well over 100,000.

Finance

Local authorities meet the capital costs of new house construction and of modernisation of their existing stock primarily by raising loans on the open market or by borrowing from the Public Works Loan Board. Current expenditure, principally loan charges, is met mainly from rents, rates (a form of local property tax) and subsidies from the Government. Local authorities are required to charge their tenants reasonable rents, keeping a balance between the interests of tenants and rate-payers. Subsidies for public housing in England, Scotland and Wales during 1979-80 totalled some £2,500 million, including rent rebates payable to poorer tenants to help them with rents of accommodation suitable to their needs. Supplementary subsidies assist local authorities with slum clearance.

Since 1978-79, when a system of local housing strategies and investment programmes was introduced, local authorities in England and Wales have been able, in consultation with other bodies concerned, to plan their housing investment in the light of a comprehensive assessment of local housing needs.

Construction and Design

Most building is undertaken by private firms under contract, although a number of authorities employ

their own ('direct') labour to build houses. Some authorities work in consortia to make the best use of experience and technical information, and to initiate research and development projects. In 1978, 98 per cent of new houses built for local authorities in England and Wales had central heating, while the average floor area of houses to accommodate five people was 89 square metres (958 square feet).

With the limited resources at present available for public housing, increasing importance is being placed on the housing of those in greatest need such as the physically handicapped, one-parent families, people who have suffered from mental illness and victims of domestic violence. 'Sheltered' accommodation, with an alarm system and a resident warden, is provided for many elderly people who might otherwise lose their independence.

The Tenants' Charter

The Housing Act 1980 establishes a charter for public-sector tenants, giving them statutory rights such as security of tenure, provision for one succession to the tenancy by a resident relative on the death of the tenant, rights to sublet and take in lodgers, to improve the home and to be consulted about matters affecting the home or the tenancy. With certain exceptions, public sector tenants of at least three years' standing can buy the freehold of their house, or a long lease of their flat, at a discount on the market price of from 33 to 50 per cent, depending on the length of their occupation. The discount must be repaid in part or in full if the property is resold within five years. Tenants also have the right to be given a mortgage by the local authority to make the purchase. Similar provisions for Scotland are contained in the Tenants' Rights Etc (Scotland) Act 1980, and are expected to come into operation in Northern Ireland by the end of 1981.

Privately Rented Housing

During the last 30 years there has been a steady decline in the number of rented dwellings available from private landlords (including accommodation tied to a particular job) from more than 50 per cent of the housing stock to about 12 per cent (just over 2 million). Major factors in this decline have been the increased demand for owner-occupation, the greater availability of public rented housing and the operation of statutory rent restriction under successive Rent Acts. Privately rented homes form a high proportion of the older housing and are mostly found in inner-city areas. Most private landlords are individuals with limited holdings, although some rented housing is provided by larger property owners, including property companies.

With some exceptions, privately rented homes are subject to rent restriction, which can take two forms. In a regulated tenancy a 'fair rent' is fixed by independent rent officers, at the request of the landlord, the tenant, or both; if the rent officer's decision is objected to by the landlord or the tenant it is referred to a rent assessment committee. Once fixed, the rent is registered and not normally reviewed for at least two years. The other form of rent restriction applies to tenants with resident landlords and tenants of a few other types of

furnished accommodation who may refer their tenancy agreements to a rent tribunal for determination of a reasonable rent.

Tenants, apart from those in 'shorthold' and 'assured' tenancies (see below), have a wide degree of security of tenure, and cannot be evicted without a court order. It is a criminal offence for a landlord to harass a tenant. Rent tribunals can grant tenants covered by their jurisdiction security of tenure for a period of up to six months, which may be extended.

Two measures in the Housing Act 1980 are designed to halt the decline in privately rented housing in England and Wales. 'Shorthold' tenancies enable landlords to let accommodation at fair rents for fixed terms of between one and five years, at the end of which they have the right to regain possession. 'Assured' tenancies allow bodies approved by the Secretary of State for the Environment to let property at freely negotiated rents outside the provisions of the Rent Acts, provided that building began after 8 August 1980 and that the property has not previously been occupied residentially under any other form of tenancy. A system of 'short' tenancies, similar to shortholds, has also been introduced in Scotland in the Tenants' Rights Etc (Scotland) Act 1980.

Housing Associations

Housing associations extend the choice of housing by providing accommodation available for rent through new building or the rehabilitation of older property, as well as extending the forms of home-ownership. The associations normally cater for people who would otherwise look to a local authority for a home. In addition to normal family housing, they provide particularly for the special needs of elderly, disabled and single people.

The associations, which are non-profit-making, have grown under government encouragement and now own some 340,000 homes. Individual associations range in size from the very small, owning almshouses which may house less than 10 old people, to associations with more than 10,000 homes. Rented housing schemes carried out by associations qualify for a government grant but only if the association is registered with the Housing Corporation, a statutory body set up by the Government in 1964 to encourage housing associations by providing them with finance and advice, and to supervise and control them. Some 3,000 associations are registered with the Corporation. Rented homes owned by housing associations come within the fair rent and rent allowance arrangements and some housing association tenants have rights under the tenants' charter in the Housing Act 1980 and similar legislation in Scotland (although there only with the association's agreement), including the right to buy.

Housing associations are involved in various alternative forms of tenure intended to give occupiers a greater stake in the ownership or management of their homes. These include shared ownership and co-ownership.

Improving Older Homes

Modernisation and conversion of sub-standard housing, with the help of grants from public funds,

has increasingly been encouraged as an alternative to clearing and rebuilding to help preserve established communities and make more economic use of resources.

Home improvement grants for over 1.4 million homes were paid to householders in England, Scotland and Wales between 1967 and 1979. A further 1.2 million public sector homes were also improved in the period. There are four types of grant: improvement grants, including grants for conversion into flats; intermediate grants, for the provision of standard amenities, such as a bath and an inside lavatory, and associated repairs; repair grants; and special grants (which are not available in Scotland) for providing standard amenities, repairs and means of escape from fire in houses in multiple occupation.

Declaring 'general improvement areas' and 'housing action areas' enables local authorities in England and Wales to tackle the improvement of whole areas of older housing systematically. General improvement areas (of which there are about 1,300) consist of fundamentally sound houses and a stable population. Housing action areas (of which there are some 400) are characterised by relatively poor housing and bad physical conditions combined with social stress. Local authorities have special powers to bring about an improvement in the living conditions of residents within a five-year period. In both types of area government financial aid for environmental improvement such as tree-planting and pedestrianisation is available to local authorities. Grants to householders may range up to 75 per cent of the eligible expense limit and, in certain cases of financial hardship, to 90 per cent.

The Government has also introduced an 'improvement-for-sale' scheme, under which it helps to meet losses which local authorities or housing associations make in buying, improving and selling rundown or neglected housing.

In Scotland the term 'general improvement area' is not used, but housing action area powers are available for areas in which at least half the houses fail to meet prescribed standards; there is no time limit on the period within which improvement must be carried out. Outside housing action areas in Scotland local authorities have power to order the improvement of houses which are substandard or lack a bathroom, by improvement orders and grants payable at 75 per cent of eligible costs.

Slum Clearance

In urban areas slum clearance and redevelopment have been major features of housing policy. Since the mid-1950s about 3.5 million people in England and Wales have been rehoused as a result of slum clearance programmes. Clearance of large areas of irredeemable slums is now almost at an end and greater emphasis is placed on renewal and modernisation wherever possible.

Housing authorities are obliged to see that other accommodation exists, or can be provided by them, for people displaced by slum clearance. Owners of property compulsorily acquired during slum clearance programmes receive as compensation either the full market value or, if the property consists of unfit houses, a sum based on the value of the cleared site; additional payments are,

however, made to most owner-occupiers of unfit houses to bring their compensation up to market value.

Redevelopment of slums has presented considerable problems. Many of the areas were seriously overcrowded and lacked social facilities, but usually had the advantages of basic utilities, local employment and easy access to town-centre facilities. In order to house as many people as possible on the sites large areas were cleared and high-rise flats built. Despite the high standards of many of the homes themselves, multi-storey flats have not proved satisfactory for some types of tenant, particularly families with children, because of the lack of safe and convenient play space. Where there is a need to build to a high density in inner city areas it is now met by carefully grouped low-rise blocks, including individual houses wherever possible.

Research and Development

Research into building materials and techniques, as well as into the social, economic and design aspects of housing, is undertaken within the Department of the Environment. It is carried out by the Building Research Establishment of the Department's research directorate as well as by the directorates of economics, statistics and housing development. The Research and Development Group of the Scottish Development Department also undertakes research, as does the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. Sponsored work is carried out by academic institutes, consultancies and market research firms. Local authorities may also have their own housing research programmes. Advice on ways of increasing quality, productivity and efficiency in house-building is provided by the National Building Agency.

Northern Ireland

The Northern Ireland Housing Executive, with a stock of some 194,000 homes, is responsible for the provision and management of public authority housing and for dealing with unfit homes whether publicly or privately owned. Northern Ireland has a major problem of unfit and derelict housing, especially in Belfast, and the situation has been made worse by civil disturbance. The concept of housing action areas has been developed to enable concerted action to be taken, and there is a continuing programme of rehabilitation in Belfast. Action has also been taken to stimulate the voluntary housing movement; registered housing associations undertake a large programme of schemes for groups such as the elderly and the disabled, and also play a significant part in the rehabilitation of older homes, especially in Belfast.

In the privately rented sector the Rent (Northern Ireland) Order 1978 replaced earlier legislation with a single statute designed to safeguard tenants' rights while providing landlords with sufficient rental income to maintain their property in good condition. Under the order landlords are empowered to increase the rents of certain properties meeting a specified standard to a level comparable with those charged by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

The range of choice in housing is being widened,

particularly for those who wish to own their own homes. The option mortgage scheme, the home loan scheme for first-time buyers and 'home-steading' (see p 3) are all in operation. The concept of shared ownership is being developed in the public sector by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and in the private sector by the Northern Ireland Co-ownership Housing Association. In line with government policy, the Northern Ireland Housing Executive has offered most of its dwellings for sale to the tenants. Provisions similar to those in the Housing Act 1980 are expected to come into force by the end of 1981.

Addresses

Department of the Environment, 2 Marsham Street, London SW1W 0DU.

Housing Corporation, 149 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0BN.

Northern Ireland Department of the Environment, Parliament Buildings, Stormont, Belfast BT4 3SS.

Scottish Development Department, New St Andrew's House, Edinburgh EH1 3SZ.

Welsh Office, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NQ.

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Prepared by
Reference Services, Publications Division,
Central Office of Information, London.

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**THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
APPARATUS AND OTHER THREATS TO
THE MEDIA**

STATEMENT

by

SIR JAMES GOLDSMITH

to the

MEDIA COMMITTEE

of the

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

HOUSE OF COMMONS

JANUARY 21, 1981

THE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

OFFICE

STATE OF NEW YORK

ALBANY

STATE OF NEW YORK

ALBANY

THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA APPARATUS AND OTHER THREATS TO THE MEDIA

A statement by Sir James Goldsmith to the Media Committee of the Conservative Party at the House of Commons on Wednesday 21st January 1981.

Most European countries have Communist parties which account for between 15% and 20% of the national vote. It has been considered fortunate that, in Britain, the Communist Party has never gained significant electoral support. But the consequences of this lack of democratic appeal have been far reaching.

The Cabinet papers for 1950 were released this month. They reveal that as early as 1950 the Attlee Cabinet understood and stated clearly that as a result of the lack of electoral support, the Communist Party in Britain had changed its strategy from trying to obtain Parliamentary representation to infiltrating the key centres of national power.

The infiltration into the key trade unions, into the Labour Party organisation and into the Parliamentary Labour Party is now so well documented that even the moderates have to admit to seeing it. In the name of democracy the Communists and their allies have established rotten boroughs which they now own.

As I am addressing the Media Committee, the bulk of my remarks will concern the Press, the media and the Communist propaganda effort both internationally and in the UK.

The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) regards propaganda as an indispensable adjunct to Soviet foreign policy and military strategy. The Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the US House of Representatives heard evidence to the fact that the investment by the Soviets in propaganda is between \$3 and \$4 billion per annum. In addition to this there are the investments made by those countries which the CPSU use as a secondary instrument in their propaganda effort and more particularly the European satellite countries, Libya and Cuba. In charge of the propaganda apparatus is the International Information Department (IID) which was founded in Moscow in March 1978. The IID is headed by Leonid Zamyatin, former Director of the Soviet news agency Tass. The First Deputy Chief of the IID is Valentin Falin, the former Soviet Ambassador to West Germany. Mr

Zamyatin reports to Boris Ponomarev, who is an Alternative Member of the Politburo. The KGB provides an unattributable adjunct to the overt Soviet propaganda network. It is called Service A and is part of the KGB's First Chief Directorate. Service A plans, co-ordinates and supports operations which are designed to back-up overt Soviet propaganda and uses such devices as planted Press articles, planted rumours, disinformation and controlled information to the media. In the early 1970s, this section of the KGB was upgraded from Department to Service status. Service A maintains liaison with its counterparts in the Cuban and East European services and co-ordinates its overall programme with theirs.

The purpose of this propaganda organisation is to discredit or to promote, according to the needs of Soviet strategy, ideas, plans, countries and individuals.

Their principal tools of trade are front organisations, the media, individual journalists and agents of influence. Each of these categories falls within two broad classifications: those that can be linked to the Communist Party and those which are covert and are apparently objective conduits of information. The latter are particularly useful because of their enhanced credibility.

An analysis of the principal front organisations illustrates the breadth of the propaganda effort. One of the major organisations is the "World Peace Council" (WPC). It originated in 1950 from the "World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace". The WPC owns a number of publications which are published in English, French, Spanish and German. It also issues a large number of bulletins, booklets and specific regional issues. Its principal propaganda objective is to encourage the West to disarm. The WPC conducts its operations on a worldwide basis and it has spawned regional and national peace committees. The WPC sponsors meetings, including such congresses as the "World Forum of Peace Forces", the "World Committee for Religious Leaders for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations between People", etc., etc.

The "World Federation of Trade Unions" (WFTU) is another Communist front. It also publishes magazines, pamphlets, etc. Its objective is described as the comprehensive support and defence of the world socialist system and it orchestrates campaigns against multi-national companies and in favour of union power. It has been granted Category A status by the United Nations along with UNESCO and the Food and Agricultural Organisation.

The "World Federation of Democratic Youth" (WFDY) and the

“International Union of Students” has the task of subverting youth. It is estimated that it has spent up to \$100 million in organising youth festivals.

The “International Organisation of Journalists” (IOJ) has as an avowed aim the defence “of freedom of the Press and journalists” and the “defence of all journalists to write according to their conscience and convictions.” An official US Government report shows that the IOJ has engaged itself in a systematic campaign to discredit independent international news agencies and non-Communist newspapers. A major activity of the IOJ is the training of journalists in the IOJ’s main schools which are located in Budapest, East Berlin, Prague and Sofia and further schools are planned in Havana and Algiers.

The “International Institute for Peace” (IIP) claims to provide a forum where scientists throughout the world can discuss peace problems. It also publishes journals in English and German.

The “Christian Peace Conference” (CPC) claims to be a “forum at which Christians from all over the world will meet together and search for God’s will concerning current political, social and economic problems.”

The “Women’s International Democratic Federation” (WIDF) has as avowed goals “to unite women regardless of race, nationality, religion or political opinions so that they may win and defend their rights as citizens, mothers and workers and ensure peace, democracy and national independence.”

The “International Association of Democratic Lawyers” announced its aims at its 30th anniversary meeting held at the UNESCO building in Paris. They were “to put the law at the service of men, democracy, freedom and a new international economic order.”

Other major Communist fronts are the “International Radio and Television Organisation” (ORIT), the “World Federation of Scientific Workers” (WFSW) and the “International Federation of Resistance Fighters” (IFRF).

Each of these organisations has sponsored sub-organisations at international, national and local level and publishes magazines, bulletins, etc. Each of these organisations can be shown to be a Communist front with links to Moscow.

In the same way as the International Information Department (IID) is the overt centre of Soviet propaganda whereas Service A is the supporting organisation, so there is another layer of front

organisations which are apparently independent but which in fact are channels for Soviet propaganda. There are many of them and they use the words, "peace", "freedom" and "human rights" so often that for any reasonably attentive observer the noble meaning of these words has been raped and debased.

The use of the media and of journalists follows a similar pattern. There are many hundreds of publications under Communist control. There are many hundreds of magazines and bulletins published by the front organisations. And there is the use of apparently objective media. This is achieved either by subsidising them or by penetrating them with journalists who are sympathetic to Communist propaganda. Mr Ladislav Bittman, former Deputy Chief of the disinformation department of the Czechoslovak Intelligence Service, defected to the United States. In his debriefing he said: "A relatively high percentage of secret agents are journalists. A journalist operating in Great Britain, West Germany or the United States is a great asset to the Communist intelligence. He can be investigative, professionally curious, it is his job to get important and even highly-sensitive information . . . These individuals are bought or blackmailed." He went on to say: "There are many journalists who are agents. There are important newspapers around the world penetrated by Communist intelligence services. There are one or two journalists working for a particular paper and who are agents and who receive from time to time instructions to publish this story or that story . . . There are newspapers in the West which are owned by Communist intelligence service . . . There are publishing houses owned by Communist intelligence services."

General Sejna, the high-ranking Czech intelligence defector, admitted that the campaign by the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* to discredit Franz Joseph Strauss was orchestrated by the KGB. In France, the journalist, Pierre Charles Pathé, was convicted of receiving payments from the KGB and acting as a KGB agent in the French media. Another well-documented example quoted by the Deputy Director of Operations of the CIA is of a West European journalist arrested in 1979. He was recruited by a Soviet employee of the United Nations and turned over to a KGB officer in the cultural section of the Soviet Embassy in his country of residence. He was bought, and he wrote articles from 1960 to 1979 based on information handed to him by the Soviets and that were published either in his own newspaper or passed on to other journalists.

The use of what Soviets call "agents of influence" is also well

documented. Ladislav Bittman testified about people who occupied important positions in governments, military establishments or the scientific elite. Academicians are a prime target. Andrei Sacharov, the Nobel Prize winner, smuggled out of Russia what he called his testament to the West. In it he wrote: "People in the West have been bought by Soviet agencies in the most direct sense of the word . . . These include some political figures, businessmen, and a great many writers and journalists, government advisers and heads of the Press and TV."

I will describe in some detail one of the many examples of a Communist propaganda campaign. This was the Soviet desire to weaken Western defence, to encourage unilateral disarmament, particularly in Europe and thereby to be able to isolate and Finlandize each European country. In other words, to create a public mood against taking the measures necessary to be able to defend ourselves. To this end the Soviets launched a major propaganda effort against the neutron bomb.

It is officially estimated that this specific campaign cost \$100 million. It was part of the Soviet general campaign aimed at preventing NATO from modernising its Theatre Nuclear Forces (TNF). There was also a special attack on the Cruise missile. It was launched by Mr Daniel Proecktor, head of the European Securities Section of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations.

The campaign was then taken up by the World Peace Council who declared the 6th to 13th August, 1977, as an international "week of action". It then became a co-ordinated effort of the whole propaganda apparatus including the use of agitprop. The sequence of events was:

- Peace councils in various East European states held protest meetings.
- In Istanbul, a peace committee demonstrated in front of the US Consulate General.
- In Accra, a group delivered a protest letter to the US Embassy.
- In Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Dusseldorf, front groups organised demonstrations in front of the US Consulate Generals.
- Similar agitation was carried out by front groups in Lima and Tanzania, as well as a Peruvian protest to the United Nations.
- Other major international fronts such as the "World Federation of Trade Unions" participated in the international week of action.

Also there were the series of Communist-planned conferences in Europe. The target of this effort was the United Nations "Special Session on Disarmament" (SSOD) to be held in New York from 23rd May to 28th June. Three conferences were organised to provide psychological momentum to the SSOD. The World Peace Council, through one of its sub-fronts, the "International Liaison Forum of Peace Forces", organised a symposium from the 6th to 8th February in Vienna on "Nuclear Energy and the Arms Race" in collaboration with the International Atomic Energy Agency, a United Nations body. A larger meeting was staged in Geneva from 22nd February to 2nd March under the group calling itself the "Special Non-Government Organisations Committee on Disarmament." In fact the real organiser was the World Peace Council aided by the Swiss peace movement. Then there was the "International Forum on the Neutron Bomb" held from the 18th to 20th March in Amsterdam. Sympathisers from all over Europe were brought in for the meeting which culminated on 19th March in a demonstration by some 40,000 people. There were many other meetings used for the same purpose and organised by the World Peace Council, including one in Mexico City from the 1st to 4th February and another from the 9th to 12th February in Athens.

All this activity was picked up in the Western European media. The Committee on Intelligence in the US House of Representatives heard evidence that "a segment of this Press could be counted on to react almost automatically once the neutron bomb received this enormous attention". The evidence continues as follows: "For the Soviets the real propaganda success lay in the broad adverse treatment given to the neutron bomb by the so-called independent Press." NATO Secretary-General Luns described this Press comment as all consisting of "half truths, untruths and ignorance."

On 4th April it was announced that President Carter had decided to delay the production and deployment of the neutron bomb.

The chief of the International Department of the Hungarian Communist Party, Janos Berecz, wrote that the "political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and successful since World War II."

Campaigns are also orchestrated against countries who are fighting a war against Communist guerrillas. The pattern is nearly always the same. Communist guerrillas attack. The government in situ defends and counter attacks. Attention is focused on the government's counter attacks, describing every gory detail. It is very much

as though the British Government had been described as criminal butchers because during the Battle of Britain they had brutally shot down German pilots without trial. Make no mistake, for these countries the prospect of a totalitarian Communist takeover is as horrible as was the danger of totalitarian Nazi takeover. Progressively the country under attack is isolated. Politicians who have to seek reelection don't dare speak up, governments don't dare help and businessmen don't dare invest. The way is cleared for Communist takeover in the name of human rights and of democracy.

In the UK, we are submitted to a high degree of Soviet-inspired subversion. The many freedoms, which we are fortunate to have preserved, are used against us. Most of the overt and covert front organisations which I have described are active in the UK. British publications are directly subsidised from unknown sources. Our virtually unanimous respect for the freedom of the Press derives from our conviction that it is an essential element for the protection of a free society.

That is why the Press is such a good screen to hide behind while working to create a society which would no longer tolerate Press freedom or any other fundamental freedom.

There are innumerable examples of puzzling reporting by the British media. This does not necessarily mean that those directly responsible are Soviet agents. It can mean that they are innocent casualties of a propaganda campaign.

It is important to understand how such campaigns gather momentum. When a journalist is working on an article, he calls for those Press cuttings files which refer to the subject about which he is writing. Information included in these files, particularly when it has been published in reputable publications and has not been corrected, will be used over and over again. So, once the Press cuttings files have been polluted by propaganda, the false information will be repeated quite innocently and as it is repeated will gather further credibility and momentum. Responsible journalists go to great lengths to check a statement in cuttings, but, inevitably, even they sometimes fall into the trap.

Let me give you a few examples.

— Philip Agee is a defector from the CIA and a traitor to his country. The causes which he promotes closely parallel the campaigns initiated by the International Information Department in Moscow. But British TV subjected us to a programme of propaganda and special pleading in his favour.

— The World in Action programme of Granada transmitted a television programme hostile to the British police without disclosing that the producer of that programme had himself been arrested for assaulting the police during a demonstration. Granada is also known to employ a journalist who has used blackmail in his investigative activities.

— When it became clear that the Communist takeover of Vietnam and Cambodia had created unspeakable horror, the Left-wing intelligentsia of the West were faced with a dilemma. They had fought for the hand-over of these countries to the Communists. Now that the consequences were evident they needed someone else to blame, so a moral life-buoy was thrown to them by a campaign attempting to blame Henry Kissinger for the events in Cambodia.

— Recently there has developed a sinister link between Left-wing journalists and civil servants of like mind. The latter hand over confidential files which they receive in their privileged capacity and which are used as the basis for Press campaigns.

— Finally there is a useful quotation from a book called "Journey Into Journalism" written by the well-known playwright Arnold Wesker. It is a book about Mr Wesker's experience in The Sunday Times when he was gathering background material for his play "The Journalists". The Sunday Times attempted to stop its publication. In it Mr Wesker describes his visit to the business section of The Sunday Times and his talks with some of their financial journalists. This is what he says and how he quotes them: "Far from them being pillars of capitalist society they seem to me an army of very bright urban saboteurs."

