

The Week

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- C.S.E. YORKSHIRE CONFERENCE
- RHODESIA—TWO VIEWS
- YUGOSLAVIA
- BUSMEN'S AGREEMENT A DISASTER
- YOUNG SOCIALISTS' CONFERENCE

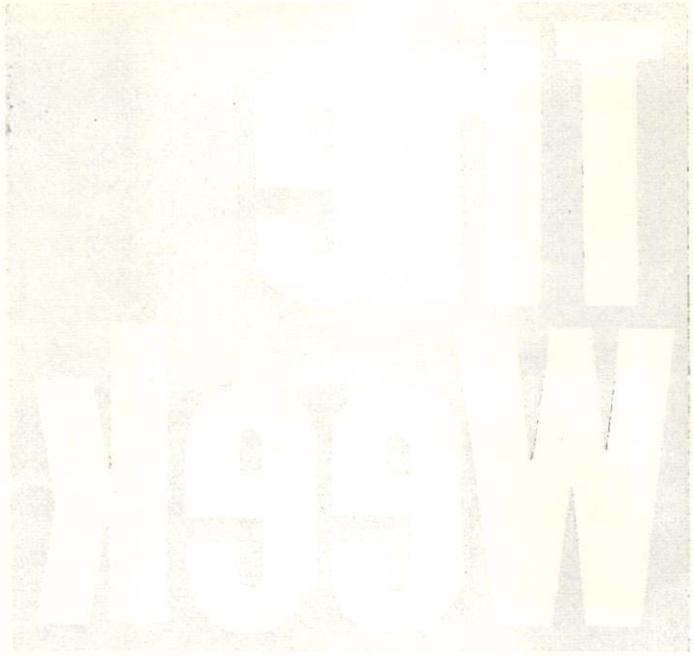
STOP THAT BOAT!

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STOP THAT BOAT?

The problem of Rhodesia is having a disturbing effect on the pattern of British politics. We are a long way now from the "national unity" approach to Mr. Smith's rebellion. Both major parties are split and there has been a walk-out of the House of Lords. Even the Communist Party has not been free from dissension on this matter - a speaker at their national congress who criticised the Daily Worker's lavish praise of the Archbishop of Canterbury got a slow handclap from delegates. Such is the state of British politics that as some issues become much clearer in the crisis, others become more blurred.

Mr. Wilson's attempt to achieve national unity has indeed split the country and the major parties right down the middle. Why should this be so? The short answer is that very conflicting interests are at stake. The remarks in the House of Lords about "Mr. Smith's fifth column" and the "undisclosed interests of members of the House" cut deep. But there is more at stake: what is essentially involved is British capitalism's attempts to adapt itself to a changed world. The men who use poison gas in remote parts of the world, far away from the glare of publicity, are not primarily concerned with moral issues. This Labour Government of ours, unfortunately, approaches this question purely from the interests of British capitalism. How else do we explain their kid-glove treatment of Smith whilst going through all kinds of contortions to placate the nationalist governments of Africa? The role of the Tories is to make life as difficult for Mr. Wilson as possible if he looks like leaning too far towards concessions to the African Governments. The right wing of the Tory party combines a genuine ideological approach - their belief that White rule should continue - with naked self-interest. Mr. Wilson's Ministers attempt to use this Achilles heel of the Tory Party to put that party on the spot.

But into this confusion comes a single clarifying issue: that of the tanker on its way to Mozambique. There is no answer whatsoever to the simple demand: if Mr. Wilson is serious about stopping the establishment of a second South Africa and all the suffering that would mean, he should stop that boat. There are no legal, physical, political, moral, or practical reasons for him not to do so. Eric Heffer, a sponsor of ours, is to be congratulated on his skill in making this question a national issue. A combined fight in and out of Parliament must follow this initiative. Our opponents are in confusion and decisive action could bring results.

