

Insight on Labour

Briefing by Conservative Research Department

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INSIGHT ON LABOUR

This is the third edition of quotations by Labour Party politicians and it is intended to supplement the two previous editions of 'Insight', as well as the Research Department's other regular publications, such as 'Politics Today' and 'Briefing Notes'. It highlights in particular the growing conflicts between the various factions within the Labour Party, following the decision at the Labour Party Conference to set up a register of non-affiliated organisations and the attempts to finally rid the Party of the Militant Tendency. There are also various quotes intended to provide a continuing insight into the policies of a future Labour government.

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1. LABOUR AND THE LEFT

a) THE LABOUR PHILOSOPHY

Mr. Michael Foot:

"The best example that I've seen of Democratic Socialism operating in this country was during the Second World War. Then we ran Britain highly efficiently, got everybody into a job" (Washington Post, reported in Sunday Telegraph, 12th December 1982).

Mr. Tony Benn:

"What we are facing in Britain is something I have not seen in my lifetime - the development of an extreme right-wing response to a crisis in a system which has historically outlived its capacity to survive" (Observer, 23rd January 1983).

Mr. Eric Heffer:

"Both parliamentary action and extra-parliamentary action are essential if we are to achieve a truly democratic socialist society" (New Socialist, January 1983).

"Let us try the democratic road but without any illusions that we will succeed, and be prepared to use the strength of the Labour movement to defend our gains and defeat potential aggressors" (Ibid).

Miss Joan Maynard (Labour MP for Sheffield Brightside):

"I am in favour of extra-parliamentary activity, because I know that without that we would never get any action in the House of Commons" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 29th September 1982).

"There are only two sides in society, the bosses' side and the workers' side, and you have to decide which side you are on" (Ibid).

Mr. Tony Benn:

"The Party and the Unions must establish a new alliance with the women's movement, the peace movement, the black community and the environmental movement, to rebuild our society on a socialist basis that extends our democracy and build a future for ourselves and our children" (County Hall, London, 10th December 1982).

Mr. Eric Heffer (on his expulsion from the Communist Party):

"It is common knowledge that I thought the Communist Party was too right wing, and that certainly led to my expulsion" (Guardian, 4th July 1980).

Mr. Reg Race (Labour MP for Wood Green):

"We need the implementation of the alternative economic and political strategy in order to change the balance of class forces in our society" (Socialist Organiser, 2nd December 1982).

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Labour MP for Bolsover):

"Every victory we've won for our class has been won outside Parliament" (addressing Scottish workers, 26th October 1982, reported in Socialist Challenge, 5th November 1982).

b) MARXISM AND THE MILITANT TENDENCY

Mr. Pat Wall (Prospective Labour Candidate for Bradford North and a Militant supporter):

"You cannot witch-hunt ideas, and you cannot separate the ideas of Marx and this movement. They are the most humane and democratic ideas and they will live on and develop in this movement" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 27th September 1982).

'Militant: What We Stand For':

"They (the right wing of the Labour party) have fostered the legend that the Marxists have "infiltrated" the Labour party. Marxism has always been part, and an important part at that, of the Labour party right from its inception" (A Militant publication, December 1981).

"Now because of the swing towards the left within the Labour party the capitalists are terrified of a Labour Government coming to power. They understand that the colossal pressure of the workers upon that Government coupled with the presence of a powerful Marxist tendency rooted within the Labour party to act as a catalyst for this pressure, a new Labour Government could be compelled to go further than the leaders intent in carrying out radical measures in the interests of the working class" (Ibid).

Mr. Reg Race (Labour MP for Wood Green):

"It doesn't matter what resolutions are passed by conferences if we will not implement them. We have got to say we will not expel people or select new candidates. Foot and the National Executive's majority will not be able to deliver this witch-hunt because we won't agree to it" (Daily Express, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Tony Benn:

"We shall have to occupy some of our time with a very clear objective; no expulsions from the Labour party. The battle must now be to prevent expulsions.....Nobody, but nobody, should be expelled" (Daily Telegraph, 29th September 1982).

Mr. Derek Hatton (prospective Labour candidate for Liverpool Wavertree and a Militant supporter):

"My policies could bankrupt the City of Liverpool" (The Sun, 26th October 1982).

"I want the Police to be the instruments of Socialism" (Ibid).

Mr. Roy Grantham (General Secretary of APEX):

"The Labour Party is a broad church of those who want socialism of varying kinds, but based on democracy and parliament. Militant are opposed to democracy. They support a Trotskyist revolutionary philosophy and the creation of a Bolshevik leadership" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 27th September 1982).