"You see," Mr Wesker quotes them as saying, "it's a question of the credibility of The Sunday Times which, as an old conservative family newspaper, commands more respect than, say The Observer, which is known for its liberal policies, and therefore we're a better journal through which to infiltrate radical views — more people will believe us."

For the past five years I have studied these phenomena with some care. I have been able to identify many of the journalists, newspapers and TV programmes which innocently or otherwise are used in these campaigns. To the relatively-experienced eye it is easy to detect a campaign at an early stage and thereby to perceive some of the objectives of Left-wing strategy.

An attempt has been made in Britain to create a body whose job it is to maintain the highest standards in the British Press. That body is

known as the Press Council.

In the past I have asked the Press Council to declare its principles on the following questions:

- Disclosure by journalists of payments and other inducements received, inter alia, from foreign countries.
- Disclosure by publications of their sources of finance.
- Disclosure by journalists of conflicts of interest.

The Council answered that they wished “to deal with specific instances where it is alleged the Press has failed to meet the standards it should.” In other words, the Press Council wishes to deal with particularities and not to establish general principles and standards. This is despite the fact that the Royal Commission on the Press (1977) recommended in its final report “that the Press Council should draw up a code of behaviour on which to base its adjudications.” In other words, to establish general principles and standards.

But the behaviour of the Press Council is even more open to controversy. The chairman of the Press Council is Mr Patrick Neill, QC. Last year, the Press Council, under Mr Neill’s chairmanship, was called upon to adjudicate on a complaint concerning an employee of the World in Action programme of Granada TV. Contemporaneously, Mr Patrick Neill was employed as a barrister by Granada TV (also the World in Action programme). I wrote to Mr Neill and asked him whether he felt it proper that at one and the same time as he was supposed to act as a judge, he should have received a fee from the employer of one of the parties over whom he was purporting to pass independent judgment. His answer indicated that he perceived no conflict of interest.

But perhaps the cause for which Mr Neill was pleading is also revealing. This is how Lord Denning, in his Dimpleby Lecture, described the case and his reaction to it:

“The next case is the most illustrative of all. It is the Granada case. You will all have read of it. In the British Steel Corporation there was a man supposed to be high up. He took documents of the highest confidentiality out of their safe keeping and handed them secretly to Granada. He has been called a ‘mole’. He does his work underground and never comes out lest he be caught. Granada used the information for a television programme. British Steel sought to get the name of the ‘mole’; but Granada would not give it. The Court of Ap-

peal ordered Granada to give it.”

Lord Denning continued by saying:

“In order to be deserving of freedom, the Press must show itself worthy of it. A free Press must be a responsible Press. The power of the Press is great. It must not abuse its power.”

Mr Kenneth Morgan, Director of the Press Council, in his official capacity, wrote a letter to The Times on August 4th supporting the cause for which Mr Neill appeared as advocate.

In August 1980 the Press Council upheld the complaint by Arthur Scargill against the News of The World and Paul Johnson who had described him in an article as the “Yorkshire Communist”. The ground for upholding the complaint was that Scargill was a former Communist but was now a member of the Labour Party. Although Mr Scargill was not a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain he holds many views which are similar to those of the Trotskyists, Maoists and others who describe themselves as “Marxist-Leninists” even though they do not belong to the Communist Party. Anybody who holds these views can legitimately be described as a “communist” (with a small “c”). I am happy to describe Mr Scargill accordingly and no doubt if he disagrees the courts of law and not the Press Council will have the task of adjudication.

It is interesting to note that the Royal Commission on the Press suggested that the Press Council sometimes speaks in the “language of partisanship which inevitably weakens confidence in the impartiality of the Press Council.”

In view of the Press Council’s letter to me stating its reticence at getting involved in general principles I was surprised to read only a few weeks ago that they have now called for a Freedom of Information Act which would make information held by the government available to the public as a legal right. This sounds like the sort of proposal put forward in the USA which led, in that country, to the Freedom of Information Act and to the Privacy Act. The USA has now had experience of the effects of these acts. They are accepted as amounting to a charter of rights for the KGB and terrorist organisations. They were promoted and are being defended by a number of independent institutions which are apparently objective but who nonetheless consistently support views similar to those disseminated by Communist front organisations. Such an organisation is the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. There are many others including the National Lawyers Guild (an associate of the Interna-

tional Association of Democratic Lawyers) and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Unfortunately the Institute for Policy Studies people get their views into respectable publications without being labelled for what they are: Far-Left propagandists. In the short period between March 1st and June 1st 1979, for instance, there were eight guest appearances by IPS-supported writers on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times.

Not long ago there was an official hearing in Washington on the effects of the Freedom of Information Act. The testimony showed that the Freedom of Information Act had severely damaged the intelligence-gathering capacity of the USA and that it had been helpful to the KGB and subversive organisations. An illustration of this point is that Philip Agee, the traitor, has asked for information from the CIA which has already resulted in work for CIA staff equivalent to four man years. During 1978 this one government agency spent 116 man years working on requests for information, a significant proportion of which seems to have emanated from sources inimicable to the United States.

Fortunately President Reagan is known to want to restore the operational capacity of the CIA and his team realises that as a first step the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act have to be repealed or substantially amended.

How is it that, contrary to its principle of dealing only with specific points, the Press Council should make such a proposal? Is the Council just plain foolish or is it sinister?

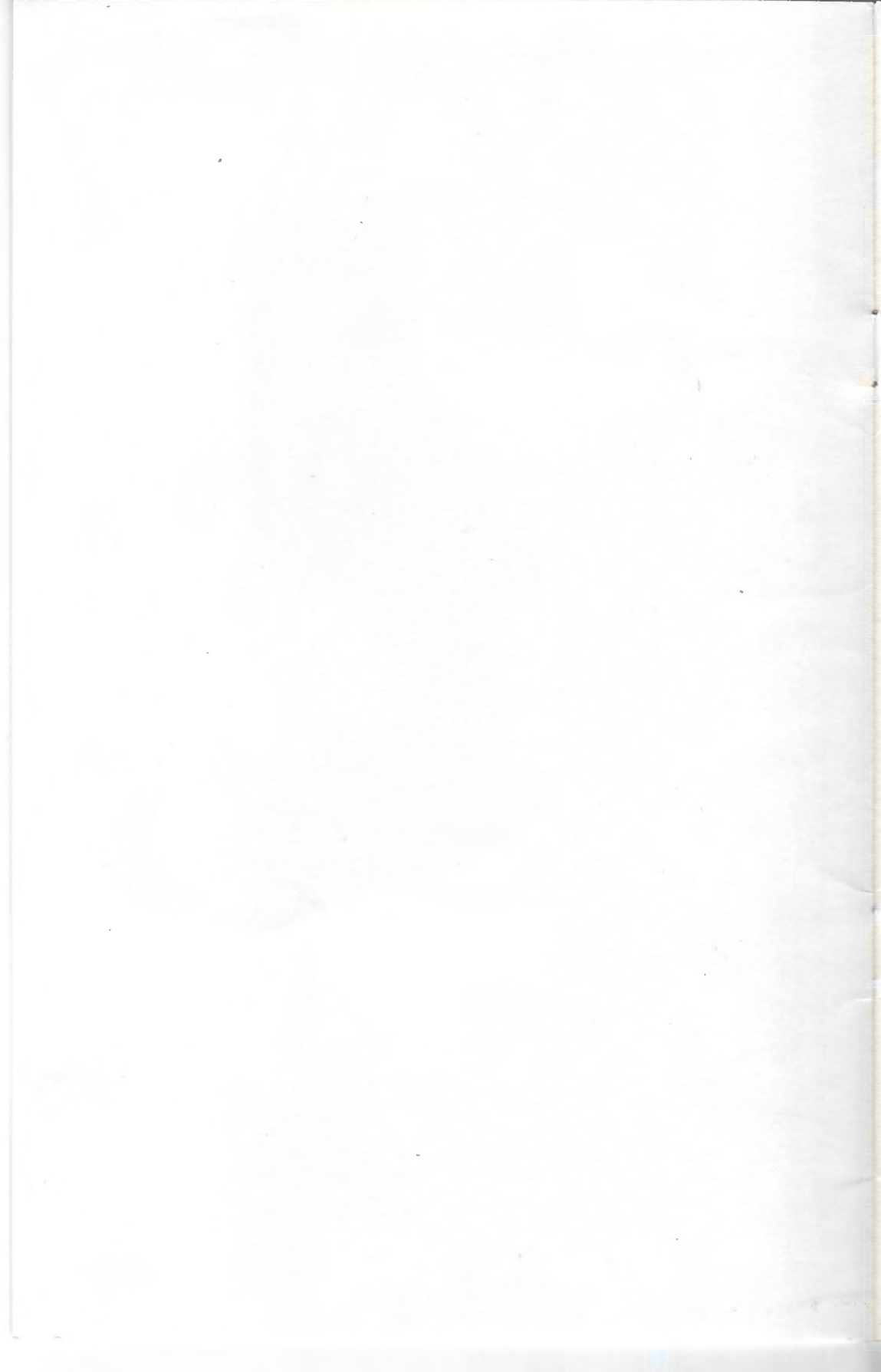
Parliament can no longer duck these issues. It must legislate to establish standards and these standards must include:

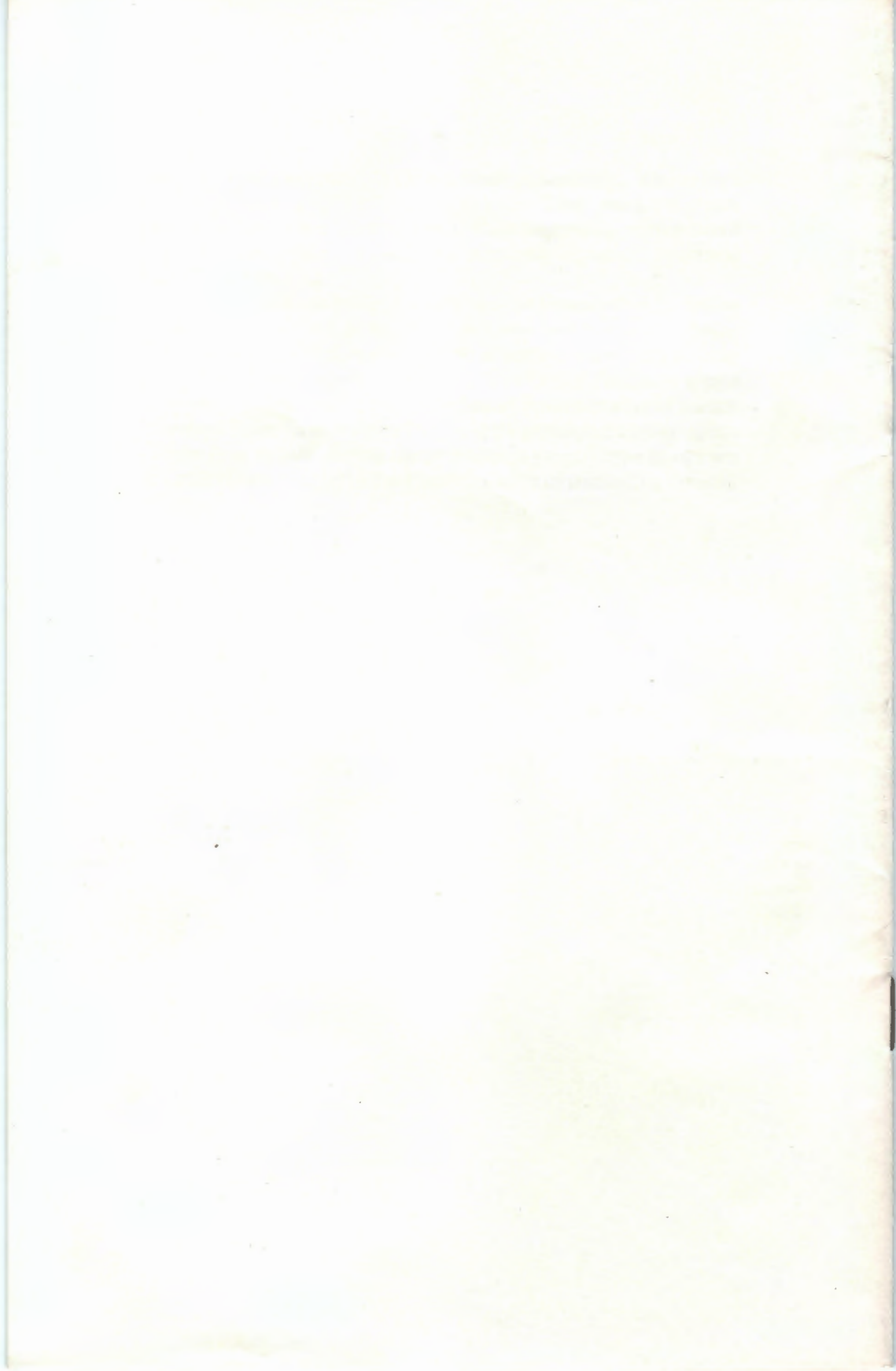
1. That the membership of the Press Council be truly independent and responsible.
2. That a law be enacted similar to the American Foreign Agents Regulations Act which would make it necessary for all journalists or anyone else receiving payments and inducements from a foreign government to register as an agent of that country.
3. That as far as is practicable, the media and those who are involved with it should disclose the sources of their funds.

Recently we have seen great companies paralysed by strikes at the very time that they are struggling for their survival. Often these strikes are caused by a handful of men over seemingly trivial issues. And we hear the usual comment: "They must be mad, they must

want to commit suicide." What a ridiculous statement. These small groups do not want to commit suicide. They want to create unemployment. They want to create chaos. They want to create civil strife. Because only in this way can they bring about the structural changes that they seek.

Those who are committing suicide are the thousands who follow blindly. Like the rest of us, they have watched this nation being destroyed by a small minority. We have been too cowardly to fight back. Some have refused to face facts and have preferred to giggle their way into oblivion. Some have found it comfortable to preach tolerance. Some have preferred to avoid the problem and to emigrate — over four million during the past fifteen years. Some have been just plain apathetic. But all are guilty. Guilty of treason by default.





Monday News

*File
United
Kingdom*

TRUE TORYISM FOR BRITAIN TODAY

Vol. 2 No. 1 16th March 1981

MONDAY NEWS attempts to focus on subjects of particular interest to Monday Club members. It is designed as a means of communication between members, groups and branches in the Club: to alert them to forthcoming meetings, publications, conferences, press coverage, branch and group reports, and long-term and current issues.

Please keep your information flowing into MONDAY NEWS so that we may share it with others.

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122, Newgate Street, London, E.C.1.

Have you recruited another member this year yet?

The Rt. Hon. Julian Amery M.P. at Club's Annual Dinner

The Rt. Hon. Julian Amery M.P. was guest of honour at the Club's Annual Dinner on 24th November 1980, at the Savoy Hotel attended by 112 members. For the benefit of members who were unable to be present we quote his speech in full.

"The progress of mankind has always depended on three things; technological invention, the development of natural resources and the promotion of trade.

The genius of technological innovation is still very much alive. But it is being stultified, especially in Britain, above all by the reluctance and even the refusal of the Trade Unions to develop the full potential of modern machinery. Given the full exploitation of the machine there is no reason why we should not in a very short time achieve a sharp increase in wages and an equally sharp decrease in the length of the working day. Our failure to do so is one cause of the present recession.

The other - and you all know it - (though it is still unfashionable to mention it) has been the retreat from empire and the disaster of decolonisation, - the withdrawal of European power and influence from Asia and Africa. And the failure of the United States to fill the vacuum it has helped to create. This dismal story is within the recollection of most of us here. Let me briefly recall it.

Until 1954, or thereabouts, the Middle East was a zone of peace and increasing prosperity. Thanks to the military protection provided by Britain - and in North Africa by France, there was little local expenditure in defence. Stable governments encouraged investment. Trade flourished.

Then came the British withdrawal first from Palestine, from Egypt, a decade later the surrender of the great base at Aden and four years later in 1973 the abandonment of our defence facilities in the Gulf. What had been until then a zone of stability degenerated into an area of revolution, terrorism, anarchy and war. Countries which had spent nothing on arms because they enjoyed our protection found themselves embarked on an armaments race against each other. Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia are obvious examples.

Having withdrawn our own forces we could only try to defend our interests by egging them on; that has proved to be a disaster course.

Barely a year after we had withdrawn our last

positions from the Gulf - and it was only seven years ago - the Iranian and Arab oil producers quadrupled the price of oil. They did so largely to pay for the modern weapons they now had to buy. Here was the beginning of the world recession we are now experiencing. It would never have happened had we still been present in the area.

The structure of the industrialised West and Japan is so geared to oil that a fourfold increase in its cost inevitably meant that there was less left to spend on other forms of investment or consumption whether private or public. It destroyed overnight the prospects of British growth and expansion which had looked so bright in the summer of 1973.

Even worse was the impact on the less developed countries. Many of them were already living on the poverty line or below it. Faced with a fourfold increase in the cost of energy they had to cut back savagely on their imports from the industrial world, just as the industrial world was cutting back on its purchases from them. In an attempt to cushion the shock of this transformation in the world economy, Governments resorted to inflation. They printed money to postpone the crisis. The oil producers retaliated by further increases in the price of oil. So the recession deepened.

To be sure we have had the good luck to find oil off our coasts. This gives us the chance to develop alternative sources of energy for the future and to avoid a balance of payments crisis for the present. All the same the oil crisis hits us very hard. Nearly half of what we make in this island has to be exported and if our customers are hit by the increase in the price of oil they have much less to spend on goods they might otherwise buy from us.

Now the crisis is taking a further turn for the worse. So far the problem has been the price of oil. Now it threatens to become the supply. The revolution in Iran cut Iranian oil production by two thirds. Since then in the eight weeks of

desultory war between Iraq and Iran two of the world's greatest oil producers have ceased to supply altogether. It took them just a week to destroy the technical achievements of the generations. Even when peace returns it will be a long time before the oil flows again at the old level. Meanwhile the world price of oil will suffer another upward twist. Worse still at any moment perhaps as we sit here tonight, we could hear that the vital Straits of Hormuz had been blocked. 60% of European oil, 80% of Japanese and nearly 40% of the US oil supplies come through those Straits. The economic and social consequences would be cataclysmic.

It must be clear to all of us that we shall not escape from the present recession or an even greater disaster until some stability is brought back to the Middle East and until the supply of oil at a steady price is once again assured.

Clever men have argued that there will be no stability in the Middle East until there is a solution to the Palestinian problem. Of course it is an important problem but is only one of the many that plague this troubled area. The Iran-Iraq war has already shown that the Palestinian question is largely irrelevant to the central problem of Middle East power politics - the flow and price of oil.

The European Community's advances to the PLO last summer were a diplomatic blunder. We have got nothing out of trying to make up to a terrorist organisation so closely linked to the Soviet Union. We may now find it increasingly difficult to back away from negotiations on which we should never have embarked and which, whatever they may sometimes say in public, can only damage our relations with some of our closest friends in the Arab world.

I am glad to see that the Foreign Secretary has woken up to the danger and in an interview with the Herald Tribune has virtually relegated a dialogue with the PLO to the back.

It will not be easy to restore stability to the Middle East. The old Imperial systems have gone and will not return. Yet there are some positive elements on which to build. The reconciliation between Egypt and Israel provides a firm basis for a constructive Western policy.

And here I would like to pay a special tribute to President Sadat. A man who has the courage to expel the Soviets from his country, the wisdom to shake hands with his enemies, and the sense of honour to shelter the Shah in his hour of need is a man we should make our friend. It is foolish to belittle Camp David and damn it with faint praise. It needs our whole-hearted support. But we shall not restore real stability to the area until the West has recreated a military shield for the protection of our friends and interests there.

At last the United States with some European support are building up a presence in the Indian ocean in association with Oman, Somalia, Kenya and other friendly nations in the area.

But it will take time and we may not be given much time. Well may we wring our hands over the mistakes of the past. If only Aden was still in

our hands what a contribution we could make to the restoration of Middle East stability!

Let me say a word about Africa. Under British, French and Belgian rule the African continent was a zone of peace. Its population enjoyed the benefits of law and order; investment was growing rapidly and trade flourished.

The decolonisation of the African Empire ten years ago has been followed by anarchy, civil war, administrative corruption, revolutions, war between states and mass starvation. The African continent is dying literally. Countries which at one time exported food now have to buy it or beg for it. Harbours are silted up, railway lines have been cut, new investment has largely ceased. Such trade as there is, is largely financed by aid. And much of the aid fails to reach the people or areas to which it is primarily destined. The Brandt Commission have stressed the importance of a massive increase in the aid given to the less developed countries and particularly to Africa. They are right to do so. But no amount of aid will revive Africa without efficient administration.

I could wish that I had been wrong in my criticisms of the Lusaka and Lancaster House agreements. Yet as I look at what is happening in Zimbabwe I am reminded of a curious phenomenon which some of you may have seen. A skilful man can sculpt a beautiful statue out of a block of ice. The Lancaster House agreements might have looked good enough in the British winter. But under the glare of the African sun they are beginning to look like a melting snowman roughly put together by inexperienced children. Of course at this late stage we have to support the Mugabe regime. It is the only one available. But who is going to invest in a country threatened by civil war, whose leaders talk of a one party state, where the security of property is in doubt - and whose leader has now joined the front line states as enemies of South Africa.

And still the process of demolition goes on. Uganda and Tanzania are in chaos. Angola is already lost to the West. So is Mozambique, whose President has just paid a highly successful visit to Moscow. Zimbabwe and Zambia are in the balance. Now it is to be the turn of South West Africa/Namibia. This is a sparsely populated but rich territory. Yet if the UN have their way it will become another focus of anarchy and civil war.

Already the tragedy of Africa has had its impact on the industrial west and made its contribution to the recession. Mineral development has slowed down. So has trade. And now the tide of anarchy has reached the borders of South Africa, - the greatest treasure house in the world after the Gulf and one which the metal using industries of Europe, Japan and the United States need for their very survival.

If South Africa itself should become a prey to the disorders that have racked the rest of the African continent, if our access to its market and raw materials should be seriously put in question, the world recession would be deepened as much as it has been already by the threat to our supplies of oil.

There will be no full cure to the world recession until stability has been restored - at least to

Southern and Central Africa. This will call for a renewal of good relations with South Africa - a lifting of the arms embargo and the establishment of co-operation for the defence of the vital Cape route.

The U.N. Assembly begins its debate on South West Africa/Namibia today. Later the matter will go to the Security Council. We do not know what Dr. Waldheim will propose to that Council now further dignified by the addition, of all countries, Uganda. But should the Security Council call for mandatory sanctions against South Africa, I trust we shall not hesitate to use our veto. Here would be the chance to open a new and instructive chapter in our relations with a country which stood by us in two world wars and two major economic crises and whose citizens include more than two million men and women of British descent.

The men who preached the withdrawal and decolonisation argued that we could no longer afford the cost of the burden of Empire. They deployed their case with skill and persistence. Socialist leaders under pressure from their crypto Communist left-wing were only too glad to comply. Conservatives were too timid to resist. And so, one by one the bastions of stability were surrendered. And both parties, to their shame, thought their policy of surrender further justified by the American defeat in Vietnam. What rotten financiers they all make.

Yet it is now clear as daylight that the cost of maintaining our presence overseas was "peanuts" - if President Carter will excuse the phrase - compared to the blows our economy has already suffered from the increase in the price of oil and the slowdown in trade and investment that has inevitably followed the growing instability of the Third World.

A few of us foresaw what the consequences of withdrawal would be - statesmanship is foresight. But our words fell on deaf ears and now we face the consequences in terms of an economic recession and the evil social consequences that may flow from it. But that is not the end of the story by a long way.

Why do I bother you with raking over the past? It is to focus your eyes on the still greater dangers ahead. We are experiencing a crisis of capitalism - the recession. But there is a parallel and even deeper crisis of Socialism. 60 years after the October Revolution, 30 years after the Sovietization of Eastern Europe certain things are clear.

Centralised Socialist planning has failed abysmally to produce the food or the consumer goods their peoples want. They cannot even produce the technology required to extract essential raw materials like oil without recourse to the West. Only by the maximum concentration of available resources - human and material - have they been able to keep up and now overtake the West in defence and space technologies.