"NOT AN AGREEMENT - A DISASTER" by a provincial busman

"Trade unionism, basically, is a continuous crusade for industrial democracy. When you come right down to fundamentals, a trade union represents the insistence of the working people that they have a real say in the amount of work they do for the payment they get, and the conditions they work under - covering every aspect of the members' life at work, from bonuses and overtime working, to the temperature of the factory and the attitude of the management. Let no-one misunderstand the position. Britain's biggest union is vitally concerned with the rights of the individual member -at the place of work, as well as in the Terms of the National agreements." (Jack Jones. September 1964. 'Record')

Fine words then, but what now? On the 24th November the final step was taken when 77,000 municipal busmen were sold into bondage for 30 pieces of silver by delegates representing them. Militant members must be crying with shame and the old stalwarts of the 1920's turning in their graves. Never have so many been sold by so few for so little. Even in the bad old days our representatives never agreed to such diabolical terms as this.

Alderman Harrison, chairman of the National Federation of Municipal Passenger Transport Employers said, "a new concept of industrial relations has been introduced in Britain" How right he was. Financial Blackmail!

No agreement such as this could have been agreed to if the members had been fully conversant with the facts. It appears that it has been essential to keep the members in the dark so that pressure could then be put on the delegates to accept or reject. The onus was placed on the delegates and this was not fair.

This is not a National agreement but a National disaster"
"An employee leaving the service of the Undertaking for any reason before he has completed two years service shall not receive any Service Payment for the service year in which he leaves and shall refund to the Undertaking any such payment as he may have received that year"

"If the absence is collective on the part of a number of employees, the current six-monthly service payment shall be automatically withheld from them. The matter may be referred to an appropriate committee of the National Council sitting under an independent chairman. The decision of this committee to confirm or vary this penalty shall be binding on the parties concerned. Should the Committee fail to agree the matter shall be decided by the independent chairman acting with powers of an umpire and his decision shall be binding on the parties"

The reader can see from these clauses the financial blackmail

referred to. One to keep people on the job and secondly to keep them at work.

Another major concession given to the employers, one they have long wanted, is that over the introduction of the 36 foot single decker. Again I quote from the agreement: "In the event of a difference or differences with regard to the introduction of such vehicles it is agreed that these vehicles shall be operated and shall continue to operate and the difference or differences shall be referred by either party to the National Council for action in accordance with the Constitution"

In the past in many localities where there was a dispute over vehicles the men refused to take them out. But this is all over under the new agreement. In other words we can argue as long as the management will let us, then out they go and the objections go up to the National Council. Providing the employer stays inside the national agreement then he cannot lose.

Again for many years there has been strong feeling against the introduction of one man operation. Under this new agreement the introduction is made more easy than it has ever been. Employers can now go mad on this and order their single deckers.

We have been sold for 30 pieces of silver and the sooner we all realise it the better. All busmen's branches should demand information as to the real state of things concerning this agreement before it is too late.

In finality may I say this. The public transport in this country has always been run at the expense of the workers in this industry; now, you will get it even cheaper still. Could this be why our alleged bonus payment has not been given much coverage in the press or even referred to George Brown?

DAVE LAMBERT CALLS FOR WORKERS CONTROL from a special correspondent

It is good to learn that Dave Lambert, general secretary of the Foundry Workers' Union - and a Week sponsor - is well again. He celebrated his return to activity by making some excellent comments on the Government's proposed trade union legislation. These appeared in the November issue of union's journal and are well worth quoting: "...Now we have the threat of legislation to enforce an incomes policy...Nothing I can think of is calculated to bring more trouble for the unions and the employers...The legal imposition of an incomes policy can hardly be justified at all. It only begins to make sense, in my view, where there is a decisive shift towards the control of industries by the workers employed in them. The two things go hand in hand; power and responsibility. Clearly, this kind of legislation can only be restrictive. It is not designed to make employers make us pay more. It can only seek to reject, reduce or delay what has been won by shop stewards through the normal process of collective bargaining. There are no free gifts for foundry workers, no bargain offers in the wage packet...Without shop bargaining....the position would be intolerable for many workers."

The conference began with a move to remove Mr. John Charlton from the chair. A point of order concerning this was moved during the chairman's address; on the chairman ruling the point 'out of order' there were shouts from the floor- (By what processes of democracy did you become elected, etc.)

