

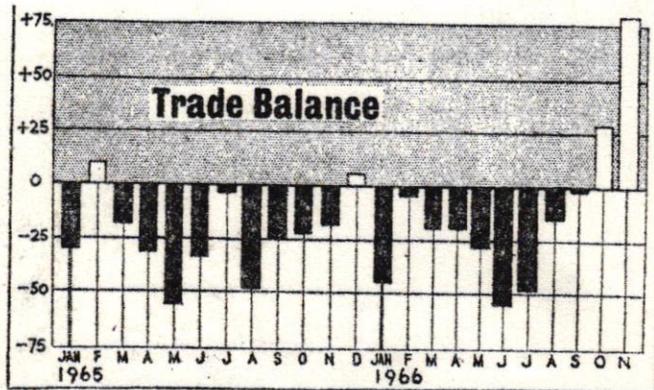
The Week

American Failure in Vietnam

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Vol. 6 No. 22. 15th Dec. 1966

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IS WILSON WINNING ?



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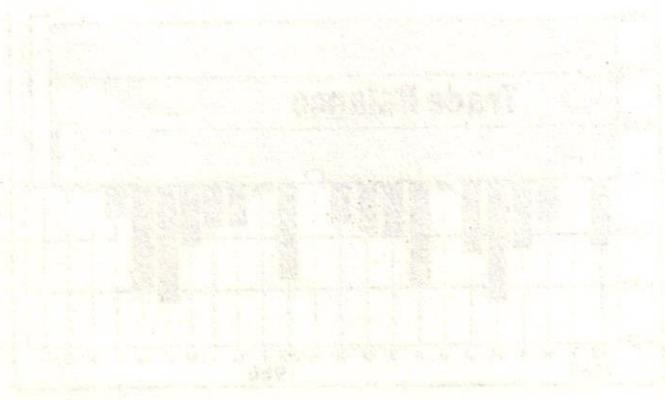
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IS WILSON WINNING?

The November trade figures certainly appear to be good news for the Labour Cabinet. Wilson will undoubtedly claim that these figures completely justify the policies which he has taken since July. It is, however, necessary to look at them a bit closer before we concede victory to Mr. Wilson. The Financial Times of December 14th had a serious and interesting article on the question. It noted two favourable circumstances in November: (1) that importers had been delaying shipments until after the dropping of the import surcharge; (2) a drop of 2% in import prices since the spring. It concludes that the dropping of the surcharge will lead to deficits in the next two months. However, it notes that there are also signs of a long term trend favouring the balance of payments. Firstly, imports of food and basic materials were down quite sharply - these two items not being affected by the imports surcharge. This drop undoubtedly reflects the slackening of internal demand - a euphemism for lower living standards - caused by Wilson's deflationary measures. The second feature is the increase in exports, these being 7% up in value in the first eleven months of this year.

Looking to the future, the paper points out that the relaxing of home demand may increase unit cost and thus increase export prices. It also notes that everything depends upon how the American economy fares. Its last statement is the most disturbing of all: "A sustained increase of probably double this amount" (the 7% increase in value of exports) "will be needed if exports are to lead the economy into growth at a fast enough rate to prevent a further increase in unemployment." So maybe Mr. Wilson is winning - but only at the probable cost of increasing unemployment throughout 1967, and only if his luck holds. For the left, the important thing is not whether this or that policy looks like solving the economic problems of capitalist Britain, but to what extent the working class can defend its gains and go on to the offensive. If Mr. Wilson solves his problems circumstances will be more favourable to get a mobilisation for a struggle by workers to achieve their expectations.

BOMBS ON HANOI

According to Tass bombs have been dropped for the first time on residential areas within Hanoi city limits. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Brown have made great play of their mealy-mouthed protest they made when the Americans bombed oil depots near Hanoi earlier this year. They must be made to protest again and more forcibly. If they don't they must be branded as accomplices in the crime.