But the failure of their economic policies and widespread resentment of Russian predominance among the other nationalities inside the Soviet Union and in the Warsaw Pact has turned the whole Soviet Empire into a potential volcano.

Increasingly the aging regime has to rely on the armed forces and KGB to maintain themselves in power.

Stalin may have been a monster but he kept the civil power on top. He had the guts to shoot the Marshalls. Now the military-industrial complex has become the real ruling class. There are six million men under arms in the Soviet Union and at least as many designing and building the weapon systems that the armed forces require. This, not Communist ideology, is the driving force behind Soviet Imperialism. And these military leaders can only justify their privileges and contain the resentment of the masses by a policy of expansion.

The leaders of the West, in their search for popularity and voters forget a basic principle of science. Nature abhors a vacuum. When the European powers and the US withdrew from the Middle East, from Africa and from South East Asia they left a vacuum behind them. Soviet Imperialism has already moved in on that vacuum in a big way.

In the Middle East we see Moscow firmly entrenched. In Syria, Afghanistan, Aden and Ethiopia. The Red Army is less than 300 miles from the shores of the Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz. In North Africa the Soviets have strong ties with Colonel Gaddafi and his mavarick regime and with the terrorists of the PLO. In Southern Africa they are in virtual control of Angola and Mozambique and exercise a powerful influence over Zambia and Tanzania.

I do not believe that the Soviet leaders will embark on nuclear war or a direct attack on NATO or even China. But their own internal difficulties, economic, Social and national push them inexorably towards expansion. Our weakness is a standing invitation to the more militant among their leaders to advance. Gentlemen, if your wife leaves a hard earned diamond bracelet on a hotel dressing table, it is at least as much her fault as anyone else's if she comes back and finds it gone. If Moscow can put its hand on the oil of the Gulf and the minerals of South Africa they will do so and could bend Western Europe and Japan into servitude and surrender.

The crisis is already far advanced. Soviet conventional forces outnumber those of the West many times. They have achieved parity in nuclear weapons and many experts believe that they will have the edge on us there in a year or two if they do not already have it. The situation is thus already fraught with danger. It is more fragile than at any time since the war and will continue so for half a decade at the very least.

Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries is a cardinal principle of the Helsinki Agreement, indeed of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union, it is true, has not yet invaded Poland. The tanks have not rolled into Warsaw as they did into Prague and Budapest. But Moscow has mounted a campaign of intimidation and blackmail against Poland on a scale seldom seen between allies.

The Government-controlled press of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Communist Germany has

kept up a ceaseless propaganda offensive against the free Trade Union movement in Poland and its Catholic allies. The Polish Communist leaders have been summoned to Moscow to receive their marching orders. Films have been shown for the first time in recent history of Polish and Soviet troops on manoeuvres together with a clear hint that they would be available to suppress threatened strikes.

The other day the Communist leaders of Hungary and Czechoslovakia formally declared their solidarity with the Polish government in effect against the Free Trade Union.

The danger of military action against Poland remains very real. Poland lies at the heart of the Soviet Empire and we cannot come to its direct defence any more than we were able to in 1939.

But the Soviets should remember that other parts of their Empire - in the Caribbean, in Africa and in Asia - are very vulnerable. If they violate the sovereignty of Poland by deed as they are already doing by word they should expect instant reprisals. The West should make this very clear to them and in good time.

What are we then to do?

I have already suggested certain alterations in our policy towards the Middle East and South Africa. But the heart of the matter must be to rearm and to do so as swiftly as possible. It is absurd to say that we cannot afford it. The European Community alone is richer than the United States. And we are even more concerned with the supplies of oil and minerals imports and overseas markets than they are. The Americans plan nearly a 5% increase in defence expenditure next year.

It does not look as if many of the other members of NATO will reach even the 3% increase to which they are committed. Our Treasury has been haggling with the MOD over the defence estimate. But what will it profit us if we reduce inflation by a

couple of percentage points and lose our freedom as a consequence? Remember, in the crunch the outcome is decided at the Margin. 100 less Spitfires and Hurricanes in 1940 and the Battle of Britain would have been Britain's defeat. The French, I see, plan to increase their defence expenditure by nearly 7% next year. They are not much richer than we are. They have no oil. If they can do it why can't we?

The last four years have been a period of unexampled retreat by the West. American leadership has failed and its failure has bred defeatism and irresolution among the other Western powers. Angola, Abyssinia, Aden, Afghanistan - the four A's - have been so many nails in the coffin of Western solidarity.

But now there is a gleam of hope and light on the horizon. The election of Governor Reagan is more than a personal triumph for the man. It marks a determination on the part of average Americans to rebuild the strength of the United States and once again to play the role in the world to which America's economic importance and political values entitle it. We shall not always find a strong America an easy partner. But it is only with a strong America that we can hope to meet the challenge of Soviet Imperialism. The weak America we have known these last few years has brought nothing but defeatism and irresolution among those who should have been its best allies.

The combination of a strong America and a strong European Community can still save the sum of things. And in this the British Government and the Conservative Party can play a crucial part.

Our leader knows this well. It is the mission of a Club like ours to help her in her task and make sure her policies are not inhibited by more timid or less clear-sighted men around her."

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

- * 17 March K. Harvey Proctor, M. P., on National Sovereignty. **
- 18 March Nicholas Winterton M. P., on Immigration. **
- 1 April James Molyneaux, J.P., on Government Policy - Ireland. **
- * 11 April The Young Members' Group Wine and Cheese Party.
- * 30 April The Young Members' Group Annual Dinner. ***
- * 21 May The Rt. Hon. J. Enoch Powell, M. P., on current issues. **
- * 18 June H. E. The Chilean Ambassador on Chile. **
- * 24 June Young Members' Reception, The Terrace of The House of Lords.
- * 24 Sept. THE MONDAY CLUB CELEBRATION BALL at the CAFE ROYAL

* Note:- Young Members' Group activities - all M. C. members and guests welcome.

** Meetings in a Committee Room of The House of Commons.

*** Dinner at The Oxford and Cambridge Club.

M.C. GROUP REPORTS

WOMEN'S GROUP

The Women's Group held a most successful buffet luncheon on June 7th, at the home of the chairman of the club, by kind permission of Mrs Sam Swerling. We were fortunate enough to have one of the better days of this summer, which enabled us to use the garden. We were most grateful to Mr and Mrs Swerling for allowing their home to be used.

The Women's Group play an important part in raising funds for the club, but unfortunately due to a lack of venues in the London area we have not been able to hold as many functions as we would have liked. If there are any members living in Central London, or within easy reach of Central London, who would be willing to loan their homes for a fund raising function, we would be most grateful if they would contact us.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the members of my committee for all the hard work they put in to ensure the smooth running of the events that we run. I am sure many members will vouch for the high standard of the catering at our suppers and luncheons organised by the Women's Group.

Jane Perry
(Chairman)

THE UNIVERSITIES' GROUP

The Monday Club in the Universities

One of the most encouraging aspects of University politics in Britain today is the steady growth in the influence and prominence of the Monday Club. Undoubtedly, committed Conservative students see the Club as the defender and upholder of the Party's proudest traditions, and also as the propounder of a progressive and radical challenge to the dogmas of socialism. Young Conservatives who have grown to voting age during the troubled times of the seventies are now rejecting meaningless compromises and half-measures, and are calling for their Party to stand firm in defence of what it believes to be right. The Monday Club is rightly seen as the single most important pressure group in the Conservative Party which calls consistently for the promotion of the ideals we all share, such as individual freedom and choice in the fields of the economy, health and education; national security, against our enemies both at home and abroad; and the maintenance of the British national identity.

The strongest of the University branches of the Monday Club is that at Oxford. The OUMC has existed for about ten years, during which time it has been ever active in fighting for the Conservative cause. Recently, the Club has maintained an average annual membership of around

150, and holds regular speaker-meetings as well as social events, when members can get to know each other better, and an Annual Dinner in Michaelmas Term, with a guest speaker. This year the Club is to be addressed by Mr John Stokes, MP for Halesowen and Stourbridge, a great friend of the Oxford branch, and its senior officer.

The OUMC is also very conscious that the chief function of the Monday Club, both at national and at local levels, is to act as a pressure group, producing new ideas and food for discussion and thought. Every term therefore a journal is published (also entitled "Monday News") which as well as dealing with student affairs, contains articles on current political problems, and broad questions of Conservative philosophy. It was my privilege, in my capacity as President of the OUMC last Hilary term, to edit "Monday News", a copy of which found its way to Downing Street, where it was favourably received, according to Ian Gow MP, the Prime Minister's PPs, who kindly wrote a letter of thanks. The OUMC also takes a great interest in the activities of the University Conservative Association, three quarters of whose committee last term consisted of members of our branch. The Club, I am sure, endeavour to build up its strength and influence in the contest of Oxford politics.

Turning to the role of the Monday Club in universities and colleges elsewhere in Britain, it is pleasing to note that independent branches exist in places such as Cambridge, Aston, Dundee and most recently, Reading, where Clubbers are led by Executive Council member Richard Turnbull. In addition, the Club has members in thirty one universities and in several polytechnics and colleges of further education. Even where branches do not exist, Monday Club members are active working for their local Conservative Associations in an individual capacity, and in the Federation of Conservative Students.

The MC Universities' Group, which attempts to co-ordinate the activities of its various branches and members, is, of course, firmly opposed to compulsory membership of student unions. The National Union of Students, to which all in higher education automatically belong, is run by a clique of left wing extremists who are totally unrepresentative of the vast majority of students, and who are in fact little more than an embarrassment to their sober and sensible colleagues. We in the Monday Club see no reason why the NUS should be allowed to continue its campaigns on such highly dubious issues as "Disinvestment in South Africa", "free abortion on demand" and so called "gay rights", at the expense of the already overburdened taxpayer. If membership of the NUS were made voluntary, it would doubtless go bankrupt in a week!

Members of the Monday Club at university therefore do play an active part in the struggle for true Conservatism in whatever field of political endeavour one might consider, and it is to be hoped that the pressure exerted by Monday Club students at all levels will be felt and will be effective now, and even more so in the future.

D. Huw Morgan
(Chairman - Universities Group)

Monday Club Freshers Campaign

A campaign aimed at new University students is being mounted by the Monday Club in 1981. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed to Universities along with membership application forms, various other publications and a letter offering the services of Monday Club speakers. All Monday Club students are urged to take part in FCS activities so that Club influence can be increased, especially at the next National conference.

Richard Turnbull.

Subversion in Broadcasting

BROADCASTING SUBVERSION GROUP

The above Group has been formed to combat subversion in radio and television by examining the limits to which individual programme producers and directors can go without being curbed by the relevant Broadcasting Authorities, and by proposing changes in their Charters to muzzle those who choose to ignore the national interest for either profit or political allegiance.

The Group has in mind, in particular, the continual attacks on the Police by both the BBC and ITV which have now reached such proportions that Chief Constables are refusing to appear on television, because of the bias to which they are subjected.

The Group is particularly concerned about the effect such attacks are having on Police morale.

The Group is also concerned about the clearly subversive programmes on other organs of the State, such as the recent denigration of the Army in "Gone for a Soldier" and so-called documentaries like "Death of a Princess" which can damage trade relations between Britain and friendly countries. This, we feel, is the exercise of power without responsibility, in the name of free speech.

This Group is not against the individual's right to express himself with absolute freedom to his friends and acquaintances, but we do most strongly object to programme producers and directors being allowed to use and abuse their positions of

Young Members' Group

The Young Members Group meets on the first Thursday of each month at the Club Office at 6.30 pm, and it holds meeting at the House of Commons on the third Thursday. The Parliamentary meetings are addressed usually by Members of Parliament, and they are kindly hosted by K Harvey Proctor, MP.

The Chairman of the Group is John R Pinning, a Parliamentary research assistant, who made an outstanding speech at the Party Conference in 1980.

Since the beginning of the year the group has been addressed by John Stokes MP on British Industry, and by Peter Rost MP on a national policy for energy.

Details of the Spring and Summer Programme appear under "Forthcoming Events" on Page 5. Further details can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Miss Symonds, c/o the Club Office.

special privilege in the broadcasting monopolies licensed and in part financed by the taxpayer, to propagate and preach subversive ideas to the masses of unsuspecting citizens. We seek to remedy this situation, if necessary, by law.

We have sent a letter to 200 Conservative MPs explaining our views and seeking their help and suggestions and we have received some encouraging replies. We have also written and are continuing to write to the BBC and ITV to complain about specific programmes, especially those concerning Northern Ireland. If those of you who agree with these sentiments and would like to help bring about what we suggest, would you be kind enough to write to me at the Monday Club Office and/or write direct to your MP as well as to the BBC and ITA authorities stating the Channel, the name of the programme, date, time and content about which you complain.

If in this way we can get a nationwide campaign started we may be successful in halting to some extent the wide spread Left-Wing bias so prevalent in broadcasting today.

Our Group meets on the first Wednesday of each month at the Monday Club Office at 6pm.

We look forward to hearing from interested Members.

Kay Walton
(Chairman)

M.C. Branch News.

Surrey

Extensive national news coverage was given to our meeting at Dorking, Surrey on Friday 11th July when the Rt. Hon. J. Enoch Powell MP addressed us on the subject of "Immigration".

It was the third time in five years that we have had the honour to welcome Mr Powell to our platform.

Applauded regularly throughout his speech, Mr Powell warned:
"Well might it be said to those who already view the present with anxiety or alarm" - "You have seen nothing yet!"

Mr Powell also said:

"In the years to come people will look back with astonishment upon a little noted event that took place in Parliament on 29th April, less than a month after Bristol. In a debate late at night the House of Commons decided by 116 votes to a derisory 14 that the forthcoming census of 1981 should not be used to ascertain the size and distribution of what is now conventionally and officially described as the New Commonwealth and Pakistan ethnic population".

Mr Powell continued:

"Almost unbelievably, the nation has been deliberately deprived of the means of distinguishing truth from falsehood, exaggeration from understatement, complacency from hysteria, in a matter admitted to be fraught with the deepest consequences". In his vote of thanks, Commander Anthony Courtney, the branch President, described Mr Powell as "Britain's greatest living statesman". This echoed the feelings of the meeting of 200, who gave Mr Powell a standing ovation.

The branch is trying to give recruitment a priority in its activities.

Taunton and District

Our Branch meetings are now held monthly with the exception of the three summer months - at the Castle Hotel, Taunton, and are well attended.

We have had speakers from the South African and American Embassies, as well as the Rt. Hon. Tom King, MP for Bridgewater and Mrs Jill Draper, the secretary of the Conservative Trade Union Group in the Taunton Constituency. Some teacher members promptly enrolled, and Mrs Draper has asked to be sent details of our Autumn programme. We regard our contact with this group as potentially valuable.

Members of the Branch supported the one-day Conference held at Exeter University recently. We strongly support the call for the return of capital punishment.

We were delighted when our immediate past Chairman, Mr Peter Heal, became Chairman of the Taunton Conservative Association in March, but saddened when a founder member Mr A G Wilson, who had served on the National Executive Council, died in June.

We continue to recruit slowly - but our members are intensely interested and loyal and many hold, or have held, office in their local constituencies.

**** SUPPORT your local**

MONDAY CLUB BRANCH ---

*** Be ACTIVE in your local
Conservative Association ---**

**That is the BEST way to make
your Political influence felt**

THE WASHINGTON MONDAY CLUB

This was formed in 1979 mainly for Congress and Senate "Staffers" and has asked for close co-operation with us. This has been agreed with the Executive and members visiting Washington should inform themselves from the Office of the address of the Chairman of the Washington Monday Club. One of our Vice Presidents - Major Patrick Wall MC, MP had the privilege of addressing a meeting of about 100 members on the Hill in January this year. They were both well-informed and enthusiastic.

**** What? -- No local Branch?**

**Then - why not get together
and FORM one?**

MONDAY CLUB CONFERENCES

I. One-day Conference at Exeter University: Sat May 31st 1980

PREVENTION IF POSSIBLE. BUT PROVISION OF ADEQUATE PUNISHMENT & DETERRENTS, ANYWAY!

This was the message emerging loud and clear from the one-day Conference arranged by the Conservative Monday Club at Exeter University.

District councillor, Mr Brian Costello (Exmouth) successfully proposed the motion that "This Conference urges Parliament to consider the holding of a national referendum to ascertain the citizen's view on the advisability, or otherwise, of reintroducing Capital Punishment for premeditated crimes of violence resulting in innocent deaths, and those of law-enforcement officers - be they police or prison officers, or defence personnel engaged in combatting terrorism."

Speaker after speaker made this point most forcibly, quoting either from Home Office statistics, or many recent instances of public violence and slaughter of innocents - to demand that Parliament listen to the community's cry for adequate safeguards against these terrible crimes.

The Conference organiser, Mr Costello later asked: "Have we all gone stark, raving mad - in condoning murderous behaviour in our cities - with IRA killer-squads operating in Belfast, and Libyan hit-men roaming our Capital?"

He said the prison system neared breakdown, whilst Amnesty International urged total abolition of the death penalty by all Governments, Broadmoor patients were released into our midst to maim and kill, and "do-gooders" expressed fear that reintroducing hanging will make martyrs of cold-blooded Killers.

"Unless we as a society living under the rule of law move quickly to control this terrible violence and murderous behaviour in our midst, then community life will become near unbearable from the late 1980's onwards," Mr Costello warned.

In stating the case for the return of the death penalty, executive member of the Police Federation, Sgt. Durbin (Avon & Somerset Constabulary) deputising for chairman, James Jardine had told the afternoon session:

"I don't think the campaign for the return of capital punishment is a hopeless cause. Anyone found guilty of murder should be hanged, if the judge considers the offence serious enough."

Sgt. Durbin said their aim was not only to protect police officers. Young and old people should be

protected from being battered to death, and hostages from being shot. He said the deterrent against these crimes must be capital punishment, quoting Home Office statistics on serious crime figures, which also showed that 10 people had been convicted of the murder of policemen between 1970 and 1979. Sgt. Durbin and Councillor Costello were speaking for all rank and file policemen, their families, and much of the community in stating clearly: "Police Officers are not getting the protection they deserve". The Conference obviously thought likewise, by overwhelmingly supporting the resolution urging a national referendum campaign, and in doing so, giving backing to the Police Federation's call for the return of hanging. Monday Club national chairman, Cllr. Sam Swerling, and his deputy, Mr David Storey, who both attended the Exeter Conference and spoke in support of bringing back hanging - promised they would take the newly-launched campaign back to the national body. It would be promoted in Parliament, and campaigned for all in parts of the Kingdom.

Speaking in the first session, Cllr Sam Swerling spoke on economic and industrial relations matters, and urged the imposition of selective import controls to help defend certain highly vulnerable industries from unfair competition, and the loss of jobs. He rejected out of hand Luddite practices of some unions which did not help the situation.

Speaking in the pre-lunch session on the subject of Community Policing Mr John Alderson, Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall stressed his belief that by concentrating solely on controlling crime by reacting to its commission totally ignored the whole and valuable contribution to be made by giving more attention to its prevention. He said there is an urgent need to seek measures towards better use and co-ordination of the expensive resources available for prevention of juvenile misbehaviour and crime. Society cannot simply buy its way out of the dilemma even if it could afford to. He went on to advocate greater support for the idea of community policing by motivating neighbourhoods into organising their affairs together with the police, other social agencies, and voluntary bodies so that aimlessness and apathy could be overcome and the spirit of personal involvement in community concern could be re-awakened. He said to foster the belief that governments and the system of criminal justice could alone hold back and reduce morbid crime levels was to create an illusion.

Because of changing attitudes towards authoritarianism, he believed it not possible to find solutions to behavioural problems in

yesterday's world. Tomorrow's world beckens towards a strengthening of community spirit, the setting of better examples to the young, and the organisation of more fruitful communal activity to set that example.

Describing how over the past six years police in Devon and Cornwall had created this kind of action with promising results and widespread public support, Mr Alderson said crime had actually fallen a little while public confidence in the police had risen.

The police now had a body of selected officers working full time in the schools with the full support of the Education Committees, head

teachers, staff, pupils and parents.

More officers on the beat had brought a greater feeling of security. Consultation with housing and planning departments to create less criminogenic environments was developing. New understanding of society and behaviour was growing. Joint activity between police, social and probation services in the prevention of delinquency was now an established fact. He said Devon and Cornwall police were discovering the resources lying latent in the communities throughout the two counties, waiting only for the spark of leadership to organise fruitfully against uncontrolled behaviour.

II. MONDAY CLUB PARTICIPATION IN ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE FEDERATION OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS

The Federation of Conservative Students has had a long reputation of being on the 'Social Democrat' side of the Party. Indeed, a former FCS Chairman, Mr David Wilkes, once called at a Party Conference for the execution of Mr Ian Smith as a traitor.

However, it is with pleasure that I report a change of direction within the FCS following the recent Annual Conference held at Loughborough University on March 26-29. Out of some 250 delegates there were about 30 Monday Club members present, some one in eight of the total. This was a fine achievement partly, but not wholly due to some careful pre-conference planning by a few of us.

The finest aspect of the conference was the massive swing to the Right in the national elections. Right-wingers won control of both the National Committee, including the posts of Chairman and Senior Vice-chairman, and the Student Affairs Committee. In addition, in the poll for honorary Vice-President Mr Ivan Lawrence, the MP for Burton and a member of the Monday Club won more than 50% of the votes cast for the three candidates. Mr Peter Bottomley also a Monday Club MP, won the second post.

A major issue at the conference was the attitude the F.C.S. should adopt towards the National Union of Students. The right-wing motion calling for outright opposition to the N.U.S. was lost by four votes (118-114) on a secret ballot. However, an amendment was successfully passed preventing the national F.C.S. leadership from interfering with the decision of a local association as happened when Heriot-Watt University tried to leave the N.U.S. This was to all intents and purposes a right-wing victory since the national F.C.S. leadership is now dominated by anti-N.U.S. figures.

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The Monday Club itself was very successful. Our stall was the most attractive and three new members were signed up and much literature distributed. I hope that next year, with even better planning, the Club may be able to provide a fringe meeting addressed by a leading Club Parliamentarian. Equally I hope that next year Monday Club members may be elected to the National Committee and Student Affairs Committee. This year prospective Monday Club candidates stood down in the interests of right-wing unity but this gives us a good bargaining position for next year.

The conference gave speakers a varied reception. Dr. Rhodes Boyson was very well received but Mr. Edward Heath received a cool but polite reception. Douglas Hurd M.P. was questioned closely on Rhodesia and I sensed a polarisation of views. A question regarding the betrayal of Bishop Mazorewa's government was loudly applauded and cheered by over half the audience. Those who disagreed, however, seemed more fervent than previously and appeared to be backing the Foreign Office and Mr. Mugabe to the hilt.

A Junior Employment Minister, the Earl of Gowrie, was closely questioned on union reform and under intense pressure admitted that he had been in favour of compulsory strike ballots but had been overruled.

In conclusion the Monday Club can be very pleased with the F.C.S. conference and its results. All Club members played an active and significant role.

III. Federation of Conservative Students

Half-Yearly Conference Report

The conference was held at Warwick University on September 5th, 6th and 7th and attended by about 120 delegates. The Monday Club's representation held up well from the national conference last Easter remaining at about 12.5% of the delegates, which is quite a large proportion. It should be noted, however, that since the national F.C.S. conference the Monday Club has made further inroads with the recruitment to our ranks of Alan Griffiths, a member of the F.C.S. Student Affairs Committee, the second of the two bodies which run the F.C.S.. In addition to good Monday Club support there was also a majority, albeit a marginal one, for the Right in general.

The main controversy centred around two motions submitted by the Tory Left. One which attacked the whole base of the government's economic strategy was decisively rejected. The more lively debate concerned Lord Thorneycroft's decision to re-organise the Community Affairs Department in Central Office. This Department is dominated by the Left and hence it was the Left who submitted a motion attacking the decision. After a heated debate the motion was rejected by 70 voters to 50. The other major decision of the conference was the decision, passed overwhelmingly, to send a telegram to the Prime Minister protesting at the visit, starting on Sunday, September 7th, when the conference was sitting, by the Conservative Trade Unionists to Romainia at the invitation of Romania's official Trade Unions.