Maurice Foley then introduced the N.E.C. document 'Re-building Britain.' Various resolutions on this document were debated; one (Composite 9) being highly critical of the Government's policy and one (Composite 13) being mildly critical. In moving composite 13, Mr. T.L. Keene (Birmingham Spark-Brook) said that 'The Labour Government had steered off the course to socialism and it was up to the Y.S. to put it back.' While the Labour Government had done some worthwhile things, such as the rent act and the pension increases, they had also done some disgusting things, as in the case of immigration. The small majority should not be an excuse for stifling criticism. Most speakers were critical of the Government and in winding up this debate Wedgwood Benn failed to arouse any of the points raised. Composite 9 was defeated by 104 votes to 100, while composite 13 was overwhelmingly carried.

The debate on resolution 74 (Discrimination against young immigrants) and composite 4 (integration of immigrants) was in reality a debate on the Government's immigration white paper; the only way in which the matter could be raised under the new constitution was by a round about way, such as was used, stated Mike Caffoor (Hornsey Y.S.) in moving resolution 74. He felt deep shame over the White Paper - it was the fundamental right of every human being to be treated with respect, equality and compassion. 'The Labour Party's attitude to the 1961 Immigration Act was the only honourable attitude a socialist could take on this issue,' he continued, 'but now the Labour Government has introduced stricter controls.' This tended to make racialism respectable. Mike Caffoor was given a standing ovation as he left the rostrum. Both the resolutions were carried with only 3-4 delegates supporting the Government by voting against.

In the private session the second half of the Chief Youth Officer's Report (on organisation) was referred back, Composite 14 called, amongst other things, for resolutions on general subjects to be discussed at Conference, the National Committee to be elected at Conference and representation of the Y.S. on the N.E.C. The composite was carried overwhelmingly. Also a resolution calling for a democratically elected editorial board for New Advance was carried by 132 votes to 82 votes.

On Sunday, the chairman said that the N.E.C. had refused to allow the emergency resolutions on foreign policy as ample time had been given to discuss these subjects (Rhodesia, Vietnam and Aden) on the N.E.C.'s statement on foreign policy. This caused considerable uproar. Later, the conference went on to discuss, but not vote on, the N.E.C. foreign policy statement. The Government's policy on Vietnam was condemned by many speakers. The delegate from Glasgow (Woodside) said that the British Government should give its full support to the Vietcong and went on to say that the British Government should resign from N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and the U.N. and join the Warsaw Pact.

The Conference discussed the N.E.C.'s statement 'Industrial Training for Youth,' which was carried on a show of hands.

LINCOLN LABOUR PARTY SUPPORTS DEMOCRACY IN Y.S. MOVEMENT by a Lincoln reader.

At the December meeting of the Lincoln Constituency Labour Party GMC, a letter was received from the Enfield Borough Labour Party, asking for the following resolution to be supported: "That this General Committee regrets the decision of Conference to accept the N.E.C. proposals for the running and control of the Young Socialists, especially in the nominations for Regional Committees, as the methods are undemocratic and will only lead to the destruction of the Young Socialist movement."

On being put to the vote, the resolution was carried by 21 votes to 12. It was agreed that a copy of the resolution be sent to the N.E.C. of the Labour Party.

At the same meeting, a representative of ZAPU, who only the day before had arrived in this country from S. Rhodesia, Mr. M. Wakatama, spoke on the present situation in that country. Mr. Wakatama is a lecturer at the University College of Salisbury. He stated that the ordinary African thought that Wilson, Bottomley and Co. were in league with Smith, and that if the British Government did not soon take decisive action to oust Smith, the Africans, with the support of many other countries, would do it themselves.

ESCALATING TO DISASTER

from a special correspondent

A report from Florida on November 29 quoted the former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, General Maxwell Taylor, as stating publicly that if North Vietnam sent many more troops into the South, the North would be so short of forces as to lay itself open to a U.S. amphibian invasion. Because the outlines of U.S. military intentions have often been made public in precisely this manner of semi-official kite flying or leaking, this statement deserves the widest attention. The U.S. aerial destruction of North Vietnam has failed in its declared purpose: it has not prevented the North sending troops to the South. When the bombing started, the North had not intervened militarily to any significant extent, as even U.S. hand-outs proved. Now there is probably considerable military support for the NLF from the North. The U.S. has failed to destroy the military capability of the North, failed to break the spirit of the Govt and people there, failed to win back the major area of the South held by the NLF, and failed to gain popular support for any regime in Saigon which it cares to finance.