Mr. John Spellar (Labour MP for Birmingham Northfield):

"Militant have a perfectly legitimate right to organise a Trotskyist party in this country. They have a perfectly legitimate right to put

their views to the electorate of this country, and a right to get the derisory number of votes that such parties have always had. What they do not have a right to do is to live parasitically inside this democratic socialist party. Parasites can live compatibly with some hosts, but some parasites kill the body they live in and Militant is killing us with the electorate" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Martin Flannery (Labour MP for Sheffield Hillsborough) on the setting up of a register:

"Certain things have to be said so that it is made clear throughout the country that there is no unity in this party on this issue.... The right wing are going to create a wound in this party which will take years of struggle for unity to heal" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot:

"Marxist ideas have always been a matter for debate in our labour movement.....anybody who said we should suppress them would perhaps be suppressing the very ideas of the future" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Tariq Ali (former member of the International Marxist Group and member of Hornsey CLP):

"I remain a Marxist, I have never denied the fact that I am one. What is at dispute is what is the most efficient way for Marxists, Marxist political activists, to be active today....I believe that the best place for Marxists to be is in the Labour party" ('A Week in Politics', Channel Four, 13th November 1982).

Mr. Neil Kinnock:

"I must emphasise in all of this, of course, that there is nothing in the Labour Party Constitution that could or should prevent people from holding opinions which favour Lenninist-Trotskyism or just about anything else. Certainly Marxism - which is an analytical approach and not a doctrine or religion - has, and will continue to have, an important function in the Labour party" (Broad Left Alliance Journal, October 1982).

Mr. Roy Hattersley:

"The problem is not Militant about whom we always talk, because Militant is so easily identifiable and so unpleasant that most people are prepared to squash it.....The real problem is those organisations which talk in the language of democratic socialism" (Guardian, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Peter Taafe (Editor of Militant):

"Our support is amongst the rank and file of the Labour Party and the trade unions. They're the people that we're appealing to, to exert pressure on the NEC of the party and force people like Mr. John Golding - who's the Jaruzelski of the Labour Party: he wants to carry through a counter-revolution against all the democratic reforms and policy within the movement" ('A Week In Politics', Channel Four, 13th November 1982).

"Labour's youth movement, the most effective movement in Britain, also supports the ideas that we've put forward" (Ibid).

c) LABOUR DISUNITY

Mr. Reg Race (Labour MP for Wood Green):

"It's time we got rid of clapped out septuagenarians who have had their day, and fought for people who will get what we want" (Daily Express, 27th September 1982).

Mr. Race also accused the Labour Party of:

"obsessive cretinism" and the Tribune group of Labour MPs, to which Michael Foot belongs, of "paranoid parliamentarianism" (Sunday Times, 17th October 1982).

Mr. Eric Heffer:

"To sum up, the Labour Party has been in crisis and to some extent still is. The character of the party has changed considerably. It is now more left wing and its old purely reformist social democratic stance has gone despite the shift to the right on the NEC at the last conference, although serious attempts will continue to be made to turn back the clock" (New Socialist, January 1983).

Mr. Russell Tuck, Assistant General Secretary of the NUR and Chairman of Labour's NEC's Organisation Committee:

"Labour's broad church has got a little too broad. Perhaps the left-wing, on the aisle of the left, is too broad and perhaps it ought to be narrowed a little bit to bring everybody within what most of us believe to be the fundamental objective of the Labour party, in other words, democratic socialism" (Times, 10th December 1982).

Mr. Arthur Lewis (Labour MP for Newham North West, recently deselected):

"In the old days you could have an argument in the Labour party and then go to the pub afterwards. Now they cut your throat" (Daily Mail, 27th October 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot:

"If I thought I could assist the Labour Party by clearing out, of course I would do so" (BBC TV, 8th February 1983, reported in Daily Telegraph, 9th February 1983).

Mr. Michael Meacher (Labour MP for Oldham West):

"Let us not mince words - Labour's electoral prospects are now desperate" (Labour Weekly, 18th February 1983).

"In effect, John Golding is bleeding the party's election prospects to death" (Ibid).

Tribune survey of Labour Candidates:

"Despite the fact that only seven Labour MPs have been deselected under the party's new mandatory reselection process, the Parliamentary Labour Party is set to move radically to the left after the next

election. A Tribune survey of selected Labour parliamentary candidates shows that should Labour win the 326 seats necessary to form a majority government, nearly half of its elected members would be prospective members of the Tribune Group or a similar grouping to its left" (Tribune, 11th February 1983).