Two M.P.'s addressed the conference, both Monday Club members, Ivan Lawrence M.P. who is the Honorary Vice-President of the F.C.S. and Teddy Taylor M.P. who made it clear that he would support right-wing moves to persuade Universities and Colleges to disaffiliate from the N.U.S.. The only other major point of the conference, but one of great importance was the decision of the Student Affairs Committee to enclose in the next official mailing an enclosure from a pressure group, the Student Campaign for Electoral Reform. This is a very dangerous move since any other pressure group from the T.R.G. to the Monday Club could now surely claim the same privilege. It is not acceptable for the propaganda of any pressure group to be included in official Party mailings, including the Monday Club. Official protests by the Monday Club were made to the Party Chairman, Lord Thorneycroft together with the Chairman, Senior Vice-Chairman and Student Affairs Committee Chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students, and as a result of this pressure Lord Thorneycroft has countermanded the Student Affairs Committee's decision.

On the whole a successful conference for the Monday Club. The Club's students must now prepare and ensure as large a turnout as possible for next Easter's national conference.

Richard Turnbull.



HOW TO SUPPORT * THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PUNISHMENT REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

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POLITICAL OFFICER'S NOTE BOOK

The 1980 Party Conference

The party conference season started in earnest with the Socialist 'get together' at Blackpool; there the fraternal 'brothers' and comrades under the leadership of your actual true but wealthy Socialist the (renounced) noble Viscount Stansgate lit an impressive array of fireworks under the seat of then Party Leader - one J. Callaghan, much to the latter's discomfiture. The Labour Party will bear the scars of this entertaining little episode for many years to come.

In contrast, the Conservative Party Conference was a very sedate affair. It was so well stage-managed and polite that hardly a dissident could be seen or heard.

We were well pleased that two members of our

Executive Council got the opportunity to enliven a couple of the set debates. Mr Brian Rathbone made a powerful attack on the "Wets" whom he suspected of lurking in the background, and declared himself in full support of the Government's economic policy, while Mr John Pinniger made a very able speech loudly condemning the Home Office's handling of Race and continuing immigration.

The Monday Club, sensing from the motions chosen for debate, that the Conference managers had gone too far with pasturising and sanitisation of the topics to be discussed, was in the forefront of the Conservative Pressure Group's demand for a little health-giving roughage in the Conference diet. As Ian Bradley wrote in the 'Times' of 9th October:-

Pressure groups launch attack on 'stage management' of agenda

From Ian Bradley
Brighton

A strong attack on the stage management of the conference has been launched by the five main pressure groups within the party.

A preliminary report to be published at a meeting in Brighton today describes the conference as "a disgrace" and says that pressure for change in the arrangements is long overdue. It complains that motions are too bland and self-congratulatory, with important issues being sidestepped, and calls for reforms to make debates more controversial and lively.

The report points out that of 192 motions debated at 11 party conferences between 1966 and 1977, only nine were defeated. It says "no one is suggesting that there is any sort of manipulation in the actual voting or the way that it is recorded in the official records. There does not have to be. The same sort of motions appear again and again year after year."

The report was drawn up by a working party convened six months ago by the Bay Group, the Monday Club, the Tory Reform Group, the Seisdon Group and the National Association of Conservative Graduates.

Mr Graham Mather, a member of the executive of the Mon-

day Club, and one of those who convened the working party, said yesterday: "What has brought the thinking pressure groups together and what worries us all is that the party is alienating its intellectual elements by refusing to allow debates of substance and year after year passing bland motions which give ministers a carte blanche to ignore what is said in the debate.

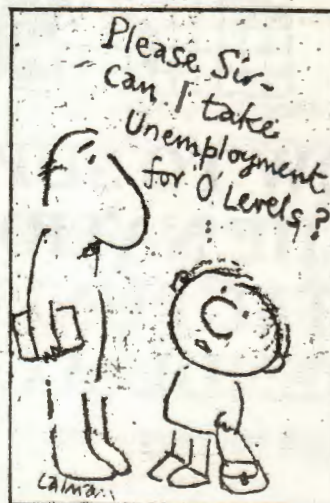
"There is a growing dissatisfaction that there is no organizational link by which Conservative constituency

parties can influence government or opposition policy in any way."

Feeling against the stage management of the conference is running equally strongly on the left and right wings of the party. The left is annoyed that no opportunity has been given this week to debate the recent winding down of the party's Community Affairs Department at Central Office. The right is angry that motions selected for debate on industrial relations and immigration gave no opportunity for them to assert their views.

Mr Mather said: "Today's debate on the unions was typical. Of 121 motions submitted by constituencies, 90 called for definite action or proposed a definite choice. Not one of those was brought forward for debate. The conference managers never put a question that divides opinion in the party to the vote."

The working party's report, which it hopes to put before the next meeting of the party's central council, in March, proposes major reforms in conference procedure. It calls for the election of an agenda sub-committee to pick the subjects for debate on the basis of the number of motions submitted, and for the inclusion of only those motions capable of genuine and worthwhile debate.



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The Monday Club had, however, provided the Party with some good fibrous 'health food' to chew over in the form of a brace of well reasoned aide-memoires which were presented to the Prime Minister by our energetic chairman, Councillor Sam Swerling, on the eve of the Conference. These documents (copies of which were sent to the Ministers concerned) assessed the problems facing our fishing fleets and manufacturing industry,

suggesting ways of avoiding the impending deluge of bankruptcies and mounting unemployment. As members may have noticed sections of the Press and some broadcasting commentators suggested that the Club was attacking Mrs Thatcher and her policies. This, of course, was not the case as can be seen from the very fair article in the 'Guardian' of 3rd October by Colin Brown:

Tory Right urges cut in MLR

By Colin Brown,
Political Staff

A demand for a substantial cut in Minimum Lending Rate was lodged with the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, by the Right-wing Conservative Monday Club yesterday. A cut in MLR may be made next Thursday during the Conservative Party Annual Conference in Brighton.

Support for such a move was underlined by the chairman of the Monday Club, Mr Sam Swerling, when he explained two documents outlining poli-

cies which, he claimed, would help to save the ailing fishing industry and increase industrial prosperity for land-based firms.

The club was concerned, he said, about growing resentment at the way even the most efficient units of British manufacturing enterprise were being put out of business and this was felt among owners, shareholders and managers as well as unemployed shop floor workers.

"After suffering from many years of petty Government interference, penal taxation and high inflation, the death blow is now being given in the form of crippling interest payments and the total destruction of the home and export market through the combination of the oil — enhanced value of sterling and the concealed dumping of foreign imports," Mr Swerling told Mrs Thatcher in a personal letter.

It was imperative for the survival of many sectors of British industry that the penal interest rates should be cut without delay, said the club's report. "As well as bankrupting or otherwise closing many efficient and productive enterprises, causing great capital

loss and much financial hardship and unemployment, high interest rates in themselves are most inflationary," it added.

The club warned the Government to be aware of forcing the country through the imposition of high interest rates into a progressively accelerating inflation spiral which could only lead to disaster. It said: "The Conservative Party must never allow itself to be accused of throwing good, productive, and efficient workers out of work to teach the lazy, inefficient, and strike-ridden a lesson. The bankrupted ex-owners of efficient industry will not thank us for curing inflation at their expense."

Other proposals in the two documents which are likely to find considerable support among the Tory faithful at the party conference were a call for higher duties on goods imported at artificially low prices, particularly from Eastern block countries, and currency levies to erase the advantage to importers of the high rate of sterling.

The documents also came up with the idea of a new tax on interest to counterbalance the reduction in MLR which would be collected and paid to the Exchequer by banks on all interest paid to them.

It will be seen from those Discussion Papers that the Club was not asking for any change of policy but rather for steps to make these policies work more quickly, effectively and without great damage to efficient industry. With the prospect of Michael Foot waiting round the corner to move into No. 10 in the ill-starred year of 1984, Mrs Thatcher and her team cannot afford to get things wrong. She must not leave her policies to be the hostages of fortune, or worse, made ineffective by the conflicting interests of the Eurocrats of Brussels and the regime which employs them.

The Club has done what any effective pressure group should — it has kept its ear close to the ground and has advised the Party and its leader as to where the cabinet have got balance and priority wrong and what must be done to rectify matters. Despite what the timid, the less perceptive and

ATTENTION

MEMBERS are asked to submit CARTOONS and SHORT LETTERS, to the Editor for inclusion in the June issue of "MONDAY NEWS".

the plain ambitious in the Party sometimes think, grovelling psychopants are less than useless to any Prime Minister. Mrs Thatcher knows that listening to those who can only praise leads to

doom for all.

Sir Keith Joseph in the letter reproduced below, clearly understands our argument, but evades the main problem.



DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB
TELEPHONE SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

Secretary of State for Industry

28 October 1980

John de Vere Walker Esq
The Monday Club
122 Newgate Street
London EC1

John de Vere Walker

Thank you for your letter of 2 October and for the enclosed Aide-Memore on industrial policy, which I read with interest. You will appreciate that many of your suggestions, especially those on trade, taxation and oil policy, lie outside my direct ministerial responsibility and I have no doubt you will be pressing your various suggestions in the coming weeks and months in the appropriate quarters.

Without poaching on the preserves of my colleagues, I think I can venture my opinion that you have over-estimated somewhat the occurrence of unfair trade and its impact on our industry. When you consider for how many years our international competitiveness has been steadily eroded by relatively high inflation and low productivity growth, as well as lack of attention to design, quality and service then I feel we need look little farther for the chief reasons for our industrial plight. I certainly agree with you that we must deal promptly and vigorously with unfair competitive practices and use all our influence to reduce barriers to trade, rather than setting up barriers of our own. But among unfair practices, I should not include the fact that some other countries pay lower wages or have different safety, pollution or other regulations. We are an advanced industrialised country and we must compete on that basis, like Germany or Austria and many others. Certainly the levy you propose on imported manufactures would breach our international obligations; for a country which exports an exceptionally high proportion of its Gross Domestic Product, such a course could prove counter-productive. It has a rather unhappy precedent in the import surcharge scheme of 1964-66.

I cannot accept your criticism that this Government lacks interest

in industry: our whole economic policy is aimed at creating conditions in which industry, no longer crippled by inflation, excessive Government interference and the imbalance of power between management and unions, can compete and flourish. We do not believe this can be achieved by intervention and subsidies, but that should not be misinterpreted as indifference towards the industrial situation. Our aim is to strike the right balance between Government support to firms and sectors of industry, and the setting of a proper economic framework. The control of public expenditure, which you advocate, is indeed a crucial part of this approach and we have made a start and are determined to do even better in future. We also see signs of success in the slowing of inflation, the improvement in management morale and the improved attitude of many wage bargainers.

Although the next months are undoubtedly going to be very tough for industry, the Government's policy is the only one that holds out any real hope of long-term prosperity; we shall keep to our course.

I have dealt here only with some of the points in your comprehensive and useful memorandum. Please be assured that I have carefully noted all your suggestions and will take them into account.

Erin
Ken Joseph

Apart from the necessity to cut out all unnecessary spending at home - (and without being in the least anti Common Market) the plain truth is that Mrs Thatcher's policies cannot be wholly successful so long as the EEC Eurocrats go on spending hundreds of millions of our hard earned taxes while fuelling our inflation by putting heavy levies on our imports of food and increasing dole queues by creating conditions and rules which bankrupt our manufacturing and fishing industries.

BRITISH ENTERPRISE IN PERIL

The Club's Political Officer pursued these points at our fringe meeting on 'British Enterprise in Peril' at Brighton. Neither he nor Captain George Crawford OBE the President of the National Federation of Fisherman's Organisations wanted unrealistic protection, but both demanded, in no uncertain terms, that Britain must be given fair play by our Masters in Brussels and allowed to defend our industries against politically-motivated and State subsidised dumping, some of which is clearly designed to

cause industrial unrest in this country - to say nothing of the scrapping of the Royal Navy's reserve of seamen and minesweepers - our fishing fleet. The Club's Political Officer stressed that either the EEC Eurocrats behave in a reasonable and enlightened way towards this country and its trading interests, or Mrs Thatcher must reassume those powers necessary to stop our industry being bankrupted as well as our fish stocks poached by foreign powers. If Mrs Thatcher fails to grasp this nettle the resentment of the unemployment caused will push her and the Conservative Party into the political wilderness for the rest of the century.

He indicated that while he did not approve of high duties or taxes he failed to see the sense, or equity, in not making imported goods bear the same amount of contribution towards the cost of the Welfare State, defence etc., as those manufactured in this country. The tax element in every pound spent on home produced goods is about 50 pence when one takes into account VAT, PAYE, Corporation Tax, National Insurance, Local Rates etc. - compared with less than 20 pence in the pound on a similar imported article.

However, regrettably we have no one to blame for the current damagingly high interest rates which will continue until the Government stops wholesale borrowing to finance extravagance which this country cannot afford. He cited the waste in the administration of the Health and Educational Services; he advocated the break up of bureaucratic empires and the return of financial control to Headmasters and Hospital Matrons.

George Crawford OBE spoke passionately about the apparent deliberate wreck of this country's fishing fleets and the poaching of our fish stocks by the Brussels Eurocrats. It is clear that their Political Masters are envious of our island position.

Of George Crawford's speech Ian Fraser Grigor reported in the 'Glasgow Herald' (9th October):

Our fight for a bigger share of the fish pond

TWO-THIRDS of the total fish stocks in the collective waters of the EEC are in British waters. But it seems likely that Britain will be left with about just one-third of the total—with the result that many fishing communities are facing a bleak future.

Today the Fisheries Ministers of the Community are meeting in Brussels to finalise their Common Fisheries Policy—they have a deadline of December to get the four-year dispute resolved.

The common policy will regulate all fishing operations in the waters of Community members, and whatever the provisions of the final deal, their implications will be very serious for British fishing.

Last month, the Ministers met to discuss the conservation provisions of the final deal, and the trade paper Fishing News spoke for most of the industry when it claimed: "All the conservation package has done is to alert our fishermen to the iniquities that lie in wait for them in a Common Fisheries Policy."

British fishermen will have to fish with larger-meshed nets of 80 millimetres from Christmas and switch again by late 1982 to 90-millimetre nets. This changeover will be expensive, and will eat into the emergency aid fund recently made available by the Government.

But many Danish fishermen specialise in "industrial" fishing, trawling up in their 16-millimetre pout nets many young fish of species fit for human consumption and turning it, along with the rest of their catch, into fishmeal. As George Crawford, president of the National Federation of Fishermen's Organisations told a Monday Club meeting at the recent Conservative Party Conference, these new regulations meant "nothing more than that fish will swim through British cod-ends only to end up in a Danish fishmeal factory the next day."

The last-ditch issue under discussion

today concerns the British share of the total catch in the "European Pond", as the collective waters of the EEC partners are called.

A national share, or quota, of the total catch in the Pond has to be allocated to each member.

British fishermen argue that as two-thirds of the fish in the Pond are in British waters, they are entitled to a 45% share. But last month's offer from the other partners was just 31%.

Britain's fishermen argue that a 45% share for themselves is a just one in terms of the contribution of British waters, and a modestly realistic one in terms of their future needs.

The other partners say their offer is based on the assessment that the British have never taken more than about 30% of the fish in the pond.

The British industry claims that this assessment is spurious. The period of years taken as a basis for the other partners' calculations was one in which the British proportion of the total catch was unnaturally depressed, partly as a result of an increase in the landings of other-partner fleets.

The Danes, for instance, exploited North Sea herring-stocks to make fish meal with which to feed their pigs.

Iain McSween, deputy chief executive of the Scottish Fishermen's Organisation says that if an earlier period had been taken as a basis for calculation, "Britain would have had a much more favourable weighting."

He adds that a share of about 30% "could have bleak consequences for fishermen, and would probably make an enormous difference to the Scottish fleet."

The difficulty for the industry and the Government is that the other partners hold all the cards, as a result of the conditions relating to British membership of the Community.

Those relating to fishing were a

By IAIN FRASER GRIGOR

"swindle", according to Grimsby MP Austin Mitchell, "put together days before Britain's entry just to gain access to our grounds."

Mr Enoch Powell, MP for South Down, told the Commons, in a fisheries debate just before the summer recess "Our membership of the EEC has cost us control of our own sovereign waters."

"Within the Community, we have no bargaining capacity. Under the Treaty by which we joined, the other countries could fish up to our beaches by waiting until 1982."

Therefore, no matter what deal Britain may get from the final Common Fisheries Policy, major problems will remain — the present British Fleet is too large for the fish resources likely to be available to it in the next few years.

Introducing the recent White Fish Authority's annual report, chairman Charles Meek called the last year the one in which "the industry fell off the tightrope," and added: "There is too much catching power pursuing too few resources in home waters."

Almost two years ago, the Authority proposed a restructuring plan, which was to have cost £362m, but to date no action has been taken on it.

The alternative to an orderly, planned cut-back in the fleet is to allow the "laws of the market place" to drive men and boats from the industry. The effect this could have on many Scottish fishing communities is incalculable — but certainly unfavourable.

The Rt. Hon. George Younger replied to this joint onslaught. On behalf of HMG he said that he appreciated the validity of many of the points raised and would relay them to his cabinet colleagues - while saying that he felt that taking everything into consideration the Government was broadly on the right lines. He felt that our negotiations with our friends in the EEC would be fruitful and in everyone's best interests in the long run.

The Political Officer while thanking Mr Younger

THE BRITISH NATIONALITY BILL

While in recent years there has been a distinctive effort made to stifle debate on immigration at Party Conferences, the Monday Club has never flinched from speaking out to express the views of the majority. Thus, the Monday Club's first meeting at Brighton in 1980 was on the subject of Nationality and Immigration. The speaker was Sir Ronald Bell QC, MP, and it is thanks to such Monday Club stalwarts like Sir Ronald that we will never neglect the issue of immigration. As the Club Chairman, Councillor Sam Swerling, who was in the Chair, remarked in response to a question, "Ronald Bell has been campaigning on this issue for more than 25 years, as had former parliamentary colleagues, such as the late Sir Cyril Osborne, Harold Gurden and Norman Pannell."

Sir Ronald dealt with the intricacies of the proposed Nationality Bill and its various grades of Citizenship etc. and also spoke about the

anomaly whereby citizens of the Irish Republic can vote in British elections. The people to blame for the level of immigration, said Sir Ronald, were not the immigrants themselves, but the politicians who allowed it. Sir Ronald emphasised that there is not only a need to halt all immigration now, but also to implement schemes of repatriation, in order to achieve a definite outflow of the coloured population, achieved on an equitable basis.

It should not be forgotten that this government has again betrayed the people over immigration. Quietly dropped are the quota system of entry and the register of dependants, and it is up to the Monday Club and its members, like Sir Ronald Bell, to continue to speak the views of the silent majority."

'The Yorkshire Post' carried the following report:

MP urges repatriation

A CLAMPDOWN on immigration coupled with a compulsory repatriation programme is needed to save Britain's national identity, the MP, Sir Ronald Bell, said yesterday.

"If we do nothing, we are bound to be overwhelmed and superseded in our own country in a not very distant future," Sir Ronald (Beaconsfield) told a Monday Club meeting at the conference.

He attacked successive Home Secretaries whose discretionary "chits" allowing foreigners to enter Britain had "flown around like autumn leaves."

Indian traders, Iranians and Arabs had entered Britain in droves by courtesy of the Home Secretary at the time, Sir Ronald said.

There were more than three million coloured people in Britain, with the

annual rate of coloured immigration running at around 50,000.

He said: "The number of illegal immigrants being caught is running at an annual rate of 1,800. I leave you to guess the number not caught."

"There is then the far larger number of those who entered legally as visitors or students and just disappeared. The total, minus any outflows, is certainly over 50,000, perhaps 60,000."

"In addition to these new Commonwealth and Pakistani settlers, we are letting in 32,000 foreigners a year. Nearly all the incomers breed faster than we do."

Sir Ronald quoted figures from the Registrar General's 1978 returns for the Greater London area.

Births to mothers not born in the United Kingdom came to 35 per cent. of the total. In England and Wales together it was 13 per cent.

The proportion of the non-white population in 1977 was 4.6 per cent. "It must certainly be five per cent. by now," said Sir Ronald.

"My opinion is that the rate of change inflicted on our country, without the consent and often without the knowledge of the population, is not compatible with the survival of a sense of national identity."

"It is the national scandal surpassing all others. I do not blame the immigrants. In their place I would have done the same. I blame the British politicians who let them come."

He called for the cessation of immigration and the reactivation of the repatriation programme.

"The time has long past when merely stopping the inflow could effect a cure. The natural increase of those here is now the major problem," he said.

The Home Secretary is obviously heading for trouble within the Party over the "Wetness" of this Bill - which contrasts with the election promise.

*Write! Make your views
Known to your M.P.!*

NATIONAL CAPITAL PUNISHMENT REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

The best, biggest and most enthusiastic fringe meeting of all was convened to hear Teddy Taylor MP, Ivan Lawrence MP, William Walker MP and Executive Council Member Graham Mather launching the Monday Club's National Capital Punishment Referendum Campaign.

The very size of the meeting reflected the widespread demand within the Party for such a referendum - the following few reports speak for themselves on this most important subject, where the Secretary of State's views differ dramatically from those held by the majority in the Party.

From 'The Times' (9th October):

Monday Club starts hanging campaign

By Our political Correspondent

"Britain does not belong to the politicians, Britain belongs to the people", Mr Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend, East and a former Conservative minister, told a meeting of the right-wing Monday Club called to launch a campaign for a national referendum on the restoration of capital punishment.

Mr Taylor argued that MPs, who were allowed to vote in accordance with their individual conscience on this issue, had consistently ignored the majority view of the general public that capital punishment is a necessary deterrent.

Speakers quoted in support of their campaign a statement by Mrs Thatcher that "the vast majority of people in this country would like to see the death penalty restored."

They also quoted Mr William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, explaining to the Commons why he was voting against capital punishment: "I am probably going against the wishes of the

majority of my constituents and a majority of the people in the country as a whole."

Mr Taylor said the primary purpose of the campaign was to back up the forces of law and order and to protect innocent lives.

Mr Taylor believed that if there were a 2-1 or 3-1 majority in a referendum in favour of restoration of capital punishment, MPs would not be able to ignore that verdict.

Mr Ivan Lawrence, MP for Burton, whose move to restore the death penalty was rejected by the Commons by 129 votes in 1975, said that because of the growth of violence many more people were attempting to take the law into their own hands.

Mr William Walker, MP for Perth and East Perthshire, said that convicted murderers in Perth prison had assured him that if there had been capital punishment they would not have carried weapons.



Members of the Monday Club will be pleased to learn that our National Capital Punishment Referendum Campaign is now well under way - we would, however, ask those members interested in the Campaign's objects who have not already joined to do so without delay and get your friends to do so too - application coupons are to be found on page 33

From 'The Daily Telegraph':

DEMAND FOR REFERENDUM ON HANGING

9th Oct 1980
By Our Political Staff

SOCIETY will degenerate unless "institutionalised vengeance" in the form of capital punishment is reintroduced, Mr Ivan Lawrence, Conservative MP for Burton-on-Trent, said yesterday.

Mr Lawrence was speaking at the launch of a campaign by the right-wing Monday Club for a referendum on the return of the death penalty, in which local committees will be set up to exert pressure on MPs who do not support the move.

In an effort to secure the widest possible support, the campaign will concentrate on securing an advisory poll to give Parliament the views of the nation before the issue is next debated in the Commons.

But advocates of a return of hanging, led by Mr Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend East, made it clear that if such a referendum produced a heavy majority in favour of such a step, Parliament would be under strong moral pressure to follow suit.

Different form

Mr Taylor insisted that last year's Commons vote by a majority of 119 not to reintroduce the death penalty was not the end of the story. But it was equally clear the campaign would have to take a different form.

"The only way to get action is to let the people of this country have their say in a referendum. People have the right to take their own decisions on this important issue."

Stating that the first duty of Government was to preserve law and order and protect its people against "thugs, vandals and those involved in violence", Mr Taylor produced figures indicating that murders had increased three-fold in England and almost 10-fold in Scotland since the abolition of hanging.

"There comes a time when people have to speak, when we need to know what people themselves think of this issue. I believe politicians of all parties are out of touch with what is a vital and important issue."

Almost immediately after the end of the Party Conference the Monday Club Plymouth Branch held a One-Day Conference, where the principal speakers were Mr David Storey, the Club's Deputy Chairman, and the Rt. Hon. J. Enoch Powell - the Ulster Unionist Member for Co. Down (South).

Mr David Storey spoke brilliantly on the role of the Monday Club as the 'Guardian of the Tory Conscience', a phrase used by Sir Harold Wilson in describing the club. Mr Storey was highly critical of those in the Party who hanker for the middle ground - and object to the Monday Club taking a firm stand on anything for fear of 'rocking the boat'.