The one success that Johnson has had is to prepare public opinion for the possibility of war with China. The remaining alternative for Johnson is a Korean-scale land war on China's boundaries - and the massive stepping up of U.S. ground forces is an essential preliminary for such a war. It still seems probable that such a conflict must involve both China and nuclear weapons. The situation is far more dangerous than Western socialists and liberals have imagined, because a collision course seems to have been set.

Meanwhile the British Govt continues to play the role of innocent apologist for Johnson, in the manner which Chamberlain perfected in 1938 with Hitler. When Nazi Germany withdrew from the League of Nations, Hitler said, "My party comrades will not fail to understand me when they hear me speak of peace, disarmament and mutual security pacts!" Today Johnson invokes the same language whilst intent on war. "I am told," reported the 'Observer' Saigon correspondent last Sunday, "that S. Vietnamese leaders have been assured by the U.S. that they should not take Washington's peace overtures at face value." Has Mr. Wilson received such an assurance?

A preliminary meeting to establish the Cambridge Centre for Socialist Education has been held. About 20 people are committed to join. They include supporters of International Socialism, International Socialist Journal, Labour Worker, Mainstream, Militant, The Week and Young Guard.

Among the decisions taken are:

- 1: A branch to be set up with Robbie Gray as provisional convenor. Enquiries to be made in the town to contact local trade unionists who are to be asked to take responsibility for much of the work - in this way we hope to safeguard continuity.
- 2: A meeting is to be held early next term, after these contacts have been made, with a local non-university left-winger as speaker.
- 3: Only later will attempts be made to involve academics in C.S.E. within Cambridge branch - since most people here view C.S.E. as something more than another self-analytic left tranquilliser.
- 4: The tone of the draft document was felt to be too academic, useful only for involving academics.
- 5: The printed statement of aims was felt to be much more useful as an initial draft for propaganda. Though even this was felt to be too much a document preaching to the converted.
- 6: If the national C.S.E. organisation does feel as though it wants to involve Cambridge left academics (and there are plenty of them) in writing pamphlets, etc., the branch will assist by making necessary contact. At this stage, though, the branch does not think it advisable to involve them in the Cambridge branch.
- 7: A provisional committee was established consisting of Robbie Gray, Dave Laing and myself. Enquiries, information, etc., should go to: Robbie Gray, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Members are to assist local convenors during their vacation.

IMPORTANT B.R.P.F. MEETING

The fifth anniversary of the establishment of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam will be celebrated at a meeting on December 20th in London. The venue is the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, the meeting will commence at 8.00 p.m., among the speakers will be Ralph Miliband, Ralph Schoenman, Ken Coates and Mark Lane. Readers of The Week are asked to give this meeting as much publicity as they can.

N.B. next week's issue will include Bertrand Russell's message to the Havana tri-continental anti-imperialist conference.

PROTESTS CONTINUE AGAINST THE EXPULSION OF KEN COATES

Numerous protests have been made against the expulsion of Ken Coates from the Labour Party in the last week. At the Yorkshire C.S.E. conference there was a unanimous vote for a protest to be sent to ^{the} N.E.C. and West Nottingham C.L.P.. The Nottingham Cosmopolitan Debating Society, run by two Labour stalwarts, convened a record meeting on Sunday 5th of December for Ken Coates to speak on local democracy. Many offers of support came from the meeting. Portuguese students have written in protest to a member of the N.E.C. Many trade union branches and C.L.P.s are writing in protest. Among the papers which have protested are Tribune, Peace News, Labour Worker, and Voice of the Unions.

Over 50 people crowded to the founding meeting of the Yorkshire Centre for Socialist Education. Among those present were representatives from groups in Hull, Sheffield, York and Leeds, together with individuals from other towns. Contact had previously been established with persons willing to organise Centres in Doncaster and Scarborough.