Mr. Christopher Price (Labour MP for Lewisham West):

"The problem with Labour's imprisonment within parliamentary politics means that we simply lack the mechanism to bring forward a Felipe Gonzales, a politician fresh enough to convince a majority of the possibility of change. We must make the best of the old, raddled prostitutes of the Kremlin system we are used to" (New Statesman, 6th November 1982).

Mr. John Golding (Labour MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme and Chairman of the NEC's Home Policy Committee):

"I think many of the other extreme left groups are a threat without being in actual breach of the constitution. I believe that we've got to deal with them in a separate way" ('A Week in Politics', Channel Four, 13th November 1982).

"Many of the extreme left groups are factional groups, existing only in my view to try to ensure that members of those factions get control, ah, become elected to public office on the Labour ticket" (Ibid).

"I think it's true to say that many of the reforms that have been introduced into the Labour Party have been devised to make it easier for small groups of professional people on the extreme left to get control" (Ibid).

Mr. Reginald Freeson (Labour MP for Brent East) speaking about the attempt to deselect him in favour of Ken Livingstone:

"My kind of Leftism was not about power politics. What we see here is simply managerial politics. Their kind of politics have nothing to do with what life is all about" (The Standard, 11th November 1982).

Mr. John Golding, (Labour MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme and Chairman of the Labour NEC's Home Policy Committee) described Tony Benn and Eric Heffer as:

"Electoral albatrosses around our necks" (The Democrat, 11th November 1982).

d) THE TATCHELL AFFAIR

Mr. Bob Mellish (former Labour MP for Bermondsey):

"The present Labour party in Bermondsey urged me not to resign. Why? Because they wanted me to stay on until the next general election when less attention would be paid to Bermondsey in the melee of over 600 seats being fought" (Message to constituents, Times, 2nd November 1982).

Mr. Peter Tatchell:

"The achievement of Socialist change depends on struggles both

inside and outside Parliament. Nowhere in the world has radical social change ever been accomplished by Parliament" (Introduction to 'Democracy and Parliament', The Socialist Society, September 1982).

"Without such representation....Parliament will remain a largely unaccountable and elitist charade conducted by 635 highly privileged individuals, and the interests of the great mass of people will be overwhelmed by the hidden power of the extra-parliamentary right" (Ibid).

"The radicalism of Labour Governments is inhibited by the existence of these reserve powers and by the fact that the army owes its allegiance exclusively to the monarch and not to the elected Parliament and Government" (Ibid).

"It (Parliament) is subject to influence and manipulation by extra-parliamentary formations of unelected and unaccountable capitalist power" (Ibid).

"Our present matrix of economic and political systems is no more than bourgeois democracy" (Ibid).

"The present 300,000 membership of the Labour party is an inadequate powerbase for a radical Labour Government to carry through fundamental socialist change against the powerful extra-parliamentary forces of the capitalist class" (London Labour Briefing, December 1982).

Mr. Peter Tatchell (talking about the NEC's attempt to swing Labour towards the 'right'):

"It is imperative that we counteract these trends so that Labour once again becomes the Party of protest and radical social change" (London Labour Briefing, December 1982).

Mr. Bob Mellish (on Peter Tatchell's adoption as a Labour candidate):

"Michael Foot has done an about turn. Everyone knows that. The idea that anything has changed is absolute nonsense" (Guardian, 12th January 1983).

"I am opposed to Bermondsey Labour Party and all it stands for" (Times, 22nd November 1982).

e) THE LABOUR GLC

Mr. Paul Boateng (Chairman of the GLC Police Committee):

"We have no doubt that the next Labour Government will create a metropolitan police authority made up of elected representatives of the people of London" (The Standard, 6th January 1983).

Mr. Ken Livingstone:

We in the new left of the Labour Party are going to be the first generation not driven by psycho-sexual disorders" (Time Out, 28th January 1983).

"It isn't the first week of a radical Labour government which matters but the first 24 hours. We have to stop the movement of capital at once" (Ibid).

"The advances of the left within the Labour movement have been around policies. The commitment of the Labour Party and TUC conferences to rebuilding our industrial and social economy via the Alternative Economic Strategy, the withdrawal from the Common Market and unilateral nuclear disarmament represent a move to the left on policy issues which is in marked contrast to the failures of the Bevanites in the 1950s" (London Labour Briefing, October 1982).