Mr Powell, as ever, spoke magnificently on the subject of this country's position within the Common Market.

THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY CONFERENCE

The Political Officer also represented the Club at the Annual Conference of the Ulster Party - which was held at Omagh. He made an impassioned plea for the Ulster Unionist Council and the Ulster Unionist Constituency Associations to take and occupy their full, rightful, and proper place in the councils of the Conservative and Unionist Party. It was only too true that Mr Heath's administration had put friendship with the Irish Republic (presumably to assist their mutual passage into the Common Market) before the welfare and indeed the very safety of the People of Northern Ireland - However no good purpose was being served by the Ulster Unionists absenting themselves from the governing councils and committees of the Conservative and Unionist Party - on the contrary, with the Labour Party now determined to ditch Ulster at the earliest opportunity we need more than ever to make the Conservative Party see reason - and how better to do so than to influence it from within? Especially as we have an immense amount of goodwill in the Northern and Scottish constituencies. It is in everyone's interests that we should begin to do so without further delay.

The general tone of this Conference was one of loud, heartfelt, reasoned and sustained criticism of Mr Humphrey Atkins' inept handling of the terrorist situation in Ulster - particularly in the way that while pointless bombings were on the decrease, the premeditated and planned murder of key local figures is very much on the increase, as is the general harassment of Unionist farmers in

The 'Sunday Telegraph' (12th October 1980) carried the following report:-

Powell slates EEC

MR ENOCH POWELL, Ulster Unionist MP for Down South, renewed his attack on British membership of the European Economic Community in a speech to the Right-wing South West Monday Club conference at Plymouth yesterday.

He accused Parliament of having, in 1972, on behalf of the nation, made "the most complete abnegation of its independence and the most comprehensive acknowledgment of a new and subordinate status that it would be possible to devise or draft."

He denied the claim that the area over which the United Kingdom had surrendered its independence was minimal saying, "the answer to this is that the area is large and rapidly growing."

"It must be a matter for considerable doubt whether, if Germany had invaded and conquered this island in 1940, it would have extracted from a cowed or quiescent Parliament at Westminster so humiliating an act of total surrender as the House of Commons, by a majority of eight votes, and the House of Lords by God knows how many, enacted in 1972."

border areas.

It is an awful reflection on Conservative politics that Mrs Thatcher's appointee, Humphrey Atkins, was being compared most unfavourably with Labour's Roy Mason.

For the interest of members we have pleasure in quoting two of the speeches to the Conference - that of The Rt. Hon. Enoch Powell M.P. for Co. Down (South) winding up the debate on the Economic Survey, and that of the Party Leader, James Molyneux M.P., at the close of the Conference - both of these speeches are well worth reading:

Enoch Powell said:

"Northern Ireland is an integral part of the British economy. It therefore suffers, and suffers disproportionately because of its situation, from the ills which afflict the British economy as a

whole. Of these ills the principal are inflation and unemployment. To a large extent the second of these, unemployment, is the present result of the first, inflation, in the past. Inflation has been the critical evil for Britain and therefore for Northern Ireland. That is why the Ulster Unionist Party in its general election manifesto last year promises to support steps "to put an end to inflation".

There is no doubt that as inflation falls, unemployment rises. It is also true, because the reason is the same, that unemployment falls as inflation rises. In both cases this happens because the price of labour is always "sticky" and is therefore outstripped by the change in the value of money, both when that is falling at an accelerating rate and when it is falling as at present at a diminishing rate. So the demand for labour increases when inflation rises and is reduced when inflation falls. It was knowledge of this simple fact which enabled and morally obliged some of us to tell to our fellow countrymen that if and when inflation was dealt with, unemployment would for a time rise.

Of course the Government could set about reducing unemployment right now by increasing inflation. There is no secret about that. That is just what Prime Minister Heath and Chancellor Barber decided to do and did do, in 1972, thereby starting inflation on its upward course which peaked in 1976 at nearly 30 per cent. per annum. There is no need for Mrs. Thatcher to deny or dispute that a good bout of roaring inflation would bring the unemployment figures down. Her case is far stronger. It rests on the indisputable fact that inflation cannot go on accelerating for ever, and that when it does stop unemployment rises. Therefore, to raise inflation in order to reduce unemployment is simply to buy lower unemployment now at the certain cost of still higher unemployment not long afterwards.

If the workers understood this simple fact they would boo, not the Prime Minister, but the people who offered them nothing but a crude and sordid repetition of past deception followed inevitably by suffering which falls on the innocent and not the guilty.

That is not a deception in which my colleagues and I intend to join. We shall argue for a more than fair share for Ulster out of a balanced British budget; but we will not be party to clamouring for a return to inflation through rampant public expenditure. We will also not be party to the deceit of pretending that there is a fairy godmother called the EEC who is ready to shower Ulster with goodies if only a stepmotherly government would let her. All the money that comes from the EEC, or is (as the saying goes) "offered" by the EEC, is our own money being paid back to us mightily reduced. So far as Britain is concerned, EEC expenditure is expenditure at the British taxpayer's expense and so much added fuel to British inflation."

James Molyneaux reviewed the work for the Party and the prospects for 1981 concentrating mainly on security and the economy of Ulster.

"The life or death problem of security continues

to be uppermost in our minds. Our Party specialists have worked untiringly in identifying defects and weaknesses. Their conclusions are conveyed to those in authority and provided the pressure is maintained results are achieved. Needless to say all of this must be done in conditions of secrecy for we are resolved to ensure that no life is placed in further danger by publicity seeking gimmicks.

We must all take heart from the increasing effectiveness of the RUC and the UDR. No praise can be too high for their devotion to duty and for the courage of the part time members of both forces, particularly in the frontier region, who are extremely vulnerable as they go about their daily business. Those of us who have come to know many of them in their own surroundings are determined that we shall leave nothing undone which might increase their safety and protection.

We have never belittled the contribution of our Army and we welcome the Brighton assurances that our troops will remain just as in other parts of the Kingdom. We shall ensure that they remain in adequate numbers to perform their primary function of guarding with increasing efficiency the land frontier of the U.K. and providing support for the RUC and the civil power.

But I have to say that the bravery and the sacrifice of our security forces will be of no avail unless there is real evidence of the will to win at the top - because the buck stops at the top.

Such lack of will is evidenced by so-called low intensity and low profile operations; by disregard of the basic principles of counter-terrorism; by appearing to regard a chummy relationship with the Republic as being more important than the lives of H.M. subjects. Sealing of both sides of the frontier was possible after the brutal murder of a Garda Detective earlier this week. Why is it so impossible on a permanent basis?

Most damaging of all has been the constitutional uncertainty created by a year and a half of public talks; conferences and initiatives. Precious lives have been lost because Ministers and some local politicians, for their own selfish reasons, ignore the fact that terrorists have been encouraged by the unnecessary questionmark dangled over Northern Ireland.

Munich-minded politicians need not shed crocodile tears for it is they who keep the IRA in business.

(and in relation to the economy)

"So seriously do we regard the economic problem of Ulster that we devoted the first day of our conference to this and related problems.

Many valuable ideas emerged and others have been discussed today.

As a Party we have not been complacent in recent months. Practical steps have been taken and more will follow but I prefer that these should be judged by results rather than by optimistic forecasts.

We have survived in spite of them. As scientists are restricted by law in their experiments on human and even animal subjects, how much more should we as responsible politicians reject further pointless experiments on the body and mind of Ulster.

A decade ago it was claimed that Ulster was at the crossroads and we obliged our enemies and false friends by each attempting to follow the road which took our fancy irrespective of its destination.

The question now is, can we pull ourselves

together, shut our ears to the baying of the hounds and resume our forward march? So long as that question is avoided, so long will we wander in the wilderness. Experience has taught me to value the quality of commonsense, which is one of our greatest assets.

We know in our hearts that we will one day have to return to a settled course. Why not now? What have we gained - what can be gained - by exploring blind alleys? What advantage is there in sordid intrigues, policy somersaults or political hang-gliding?"

LETTERS TO and FROM H.M.G.

I. AIDE-MEMOIRE TO THE PRIME MINISTER on INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

A deputation of leading members of the Monday Club - the Conservative Activists' Group - led by the then Chairman, Major Patrick Wall M.C., M.P. and including Sir Ronald Bell, Q.C., M.P. presented to the Prime Minister an Aide-Memoire entitled "Towards Industrial Sanity", in response to her and the Secretary of State for Employment's call for comment on the Government's proposals for Industrial Relations Legislation and in particular on the Working Paper on Secondary Industrial Action.

Copies of this 'aide-memoire' were sent to all members of the Cabinet, Conservative Members of Parliament, and to Constituency office holders, in a concerted attempt to rally support to out-vote the "wets" in the Party.

The Industrial Relations Committee of the Monday Club as well as taking a realistic stand on the closed-shop and on picketing put some original ideas into this paper which include:

1. The balancing of trade union privilege with trade union responsibility. (para. 22)
2. The need for enforceable contracts. (para. 24)
3. No State aid to strikers or their families except in special circumstances. (para. 37)
4. Strike pay to be paid by the trade unions. (para. 39)
5. To save jobs, overheads to be paid by the state, where firms are being put in danger by a strike. (para. 41)
6. Payments to strikers who vote on strike ballots. (para. 46)
7. Number of pickets to be limited. (para. 53)
8. Arm-bands or identity cards for officially accredited pickets. (para. 57)
9. Trade unions and employers' organisations to be made liable for tort actions. (para. 68)
10. Workers to-be allowed three working days per year in addition to holidays to attend to personal matters.

A copy of the letter from The Rt. Hon. James Prior to Major Patrick Wall M.P.

16th April, 1980

Dear Patrick

Thank you for sending me a copy of your aide-memoire "Towards Industrial Sanity". I found it most interesting and agree with many of its proposals for the short and long term.

The Employment Bill, which, as you know, has now completed its Committee Stage, goes a long way towards meeting many of the detailed points raised in the aide-memoire. Moreover, the new clause which was tabled just before Easter, will add a further strict limitation on secondary action - including strikes (such as those at the independent steel producers during the recent BSC dispute) and blacking - to the existing clause which withdraws immunity from secondary picketing.

You will also have seen that Clause 6 of the Social Security (No2) Bill, proposes a reduction of #12 in the amount of Supplementary Benefit available to strikers' families. Taken with the provisions in the Employment Bill to safeguard people in a closed shop situation and to provide funds for secret ballots, I believe that we have taken the necessary legislative first steps towards ensuring a fairer balance of rights and responsibilities in industrial relations.

As you know from the debates on the Employment Bill I do not believe that it is necessary or desirable to go as far as your aide-memoire suggests in putting union funds at risk. But I agree that we need to review the whole structure of trade union immunities. That is why I am proposing to issue a Green Paper later this year to open up this whole issue to informed public debate.

Thank you again for writing.

Yours

Jim

II. LEFT WING SUBVERSION

20th July, 1980

The Prime Minister
The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
The House of Commons
Westminster
London S.W.1

Dear Prime Minister

As you will know, the Monday Club has made a priority task of research into Left-Wing Subversion, and of examining the way in which the Soviet Intelligence Service has consistently operated against Britain.

Enclosed is a Memorandum on the latter aspect and, whilst we realise that a reply - beyond a mere acknowledgement - is out of the question, may we respectfully urge the Government to move against the Eastern Bloc with the same spirit of determination that was demonstrated in 1971?

We believe that there is another great advantage awaiting to be harvested by the Government, whenever it makes moves of this kind, namely that an attack on the extreme Left/Eastern Bloc Subversion, links them, in the public mind - with the Socialists in general. With James Callaghan under attack from the extremists, we believe that this would be an ideal moment to strike. We hope you will find our Memorandum worthy of attention.

We are

Yours sincerely

Sam Swerling
Chairman

David E. Storey
Deputy Chairman

M E M O R A N D U M

SOVIET ESPIONAGE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

In the present climate of Anglo-Soviet relations, and of the reaffirmation of Communist Imperialism exemplified in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Monday Club considers that certain political and diplomatic measures which we have advocated for many years past should now be implemented as a matter of urgency. These measures will go some way towards remedying serious weaknesses in our defences which have been revealed by the treachery of a series of British agents to the Soviet Union in positions of influence, the latest being Professor Anthony Blunt. In making the following recommendations it must be emphasized that our weak position vis-a-vis the Russians stems from the feebleness of the Foreign Office, whose evasiveness, secretiveness and downright falsehood over the years have steadily resisted all attempts at rectifications. Evidence from official records, notably those concerned with the implementation of policies resulting from the Yalta agreement, indicates that certain Foreign Office officials in influential positions have

pursued lines of activity in their departmental capacity which have been wholly consistent with the Soviet party line of the period. Their activities have been accompanied by strenuous efforts to keep these matters hidden from public view. The extent of these activities has been to some extent revealed by the release of Foreign Office files to researchers under the 30-year rule.

In a free country such as ours there are obvious limitations on the measures available to counter "espionage" in its broadest sense. But what we can do is to neutralise the link which, it is now clearly established, connects British traitors with the Russian Intelligence Services headquarters in Moscow and consists of Soviet contacts whose identity, if known, has seldom been made public and who operate under the cloak of diplomatic immunity from the Soviet Embassy in London.

This KGB link is vital to the operation of the Russian Intelligence Service in the United Kingdom, and we believe that the seriousness to the Russians of any threat to its continued existence was shown by the remarkable operation undertaken by them in 1965, when a carefully-organised campaign of defamation resulted in the defeat of Commander Anthony Courtney, then M.P. for Harrow East, at the 1966 General Election. At that time his was the only voice raised in public life about the continuing abuse of Soviet diplomatic immunity for purposes of espionage. The Soviet Ambassador of the time, Mr Soldatov, would never have authorized a risky operation of this kind if he had not feared the effects of Commander Courtney's single-handed campaign to end the existing state of affairs.

There are six principal measures which we advocate to end the present very unsatisfactory situation and to cripple the current and demonstrably successful operations of the KGB in this country.

1. A drastic reduction in numbers of Communist diplomats, trade representatives and other officials stationed in London. Not only do their official activities not match up to the actual requirements of trade and diplomacy, but it is known that a high proportion of these individuals are engaged in intelligence work.
2. Cancellation of the "special arrangements" made with the Soviet and other Communist Governments in the 1950's by which their nationals enjoy an extraordinary degree of diplomatic immunity in this country. The Foreign Office has confirmed that these arrangements are outside the provisions of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
3. A general Amnesty, for which there are now precedents, for all Communist Agents who are prepared to come forward under conditions of absolute secrecy. The Declaration of such an Amnesty would, at least, produce a complete distrust of all existing agents in the eyes of the KGB "Resident" and must disrupt their existing networks to a considerable extent. The cases of Blunt and Cairncross provide useful precedents for this recommendation.
4. Cancellation of the diplomatic immunity

accorded to the premises of the Soviet Trade Delegation in Highgate and dating from the "Temporary" Trade Agreement of 1934.

5. The re-publication and circulation on a wide scale of an up-dated version of the official publication "Their Trade is Treachery". This has been done once already, in 1974, but to a restricted circle of readers on account of "legal difficulties".

6. A requirement that, as is the corresponding case in Communist countries, officials of these countries in London should employ British chauffeurs for their official cars.

For reasons best known to themselves it is probable that all these measures will be opposed by Foreign Office officials. The underlying cause is probably a fear of Soviet counter-measures, but the aftermath of the expulsion of 105 Soviet "diplomats" in 1971 shows that any unacceptable degree of reaction is unlikely. British subjects, including diplomats, have always been harassed by the KGB when required, and it is high time that such cases should be given publicity, and not concealed as so often in the past.

In the view of the Monday Club, national security demands that the above recommendation should be put into immediate effect. The RIS is enjoying a significant advantage due to the exploitation of our national freedom, aided by an unaccountable degree of secretiveness and feebleness by the Foreign Office over the years. In face of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, this advantage must be removed without further delay.

29th July, 1980

Dear Councillor Swerling

Thank you very much indeed for your kind letter of July 20th together with the enclosure. I was pleased to receive your correspondence. Let me assure you in reply that I personally keep a close eye on the general subject which you referred to. I fully share your belief that any responsible government in this country should regard it as being one of their major priorities.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

III. SUBVERSION IN BROADCASTING

Extract from a letter from Mr John de Vere Walker on behalf of the Broadcasting Committee to the Prime Minister:

26th June 1980

The programmes 'Gone for a Soldier' and 'Death of a Princess' were both injurious to our National Interest. Now we have 'The Creggan' complete with IRA propaganda that the Creggan housing estate was a concrete wilderness designed as a 'gerrymandering' trick by the Unionist Corporation of Londonderry. As Herbert Kretzmer writes in the Daily Mail, "It was unashamedly one-sided". It was more than that, it was subversive, calculated to damage morale in the Army, upset the families

of soldiers serving in Ulster and gives sympathy and comfort to IRA terrorists and encouragement to potential terrorists.

While this programme was distasteful to the majority of viewers here, it is unlikely to do much damage in Great Britain, apart from causing distress to the mothers of our troops, pleasing the few terrorist sympathisers in our midst and detracting from the success of the Army's recruiting effort; it has a serious aspect in that it increases the difficulties of the security forces of the Irish Republic in those sensitive Border areas where the whole population will have seen and been influenced by this pro IRA programme coming straight from the capital of the 'Brits'. However, the really big trouble will come when this is shown all over the USA (I understand that negotiations for the sale of the showing rights there are now well underway). It is bound to incite the Irish Americans to send more money and more weapons to Ulster and will probably indirectly cause the murder or maiming of many people - most of them attached to our security forces there. This is too high a price to pay for the luxury of allowing programme makers to broadcast anything they wish - however dangerous - British Leyland workers would not be permitted to scribble their views across their products so why should broadcasters be allowed this privilege? Besides, there is not much point in our Embassy in Washington working so hard to 'cool' American enthusiasm for the IRA when Her Majesty's Government actually licenses broadcasting undertakings to produce propaganda films in the disguise of 'documentaries' which are designed as recruiting and fundraising material for the men of violence.

Mr K. Mosedale of Thames Television disclaims responsibility for the political and security aspects of this programme in that it met the requirements and gained the approval of the IBA. Mr David Glencross of the IBA says that it conformed to their 'Guidelines' which they have drawn up for themselves based on the principles laid down in the IBA Act.

I am perturbed to learn that Thames Television are now in the course of producing a series of six more programmes on the situation in Northern Ireland. It is to be hoped that Thames or the IBA can be persuaded to act in a responsible manner - and avoid inflammatory material - remembering that the lives of our soldiers and the police and of many law abiding citizens are at risk. The Ministry of Defence, the Foreign Office and the Northern Ireland Office are all unhappy at the consequences of subversive broadcasts but say that they are powerless to do anything about it.

As we see it, legislation is urgently needed to protect the truth and the National Interest, as well as free speech, and to ensure that documentaries broadcast by the BBC and Independent Television and Radio are factual and in the Public Good. It is essential that producers and others involved have a legal obligation to differentiate between facts and opinions and to ensure that opinions are clearly shown to be the opinions of named contributors; and that programme makers are not permitted to abuse their special positions by presenting their personal views as being established facts backed by the authority of the broadcasting organisation.

Reply by Mr Ian Gow on behalf of the Prime Minister

I write further to my letter of 2nd July, and am now able to reply, on the Prime Minister's behalf, to your letter to her of 26th of last month.

In that letter, you mentioned, in particular, the documentary programme "Creggan", produced by Thames Television.

Under the arrangements which govern broadcasting in this country the two broadcasting authorities, who are appointed as guardians of the public interest in broadcasting, have responsibility for their programmes subject to the law and to the observance of specific obligations in relation to programme content. The Independent Broadcasting Authority has a statutory duty to satisfy itself that so far as possible, the programmes it broadcasts comply with certain requirements, for example that they do not offend against good taste or decency, are not offensive to public feeling and do not encourage or incite to crime or disorder. The Authority is also required to be satisfied that all news given in its programmes (in whatever form) is presented with due accuracy and impartiality and that due impartiality is preserved on the part of persons providing programmes on matters of political or industrial controversy or relating to current public policy. The BBC although not subject to statutory requirements, acknowledged similar obligations. Ministers consider that these obligations are adequate and they would not be disposed to add to them in the way you suggest.

The policy of this Government, as of its predecessors, is that within the general framework described the broadcasting authorities should have complete independence in matters of programme content. It is for them to judge whether individual programmes are suitable to be broadcast, having regard to their obligations. I am sure you will recognise the undesirability of political intervention in these matters. I would, however, suggest that if you wish to pursue your criticisms of particular programmes and trends in broadcasting you should write to the Chairman of the broadcasting authorities, Sir Michael Swann in the case of the BBC and Lady Plowden for the IBA.

IV. PRESSURE GROUP PROPAGANDA

Dear Lord Thorneycroft,

I wish to express my concern on behalf of the Executive Council of the Monday Club and as a member of the Federation of Conservative Students at the proposed inclusion in the next Student Activist Mailing of the FCS. of an enclosure from a pressure group known as the Student Campaign for Electoral Reform. We consider this a very dangerous step to take. The Federation will not now justly be able to refuse to include in its mailings the propaganda of any other pressure group within the Party from the Tory Reform Group to the Monday Club. We find this a very undesirable situation. Pressure groups within the Party should be able to influence members to join through their own activities and pressure, not through the use of the official Party machine and

we find it very concerning that any propaganda from any pressure group should be included in any official Party mailing.

By the time you receive this letter the mailing may have already gone out, but nevertheless we would appreciate both your comments and hopefully some action to ensure that this situation does not arise again.

Similar letters have been sent to the Chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students, Peter Young, the Senior Vice-Chairman, Tim Janman and the Chairman of the Student Affairs Committee, Paul Lowery.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Turnbull.

Reply by the Chairman of the Party, The Rt. Hon. The Lord Thorneycroft C.H.

Dear Mr. Turnbull,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th September in which you express your concern on behalf of the Monday Club at the proposed inclusion of a leaflet from one of the pressure groups.

We receive many requests from political and commercial organisations outside the Party Organisation for us to include items in the Central Office mailing and, therefore, in principle we have to decline all such requests. Because of this, the request from the Student for Electoral Reform has been turned down.

Yours sincerely,

Thorneycroft

Conservative and Unionist Central Office
32 Smith Square
Westminster SW1P 3HH.

V. ULSTER

A Copy of a letter sent to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland from the Monday Club Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

1st August, 1980.

Dear Minister,

While we acknowledge that you have an extremely difficult and a very dangerous job, and our sole desire is to see terrorism ended in Ulster and peace restored, we are receiving an increasing number of protests, from Club members, over the Government's handling of the troubles in Northern Ireland. The complaints range from accusations of "pussy-footing with the terrorists" to the seemingly interminable nature of the struggle.

The purpose of this letter is to express this concern to you, and to add that the signatories

themselves are profoundly disquieted at the way in which a relative handful of terrorists can cause such a protracted catalogue of anarchy, murder and destruction.

We prefer to make this approach to you, rather than to have instant recourse to an open forum where the ventilation of pent-up frustration could erupt.

The "running sore" of Ulster has remained open for some eleven years. The "chummy" approach was a failure. The closing of Stormont and the concomitant measures of Internment and Direct Rule failed likewise. When it was suggested that the "No Go" areas should be opened up, we were told that unspeakable horrors would rebound upon us - in fact, in the wake of "Operation Motorman", there was scarcely a whisper! Ten thousand troops have been withdrawn from the Defence structure of Western Europe - no doubt the "Reds" at each end have conspired to achieve this goal - and the latter-day heirs of Lenin must be cock-a-hoop at the progress made towards the fulfilment of their Mentor's dream of detaching Ireland from Great Britain.

There has been a succession of Prime Ministers in Ulster, and a succession of Secretaries of State; Sunningdale failed as it was destined to do. The anarchy continues; every so often Northern Ireland is just as much a part of Britain as - say - Tyneside; it is quite unsatisfactory that there is no end in sight.

We can only assume that the July 1980 proposals have been put forward as a contribution towards settling the problem but we are bound to say that we find the document misconceived. What, for instance, is meant by "arrangements to take account of the minority"? None such exist in Merseyside or Glasgow (with their sizeable Irish minorities), so why should this undemocratic nostrum be injected into Ulster? The electorate there have the ballot-box through which to express their views and someone has to be the loser.