Dan Hussey of the Hull Labour College took the chair and opened the meeting. Tony Topham then outlined the scope and aims of the C.S.E., and after speaking of the progress which had been made elsewhere, called for the formation of a regional centre to co-ordinate the work of town Centres about to come into existence, and to set up new Centres wherever possible. John Milne of Sheffield asked for details of possibilities there and was told that Pete Smith had arranged for a preliminary meeting for people in the area. Ron Taylor of Leeds was anxious that the Centre should conflict with existing bodies.

Jim Roche, also of Leeds, wished the miners to be involved as much as possible, and wondered if the present Steering Committee would help to secure this participation. Mike Kidron proposed a Conference of Yorkshire shop stewards to consider the effects of the Incomes Policy. John Saville, in a most constructive contribution, warned against over-optimism, reminding the meeting of Marx' remark about Ernest Jones, that he "mistook his own emotions for a mass movement." If we were prepared to develop systematic work on a modest and practical scale, as had been done by the Labour College in Hull and the 'Humber-side Voice', we could make a substantial advance. Nigel Harris, of York, outlined a three point programme of activity for the Yorkshire Centre : it should convene a conference of trade unionists as already suggested, it should set up a county-wide network of Labour Colleges, and also a functional administration for the co-ordination of work on a regional scale.

Harry Lewis, a Hull councillor, explained the work of the Hull Labour College, and appealed for a drive to get in ordinary workers at grass-roots level. Dealing with the problem of apathy, he said it was necessary to make repeated efforts to run classes on matters which were close to the workers' needs. Jim Roche described the work of a Leeds group, and warned against trying to conduct educational projects at a purely abstract level. Dave Godman of Hull said that the Incomes Policy itself was educating people very fast.

After a number of other contributions, short descriptions were given of the possibilities in the towns represented. It was then decided to set up a Regional Centre for Yorkshire. The following Committee was elected :- Nigel Harris * (York), Jim Roche *, Anthony Uden (Leeds), Nick Howard, Pete Smith * (Sheffield), Dan Hussey, Tony Topham, Harry Lewis *, Dave Godman, Alan Rooney, Mike Kidron (Hull), Peter Barnes * (Scarborough), Harry Newton (West Riding), Colin Livett * (Doncaster). (* = Local Convenors) It was then agreed that the new committee be charged to look at the problem of students' socialist co-ordination, of liaison between left wing specialists, and of the collation of lists of socialist contacts all over Yorkshire. It was agreed to convene a conference on "Incomes Policy & the Defence of Trade Union Rights", and to approach Trades Councils for advice and help, especially with address lists.

No Capitulation to White Supremacy,

By Chris Farley,

Not since Suez, it is widely reported, has Britain's reputation stood so low in Africa as in the past month. The British Government has gone through the motions of declaring the Smith Administration illegal and supporting the U.N. Security Council's resolution, but it has gained the contempt of many African Governments and peoples. The issue is the failure of Mr. Wilson to take the necessary steps to bring down the Smith regime promptly. Smith has been allowed to remain in full control of the military, police and other machinery of the state. No force is to be use against him. The 1961 constitution (under which white minority rule was enforced until U.D.I.) is not to be suspended. Half the Commonwealth has threatened to walk out in disgust. The policy of half-hearted sanctions against Smith has only driven him into the hands of his natural allies, South Africa and Portugal - and the Labour Government has not been anxious to oppose either of them in the past year. The British Government is pledged to proceed towards African majority rule in Rhodesia, but its recent actions have in fact ensured the maintenance of white minority rule - apparently indefinitely, unless Mr. Wilson will act decisively. The Smith regime stuffs its gaols with its political opponents, exploits its African population in the worst white settler tradition and looks to Verwoerd's apartheid as the model for ensuring white supremacy. Wilson must send troops with the endorsement of the United Nations to remove Smith from illegal power. The cancer of white supremacy must be cut out before it can be fed from the south. Britain must call a constitutional conference, representing all the people's of Rhodesia, to create a democratic constitution for early independence with the right to vote guaranteed to all. The alternative course is disastrous. Smith will continue to rule. The white block of southern Africa will be cemented. Labour will lose all influence in Africa. Independent African states will attempt to remove Smith by invasion and because of Smith's superior military equipment, a prolonged war, engulfing much of Africa could result. Mr. Wilson has made it plain that the choice is his alone.