"If we are to look to a real cause for the violence in Northern Ireland, it comes from the benches of the Tory Party" (Labour Herald, 17th December 1982).

Mr. Ken Livingstone (speaking at a Fringe Meeting at the Labour Party Conference 1982):

He described the Home Secretary's civil defence programme as "a plea for the mass murder of our class" (Economist, 2nd October 1982).

Mr. Paul Boateng (Chairman of the GLC's Police Committee):

Speaking at a fringe meeting at the Labour Party Conference 1982, Mr. Boateng proclaimed that Britain's police are "Mrs. Thatcher's stormtroopers" (Economist, 2nd October 1982).

Mr. Joe Ashton (Labour MP for Bassetlaw)- speaking about the Labour Left on the GLC:

"Do they think that the array of armhole creepers who surround them at County Hall, poncing grants for every nutcase cause from homosexuals to prostitutes, know how to win votes for Labour at the next election?

They don't, all they know is how to make traditional Labour voters weep with despair at the arrogance, stupidity and vanity of London second-stringers, who are God's gift to a Tory Government" (Daily Star, 9th December 1982).

f) THE TRADE UNIONS

Mr. Sam McCluskie (President of the National Union of Seamen and Chairman of the Labour Party 1982-83):

"Labour cannot govern without the co-operation and trust of the Trade Union movement" (Labour Weekly, 22nd October 1982).

"Never before have the trade unions participated so closely in the preparations of policies for a future Labour Government. This in itself speaks for the vitality of our relationship" (Ibid).

Mr. Sid Weighell (former General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen):

"I am leaving the Trade Union movement I joined 44 years ago with a stark warning to those who remain: Get rid of the crazy Left before they get rid of you" (Daily Mail, 4th January 1983).

"It is criminal the way in which the Labour party and some unions have allowed a handful of totally unrepresentative people to take control of these great institutions" (Ibid).

"In my own industry we have seen the left stir up row after row so that we no longer have public support" (Ibid).

Mr. Eric Hammond (General Secretary - elect of EEPTU, the electricians' union):

"Trade Unionists are not top of the pops. We are not a popular group in society. This is because most trade union leaders are not representative of the ordinary members" (The Sun, 22nd December 1982).

Mr. David Basnett (General Secretary of the GMBATU):

"Another five years of the exclusion of the trade union movement from influence on economic affairs could convert us into an insurrectionist trade union movement, committed to civil disobedience" (Sunday Times, 12th December 1982).

Mr. Arthur Scargill (President of the NUM), speaking about the miners' rejection of his strike call:

"The membership would have been with us all the way if they had not been so appallingly misled by the Coal Board and the filth of Fleet Street" (Standard, 2nd November 1982).

Mr. Frank Chapple (General Secretary of EEPTU and Chairman of the TUC, 1982-83):

"Left-wing union leaders will....undermine any wage policy.... between a Labour Government and the TUC" (The Democrat, 9th December 1982).

"I put the kibosh on this unemployment marching business. There won't be any of that while I'm in the chair" (Ibid).

"Without any shadow of doubt, the Communist Party is the biggest threat to our society. It is an agent of a foreign power - an arm of the Soviet foreign office" (Ibid).

"For more years than I care to remember the extreme left have been intriguing, lying and manipulating the votes of trade unions and, to a large extent, have succeeded in changing the leadership and policies of the Labour movement....They conceal their real aims behind slogans such as 'the members have been sold down the river' or 'for greater rank and file control' or 'Broad left candidate'. Their real aim is to swing the movement behind revolutionary policies which, if they were out in the open, would get little support" (Mail on Sunday, 10th October 1982).

Mr. Colin Barnett (Secretary of the North West TUC):

"The TUC should be warned: extra-parliamentary action on the streets may well hold the key to the outcome of a General Election" (Labour Herald, 3rd December 1982).

2. LABOUR POLICY

a) ECONOMY

Mr. Peter Shore - on 'Labour's Programme for Recovery':

"The forecasts which we quote in this document should therefore not be viewed with the certainty expected from a railway timetable" ('Programme for Recovery', 23rd November 1982).

Mr. Peter Shore - on Labour's public spending plans:

"Of course, I would borrow it....In a recession it makes sense to borrow.....I repeat, borrow" (Hansard, Col. 1020, 28th January 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot - on import controls:

"Of course we shall suck in imports....We shall have to take measures to deal with that" (28th October 1981, Hansard, Col. 882).