TORY BARBARISM

The escape of that poor devil, Frank Mitchell, from Dartmoor has given the Tories a chance to display their atavistic nature in all its most narrow-minded hypocrisy. They would like to destroy every humanitarian advance made in the last century in the field of the treatment of prisoners. They seek in this way to make up for their political bankruptcy by mobilising the most backward sections of the population on this question. This kind of activity generates the atmosphere in which fascism flourishes. In our criticism of Mr. Wilson, who facilitates a rightward evolution of the Tory Party by his politics, we should not forget this fact.

"BALANCE OF PAYMENTS" by Tom Drinkwater: (Review by Geoff Coggan)

The balance of payments has been for so long a vital talking point in any discussion of Britain's economic situation that there is a constant danger of the familiarity of the term breeding contempt - particularly amongst those of us who are not economists and who are unfamiliar with the technical monetary vocabulary. This small book * sets out to clarify the issues at stake with a minimum of jargon.

Despite, or perhaps because of, his limitations of purpose, Tom Drinkwater is able to relate the balance of payments problem to our national affairs as a whole. The balance of trade - the relationship between exports and imports - is shown as only part of an economic fabric which takes in such services as insurance, shipping and banking, and the long-term export of capital from which the subsequent profit may be either transferred to this country or reinvested abroad. Also discussed are the short-term capital activities of the City of London and, of course, the intensive international dealings of the British Government from which the ebb and flow of interest have a profound influence on the overall balance of payments position.

During the period since the end of World War II, Britain has suffered no fewer than seven balance-of-payments crises - at intervals of approximately 3 years, and it is the theme of this book to question the viability of Britain's relationships with the rest of the world. Officially we have been told that it is the trade gap which is the cause of the difficulties and that salvation requires only that we increase our exports. Frequently the popular press refers to the problems with such similes as "prudent housekeeping."

Yet the trade gap throughout this period has been very much smaller than it was before the war: how then can one explain the countries relative freedom from such crises in the pre-war period? The answer lies partly in our military expenditure abroad, which shows now as a debit to be met by the British taxpayer whereas before the war the cost of military bases was frequently forced on the colonial peoples.

But more important as a contribution to the imbalance has been the persistent outflow of capital abroad - a use of capital which has necessarily retarded the development and capital re-equipment of the British productive economy in this country. It is in this situation that the stop-go policies of successive governments has disrupted the economy on each occasion that 'stop' periods have been introduced in response to the balance-of-payments position. Among the proposals discussed by the author are: more severe restrictions on capital exports, import quotas, the sale of privately owned foreign assets, and a major cut in overseas military expenditure.

(* "A Guide to the Balance of Payments" (LRD Publications)
78, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1. price 5/0d.)

BIG INCREASE IN DEFICIT OF REDUNDANCY FUND IN NOVEMBER

by Ken Tarbuck

National Redundancy Fund borrowing from the Treasury accelerated recently when a further £400,000 loan was issued. This brings the total borrowing during the last five weeks to £950,000.

Payments from the Fund since mid-April have exceeded contributions by nearly £100,000 per week. Ray Gunter has said that by next February the Fund's deficit may be £4.5 million. The deficit can be met by borrowing from the Consolidated Fund up to £8 million, but if necessary this ceiling can be raised to £20 million. However, to check the borrowing, the Government is planning to increase contributions from employers and employees in February. The increase is aimed at eliminating the deficit in 1968, and arriving at a surplus by 1969.

Average individual payments from the Fund have been running at £180 compared with the £130 estimated in Ministry of Labour Surveys. Ray Gunter has estimated that drawings from the Fund would reach £650,000 per week in the next six months, compared with a weekly average of £430,000 from mid-April to the end of October.

What this indicates is that the present squeeze is making redundant more long service workers than was originally thought would be the case, and that this will continue. Also the planned increase in contributions to the Fund will be another wage reduction for all the workers still in employment, since the freeze is to continue. For the employers however, this will not be the case, since the White Paper on incomes policy, recently published, specifically stated that firms were entitled to increase prices if costs rose due to Government action. This is another instance of the workers being made to pay, and this time literally, for the problems of capitalism.