We put forward the following proposals for your urgent consideration:

- (1) All attempts at "Power-sharing" should be abandoned as being contrary to the spirit of elective democracy.
- (2) Orders for increased representation of Ulster at Westminster should be laid before Parliament without any further delay.
- (3) Ulster should be declared - without reservation or condition - to be part of the United Kingdom for all time to come, in the same way that Birmingham could never be detached. This will require appropriate amendment to the Government of Ireland Act. The legislation necessary to formalise this arrangement should be introduced as soon as possible even if certain elements in the Foreign Office - for reasons of their own - are not enthusiastic. Such a move will demoralise the IRA and no future Government would dare to reverse it.
- (4) A determined and ruthless assault should be made to mop up the remaining terrorists in the Region, so that they are either eliminated or caught and punished with the utmost severity -

behind bars or, in appropriate cases, executed. There are several senior Army Officers who would deal, very quickly with this eruption, especially with an abundance of support from the SAS.

(5) The Anglo-Soviet Consular Convention of 1965 should be terminated at once. This would counter any Soviet move to open a Consulate in (say) Belfast, and thus prolong our agony. The Foreign Office may be reluctant to take stringent measures against the Russians, but it is high time that the rest of the country had their say!

(6) Citizens of Eire should no longer have automatic right of entry into Britain, neither should they have the vote in any United Kingdom elections.

(7) Consideration should be given to the mining of selected Border Areas.

We would welcome an interview with either you or the Minister of State, to obtain a first-hand report on the situation in the Six Counties, thus enabling us to report to our members in a way which would not, otherwise, be possible.

Yours sincerely

Sam Swerling
Chairman

David Storey
Deputy Chairman

Reply by Michael Alison MP

Dear Councillor Swerling

Thank you for the letter from you and David Storey dated 1 August. I am replying in Humphrey Atkins' absence on leave, and I know that both he and I welcome the opportunity to comment on the points you have raised.

Your proposals cover both political and security matters; naturally so, since we all recognise that there is a complex relationship between terrorism and the political climate. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority in NI totally reject terrorism as a way of settling their political differences. But it would be a grave misjudgement to conclude that if the last terrorist were removed from the scene the political problem in Northern Ireland would be solved. There are two distinct, traditional communities in NI to a degree which is unparalleled in any other part of the UK. For a variety of historical, political and religious reasons there is a gulf of mutual fear and distrust between them, which provides an unstable environment which terrorism can exploit.

In the recent discussion paper the Government described the essential needs of the people of Northern Ireland as being peace, stability and reconciliation, to provide a basis for economic reconstruction. This is the context in which the present political initiative has to be viewed, and I naturally reject any suggestion that the Government's proposals are somehow misconceived.

You proposed that "power sharing" should be abandoned as being contrary to the spirit of elective democracy. It has been suggested to me on a number of occasions that if the Westminster

style system of government is good enough for Great Britain then it is good enough for Northern Ireland. But the point is that the political, and indeed the social make up of Northern Ireland is simply not appropriate for an exact replica of our form of Parliamentary democracy. First, the Westminster system is accepted by most people in this country because it is characterised by the likelihood of the alternation of different parties in power. The main party in opposition knows that it has a good chance of taking over the reins of government at some future stage. In Northern Ireland, the situation is completely different. From 1921 until 1972 one party only was in power. If we were to return to the Stormont system of government, that same group would most likely be in power again and remain there permanently. A large and significant part of the community are simply not prepared to accept that system. They feel completely alienated by a system which would place six out of ten citizens permanently in control, whilst excluding four out of ten citizens from all positions of influence. They want to be in a position, not to rule, but to ensure that their views are taken into account, and that, where possible, their needs are met. I think that is a perfectly reasonable approach in the circumstances. And I would remind you that democracy, in whatever its exact form, can only survive if it can command the widespread support of the people. There is no doubt that straightforward majority rule would not command that support and that there will be no stability for any system in Northern Ireland unless it is constructed on the basis of the shared interests of the two communities.

You have raised a number of other proposals. First, your point about increased representation for Northern Ireland at Westminster. Parliament has already asked the NI Boundary Commission to draw up new constituencies for Northern Ireland, to bring the number of Parliamentary representatives of the Province in relation to its population more closely into line with elsewhere in the UK. Before proceeding further, we must await the final report of the Commission. It is then up to Parliament to decide what to do.

Second, the declaration in the Government of Ireland Act has already been superseded by S.1. of the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973. The Government has consistently made it clear that there will be no change in the status of NI without the consent of the majority of its people. We said so again in Cmnd 7950. If I understand your proposal correctly, you would wish to see the statutory requirement of the consent to any change of a majority of the NI people removed from the legislation in favour of an unconditional declaration. But many people on both sides of the community would interpret that as a weakening of the union, and the opposite of what you intend, since no Parliament can bind a future Parliament.

Third, the Government's security policy in Northern Ireland is based on the defeat of terrorism through the rule of law. In this context draconian military measures, which by their nature must affect the innocent as well as terrorists, would only serve to undermine this policy and alienate law-abiding members of the community, thus proving counterproductive. Furthermore, the use of such measures would be to concede a measure

of success to the terrorists in that they would have forced the UK to abandon its traditional values and practices in the maintenance of law and order. I also consider that the present policy is yielding a greater measure of success that you would concede. In 1979, for example, 670 people were charged with terrorist offences (including 45 with murder and 39 with attempted murder) and in the same period some 869 people were convicted in the Courts of Terrorist offences. I admit that the legal process involving charging, trial and conviction may seem somewhat slow and unspectacular when compared with the bloody outrages of the terrorists but I remain convinced that in the long run the operation of the rule of law which treats terrorists as the criminals they are will prove the more certain and effective method, and will hasten the return to normality.

Fourth, you also suggest that the Anglo-Soviet Consular Convention of 1965 should be terminated. This agreement is largely concerned with reciprocal administrative procedures governing the immunities, privileges and functions of consuls. It also contains an article which prohibits a State from opening a new consulate without the permission of the receiving State and another which forbids a consul to infringe the laws of the country in which he is stationed. There is therefore, nothing to be gained on our part from terminating the agreement which is of considerable benefit to our businessmen and tourists in Russia. I might add that there is absolutely no evidence that the Soviet Union has attempted any subversive activities in connection with Northern Ireland.

Fifth, the questions of rights of entry for Irish citizens, and the UK franchise are matters for the Home Office. All I can say is that I well understand the historic and geographical reasons from the present arrangements, and I know of no plans to change them.

Finally, the use of mines on the border must be ruled out on grounds of both practicality and legality. A large number of people quite unconnected with terrorism regularly cross the border for both social and business reasons, and these people would be unable to continue their daily lives if the border areas were mined. There would also be the problem that mines are an indiscriminate weapon and it would be impossible to guarantee that children and animals would not wander into mined areas with tragic results. Finally, we would be placing what amount to man-traps which is contrary to the law of the land; in view of the recent successes which we have obtained in containing terrorism through the rule of law and in alienating the terrorists from the community at large, it would be inconsistent, to say the least, as well as inhumane to behave in this way.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Alison.

[Editor's Note:

Subsequent to this correspondence a meeting has been arranged for early March between the Minister and Chairman of the Monday Club.]

Local Government Expenditure

A letter from Mr Richard Turnbull (Executive Council) to the Secretary of State for the Environment, the Rt. Hon. Michael Heseltine:

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you to express my concern over the attitude of some local authorities towards the government's policy of reducing public expenditure. The attitude of some council leaders recently (notably Cllr. Jack Smart, Labour leader of Wakefield Metropolitan District Council, and Chairman of the A.M.A.) has led me to the conclusion that the whole system of local government financing should be reviewed and that the Local Government Bill now before Parliament should be toughened up. At least I hope you will reassure me about the level of your present powers and your will to use them if necessary.

There are a number of councils in this country, and Lambeth is the first one to come to mind, which have deliberately set out on a road of opposition to the Government by refusing to cut expenditure or in some cases actually increasing it. Other councils have deliberately cut essential services and have then blamed the government's economic policy. These councils, which are mostly socialist controlled, (and hence the most prepared to defy the democratically elected national government) then impose massive increases in the rates. Some councils are now even talking of imposing a supplementary rate to finance their spending sprees. I find this situation totally unacceptable and not only does it represent a direct challenge to the authority of the government but it also highlights how inequitous the rating system is in the financing of local government.

Local authorities provide services to the whole community, yet only a certain sector of that community i.e. the ratepayers finance their services. Thus the situation has arisen where South Yorkshire County Council (socialist controlled) spends 40 million pounds per annum, 35% of its income on a subsidy of bus fares. Thus ratepayers are providing a cheap service which few of them use and which is not contributed towards by those who do use it. It is hardly surprising that Labour has such complete control of the area. The rating system is badly in need of reform and although I hate to suggest it the only really equitable way of financing local government is via a local income tax whereby everybody contributes to the financing of the community's services. I think the government should give due consideration to this matter and possibly even consider the setting up of a Royal Commission to investigate the merits fully.

Returning to our overspending councils I think that you as the Secretary of State responsible should be able to impose cash limits on local authorities, i.e. be legally allowed to order councils to stop or cut back their spending levels. This would probably bring walls of protest about attacking the independence of local government but I believe it is the duty of the government to put a stop to local councils who are determined to undermine the government and its

policies and who are using the ratepayer as a scapegoat. I am not sure what powers you have at present but from my interpretation of the situation you should either amend the Local Government Bill to increase your powers or very rapidly start to use the powers you have already in your hands.

I hope you will consider the comments I have made and look forward to your reply.

Yours faithfully

Richard Turnbull

Dear Mr Turnbull

1. I have been asked to reply to your letter of 23 June to Mr Heseltine concerning local government expenditure.

2. Ministers have said that the level of rate increases this year has been higher than the Government would have wished. But they have made clear their determination that local authority expenditure must fall, and recently published expenditure plans call for local authority current spending reductions. They expect the vast majority of authorities to recognise the economic situation and budget in line with these plans. However, in order to tackle the overspenders the Government are introducing a new system of rate support grant - the 'block' grant - which will enable the Government for the first time limit the level of grant in support of expenditure significantly above an authority's objectively assessed need. This will strongly discourage overspending.

3. However Ministers have no powers to directly control and individual authority's rates or spending. To take such powers would involve a fundamental change in the relationship between central and local government. The Government would be reluctant to pursue this course. Local authorities are elected bodies responsible in the end to local voters and it is to them that they must justify their spending decisions. In order to improve local accountability, local authorities will in future have to produce detailed information about the costs and levels of service they provide. This will enable ratepayers to make informed judgements about their authority's performances, and should greatly increase the pressure for economy.

4. The Government are very conscious of the problems posed by the rates and they are currently looking at possible future alternatives as the first step towards their long-time objective of abolishing the domestic rating system. The Government have made it clear however that reductions in income tax must take priority for the time being.

5. Thank you for your interest.

Yours sincerely

J.A. Dixon.

February 13th 1981

The Rt Hon Sir Keith Joseph Bt MP
The Secretary of State for Industry
London SW1

Dear Minister,

The Government's plans to reconstruct the finances of the bankrupt British Steel Corporation, which has LOST £1,528,000,000 since nationalization are in great danger of dealing a fatal blow to the independent companies with which it competes in certain products, who have made PROFITS in the same period of over £700,000,000.

The European steel recession is affecting both sectors of the British Industry, and all are working at low activity levels, with short time, and depressed prices. However, while BSC is bailed out daily by public money, and cutting prices below costs to regain market share its independent competitors, with equally modern plant, and already "Slimline" operations, are being forced into loss making and closures to an extent that endangers all private steelmaking. The package of £5 thousand million now announced for BSC will complete this process unless the Government takes more considered action. HMG has said that in the 'overlap' area between the two sectors it would like to see emerge some free-standing joint venture companies; it has said that it will encourage viable enterprises which could involve some BSC facilities being privatised. But for several months it has allowed BSC to go-slow on any such discussions while the independents get weaker. Last Wednesday's interim announcement by the Minister of State showed that the danger was perceived, just in time to avoid handing over a blank cheque for total nationalisation by a Tory Government!

Now is the time for you, as Secretary of State, to ensure that the BSC Chairman concentrates on the massive task of pulling round the integrated strip mills and heavy mills, which make up about three quarters of BSC's problems, and are a BSC monopoly. He should not be allowed free rein to "piratise" with his overlap activities the independent companies who have so far prospered despite his predecessors, and served the nation well.

This is of course, a difficult problem, but you have all the power you need. You can give Directives under the Iron and Steel Acts about product coverage and price behaviour; and you can make purchases under the Industry Act to take plant out of BSC for rationalizing with the private works concerned, or in your own earlier notion of joint ventures.

In consultation with the independents, and without BSC domination by the public purse, you have now what may be the last chance to secure a stable and profitable future for UK production of engineering steels without subsidy, and in independent hands.

Yours sincerely,
(Sam Swerling)
Chairman

Sam Swerling

(Sam Swerling)
Chairman

23rd February 1981

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, Q.C., M.P.,
The Chancellor of the Exchequer,
11 Downing Street,
London S.W.1.

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

The Monday Club is becoming concerned at the increasing burdens which the shrinking private sector of British industry is being forced to bear as the result of Government fiscal policies.

We fear that unless there is speedy relief from excessive burdens in your forthcoming budget, even a modest degree of competitiveness, recovery and re-employment consistent with world trading conditions will become impossible in the lifetime of this Parliament.

The maintenance of pressures on our independent producers, greater than they can bear, will have disastrous consequences for Britain as well as for the Conservative Party.

The major problem appears to be, notwithstanding recession, that even after almost two years of Conservative government we are still spending as a nation more than we can afford and are continuing to mortgage the country's future to pay for extravagance on education, health and welfare, overseas aid and EEC contributions; meanwhile productive industry's ability to carry such extravagance is being damaged (and in some cases destroyed) by its being made, in part, uncompetitive, by Government policy.

It appears to us that a partial, if not complete, solution to the over-spending problem would be:

- a. to remove from all Local Authorities such part of their statutory obligations, particularly in the fields of education, health and welfare, which are of a discretionary nature or cost more than the nation can reasonably afford in present circumstances;
- b. to return to the Church and voluntary organisations (where they properly belong) many Social Service commitments;
- c. to limit all overseas aid to those projects which can show a positive financial benefit to this country within three years;
- d. to prune all excess payments into EEC funds.

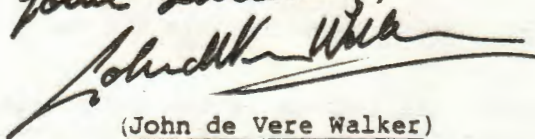
We strongly advocate the removal of the collection and spending of rates from a Local Authority in respect of the property of persons, companies and firms, rateable but where they or the beneficial owners are ineligible to participate in elections for members of that Authority (that is 'No Taxation without Representation'). The object of this would be to stop Local

Authorities from over taxing the business and non-resident taxpayer who has no vote. It would force the Local Authorities to be more prudent in financial terms, having to levy taxes only on their own electors, to whom they are answerable. An equivalent of a rate on the property of non-electors should be collected by the Inland Revenue which, in the case of a company, should be consolidated into the existing Corporation Tax. It would in the latter case, be linked to their profitability and hence would constitute a great relief to businesses which, under the present system, have got to continue to finance services which they neither need nor use, irrespective of their ability to pay. A rate demand can turn a profit into a loss and a going concern into an empty factory. Furthermore, it is most unequitable that a business should be forced to pay rates while its work force is on strike or it is being blacked.

We would further advocate:

- a. the incorporation into your budget of the proposals contained in paragraph 26, having noted that the contents of paragraphs 29 to 32 (pages 11, 15 and 16 respectively) of our aide memoire to the Prime Minister (dated October 2nd 1979), a copy of which was sent to you - and a further copy is attached herewith for your convenience. It should be noted that the proposals in paragraph 26 are 'neutral' in terms of revenue in themselves - but the fillip they would give industry would create taxable wealth as well as cutting expenditure on unemployment benefit and welfare services.
- b. the index-linking of both Capital Transfer Tax and Capital Gains Tax as a step to phasing them out altogether. Capital Transfer Tax represents double taxation in its worst form and is much more pernicious than Estate Duty. It is Marxist in inspiration in that it must lead to the dissipation of personal wealth. Furthermore, it is detrimental to our national heritage in that it compels the break up of landed property and its associated collections of works of art and forces the sale of both to foreign interests. While Capital Gains Tax is, in essence, a tax on inflation in that without the inflationary element every capital gain to one person must represent a capital loss to another. Once you have got rid of the relatively small revenue from the tax on inflation, neither of these socially undesirable taxes will yield much more than the cost of collection and so can be dropped without loss of revenue.

We earnestly hope that in the interests of both country and Party you will give due consideration to these limited proposals.

Your sincerely,


(John de Vere Walker)
 Political Officer

Editor's Note:

Paragraphs 26 and 29 to 32 were reproduced in M.C. Discussion Paper No.12.



122 Newgate Street,
London, E. C. 1

TELEPHONE 606 1910 & 606 7815

President THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY
Vice-Presidents THE LORD BARNBY, C.M.G., C.B.E., M.V.O.
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Hon. Treasurer CEDRIC GUNNERY
Political Officer JOHN de VERE WALKER

23rd February 1981

The Rt Hon Peter Walker MBE MP
The Minister of Agriculture Fisheries and Food
Whitehall Place
London SW1

Dear Mr Walker,

This is to confirm the telex message which we sent to you in Brussels at 12.46 hours on 10th February 1981 which read as follows:

"BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS
DEFEND BRITAIN'S FISHING INTERESTS
STAND FIRM - NO COMPROMISE
NO SURRENDER"

We most heartily congratulate you and your team for your firm stand in defence of British interests and those of our fishing industries, against such an array of formidable adversaries.

We pray that other members of the Cabinet will follow your magnificent example, and wish you every success in the next and successive rounds in your fight. We suggest that next time you raise the stakes by increasing our demands to those outlined in paragraphs 14, 15, 16, 19, 20 and 21 (pages 8 to 14) of the Monday Club aide memoire on The Dangers To Our Fishing Industry dated 2nd October 1980 to the Prime Minister with a copy to your good self.

We wish good luck in your continuing battles and hope that your colleagues will start showing the same degree of persistence in the defence of Britain's interests.

Yours sincerely,
John de Vere Walker

(John de Vere Walker)

Editor's Note:

Paragraph 14 etc appear in M.C. Discussion Paper No. 11.

PRESS RELEASES

MONDAY CLUB CRITICISES PRIOR'S EMPLOYMENT BILL:
7th July 1980

Mr James Prior's Employment Bill was today described as "a monument to delay, disillusion and draftmanship" by the Chairman of the Monday Club, Cllr. Sam Swerling.

"The Monday Club calls upon its members in the House of Lords to support Lord Orr-Ewing's amendment to outlaw secondary industrial action", said Sam Swerling.

"Mr Prior's Bill is a legislative disaster area, it fails to deal with the immunity of trade union funds from the consequences of disruptive and unlawful action. It fails to get rid of the closed shop. Clause 17 puts a new weapon of legalised secondary blacking in the hands of union militants; under it the gas and electricity undertakings can legitimately be closed down even though there is no dispute between management and employees in those industries."

"Only by Lord Orr-Ewing's amendment being passed will the House of Commons be given the opportunity to reconsider this matter."

UNEMPLOYMENT: 22nd July 1980.

The Monday Club urges the Government not to be deflected from its economic strategy as a result of the figures announced today.

However it should seriously contemplate imposing a moratorium on all further permanent immigration for the next five years and thereafter to review the situation; and, secondly, to institute a detailed study into the way in which statistics are compiled, since job vacancies in some areas are more numerous than the number of unemployed actually registered in the employment exchanges.

From Sam Swerling, Chairman, The Monday Club.

PRESS RELEASE: Relayed orally on Sunday 26th October, 1980; mentioned on BBC radio news at 6pm Sunday evening.

From Chairman:

The Monday Club is dismayed at the prospect of the Government contemplating a 400 million pound cut in defence expenditure. Defence should be exempt from consideration in an otherwise commendable programme of necessary public spending cuts.

Let the Government be reminded that the manifesto which it placed before the people in May 1979 was not only strongly critical of Labour's defence policies, but contained the commitment that "We shall only be able to decide on the proper level of defence spending after consultation in government with the Chiefs of Staff and our allies."

The following telegram was sent on 5th November, 1980, to President-Elect Ronald Reagan, 9841 Airport Blvd, Suite 1430, Los Angeles:-

"Mr President Elect.

The Monday Club, an independent Centre-Right Pressure Group within the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom, extends its warmest congratulations to you on your magnificent victory.

There is no more propitious time for Conservatives throughout the Free World to seize the opportunity to work for patriotism, private enterprise and peace through strength. That is our own Mrs Thatcher's clarion call. We feel sure it will also be yours.

With every good wish.

(signed) Sam Swerling,
Chairman,
The Monday Club."

6th November, 1980.
Cedric Gunnery,
Director.

ANY ANSWERS

Text of letter read out on 'Any Answers', BBC, on Thursday 24th April 1980 as the result of comments made by Mr Gatbean on the previous week's 'Any Questions'.

"From John de Vere Walker
The Political Officer
The Conservative Monday Club in London

"The unchallenged statement by Mr Gatbean on last week's 'Any Questions' that "the British Army is and behaves like an army of occupation" has outraged and exasperated many throughout the United Kingdom, but has particularly upset all sections of the law abiding and beleaguered community in Northern Ireland who are only too thankful to have the extra protection afforded by their army against the terrorists of either side.

"It must be made clear that the vast majority of people in Northern Ireland are determined to remain in the United Kingdom and that the Army is the army of the whole United Kingdom.

"We were most surprised that Mr Peter Jay as our ex Ambassador in Washington did not say anything to correct the outrageous error of fact made by his colleagues on the programme."

PRESS RELEASE

Release Time: Monday 26 January 18:00 hours

Extracts from a speech by Mr Nicholas Winterton, Conservative Member of Parliament for Macclesfield, to the Monday Club on Monday, 26th January 1981, at St Stephen's Club, 34 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1

I want to consider with you to-day certain phenomena characterising British Foreign Office policy which I find disturbing to say the least and which I submit ought to give every Briton cause for alarm. As I see it, the Foreign Office is determined to relinquish all responsibility in respect of all territories where there are presently British interests. Thus in the case of the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar and Northern Ireland the Foreign Office is actively engaged in abdicating all British interests to either terrorists or foreign states - to whatever form, in fact, the irritant takes which causes the Foreign Office so much discomfiture. As far as the Foreign Office is concerned, these isolated territories are merely worrisome appendages bequeathed from an imperial past.

But the cancer is even more widespread than this. Turning to Africa and taking in particular the case of Namibia, the Foreign Office is not concerned with the protection of British interests or those of the indigeonous population of Namibia but purely with the question of how to disengage with the greatest possible ease and with the least possible liability of ever again becoming embroiled in the affairs of that corner of the globe. The Namibian question is nothing more than an administrative inconvenience for the Foreign Office where the watchwords are "anything for a quiet life". To that end the Foreign Office is

content to let the Soviet Union hold sway through its proxies or agents, even at a time when it is so severely stretched elsewhere that it would not be able to withstand a challenge from the West.

The Foreign Office will not, no matter how democratic a government may be in Africa, support that administration if there is any element of white authority therein for it regards such a scenario as a bad long term investment. That is why the Foreign Office supports the terrorists SWAPO in Namibia to the exclusion of the multi- or non- racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The Foreign Office will not, no matter how democratic a government may be in Africa, support that administration if there is any element of white authority therein for it regards such a scenario as a bad long term investment. That is why the Foreign Office supports the terrorists SWAPO in Namibia to the exclusion of the multi- or non- racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. Democratic principles do not reach inside the bunker mentality of Foreign Office Ministers or mandarins. They are not concerned, contrary to the fostered popular myth, with securing the democratic freedoms of the Namibian people. Rather they are prepared to sponsor yet one more black dictatorship in Africa if it seems that, in the case of Namibia, SWAPO holds the key to the long term pacification of the problem. Whether that is done by brute force and deprivation of human rights is not a matter which seems to touch the tender consciences of the Foreign Office supremoes. It does not take great skill to operate the Foreign Office as it is being governed at present. Lord Carrington is merely a liquidator on a grand scale. By the end of his tenure of office if his lordship has his way, this country will have nothing to do in world affairs but observe!

To: National Capital Punishment Referendum Campaign
122 Newgate Street, London EC1.



I support your campaign and enclose a contribution to your work of £5/£.....*

Please keep me informed of your activities.