"The idea is that we will set 'ceilings' on import penetration in each section....These ceilings will ensure that overall imports are not cut, but grow no faster than exports. They will be enforced using tariffs (tax on imports), quotas and other mechanisms" (Britain on the Dole: Unemployment and the Socialist Alternative, January 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot:

"My conclusion is that, contrary to the general assumption, by any standards the Social Contract was a success" (New Statesman, 26th November 1982).

"The early period from 1974 to 1976 up to the moment when the aid of the IMF was sought, was specially successful" (New Statesman, 26th November 1982).

Mr. Peter Shore - as Secretary of State for Trade:

"The British Government sees no alternative in the imposition of import controls" (Tokyo, 18th September 1975).

Mr. Denis Healey:

"Faced with the difficulties of unilateral reflation, some Socialists are tempted to seek salvation through trade restrictions or competitive devaluation. But such beggar-my-neighbour policies, if pursued on the scale required to offer any hope of escaping the dilemma, are more likely to lead to a trade or currency war than to insulate their sponsors from the recession in the outside world" (Paris, 12th November 1982).

Mr. Denis Healey - talking of the need to control inflation which left some scope for collective bargaining:

"There is a problem there. General elections do not change the laws

of arithmetic" (Labour Party Conference, September 31st 1982).

Mr. Denis Healey:

"Generalised import controls, as proposed by the Cambridge school would require, according to its arguments, draconian pay controls in order to prevent living standards from rising" (Hansard, Col. 896, 27th July 1981).

Mr. Terry Duffy (President of the AUEW):

"The reason we are against a national minimum wage is because we will not accept any Government interference in wages. If you give the Government the power to determine a minimum wage it will be a low one. We are committed to no Government interference in free collective bargaining" (Morning Star, 1st October 1982).

Mr. David Basnett:

"Incomes policy is a sterile, dead debate" (Sunday Times, 12th December 1982).

Mr. Tony Benn:

"Various methods of import restraint have been tried, with imports deposits and various other schemes, none of which solved the problem" (of returning to full employment). (Hansard, Col. 1035, 28th January 1982).

Mr. Sam McLuskie (President of the National Union of Seamen and Chairman of the Labour Party 1982-83):

"The predominance of plant and company negotiations makes any 'agreement' at national level on incomes growth a futile exercise. The trade union leadership can advise and even cajole but can no longer 'deliver' their members" (Labour Weekly, 22nd October 1982).

Mr. Jack Straw (Labour MP for Blackburn) and Mr. Robin Cook - (Labour MP for Edinburgh Central) - both Labour front-bench spokesmen on the economy:

"The NEA (national economic assessment) is not an incomes policy. It is the process by which Labour would set about the democratic planning of the economy. But we cannot seriously hope to plan the economy if we neglect earnings which constitute 75 per cent of national income" (Tribune, 3rd December 1982).

Mr. Peter Shore:

"Will money move out of Britain when the election approaches? Yes... because, by scrapping exchange controls, Mrs. Thatcher has made quite certain that large money movements will occur whenever the election occurs" (Sunday Times, 5th December 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot:

"What we have to recognise is that the present free trade system is a major obstacle to world recovery. We only have to look at the dire effects of free trade on British industry to see how trading can

inflict damage" (Glasgow, 22nd January 1983, reported in Observer, 23rd January 1983).

"What we want is reflation protected by trade planning. In that way some of the economic growth will happen here and some growth in imports will occur" (Glasgow, 22nd January 1983, reported in Financial Times, 24th January 1983).

"We are the only party that can shape an economic policy for the nation in association with the trade unions" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 28th September 1982).

"That does not mean that the national economic assessment is a code-name for an incomes policy - because it is not. I am opposed to any statutory policy....And I do not think that any such policy would ever work" (Ibid).

Mr. Jack Straw (Labour MP for Blackburn and a member of Labour's Treasury team):

"Labour has no intention of allowing its economic policy to be hijacked by the City when we take power. That is why we shall immediately reintroduce exchange controls and why we shall use the regulatory powers of the Bank of England Act as well as introducing new legislation to improve the accountability of the City" (Labour Economic Conference, 10th December 1982).

Mr. Doug Hoyle (Labour MP for Warrington), talking about nationalisation of the banks:

"If we don't get their cooperation there will be back-up powers for nationalisation of one or more clearing banks" (Daily Telegraph, 29th September 1982).