SHOULD BRITISH TROOPS BE SENT TO RHODESIA?

by Dave Windsor

The Rhodesian crisis and Mr. Wilson's attempt to arrive at an "all-party" solution to it, has caused a great deal of discussion in ^{the} Labour Party. It is to be regretted, in my opinion, that The Week has not taken part in this discussion or, for that matter, had very much to say on the subject.

Both Tribune and the Daily Worker have called for the despatch of British troops to put down the "Smith rebellion." At first sight this seems to be a practical and perfectly proper idea to put forward. On reflection, however, I have my doubts. The "kith and kin" argument has no relevance for socialists. In fact it could only be used by people whose thinking is tainted by colour prejudice. For socialists all men are "kith and kin" - regardless of colour, religion, race or nationality. But there is another socialist axiom which comes to mind: the liberation of the working class must be the work of the working ^{class} itself. Put another way: can we expect a Government which uses its troops in Malaysia, in Southern Arabia, in Guyana and elsewhere to put the local population down to use them to liberate Rhodesia? My betting is that the only time we will see British sent to Rhodesia is when British big business investments are in danger. The job in Rhodesia is to assist in every way the struggle of the African people to liberate themselves.

On November 25th, at about 4 p.m. a member of the British Special Branch unlawfully entered my home. I work at the London office of the Malayan People's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. I was not at home at the time and subsequent enquiries revealed that the C.I.D. representative frightened my housekeeper into opening the door of the premises and spent twenty minutes conducting an extensive search on my papers and belongings. Furthermore he questioned my housekeeper about my political activities.

On my return that evening and learning of the intrusion, I immediately went to the West Hampstead Police Station accompanied by another Malayan friend to find out if the intrusion was in fact carried out by the C.I.D. Police Officer S.P.S. 33E, Mr. Thornby at the Police Station took charge of the report and confirmed that the intrusion was in fact carried out by the C.I.D. The reason given was that the C.I.D. was looking for an Indonesian student and when I pointed out that my housekeeper had categorically told the C.I.D. representative that there were no Indonesians living in the building, the Police Officer Mr. Thornby said that the C.I.D. did not believe the house keeper and preferred to check themselves. Finally, I told the police that I wished to lodge the strongest protest against this unlawful action, on the part of the British C.I.D.

VIETNAMESE CHRISTIAN STATES HIS MIND

From a New Zealand C.N.D. leaflet

Yesterday, I assisted at mass, as I do each Sunday. This tells you something about myself. The truth about Vietnam is that we wish to make our own way without foreign intervention....

Perhaps, if the Americans were to go away, we might have one government of our choice. It must be for all Vietnam. It may be socialist or communist. That is our affair. Then, if we choose to have close links with China, or France, is not that our affair also? You cannot force us to follow any policy. Neither can you bribe us. For we are Vietnamese.

To say that if the Americans go away we shall become victims of the Chinese makes every Vietnamese laugh. We have known the Chinese for two thousand years. Even in Manchu times, before the French, we could look after ourselves! Today, the attitude of the Chinese people is different. It is so correct that the Chinese Government will not even discuss the affairs of my country with others. Chinese help would not be forced upon my country. However, it will be given when it is asked for by a representative government, which is rather different from an American appointed government.

I write in clarity, saying there is only one solution. My country has been occupied for nearly a hundred years. For twenty five years there has been no peace in the south, with the French, the Japanese, and now the Americans. We are tired of them all, people who come to stay when they are not wanted. Let them go home. Let them leave us alone.

U.S. CASUALTIES POUR INTO THE PHILIPPINES by an American reader

According to a report in the November 27 the Washington Post, the number of wounded U.S. servicemen in Vietnam has increased tenfold since last spring. Its Manila correspondent reported that the Clark Field military hospital in Manila has been placed on a wartime footing to cope with thousands of American casualties pouring in from Vietnam. "Scarcely a day now passes without 2 or 3 giant cargo airplanes landing here to unload their human freight of casualties," the correspondent continued.