I wish to help by establishing a National Capital Punishment Referendum Campaign Committee*

Name

Address

My Parliamentary Constituency is:

Please complete, detach and return coupon.

* Delete as applicable

LETTERS**BBC-2 'IRELAND'
MC Discussion Paper 12.**

2nd February

The Director of Current Affairs Programmes
B.B.C. Television
Television Centre
Wood Lane
London W12

Dear Sir,

History of Ireland (B.B.C.2)

The Broadcasting Affairs Committee of the Monday Club has asked me to express its concern at the increasing anti-British bias which appears to be creeping into your series of programmes on the history of Ireland.

The initial programmes of the series seemed to the Committee to be more or less fair as far as they went, although they were silent on several important historical facts. The continual use of 'Derry' when referring to the City of Londonderry is incorrect and shows bias, while the content has not made clear:

1. That the Pope actually gave Ireland to the King of England to hold forever.
2. That the Pope was active in support of King William III at the Battle of the Boyne.
3. That, notwithstanding the fact that the Anglo-Irish landowners were also very badly hit by the Potato Famine - the large majority of them did all that they could afford, and some more than they could afford, to give relief by creating employment, as evidenced by the large number of domain walls, etc built at that time - far more than are to be found in England or that not nation has a very good record over famines in India or Africa even in the last few years.

However, what is much more serious in view of the present critical situation in Ireland, are the suggestions that the 'Black and Tans' habitually acted without due discipline and that the R.I.C. were in the habit of committing cold blooded

and premeditated acts of murder. We deplore the making of such allegations, as they are likely to incite further murders of British personnel and would ask you to let us have unbiased historical evidence to back these most unfortunate statements.

In conclusion we would ask Mr Robert Key, the Producer, and the Governors of the B.B.C. to exercise very great care over the content of the remaining broadcasts of the series, so as not to inflame further opinion in either Ireland or the U.S.A.; and to broadcast a footnote at the end of the series putting the record straight. We must all remember that the lives of our troops as well as those of innocent British subjects are now very much at stake.

To put this matter in perspective, would the B.B.C. have wished to put out a similar programme about alleged wrongs done in the past against Germany in the autumn of 1940?

We look forward to having your assurances in this matter.

Yours faithfully

(John de Vere Walker)
Political Officer

Editor's note:-

In the B.B.C.'s reply they claim that they avoided bias. They say that the Papal Bull 'Laudabiliter' is believed by some to be 'a forgery'; and that the Pope's support for William III was 'frankly an interesting footnote' and claim that they 'covered' 'the charitable activities of Landlords' with meticulous attention'. They changed their charge against the R.I.C. to one of indiscipline by members of the 'Auxiliary Division', they, however, accepted the point about the dangers in showing such a programme at the present time.

PLEASE SUPPORT

*The Celebration
Ball*

September 24th 1981

Copy of the reply to a letter received from Group Captain E. Shipley, M.A. C.Eng. R.A.F. (Rtd.) in which he expressed criticism of the arguments put forward in Monday Club Discussion Paper No. 12, 'Why Bankrupt the Efficient' ? - Editor.

February 6th 1981

Group Captain Edwin Shipley
Egham
Surrey TW20 0JR

Dear Group Captain

I thank you for your reasoned letter of 23rd January, which has been passed to me for detailed reply.

I agree and regret that there was a repetition of a paragraph in the paper on the present plight of British industry. This unfortunate error crept in when the photographic reductions in type size, from the original handed to Mrs Thatcher, were being 'pasted up'. This job was, regrettably, done in a great rush to have the papers ready for mass distribution at the Party Conference.

As for the actual content and arguments put forward, these were checked and re-checked with the relevant trade bodies before the original documents were handed to the Prime Minister.

I disagree that there is confusion over the reference to the strength of Sterling - the point which was being made is that the strength of the currency of industrial country's including Britain up to a very few years ago, is linked closely to each countries ability to manufacture goods for the home and export markets, at competitive prices. Thus, when a country's manufacturing performance is poor, the value of the currency comes down. This keeps everything more or less in balance as it encourages exports and discourages importers and foreign manufacturers by preventing them from making vast fortunes, and so, all other things being equal, provides the home industry with a favourable climate in which to try to recover.

Since the advent of North Sea Oil - whether one likes it or not - the value of Sterling bears little relation to the buoyancy of our national manufacturing base, but is linked directly to the value of our oil production and notional value of our oil reserves in relation to possible future world supply and demand for this basic and strategic commodity.

With the world's insatiable demand for oil and the recent instability in the Middle East, it is a miracle that the oil based value of Sterling permits any British manufacturer even to exist. Just imagine what would happen to the value of Sterling and to that part of our manufacturing industry which has managed to survive if all oil production was disrupted in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf Sheikdoms? The £1 would leap over-night to perhaps US\$5, 10 DM, 23 F Francs, etc, which would lead to such an inflow of imports that all home manufacturers would be bankrupted - and our good fortune to have vast oil wealth would be dissipated and wasted on redundancy and dole payouts.

It is of course extremely good that we have North Sea Oil and excellent that Sterling is buoyant, but it will do neither the country nor the Conservative Party any good if our oil revenues (and anticipated oil revenues) are in effect allowed to subsidise foreign manufacturers and importers to the detriment and bankrupting of the home manufacturer. It must be remembered that oil has driven the value of the pound up against the EMS currencies as well as against the US dollar.

The only way to have the benefit of all possible worlds in this matter is for HMG to act on the recommendation in our Discussion Paper No. 12 Part III Para. 26, Sub-para. iii. That is the imposition of an Import Levy and Export Premium to negate the oil enhanced element in the current international value of Sterling, in respect of most imports and all exports of manufactured goods.

This would in effect re-instate the relative positions of home manufacturers, exporters and importers, to what they would have been had North Sea Oil not been discovered, while enabling Britons abroad to enjoy the benefits of an even stronger

pound - that is one both backed by oil and industry.

You, of course, have put your finger on another part of the problem - the UK tax on oil for British industry. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was being logical and fair he should put the same tax on all exported oil and an energy tax on all imported manufactured goods - to save world fuel and not to give foreigners an advantage through having cheaper fuel. (See Paper 12 Part III, Para. 26, Sub-para. i).

The writer does not favour the subsidising of fuel for our home industry but he does not agree with their fuel being taxed. He also feels most strongly that imported manufactured goods should bear the same UK tax burden in one form or another as those manufactured in this country. As things stand, for every £1 the consumer pays for British made goods about 50 pence goes in various forms of UK taxes and rates, while only about 20 pence in the pound spent on imported goods goes in taxes to fund our national

welfare.

We simply cannot have a thriving manufacturing industry providing reasonable levels of employment or able to provide for Defence if we continue to put home manufacturers out of business by the positive encouragement of imports.

The writer is in full agreement with the content of your penultimate paragraph - our national reluctance to do as others do and twist EEC rules, regulations and directives to suit our own interests.

We do not favour import controls but imported goods should be taxed at least as heavily as the home manufactured - no exporting country could, in fairness, complain of this.

Yours sincerely

(John de Vere Walker)
Political Officer

ILLUSION & DISILLUSION

A PUBLIC MEETING ABOUT THE COMMON MARKET

will be held on

Saturday, 4th April, 1981 at 2.30 p.m.

at

Queen Mary Hall, Y.W.C.A., 16-22 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

(Tottenham Court Road Underground Station is very close. Bus services Nos. 8;14;25;75 & 176 run nearby).

The Speakers will be:-

SIR RONALD BELL, Q.C., M.P. (Conservative Member for Beaconsfield)

TONY MARLOW, M.P. (Conservative Member for Northampton, North)

Chairman

SIR ROBIN WILLIAMS, Bt.

Meeting Organised by The Anti-Common Market League, 52 Fulham High Street, London, S.W.6.

IMPORTANT NOTE: While the MONDAY CLUB is neither pro nor anti Britain's membership of the E. E. C., it does believe most strongly that Britain must have fair play, and is anxious that all its members should be well informed concerning the very important issues involved.

THE BRITISH NATIONALITY BILL

an assessment by Dr Kitty Little

Before 1945 we were a coherent nation. We were British - British subjects - and proud to be British. Over the years a small number of aliens came to join us. If they were of good character, willing to transfer their allegiance to this country and adapt to our way of life they were welcomed. Everyone knew what it meant to be British and the requirements for naturalisation.

In 1945 the United Nations was set up and almost immediately became part of the now world wide race relations industry. By the United Nations Act of 1946, the British Government was committed to falling in line with UN intentions. The edicts emerging from their meetings and conventions are manifold and include those on the integration of the races to produce an uniform, homogenised world population. As with insurance policies, Acts of Parliament or EEC Directives and Decisions, it is what is actually written into UN conventions and not what people have imagined they meant which counts and is now being put into effect.

The 1948 Nationality Act was deviously worded, with the UN intentions in mind. Although this was not obvious on a superficial reading, it was so worded that Home Secretaries and Home Office officials, whose real allegiance appears in practice to have been not to the UK but to the UN, interpret it as allowing into this country, with right of abode, vast numbers on the run from their own countries. The Home Office has refused to give the numbers they were admitting into this country while Parliament was being kept reasonably content by the race lobby.

The present Nationality Bill is more devious still. One cannot understand it in one mere reading. It requires days and weeks of study, even for those with a professional, academic background - yet it is being rushed through Parliament. Some of the points worthy of note are:

1. The whole concept of heredity and

ancestry is abolished and replaced by the accident of the place of birth. It is worth remembering that in the late 1940s a Russian by the name of Lysenko put forward a much publicised theory that at the time was condemned as ludicrous by all reputable scientists - that environment is all-important and heredity irrelevant. That false theory is now the basis of so-called 'Conservative' policy.

2. We are no longer to be British subjects. That honour is reserved for fringe characters whose connection with the UK is so remote that they do not even qualify as British Commonwealth citizens. This, together with the European Communities Act of 1972, paves the way for the abolition of the monarchy.

3. To fulfil UN requirements Britain is to be permanently multi-racial. To give the concept a veneer of respectability, Marxist infiltrators into the Christian Churches have been making public statements to this effect. So far as the provisions of the Bill can be understood, if it is passed and all other present trends continue, people of British ancestry will be in a minority in their own country by the early years of the next century. Most of the alien 'British' will have dual nationality and encouraged to give their allegiance to their places of racial origin.

4. The British government is committed to the UN concept of 'reduction of statelessness'. This would seem to give the Home Secretary and civil servants the power to import millions more aliens at the request of the UN and make them 'British'.

5. For naturalisation, being of 'good character' is defined as not having been in prison and/or a mental hospital for more than 450 days in any given five year period. Many people now believe that pressure is being put on the police by the Home Office not to arrest immigrants who have committed criminal offences 'for the sake of improving race relations'. The 'sufficient knowledge of the English

language' is not defined but from statements made in the debate on the Second Reading it would seem it will be sufficient to learn by heart the few sentences of responses in a short set conversation. Is that enough for people entitled to help further change our way of life by voting in our elections? It is clear the right to vote in our elections should be restricted to British subjects, resident in the United Kingdom who owe no allegiance to any other state.

6. Intelligence is now available that

the intended Soviet attack on this country, probably before the end of 1983, is to be primarily by a blockade and a 'revolution', backed up by a small number of attacks on essential targets by conventional military forces. Other installations are to be attacked by terrorists. So far as I can understand the terms of the Bill these trained terrorists and revolutionaries, of alien origin, will continue to have right of abode, the right to vote, and so on. If this was not intended there would have to be substantial alterations in the working of the Bill.

DRUG ABUSE - YOUR CHILDREN?

26th November 1980.

The following is a report of the Deputy Chairman's and the Political Officer's discussion at the Carlton Club on Thursday November 20th 1980 with Mrs Smith and Mrs J. Salisbury of Eastern Area Group of Constituency Associations on the subject of the Monday Club becoming involved in an anti-drug campaign at constituency and area levels.

It is very clear from this discussion that there is now a very urgent and heartfelt demand from the prosperous middle class Conservative housewife and mother (who is the backbone of the Conservative Party organisation at ward, constituency and area level) for a co-ordinated and energetic campaign in the constituencies up and down the country to alert parents and teachers to the first signs of drug taking amongst the young and render advice to those concerned as to how this most pervasive menace can be combatted.

It would appear that the demand is for the organising of daytime and evening meetings in conjunction with the Ladies Committees of local Conservative Associations for the purpose of giving information and advice to parents, teachers and school governors and not for any overt political action. The Monday Club could, therefore, embark upon such a campaign with out fear of upsetting the more timorous in the Club, to say nothing of those who seem to object to the Club being involved in anything positive.

Considering the foregoing, it appeared to your Deputy Chairman and the Political Officer that the Monday Club should concern itself with this now widespread drug problem which is afflicting the young of all classes. In doing so the Club, as well as helping to save the country's youth from mental and physical degradation and destruction, it could well be an excellent public relations and recruiting operation, right in the heart of local constituency organisations throughout the country.

From the information obtained it would appear that the organising of such a campaign would involve:

1. Preparing a good campaign leaflet similar to the one for National Capital Punishment Referendum campaign, inviting in the first instance, members, branch members and their wives to take an active interest in the mounting of such a worthy campaign at their local level.

2. In those constituencies where members or their wives have indicated their interest in response to the above, the Political Officer should arrange to visit them to discuss the modus operandi with them.

3. Having done so, he should ask those members to form themselves into a local Campaign Committee and arrange to accompany one or two representatives of that Committee when they make their first approach to the local Conservative Chairman and Women's Committee Chairman.

4. Obviously for such a meeting he would be well armed with facts, literature and positive plans for a local campaign. Your Deputy Chairman was advised that it should take the form of a series of daytime or evening meetings on the various aspects of the current drug problem - in particular covering how to recognise it and how to combat it. Such meetings should, of course, be on a non-party, non-political basis.

5. It is understood that the organisers of such a Campaign can call upon and obtain the whole hearted support from and participation of, amongst others, the police, the Courts, the legal profession, the medical profession, hospitals, the drug manufacturing companies, the Churches, the Salvation Army, the Educational Authorities, the Social Services and local government.

6. Advice is that, where possible, local speakers are preferred and that question sessions at all meetings are of utmost importance.

The ladies with whom this matter was discussed said that they were running in conjunction with constituency associations in Eastern Area a successful campaign on the lines set out above and added that they personally would gladly afford the Club all the advice needed for success of similar ones.

They stressed that they could not commit Eastern Area to assist the Club without referring matters back to their committees.

It will be of interest to note that Mrs Smith assists Dr Mc Connell, the Vice President of the BMA and Chairman of the BMA's Committee on Drug Abuse, with his work in this field.

It goes without saying that where constituency (or

group of constituencies) committees are so set up for this campaign, there is a good chance that a Monday Club branch will grow from the same initiative. Furthermore, if the Monday Club were to involve itself in this very serious and alas growing social, family and personal problem, it would project to the politically illiterate, as well as the plain biased in the constituency associations, as well as to the public in general, a 'caring' and 'compassionate' image. This would do much to dispel the falsehoods and superstitions which are rampant about the Club and thereby increase the Club's influence and perhaps membership amongst the reasonable silent majority and the Party activists who have the greatest long term influence on Members of Parliament, that is, those who man the constituency Committees.

HOME DEFENCE - CIVIL DEFENCE

The Campaign for Civil Defence
"Home and Civil Defence"
A Debate in the House of Lords

On 5 March 1980 there was an important debate in the House of Lords on "Home and Civil Defence". The debate, which was initiated by Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, Chairman of the Devon Emergency Volunteers, attracted a number of talented and influential speakers.

The following extracts from the speeches bearing on civil defence matters have been taken from the Hansard Official Report.

LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH

rose to call attention to the lack of adequate home and civil defence;

"...the Home Office planners have assumed that there would be three weeks' warning of war. It is my opinion that this is wrong. I do not think there would be more than four days' warning..."

"Civil defence precautions can reduce civilian casualties by 30 per cent. according to our figures, although the Swiss say 80 per cent."

"In 1968 we abolished civil defence and Sunningdale was turned into a staff college for civil servants - the only national growth industry of recent years.

"...the prerequisite for an effective civil defence organisation is that it must be a grass-roots community effort, based on the parish in the country and the ward in the cities."

"The Daily Telegraph of 4th February had a long leader headed, "Self-Defence", and commencing: 'A nationwide organisation for civil defence is essential to the security of the realm. ...The

time is ripe for the whole of Britain to follow the example of the Devonians'."

"I would add one more thing about the volunteers. They must be controlled by the volunteers; your permanent advisers must be just that.

If you are going to resuscitate - and please God!, do - a civil defence organisation, do not put it under the control of either the Government or local government. Let the volunteers provide the advisers, because they are afraid that you have only to get a change of government, local or national and they will be abolished.

"Protect and Survive should be rewritten; it should be updated: it should include something to do with the recent terrific increase in chemical and biological warfare by the Russians; and for the rural areas, you should re-issue the sectional part to do with the farmers. The argument that it should not be issued because it would cause panic does not hold water."

LORD BALFOUR OF INCHRYE

"As regards civil defence protection, up to now I think that the population of this country has been very largely ignorant, uninstructed and apathetic. In 1968 civil defence was put into cold storage and only now is energy beginning to be shown. My fear is that we shall do too little, too late."

LORD BOOTHBY

So far as home and civil defence against an attack with conventional weapons goes, it is for all practical purposes in this country at present not only inadequate but almost non-existent. Let us suppose that tonight there was an air raid on one of our great cities with conventional, heavy, high explosive bombs. What would we all do? We would not know what the hell to do."

Printed by Eddistan Print Services, 3 Hurst House, Penton Rise, London, W.C.1.

and published by the Monday Club, 122 Newgate Street, London, E.C.1.

HAVE YOU JOINED THE 300 CLUB

If not, why not do so now?

Here is the list of winners during 1980:-

January	R H L Matthews	47	10.50
	A R Osborne	56	10.50
February	Miss D Robin	53	10.70
	Major C P Martel	98	10.70
March	K Newsome Ramsden	199	10.50
	N F Weymouth	213	10.50
April *	M W W Farrow	1	102.50
	E A Delaney	32	102.50
	M L Bradley	100	102.50
	J R Baughan	185	102.50
	Mrs I A Wright	210	102.50
May	C C Bray	5	10.35
	J L M Bauwens	73	10.35
June	H H Bolton	29	10.55
	N Parker	170	10.55
July	Wing Commander J V Carter	142	10.60
	D F Strange	195	10.60
August	Mrs M Holt	70	10.60
	J A G Buss	159	10.60
September	Mrs U H Gay	92	10.55
	G A Payne	211	10.55
October	Mrs R Cullerne	78	10.55
	R Davey	108	10.55
November *	R Stallabrass	24	103.50
	S N Welch	59	103.50
	M L Bradley	100	103.50
	The Hon Mrs J Guinness	127	103.50
	A Stirrup	208	103.50
December	D D Sellon (for Mrs Sellon)	82	10.40
	D D Sellon	83	10.40

* A jolly drinks party is given twice a year for all 300 Club members at which the major draws take place.

For details of participation please contact:-

THE DIRECTOR, THE MONDAY CLUB, 122 NEWGATE STREET, LONDON E.C.1.
(Telephone 01-606 1910)

Please send me details of participation in the 300 Club.

Name and address _____



ANNUAL CONFERENCE
13th-15th APRIL 1981

University of Sheffield

CONFERENCE
PROGRAMME

Federation of Conservative Students
Golden Jubilee

Federation of Conservative Students
ANNUAL CONFERENCE
13th-15th APRIL 1981

LIFE PATRON

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VICE-CHAIRMEN

Tim Janman

David Steyn

Simon Richards

ACTING PERM. SEC.

Tim R. Cowell

**FCS was founded in the academic year 1930-31
by John Buchan**

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME AND AGENDA

MONDAY 13 APRIL

- 10.30 – 12.30 Registration
- 13.00 – 14.00 Lunch
- 14.00 – 16.00 **Session I**
1. Chairman's Opening Remarks
 2. Address by Dr. Rhodes Boyson MP
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State
for Education.
 3. Ordinary Motions *
- 16.00 Tea
- 16.15 – 17.15 Address by Norman Lamont MP
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State
for Energy.
- 18.00 – 18.30 Welcome by John Osborn MP
- 18.30 Dinner
- 19.45 – 23.00 **Session II**
1. Apologies for Absence
 2. Report of the last Annual Conference
 3. Business Arising
 4. Reports
 5. Ratification of Regulations
 6. Special Motions

TUESDAY 14 APRIL

- 07.30 – 08.30 Breakfast
- 08.30 – 10.00 **Session III**
- National Hustings and Elections
- 11.00 Coffee Available
- 12.30 Address by Mark Carlisle QC MP
Secretary of State for Education
and Science.
- 13.00 Lunch
- 14.30 – 16.00 **Session IV**
- Ordinary Motions *
- 16.00 – 16.30 Tea
- 16.30 – 18.00 **Session V**
- Ordinary Motions *
- 18.30 Dinner
- 19.30 – 21.30 **Session VI**
- Regional Meetings
- 21.30 – 24.00 Disco
- 24.00 Cabaret

WEDNESDAY 15 APRIL

08.00 – 09.00 Breakfast

09.00 – 09.30 Pack and Clear Rooms

09.30 – 12.30 **Session VII**
(11.00 – 11.15) 1. Ordinary Motions *
2. Coffee
3. Address by Norman Fowler MP
Secretary of State for Transport

13.00 – 14.30 Lunch

14.30 – 15.45 **Session VIII**
Ordinary Motions *

15.45 Close of Conference
Tea

* The text of the Ordinary Motions is printed on the following pages. The motions are printed in order according to the votes they received in the ballot.

- oOo -

THE NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

MOTION ONE

Proposed by: Paul Lowery
Alan Griffiths

Conference Notes

1. The FCS's policy towards NUS over the last nine years of working within and co-operating with the NUS establishment.
2. That there has been a steady decrease in the number of FCS delegates to NUS Conference.
3. The political control of NUS by the Left Alliance and their predecessors has continued over the last nine years and been perpetuated by the 'respectability' of Conservative involvement.

Conference Believes

1. In a National Students Union.
2. That the FCS must adapt a radical strategy towards the NUS.
3. That this strategy should lead to the formation of a new national body to represent students.
4. That this new body can only be created if:
 - a) FCS encourages disaffiliatory pressure
 - b) FCS officers and members no longer give tacit or active support to the Left Alliance or their successors
 - c) FCS leaves the government in no doubt of its total opposition to the present NUS
 - d) FCS encourages its members not to co-operate with the NUS and its various areas and sectors.

Conference Instructs

1. NC to stop all activities which could tacitly or actively support the continued existence of the present NUS.
2. NC and SAC to encourage all associations to run disaffiliation campaigns and to raise the question of NUS membership in their student unions.
3. All officers to implement this policy immediately.

AMENDMENT ONE

Proposed by: Peter Batey
Tim Mack
Simon Wilson
Lance Moir

Conference Notes

1. The exhaustion of FCS's current strategy towards the NUS.
2. The past successes of that strategy in bringing about substantial though still insufficient change in the constitution, priorities, patterns of activity and tone of the NUS.
3. The need to agree and adopt a new strategy and tactics which command widespread support within the FCS.
4. The continued and manifest defects and inadequacies of the NUS –
 - a) its undemocratic composition
 - b) its vast bureaucracy
 - c) the unrepresentative nature of the Executive
 - d) The recent consistency of NUS to fail in its campaigns

- e) its activities are often unconnected with the interests of the majority of students
- f) its services are inefficient, neglected by the leadership, and are often duplicated and surpassed by Private Enterprise

Conference Believes

That if the momentum for change within NUS is to be maintained or built up, then a strong, radical approach will be necessary and our strategy will need to be specific and comprise positive proposals to match our criticisms as outlined in notes 4 (a) – (f) above, and to contain some of the following elements:-

- 1) A detailed and comprehensive appraisal of the legitimate activity and priorities of the NUS, coherently argued in accordance with proper Conservative philosophy of Student Unions (the special responsibilities of a compulsory membership organisation, the special status of Student Unions as an integral part of an academic community etc.) – this to form a basis for budgetary calculations and for deciding staffing levels etc. for a much less expensive NUS.
- 2) Precise proposals for change in the NUS constitution, re-evaluating the basis for membership (individual or corporate), the structure (federal, confederal, unitary etc.), the shape of the executive and the method of its election, and the legitimate aims and objects.
- 3) The details of a campaign of financial pressure, focusing around the withholding of subscriptions – withholding subscriptions has the clear advantage over disaffiliation simpliciter that it is easier to achieve since debate inclines to revolve around the defects of NUS instead of around the more difficult emotional arguments about 'commitment to NUS', accusations of Tory wrecking, party-political motivation etc.
- 4) That disaffiliation should not be ruled out, either as a tactic or as a strategy, but that in adapting disaffiliation as a strategy rather than merely as a means of bringing financial pressure to bear, FCS must be able to offer a clear alternative, and therefore,

5) detailed proposals for an alternative NUS, re-examining the rationale for a National Union, for a separate Universities Union, for a Higher Education Union etc. Such proposals to be drawn up in consultation with Tory and non-Tory Student Union officers who sympathise with our aims, and, in consideration of the obvious problem that a political body such as FCS faces in attempting to involve itself in the formation of a non-political national student organisation (e.g. the inevitable accusation that it is a Tory front, and how best this can be countered).