Mr. Doug Hoyle:

"We have got to bring the financial institutions under democratic control" (Daily Express, 29th August 1982).

b) TRADE UNION LEGISLATION

Mr. Dennis Skinner - addressing a meeting of Scottish Trade Unionists:

"We have to dedicate ourselves to smashing the Tebbit Law outside Parliament" (26th October 1982 and reported in Socialist Challenge, 5th November 1982).

Mr. John Golding (NEC and Chairman Home Policy Committee, speaking about the Employment Act):

"If workers are forced to fight, they must have a chance to win" (Daily Mail, 29th September 1982).

Mr. Bill Keyes (SOGAT Print union leader), speaking on the Employment Act 1982:

"It is a confrontation we cannot flinch from" (Daily Mail, 29th August 1982).

c) INDUSTRY

Mr. Stan Orme (MP for Salford West and Shadow Industry spokesman):

"The Labour party rejects the Government's privatisation proposals. We shall reverse the policy and return the industry to a democratically controlled publicly owned British Telecommunications. Shareholders will be repaid precisely the amounts that were paid for the assets at the time of sale. We shall ensure that no speculative gains are made at the nation's expense" (Hansard, Col. 450, 9th November 1982).

"It is among the nationalised industries that some of the most important and exciting developments are taking place in the British economy" (Hansard, Col. 963, 27th January 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot:

"You will never be able to build full employment in Britain, as we are pledged to do, on 12,11,10 million tonnes of steel. We have got to get back to the targets that we had before us a few years ago. We will need 20 or 25 million tonnes of steel in order to build real full employment in this country" (Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 28th September 1982).

Part of motion passed by Labour Party Conference, Blackpool:

"Conference therefore demands the renationalisation of all industries and sections of industries already denationalised by the Tories, with compensation only to be given on proven need and at a level which ensures that the recipients do not gain from their investment" (28th September 1982).

"Conference calls on the Labour leadership to include in the next manifesto the commitment proposed in Labour's 1973 programme to take on common ownership at least 25 of the 100 largest private sector manufacturing companies" (Ibid).

Mr. Stan Orme:

"We will not tolerate any more redundancies within the British Steel industry" (Labour Party Conference, 30th September 1982, Blackpool).

"It is by planning that we will be able to tackle the long term weakness of British industry. But this is not enough - public ownership, controlling imports and industrial democracy are essential if we are going to move forward" (Ibid).

d) HEALTH & SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Michael Foot:

"We would like to see a return to the system whereby hospital consultants are genuinely full-time and not expect to obtain at least part of their income from private practice on the side; a decision to remove all pay beds from the National Health Service to stop the abuse of queue jumping by private patients; a cancellation of the £4 million tax concessions already given to the purchasers of private health insurance; and an end once and for all to the system whereby

the wages of National Health Service workers depend on their willingness to take industrial action...Above all, and finally, there should be the abolition of all charges for prescriptions, dental and optical treatment" (Hansard, 3rd November 1982).

Mrs. Gwyneth Dunwoody (Labour MP for Crewe and Labour's frontbench spokesman on the Health Service):

"We must have a commitment to end social security and replace it with socialist security" (Daily Telegraph, 28th September 1982).

Mr. Terry Davis (Labour MP for Stechford and Shadow spokesman on health and social security):

"The next Labour Government will therefore ban all cigarette advertising" (Hansard, 6th December 1982).

"As a first step, the next Labour Government will act on the recommendation to increase child benefit. We are committed to an increase of £2 a week for each child which today would mean a child benefit of £7.85 per week. That would cost £1.1 billion" (Ibid).

Mrs. Gwyneth Dunwoody:

"Labour will be taking a major stake in the Drug Industry after the next election" (London, 5th January 1983).

Part of motion passed by Labour Party Conference, Blackpool:

"Conference demands the abolition of private medicine in the United Kingdom, together with a closing down of private medical insurance schemes, and further calls for all functional services which may be privatised by this government to be returned to National Health Service management, with no loss to employed to staff" (27th September 1982).

e) BLOODSPORTS

Mr. Eric Heffer (MP for Walton and Labour's Shadow spokesman on European and Community Affairs):

"In my view there is nothing more disgusting than human beings killing animals for pleasure. It is degrading to human society and surely in particular degrades those involved. All those who believe in civilised behaviour should call for an end to blood sports...." (Labour Weekly, 19th November 1982).

f) ABOLITION OF THE LORDS

Mr. Roy Hattersley:

"I support the abolition of the Lords. It is a symbol of class division in society" (The Sun, 29th September 1982).

g) LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Miss Joan Maynard (MP for Sheffield Brightside), speaking about Sheffield's subsidised public transport:

"In South Yorkshire we angled the rates in such a way, that industry has carried a burden of that rate and we have had a redistribution of income in subsidising our cheap fares policy in South Yorkshire" (Labour Conference, 28th September 1981).