With many of David Riddell's points in "Planning, Centralisation and the Market in Yugoslavia" I am in agreement. His criticism of the views I stated in Towards Socialism and again in this debate does not in fact meet them, but is to some considerable extent concerned to rebut opinions I do not hold. The first important point we can agree on is that Yugoslav self-management is an experience which is "crucial in discussing the problems of interrelating planning, self-management, centralisation and freedom of choice." Secondly, we agree that apathy, fragmentation and similar disorders are certainly no worse in Yugoslavia than they are in the Soviet Union or the East European countries, to put it rather mildly. Thirdly, my fears about 'bureaucratic anarchy' were in no sense intended to characterise the present regime in Yugoslavia, but rather to indicate the dangers in the present trends, which, if uninterrupted, will foster the growth of the kinds of difficulty about which I was speculating.

Fourthly and lastly, if central planning means "a plan weighing $1\frac{1}{4}$ tons," specifying the "exact number of glass containers for medical use" and so on, we are united against any such bureaucratic monster. That is not at all what I mean by democratic planning - it is rather an instance of technocratic imbecility, and has nothing whatever to do with the assertion of democratic social priorities.

What we are really arguing about is the extent to which the market must be held under control in the transition towards socialism. My view is that the more undeveloped an economy is, the more vital it is that its basic decisions should be centrally controlled and regulated both in order that social priorities be determined in the most democratic manner possible, and in order precisely to accelerate the "take-off" into industrialisation in the most decisive possible way. To the extent that market priorities remain sovereign, backward areas remain "unprofitable", basic industries become "risks", and "incentives" produce increasing stratification. In a poor country, housing for the poor is far less "profitable" than it is in England, which is saying something. Naturally, the explosion of social welfare provision in Yugoslavia took place exactly on the basis of the subordination of the market: housing for managers would have been much more profitable than workers' flats, for instance. The question is not whether the Yugoslavs have in the past established healthy norms in these spheres: it is whether their line of advance is continuing on this course or not. Is the Yugoslav market a "domesticated" beast? It was: there are strong grounds for saying that today it is dangerously close to reverting back towards savagery. The end of a long process, increasingly subordinating national decisions to criteria of profitability, came this July in the economic crisis which resulted in the drastic devaluation of the dinar. The remedies chosen by the Yugoslav administration to accompany this measure were very serious. The main one was to rely to a very great extent upon foreign, predominantly capitalist, competition. Devaluation to a rate of 3,500 dinars to the £1 was conjoined with a reduction of tariffs from an average of 23% to 11.8%. The effect of these measures was to greatly stiffen foreign competition in Yugoslav markets, to encourage Yugoslav exports, and to curb inflation by sharp cuts in Yugoslav living standards. Part of the "domestication" of the market in Yugoslavia had involved strict controls over the disposal by firms of their foreign earnings. These controls were apparently considerably

relaxed as a result of the July measures. This could only have the effect of emphasising the pressure of market criteria on the determination of policy at the level of the firm.

But the most important immediate effect of these decisions was to raise the prices of fuels, raw-materials and food to the general world-market level, squeezing enterprises between unsubsidised costs and drastically competitive price-levels. The weakest must thus go to the wall. Moreover, it is not surprising that the weakest enterprises are, by and large, in the most backward areas, in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. The social effects of undermining such enterprises will prove grotesque unless strong central counter-measures are taken: and without the weapon of a state foreign trade monopoly such counter-measures will prove politically hazardous, since all the political force of the "profitable" sector will incline to resist obviously expensive social rescue work in the outback. The Times, reporting on all this, summed up some of the problems:

"As the most advanced republic Slovenia's industry will benefit from the reforms and the process of readjustment will be less painful than in the less developed South. It is enough to arrive in the capital to realise how great is now the difference, not only in the visual impression - the excellent modern building and the number of privately owned cars - but also in the psychological climate, in the business-like approach to current problems." (Times 2.8.65.)

The Times correspondent noted the great progress in Slovenia, whose standards did not seem any lower than those in adjacent Austria or Italy. He praised "the Slovene's hard work, thriftiness and living standards." The Slovenes, he went on, "have for several years been pressing for reforms" which "have been received ... in other parts of the country ... with mixed feelings." Of course, 'thrift', 'hard work' and all these virtues are notoriously more difficult to practise in under-developed regions than advanced ones. If the Times does not understand this, there are many people in Macedonia who understand it very well.