SECURITY SERVICE IN U.S. "JUSTIFIED" IN USING SLANDER

from our U.S. correspondent

A federal court in Baltimore has ruled that the protection of national security can justify the use of slander by C.I.A. agents. The judge, Roszel Thomsen, gave this ruling on December 8th, in a slander case brought by Mr. Erik Heine, of Toronto, who alleged that Juri Raus, a C.I.A. agent, said that he was a double agent for the Soviet Union.

The C.I.A. admitted that Raus made the charge, but that he was acting under orders, and claimed that he was therefore immune from prosecution.

U.S. TRADE WAR AGAINST CUBA AFFECTS BRITISH COMPANIES

There has been an indefinite suspension of U.S. export privileges against two London based companies, Woodham Trading and Glovet Traders. It has been alleged that Woodham Trading has re-exported American car parts to Cuba in violation of U.S. export regulations. Glovet Traders have been accused of making 'false' and misleading statements as to the ultimate destination of used aircraft tyres which it ordered from an American company.

At the moment the U.S. Department of Commerce is still waiting the companies' answers to a series of questions that were put to them when the first order was made in June. The department indicated that should the allegations be found to be true further sanctions would be applied against the companies, but did not make clear what they would be.

DEUTSCHER ON THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION by a special correspondent

There has been too little serious discussion about the events in China which have culminated in the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and the Red Guard movement. Of course the capitalist press has been busy at work with its sneers and speculations, and the other end of the political spectrum, certain small groups which now adulate Mao^{ist} as their ideological predecessors used to Stalin, have greeted these events with enthusiasm. Those Communists who take the Moscow line have been quick to take advantage of the obvious difficulties of the Chinese leadership to gain polemical advantage. But it must be said that any criticism emanating from this quarter has been unmarked by political clarity. It is, therefore, very good indeed that Isaac Deutscher's opinions on this subject are now available in a concise form.

Deutscher on the Chinese "Cultural Revolution"* takes the form of an interview given by Mr. Deutscher to the left-communist journal, La Sinistra, of Milan. The interview was conducted on behalf of the editorial board of that journal by Mr. Ernest Tate, of Pioneer Book Service, and consists of Mr. Deutscher's answers to eight questions. These questions cover such topics as the likelihood of war between the United States and China, the danger of nuclear attack on China, China's "writing off" of the possibility of Soviet aid to the colonial revolution, China's assessment of the social nature of the Soviet Union, whether or not these events indicate a victory for Lin Piao, whether or not there is a bureaucracy in China, what are the long term prospects, and the comparison between China today and the Soviet Union in the late 1920's. Isaac Deutscher's replies cover practically every aspect of theory ranging from Mao's views on culture to the current U.S. attitude towards the communist world. He illustrates his answers with the immense historical knowledge at his disposal.

Not everyone will be pleased with this publication, still less will there be universal agreement about its arguments, however the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has done a service for the whole movement by publishing this study. One last note: critics of pamphlet will be dishonest if they do not recognise the extent to which predictions made by Mr. Deutscher (the interview was given on 20th September) have been born out in recent weeks. This is definitely a pamphlet to read, study, and read again.

* Available from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation publishing dept., 11, Wormwood St., London E.C. 2. Price 1/6 (1/9d post paid), discount rates available to organisations, e.g., socialist societies, CSE branches, young socialist branches, Labour Parties, etc. Write for details.

YOUTH FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM TO HOLD DEMONSTRATION from YCND Bulletin

Youth for Peace in Vietnam will be organising a demonstration on Sunday, September 18th. Beginning with a public meeting at Speakers' corner, followed by a march to the U.S. Embassy where a deputation will deliver a letter. The March will proceed to Do Chemicals, a subsidiary of the company which produces napalm. Note the date. The meeting will begin at 3.00 p.m.....

Editorial comment: it is good that the Youth for Peace in Vietnam are drawing attention to the fact that companies exist in this country that have direct links with those in America, which are deeply involved in the production of napalm and other weapons of fiendish nature. It is to be hoped that more research is done on this question so we can pinpoint these firms.