"We shall rescind surcharges and consequential disqualifications which may be imposed for actions within the competence of local government.." (Labour Conference, 28th September 1981).

Mr. Gerald Kaufman:

"We shall legislate to prevent auditors or the courts from making political judgements on councillors' policies or the way they carry them out" (Portsmouth, 11th February 1983, reported in Guardian, 12th February 1983).

h) HOME AFFAIRS

Miss Joan Lestor (MP for Eton and Slough and Labour's frontbench spokesman on Women's Rights and Welfare):

"We as a party are committed to the repeal of the 1971 and 1981 Nationality Acts...But this conference must make sure that we do so. It's your responsibility as well as ours. After all, the Queen brought in a foreign husband - and without visible means of support either" (Guardian, 1st January 1982).

Mr. Roy Hattersley (Labour MP for Birmingham Sparkbrook and Shadow Home Secretary):

"We have got to have an Act of Parliament which requires local authorities, nationalised and private industry to show in their employment patterns, and promotion patterns, their obligations to use their best endeavours to reflect the racial balance of the area" (The Times, 30th September 1982).

"The next Labour Government will repeal the Act (British Nationality Act 1981) and will replace it with a statement of British citizenship that is neither racially nor sexually discriminatory. Our immigration regulations will flow from that new Act and will not discriminate between the races or the sexes" (Hansard, 11th November 1982).

"We have always accepted the need for immigration control" (Ibid).

Mr. Roy Hattersley:

"The Home Secretary knows that the Opposition have a commitment to a wholly elected police authority with strategic and policy control over the police" (Hansard, 30th November 1982).

i) NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. Clive Soley (Labour MP for Hammersmith and deputy frontbench spokesman on Northern Ireland):

"No one could define exactly the structure that might evolve, but a federal system could offer the greatest hope and security for the people of Northern Ireland" (London, 3rd December 1982, reported in Observer, 5th December 1982).

Mr. Alex Kitson (Deputy general-secretary of the TGWU and member of Labour's NEC):

"I am against all paramilitary groups. I believe that the troops shouldn't be withdrawn because that would lead to a bloodbath" (Socialist Youth, February 1983).

j) HOUSING

Mrs. Ann Taylor (MP for Bolton West and Labour Housing spokesman):

"I am happy to tell the Secretary of State that we are committed to the repeal of the right to buy" (Hansard, 23rd November 1982, Col. 730).

"We have heard mention of the rapid decline of the private rented sector. It is true that that sector has declined recently. I hope that it will decline more in future" (Hansard, Col. 57, 13th December 1982).

k) EDUCATION

Mr. Neil Kinnock (Labour MP for Bedwellty and Labour's Shadow spokesman on Education):

"The demands of the time and the future require a cultural revolution, a charge on the last redoubt of limited opportunity in this country... Yes, Oxford and Cambridge included - let us put them at the disposal of the community" (The Guardian, 1st October 1982).

"We will legislate to establish the central principles of comprehensive education in which all children will have the right to establish a broadly based curriculum with equitable access to all the opportunities offered regardless of attainment or sex" (Labour Weekly, 10th December 1982).

"The Conservative Education Act of 1979 will be repealed and LEA's power to continue secondary school selection on the basis of attainment will quickly be removed. All LEAs will be asked to submit plans within a limited and specified period on how they would organise their schools on the new statutory defined comprehensive principle" (Ibid).

"We will legislate to ban corporal punishment" (Ibid).

1) EUROPE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. Eric Heffer Labour MP for Walton, and Labour's Shadow spokesman on European and Community Affairs:

"The Labour party is not saying that withdrawal from the EEC will take place a day, a month, six months or possibly much longer after a Labour Government take office. Withdrawal will take time and there will need to be proper negotiations" (Hansard, 4th November 1982).

Mr. Ron Hayward Former General Secretary of the Labour Party:

"Labour's approach to East-West relations means that we utterly reject an ideological crusade against the Soviet Union, and its identification as the sole or even prime source of conflicts in the world" (Open letter from the Labour Party to President Reagan, 8th June 1982).