In a context like this, with the expectation that some 250,000 unskilled workers are to be dismissed, and with a similar number already unemployed, it is difficult to be as sanguine as David Riddell about the beneficial effects of the market. Claws and teeth or no, it is exacting its pound of flesh. Certainly "minimum wage legislation" does not look so good in a context of an all round 25% cut in the living standards of precisely the lowest paid groups.

The alternative to all this is not to go back on self-management. On the contrary. When David Riddell says that self-management "is not ... a question of deciding how an externally imposed target can be met. It involves the real decision, subject to the interests of the whole population, of what is to be produced, of prices, and of wages," he is quite right. The question is, at what level must these things be democratically decided? And the answer can only be, that it is nonsense to talk about a "plan" in which the broad outline of what is to be produced is the problem of a sub-group, however democratically constituted. Some of these questions require a democratic machinery for taking decisions at republic and national level.

On the matter of 'bureaucratic anarchy' David Riddell's citation of the figures of the decline in the staff of the Federal Planning Institute show that he has not taken my point. You cannot measure the extent of bureaucratic by the numbers of people in the planning offices. The Yugoslav bureaucracy does not simply consist of 8000 "central planners" (most of whom will be routine clerical and secretarial employees) who survive from the former Stalinist heyday when 43,500 worked in that field. It also consists in a whole variety of factory managers and industrial personnel whose effective powers will have greatly increased to the extent that the market has replaced the Federal Planning Institute. Here the measurement of differentials in the factories becomes a basic indicator; and the figure cited by David Riddell himself, that after the 1960 reform differentials shot up from 1:4 to 1:12 or 1:13 underlines my point. No doubt they have declined from this absurd level. But to assume that now they are universally back to the level of 1:5 or even 1:4 seems to me to be very optimistic. Kolaja's survey of two factories (published this year by Tavistock) showed differentials of 1:5 and 1:6 or 7, which are very high when it is borne in mind that Lenin's norm for the Soviet Union in 1917, in conditions of primeval backwardness and wartime dislocation, was 1:4. The fact that the Soviet Union today is a much worse sinner in this respect than Yugoslavia does not invalidate this argument. Kolaja reports that workers in his 'factory B' considered these differentials to be "quite excessive". But in a context of overall competition, the differentials between factory and factory become possibly more significant than those within factories. Kolaja's two factories had paid out to all workers, in the one case, $\frac{1}{2}$ a month's bonus, at the end of the year before he arrived. This process of differentiation will accelerate in present conditions. To assume that such developments will inhibit the solidarity and political consciousness of the workers may be too mechanistic in the circumstances; possibly the very stringency of the present crisis may conduce to a revaluation within the league of Communists, and a reversal of the present trends. If not, then fragmentation seems inevitable.

On the question of how far 'payment by results' has effectively permeated the educational and health services, I hope David Riddell is right. But if he is, it will be because of the entirely proper hesitation of teachers and doctors themselves, and not for want of very considerable political pressure from the central and republican governments. I should like to pursue this matter further, when it is possible to argue this matter out at length.

The last, seminal question about which we are at odds is that of overall political democracy. I am not at all advocating the random licensing of reactionary parties: clearly the negative social influence of the peasantry is an important danger, although when I raised the question of Djilas' imprisonment with leading members of the LYC in 1960 and again in 1964, they all denied very strenuously that it had anything to do with the power of the peasantry. Be that as it may. What is clear is that there can be no democratic central planning without the right to form "shifting pressure groups" to agitate for one course of action rather than another, to publish one's views as a platform around which to attempt to group others, and so on. It is not by any means excluded that the institutional recognition of the legality of factions within the LYC itself might meet this need to a considerable degree. Again, I am not minimising the very real areas of political freedom which exist in Yugoslavia. These have pioneer significance; but simply to 'accentuate the positive' is no fitting position for a socialist. If we are to really profit from the Yugoslav experience it must be discussed not only with sympathy, but also with clinical objectivity.