Conference Instructs

The Student Affairs Committee and National Committee

1. To prepare reports and proposals for Half-Yearly Council 1981 on the specific issues and areas delineated in believes 1-5 above.
2. To consult as widely as possible in doing so, and to invite especially Tory sabbaticals and Student Union officers to contribute their opinions and advice.
3. To launch a major campaign for the withholding of subscriptions at the start of the coming academic year in accordance with the tenets set out in believes 1-5 above, perhaps targeting limiting resources on vulnerable Student Unions or those which contribute very large amounts of money to the NUS.
4. To review the strategy constantly and to make further recommendations to Annual Conference 1982 as to whether we should continue pressure upon NUS or begin efforts to create an alternative.

Conference Empowers

The National Committee to give the support of FCS to a campaign of tactical disaffiliation, should the withholding of funds prove an insufficient weapon. Such support should only be given after extensive consultation with the Student Affairs Committee, Regional Chairmen and most important individual associations.

Conference Reaffirms

Previous policy on Association autonomy and non-interference by national officers.

Conference Requests

The National Committee to give consideration to the possibility of calling a special one-day National Conference, to debate the NUS, should it become clear that we need to consider quickly the possibility of creating an alternative national student representative body.

AMENDMENT TWO

Proposed by: Nick Roberts
Peter Molyneux

Delete all and insert

Conference Notes

1. The National Union of Students.
2. Colleges pay large affiliation fees to NUS.
3. That there are vast inadequacies within NUS's structure and activities:-
 - i its undemocratic composition
 - ii its vast bureaucracy
 - iii the unrepresentative nature of the Executive
 - iv the recent consistency of NUS to fail in its campaigns
 - v its activities are often unconnected with the interests of the majority of students
 - vi its services are inefficient, neglected by the leadership and are often duplicated and surpassed by Private Enterprise.
4. The Government's proposals on future Student Union financing.

Conference Resolves

1. To campaign via liaison with all Conservative Associations to reform NUS because in the future it may be difficult or undesirable to justify to college authorities the earmarking of funds for NUS affiliations.

Conference Instructs the Committee

1. To carry out the above proposals vigorously and immediately, and to promote reform of NUS as an absolute priority or disaffiliation moves may become necessary.

AMENDMENT THREE

Proposed by: Stephen Poppitt
M. Canterbury

Conference Notes

1. The existence of a National Union of Students.
2. The fact that the NUS is run by a left-wing group who are completely unrepresentative of most students.
3. The lack of a National ballot to elect the NUS Executive.
4. That most of the delegates who form the electoral college at NUS Conference are not elected, but appointed by the left-wing Student Union Executives of the smaller FE's and colleges which, numerically, dominate NUS.
5. That FCS will never be able to control this type of college because their members are part-time, an ideal situation for domination by the left-wing hacks in such institutions.
6. That FCS has never had more than 200 out of the 700 delegates at an NUS Conference.

Conference Believes

1. That NUS is unrepresentative.
2. That all FCS has achieved by participating in NUS is to give it credibility.
3. That FCS has never changed any important belief held by NUS.
4. That FCS should now concentrate its efforts on bringing about the economic collapse of NUS, by encouraging and aiding FCS Associations in getting their colleges to disaffiliate from NUS.

Conference Resolves

1. To bring about the complete collapse of NUS.
2. To mandate FCS's leadership to actively work towards this end.
3. To mandate NC to carry out a publicity campaign, especially in the National Press, to inform the public about the realities underlying NUS, and to destroy the image it perpetuates of itself.
4. To mandate the Chairman of FCS to request Mark Carlisle to issue a statement condemning NUS.
5. To mandate NC to look into a possible alternative national student forum which colleges which disaffiliate from NUS could join.

TRADE UNIONS

MOTION TWO

Proposed by: Tim Linacre
Jonathan Gillen

Conference Believes

1. That people should have the right to join any voluntary organisation, including trades unions.

2. That people should have the freedom to enter into employment contracts to provide labour services and the further freedom to refuse to enter into agreements which do not explicitly give them the right to strike, i.e. collectively withdraw labour services.

3. That in the absence of such explicit agreement, strikes are, de facto, a breach of contract.

4. That if a contract is broken in such a way by the employee, the employer must be able to act as though the contract were null and void, and thus terminate the contract of employment.

5. That the law be made consistent between trade unions and other organisations, so that all actions which under current law are usually defined as being unlawful, but which when taken 'in furtherance of a trade dispute', are now defined as being lawful, should also be made unlawful.

6. That no person should be forced to join an association against their will.

7. That Trade Unions, by establishing nationwide wage bargaining agreements, which ignore local circumstances, create distortions in the market, which are reflected in employees decisions to dispose of unproductive workers.

8. That without nationwide pay agreements employers could fix wages on a local basis at a level consistent with the product of the labour at the plant concerned and would not, as at present, have to fix wages nationally at a level equal to the marginal product of the most efficient labour within the whole nation irrespective of regional or local differences.

9. That such a change would facilitate the offering of a larger number of employment opportunities as employers would be able to offer levels of pay consistent with the marginal product of the additional labour.

10. That the imposition by trade unions of restrictive practices and overmanning, and their resistance to the introduction of modern technology has led to a decrease in British Industry's productivity and competitiveness in the UK economy than has been experienced in the other Western industrialised countries.

Conference Instructs

1. National Committee to launch a campaign explaining how trade unions cause unemployment and in support of reform of law to trade unions as outlined in this motion.

AMENDMENT ONE

Proposed by: Sussex University C.A.

Conference Notes

1. The clause in the Industrial Relations Act that allows for the continuation of the closed shop.

2. The unfair dismissal of Joanna Harris and other such victims.

3. The incompetence of the Secretary of State for Employment in dealing with this matter and more besides.

Conference Believes

1. That the closed shop is an infringement on the individual's freedom to choose.

2. That the closed shop amounts to a violation of the individual's rights.

3. That such a policy is an obstacle to the free movement of labour.

Conference Resolves

1. To condemn the closed shop policy.

2. To ask the Government to legislate on this problem.

3. To actively campaign for its abolition.

4. To pledge full support to those who are the victims of an unjust and undemocratic policy.

Proposed by: Jonathan Gillen
Tim Linacre
David Boyd

Conference Believes

1. That Incomes Policies are both morally obnoxious and economically disastrous.
2. That tariff barriers would only maintain inefficient industry within the UK and export unemployment to our foreign friends.
3. That the tax advantage given to Housing, Pensions and Life Insurance savings takes away from Entrepreneurial investment.
4. That unemployment has few causes:-
 - a) Bad management which is unable to design, produce and market a product which the consumer wants at a price he can afford.
 - b) Unions and Trade Union legislation which causes overmanning and stop factors moving to those areas where they can be profitably employed.
5. That the Bank of England's commitment to the Keynesian objection of controlling interest rates is preventing the effective control of money supply.
6. That money supply control is paramount for the control of inflation.
7. The present VAT threshold of £15,000 is too low and should be raised.
8. That the present tax system should be heavily reformed so as to cut down administrative cost and eliminate the 'poverty trap' of high marginal tax rates for the lower paid.
9. That there should be no financial incentive or deceptiveness provided by the state for couples to have children.

10. That one of the fundamental problems of the British economy is the existence of a large, overmanned, inefficient and very expensive public sector.

11. That the Government should take all possible measures to reduce the size of this public sector.

12. That these measures should include:-

- a) Tax deductibility for private education.
- b) Tax deductibility for private health services, providing they agree to take patients irrespective of medical condition.
- c) Provision for complete contracting out of the state pension scheme, though participation in a pension scheme should remain compulsory.
- d) All welfare benefits to be paid in cash.
- e) The contracting out of the payment of welfare benefits and the evaluation of welfare cases to private contractors.
- f) A statutory right to compete with all state-run local transport.
- g) Immediate contracting out of British Rail station catering and buffet cars.
- h) The privatisation of British Airways.
- i) A more liberal granting of licences on air routes, at least three for every route.
- j) As extensive as possible privatisation of local government services.
- k) A statutory right for private companies to be able to tender for local government services.
- l) Reform of the rating system and the introduction of a new method of financing local government through a local income tax or local sales.
- m) Further reduction of state rent controls.
- n) Selling of council houses at far greater discounts.
- o) The expansion of enterprise zones with the abolition of detailed planning controls over larger areas.
- p) The institution of free trade zones in depressed dock areas.
- q) Complete abolition of the Post Office monopoly to put in first phones.
- r) The lifting of the state monopoly on coal mining and the gradual transfer of the ownership of the mines to the miners.

- s) The selling off of the profitable parts of British Steel and British Leyland.
- t) The abolition of the wages councils which effectively impose minimum wage controls.

Conference Instructs

1. National Committee to campaign for the implementation of this policy.

AMENDMENT ONE

Proposed by: Sussex University C.A.

Add to Main Motion

Conference Notes

1. The state of the economy.
2. The Government's resolve to reduce inflation and to revive British industry.
3. The target of reducing the Public Sector borrowing requirement to between £8 – £9 billion.
4. The continuous burden on the private sector.
5. The Government's concern at the increasing number of jobless persons.
6. Dismay at the continual funding of lame duck industries.

Conference Believes

1. The monetarist strategy as put forward in the election manifesto 1979 is necessary in order to achieve economic recovery. Any half-way measures will lead to the continuation of economic decline.
2. That cuts in public expenditure are a necessary part of a policy aimed at reducing inflation.

2. That cuts in public expenditure are a necessary part of a policy aimed at reducing inflation.
3. That a large inefficient, expensive and overmanned public sector hinders the ability of the private sector to compete profitably within the United Kingdom and with its overseas traders.
4. That in order to reduce unemployment in the long term, it is necessary to stop inflation, prevent on a voluntary basis excessive real wage increases and consequently create the conditions of economic stability which will encourage new investment and the creation of jobs thereafter.
5. That Conservative students are considerably dismayed at the recent decisions by the Government to continue to finance loss-making sections of the public sector.
6. That a greater emphasis should be placed on the privatisation of the public sector.

Conference Resolves

1. To support the monetarist strategy as advocated in the election manifesto.
2. To openly support the Government's cuts in public expenditure.
3. To actively condemn the funding of loss-making sections of the public sector with tax-payers money.
4. To praise the Government for its efforts in developing the Youth Opportunities Programme.
5. To condemn overspending inefficiency and waste which has characterised the running of many local authorities in recent years.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE THIRD WORLD

MOTION FOUR

Proposed by: Tim Linacre
 Brian Monteith
 Jonathan Gillen

Conference Notes

1. Large-scale attempts by the Soviet Union to expand its influence in the Third World by means of invasion, or subversion, in particular its activities in Angola, Ethiopia, North and South Yemen, Afghanistan etc.

2. The foolish and vacillating approach of the West toward the third world, notably the economic colonisation of the Brandt Report; the undermining of anti-Soviet authoritarian regimes and the lack of support for anti-Soviet resistance fighters.

Conference Believes

1. That whilst the West should be working for an improvement in human rights in all authoritarian and totalitarian countries, it is naively dangerous to argue that this desire should lead the West to abandon support for anti-Soviet authoritarian regimes.

2. That if the West did withdraw support from such states as El Salvador the probable consequence would be a Soviet-backed revolution and the establishment of a puppet Communist government, a development which would not improve the welfare of the citizens of the country, and would only facilitate the expansion of Soviet influence towards their stated goal of world domination.

3. That the Brandt Report represents an essentially collectivist approach to world economic problems, and that outside aid is not a prerequisite for a state's emergence from poverty and can in fact be detrimental.

4. That a far more influential factor in a country's development is the existence of an internal capitalist system with free access to the markets of the developed world for exports.

5. That developing countries should be helped by the establishment of free trade zones within their borders, tax incentives for companies trading with them, and lifting of all Western import controls on their exports.

6. That the British Government should take a lead in defending western values more aggressively when they are challenged by various third world dictatorships in such forums as the United Nations.

7. That the West should facilitate an increased flow of arms and other supplies to anti-Communist freedom fighters, such as those in Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia.

Conference Instructs

1. National Committee to promote the above strategy by:-

- a) Pressing for it to be adopted in full by the Government
- b) Raising money from the student population for the Afghan Resistance
- c) Running a campaign highlighting the extent of misery in Soviet dominated countries and Soviet attempts at subversion elsewhere.

AMENDMENT ONE

Proposed by: Sussex University C.A.

Conference Notes

1. The attempt by the present Government to ensure that this country is capable of defending itself against external aggression.

2. The expenditure required for the purposes of defence.

3. The active participation of this country in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.)

4. The massive build-up of arms by the Warsaw Pact countries.

5. The aggressive expansionism which has characterized Soviet Foreign Policy over the past decade.

Conference Believes

1. That this country's defence systems, organisations and institutions are barely adequate.

2. That this country's involvement and participation in alliances such as NATO is essential to the maintenance of a free world.

3. That high public expenditure on defence is clearly justified and must be sustained.

4. That nuclear weaponry and conventional arms are an effective deterrent to any would be aggressor and that we can only achieve "peace through strength".

Conference Resolves

1. To actively support the Government in its positive stand towards defence.
2. To publicise and propagate the Government's view on defence.
3. To maintain an effective stand against the efforts and aims of the CND (while recognising their right to free speech).
4. To advocate a steady increase in defence expenditure.
5. To encourage greater contributions from this country to NATO.

F.C.S. STRUCTURE AND PRIORITIES

Proposed by: Peter Batey
Tim Mack
William Hague
Lance Moir

Conference Believes

1. That over the past three years, FCS has failed in a number of significant respects.
 - a) To establish clear priorities in its activity, to define its major objectives and to structure its work in pursuit of such
 - b) To overcome its factional and fractious internal politics and to make a useful contribution to the work of the Conservative Party.
 - c) To involve a significant proportion of its membership in its activities.

2. That these failures arise out of a number of factors, notably leadership, mental disposition and constitutional.

Conference Notes

That these failures have manifested themselves in a number of specific inadequacies viz:

1. The failure of FCS to construct any coherent education policy, to formulate a philosophy of Higher and Further Education, and a structure for the same.

- What are the respective roles of universities and polytechnics in Higher education.
- Should a university education be a liberal education in the traditional sense, or should it be regarded less for the stimulation of personal intellectual development than for the teaching of practical skills?
- What should be the balance of teaching and research in an academic institution?
- How do we reconcile our aims with cash limits and restricted resources?

2. The exhaustion of the strategy towards NUS that the Federation has pursued over the past six years, and the continued failure to arrive at any new consensus on tactics, which would command widespread support within the FCS;

- Should we bring substantial pressure to bear upon NUS by encouraging Student Unions to withhold subscription?
- Should we launch a campaign of disaffiliation. Can such a campaign succeed, and indeed is a political group the best organisation to lead it?
- Is disaffiliation from NUS credible in that plans for an alternative national representative body? What form should an alternative take? Is there a rationale for a Universities' Union, a Union for Students in Higher Education? Should any such organisation be federal, confederal or unitary etc.?

3. The increased polarization of FCS.

4. The time wasted by internal conflict within FCS when National Committees of different complexions have pursued policies, which whatever their merits, have not been endorsed by a Conference and do not command sufficient support among FCS members at large (e.g. this year's loans dispute).

5. The increasing extent to which FCS is dominated by an oligarchic national clique, at odds not only with the Regions, but also with many individual associations.

6. The insufficient liaison with, and involvement of individual association, and the conclusion of these associations which do not support the faction which is in the ascendancy at the time.

7. The damage done to the image of the Federation and to its standing within the Party and in the country by the flaunting of not only political discussions, but also of derogatory personal comments.

Conference Further Believes

A. Functions and Priorities

That this is necessary to re-examine and define the priorities and functions of the Federation, and that:

1. FCS has two primary functions, to which all other are subordinate.

(a) to secure for the Conservative Party as large a share of the student vote as possible, and to assist the Party generally in securing its electoral success.

(b) to act as an intellectual wing of the Party, evaluating new ideas, and injecting new proposals into the machinery of the Party.

2. FCS should practise in its affairs, these matters in which it has expertise or qualities which will enable it to make best use of limited resources in pursuing the objectives set out in (1) above; namely:

(a) In student Affairs – through Student Unions etc.

(b) In education policy, with specific reference to Higher and Further Education.

(c) In youth politics, through the British Youth Council etc.

(d) Above all, through research, making use of the vast fund of ideas and intelligence of FCS members in higher and further education. (In this respect, no other branch of the Party is so fortunate).

It is to be hoped that our contribution in these areas would be of somewhat higher quality than present debate within FCS, which seems often to consist of little more than reflecting existing discussions within the Party and debating them at a level little above the platitudinous. Debates about economic policy or defence, which have occurred at Conference after Conference have been conducted without the contribution of any new ideas and have often been dominated by economic and political illiterates.

B. Involvement and Participation

That in spite of cost and logistical problems, efforts should be made to involve more FCS members and Association in its work, within given resources.

1. Conferences

(a) That the structure and content of FCS Annual Conference does not promote involvement in its affairs.

(b) That Annual Conference rarely debates the bread and butter issues and concerns of FCS, or considers the work of National Officers and Committees, unless factional politics escalate some aspect into a major issue.

(c) That as a consequence, not only are national officers largely unaccountable, but the contribution of ideas from those beyond the dominant national clique is largely stiffened.

When did Conference last debate our involvement in European Democrat Students?

When were the subjects, nature and conduct of national campaigns last discussed?

What about training, parliamentary liaison, publicity, publications, relation with the Young Conservatives, Student Union finance etc.?

Do we know what our national officers have done and are we in a position to contribute to what will be done in the future?

(d) That many of the topics debated are irrelevant to the current or future work of the Federation, and that such debates are carried out without sufficient information.

(e) That the possibility of re-organising the agenda of Conference to supplement the existing personalised reports of individual

officers (often little more than hustings for the election to follow) by topic, problem or issue-based reports connected with the motions for debate should be investigated.

- (f) That some form of automatic privatisation of motions for debate should be considered so that the Federation debates in the first instance matters of primary concern, before balloting to decide which less immediate problems are to be discussed. (This would avoid the incessant repetition of sterile debates on economic policy, which add nothing to Party or public thinking, and are little more than strings of clichés).

2. Half Yearly Council

- (a) That Half Yearly Council is arguably an ill-conceived and mis-timed meeting.
- (b) That more regular involvement of individuals and associations in decision making would be welcome and might be achieved by re-assessing the timing, structure and remit of the Half Yearly Council.
- (c) That we should consider either re-scheduling it or replacing it with a Council of Association Chairmen or other less unwieldy policy-making body, which might meet more frequently and more cheaply (perhaps holding meetings to coincide with existing training or regional conferences in order to reduce costs).

3. Policy and Discussion Groups

That policy discussion and research is an imperative means of inducing greater involvement in FCS and offering members the opportunity to express their opinions and to offer ideas and contributions.

- (a) That the role of the Education Policy Group should be re-appraised and strengthened, and regular reports submitted by it to both conferences and councils.
- (b) That consideration should be given to establishing ad hoc groups to discuss other policy areas so that FCS is involved in the production of new ideas instead of merely reiterating tired old ones.

C. Regions

1. That the existing regional structure should be re-assessed.
2. That communications with the regions have broken down, partly due to internal political tensions, but also due to lack of appropriate mechanism for consultation, the Regional Chairmen's Committee having proved inadequate.
3. That consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing a Regional Council as an alternative to Half Yearly Council and for a Council for Association Chairmen.

D. Electoral System

1. That present discussions within FCS rest upon attitudes, personal apathy, and lack of appreciation of the fact that the role of the national officers of the Federation is to run it not in the interests of the TRG, Monday Club or Adam Smith Institute, but in the interests of the Conservative Party as a whole and of its members both Association and individuals.
2. That the role of national officers is in many respects not a political one at all, but the administrative task of providing the best possible framework, leadership and guidance so that all FCS members can contribute.
3. That in spite of these factors, it is arguable that the present electoral system institutionalises factionalism within FCS.
4. That no alternative electoral system will cure the present trench warfare, but that the present Multiple Vote (2 + 1) (5 + 2) system should be re-amended and alternatives considered, including STV, a revised form of MV and any other options.

Conference Instructs National Committee

1. to practise in its work these matters in which it has expertise, special interest or suitable resources.
 - (a) Student Affairs.
 - (b) Education Policy.
 - (c) Youth Politics.
 - (d) Research.
 - (e) Other matters that command widespread interest among members.

2. To prepare in consultation with internal parties and submit a report on the following issues, and to bring forward such amendments to the Constitution and Standing Orders as it deems appropriate.

- (a) Structural Alteration to Annual Conference
 - (i) automatic prioritisation and priorities ballot.
 - (ii) the form of reports to conference and their relationship with matters for debate.
- (b) The role and timing of Half Yearly Council and other conferences including consideration of the possibility of establishing an Association Chairman's and/or Regional Council.
- (c) The electoral system – setting out the merits of various systems in the context of the needs of the Federation.
- (d) The role of the Education Policy Group and the desirability of setting up further research groups as a means of involving more people in formulating new policy for submission to the senior Party.
- (e) Any other ideas for improving the functioning of the Federation.

Conference Instructs EPG/SAC

To submit issue-orientated reports to conference and council as regularly as possible and to seek guidance from them as to which matters it should investigate as a matter of priority.

FCS COMMITTEES AND OFFICERS 1980 – 1981

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman	Peter Young
Vice-Chairmen	Tim Janman David Steyn Simon Richards
Acting Secretary	Tim R. Cowell
NC Members	Tim Linacre David Boyd Chris Cozens Jonathan Gillen Paul Lowery Lance Moir Ian Patterson

STUDENT AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Robert Butler (– June 1980)
Simon Oliver (– Nov. 1980)
Alan Griffiths
Graeme Waddicar (– Nov. 1980)
Christopher Bones
Hilary Newman
Barry Wood (Sept. 1980 –)
Simon Wilson (Nov. 1980 –)
Adrian Chandler (Nov. 1980 –)

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN

London	Simon Wilson
Northern	Nick Gibb
North West	Steve Huyton
Yorkshire	Peter Molyneux
East Midlands	Gordon Craig
West Midlands	Grace Morris
East Anglia	Ken Rolph
South East	Mark Loveday
Wessex	Philip Moor
Western	Harold Elletson
Wales	Gregor MacGregor
Scotland	Brian Monteith

NOTES TO PARTICIPANTS

Meals and Refreshments

All Conference Sessions will be held in the Coffee Lounge in Ranmoor House.

All meals will be served in Ranmoor House.

Disco

A disco will be held in the Second Bar on Tuesday.

Enquiries

All enquiries should be addressed to the Conference office which is situated in the Lower Library at Ranmoor House. This will be open at:-

Monday	10.30 – 12.30 14.00 – 15.30
Tuesday	08.30 – 09.00 12.30 – 13.00 17.00 – 18.00
Wednesday	09.30 – 11.15 14.00 – 15.30

Conference Passes

Conference Passes should be worn at all times. In the interests of economy, you are requested to return your plastic holders before leaving the Conference.

Meal Tickets

These will be required for all meals and are available at registration.

CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE

Organisation and Community Affairs Department

Director	Mr. A.S. Garner
Assistant Director (Youth)	Mr. Tim Cowell
National Organising Secretary (Youth)	Mr. Mark Worrall
Secretaries	Sue Oliver Gail Binney
Community Officers	Judy Eady Richard Diment

Published by FCS Department, 32 Smith Square, London SW1P 3HH and printed by
Creative Press, 42-44 Portman Road, Reading, Berks. RG3 1JL