Mr. Guy Barnett Labour MP for Greenwich and Shadow spokesman on Europe:

"The Labour Party's policy (on withdrawal from the EEC) with regard to the referendum has been raised. I repeat what has been said over and over again. We are committed as a party to the opportunity of making a decision in a referendum or a general election" (Hansard, 12th November 1982).

Mr. Eric Heffer:

"We are seeking to change the face of Europe and not leave it" (Paris, 12th November 1982).

Mr. Eric Heffer - speaking on the Euro-Electoral system:

"Are they (the Government) in favour of abandoning our present method of voting or will they go along with the proposals of the European Assembly? The Opposition are totally opposed to any change in the system of election" (Hansard, Col. 856, 24th November 1982).

Part of motion passed by Labour Party Conference, Blackpool:

"Conference....calls upon the Labour Party and the British Government to recognise the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people" (28th September 1982).

m) DEFENCE AND DISARMAMENT

Mr. Michael Foot:

"We want to move towards a non-nuclear defence programme. And that policy has been accepted by the Party. That would involve not only

the rejection of Trident and Cruise, but it would eventually involve the abandonment of our (existing) Polaris systems as well" (Guardian, 6th December 1982).

"The greatest task that the Labour movement will ever have to undertake when we get the next Labour Government will be to carry out our policy for securing nuclear disarmament in this country and throughout the world" (Daily Telegraph, 29th September 1982).

Sir John Boyd (General Secretary of AEUW), speaking at the Labour Party Conference 1982:

"You are in this world, but not of it. Never in the history of nations has defencelessness ever saved a nation from being overrun by an oppressive nation" (The Times, 30th September 1982).

Mr. Denis Healey - on British nuclear deterrent:

"I would rather in that situation that we did not throw these weapons away. What we have said is that we will phase them out. The question is over how long a period?" (The Times, 20th December 1982).

Mr. James Callaghan:

"The debate on unilateral disarmament at the Labour party conference did not take account of any foreign policy issues - not even of the central objective of Soviet policy to decouple America from Europe" (Cardiff Fabian Society, 18th November 1982).

"Unilateral disarmament does not offer a way out. The only real safety for British people is through collective security and multi-lateral agreements to disarm the nuclear conventional arsenals on both sides" (Ibid).

"If any incoming Labour Government were immediately to eject the American forces that we have welcomed for over 30 years, if they were to close down our own nuclear bases and break up our Polaris submarines for scrap, they would set in motion forces they could not control" (Guardian, 9th November 1982).

"Unilateral disarmament by Britain is opposed to our country's best interest, and could begin the unravelling of NATO, and therefore jeopardise the stability of Europe" (Ibid).

"Unilateralists are impatient for results. By definition they have no concern for the utility of negotiation" (Ibid).

Labour's defence policy is a "divisive and insular irrelevance" (The Times, 18th November 1982).

Mr. Michael Foot - on the zero option:

"Is it not true that the Opposition have been arguing and campaigning for a zero option attitude for many months? Did we not advocate that at the time of the discussions in December 1979? Naturally, we greatly welcome President Reagan's statement. We hope that negotiations will take place on that basis and that they will be successful" (Hansard, 19th November 1981).

"Mr. Foot made clear that a genuine zero option would have to embrace many more nuclear weapon systems than those selected by Mr. Reagan and recalled that the Labour Party "always condemned the Soviet emplacement of the SS20s as they did it." But the form of zero option proposed by Mr. Reagan was unsatisfactory and "quite unrealistic", while Mr. Reagan's statement was "bad propaganda, treating millions who can think and vote as though they were dummies" (Morning Star, 3rd February 1983, reporting on BBC World at One, 2nd February 1983).

Mr. Denis Healey:

"If we are to believe the New York Times report, the latest Soviet proposals imply a cut of a half in the SS20 force targeted against Europe, provided that there is no deployment of cruise or Pershing. I do not believe that the proposal in itself is one that the West would be wise to accept" (Hansard, Col. 312, 15th December 1982).

Mr. Eric Heffer:

"We believe in multilateral nuclear disarmament, but also that we must make a start by getting rid of nuclear arms in this country" (Hansard, 4th November 1982).

Mr. Denis Healey:

"I would like to negotiate with the Americans about the presence of the bases in Britain, subject to the fact that if the (Western) Alliance, which we overwhelmingly support, should feel that it was absolutely essential they should stay for the time being, then I would take that view very seriously" ('Weekend World', ITV, 20th February 1983).