13 POLES REPORTED TO BE EXPELLED FROM PARTY by a London Reader.

The Polish exiles' magazine Kultura, in its issue of December 9th said that thirteen intellectuals had been expelled from the Polish Workers Party for protesting about the expulsion of Dr. Leszek Kolakowski, the philosopher, earlier this year. The magazine said that the thirteen were among twenty one signatories of a letter to the party's central committee protesting at Dr. Kolakowski's expulsion.

The party had acted against Dr. Kolakowski after he had made a speech to students last October. He was reported to have said that the Polish authorities had failed to fulfil hopes raised by the first flush of de-Stalinisation ten years ago. It was also reported that five students had been suspended from Warsaw University for their behaviour over the Kilakowski affair.

U.K. CUTS OVERSEAS AID BY £20 MILLION by a Parliamentary Correspondent

In a written reply to a question in the House of Commons on 12th December, the Minister of Overseas Development, Arthur Bottomley, announced that Britain would cut aid by £20 million next year. This it was said was "in the interest of economic recovery and to maintain the strength of the pound". He went on to say that payments under the aid programme would be limited to £205 million in 1967-68 as compared with £225 million in 1966-67.

The twenty or so countries that receive British aid, ranging from £30 to £1.5 million, will in a number of cases find their aid allotments cut and probably the payments as well. The significance of these cuts should be noted; most of the countries involved have appalling per capita incomes (see Dave Windsor's article of last week) and the need for a huge increase of aid from the developed countries is overwhelming. Yet despite this these cuts are to be imposed to make the pound 'safe'.

FACTORY SAFETY RULES - OFFENDERS GET OFF LIGHTLY from Derek London

For contraventions of the Factories Act causing death or bodily injury the average fine imposed by the courts in 1965 was £48. The maximum fine for such offences is £300. Offences under the Factories Act are tried summarily before magistrates, and between 1962 and 1965 out of a total of 2,240 penalties imposed 55 per cent were fines of £30 or less, 359 fines were in the one to ten pound range. These penalties are imposed whenever there is a contravention of the Act involving accidents that are fatal or cause bodily harm. Only in 19 cases were fines imposed between £201 and £300.

The average fine in 1962 was £43, while in 1963 it was £41, and in 1964 it rose to £46. An indication of the leniency of the courts in these cases can be seen from one example. This was the case of a firm that had failed to provide a guard on fly press, although it had been warned four times, when brought to court it was given a conditional discharge. This was despite the fact that there had been a previous derisory £10 fine following the death of a 17 year old youth.

Such low fines, and conditional discharges, are an open encouragement to employers to safely disregard the provisions of the Factories Act. It is little wonder that workers become cynical about Factory Inspectors and their visits.

LONDON BUILDING SITES DISPUTES from "Rank and File"

Two disputes in London make it clear that the employers are picking out the most militant sites in order to crush the leading elements in the militant trade union struggle in London. This is increasingly the pattern in the Building industry.

The Myton Dispute.

On the Myton's site at the Barbican, a working-to-rule was called on September 27th in support of scaffolders and labourers whose bonus targets were unsatisfactory. After protracted negotiations, the management gave notice to three steel-fixers for alleged "unsatisfactory production". As one of the fixers was on full time supervision, and therefore non-productive, and no one on the site was on bonus, the charges were clearly ridiculous.

On October 17th as two Incentive Advisory Panels had found in favour of both the labourers and the scaffolders, the works committee proposed to the management that the work-to-rule be ended and the three notices be withdrawn. The management refused. When the notices were not withdrawn a stoppage of work took place on October 21st, and the dispute was declared official at a meeting of London District Secretaries. On the 4th November the management sacked every worker on the site. Both the T.G.W.U. and A.U.B.T.W. immediately declared the site "black" and declared a lockout.

The Sunley Dispute. (Horseferry Road, Westminster)

There has been a persistent refusal by the management to recognise the Working Rule Agreement and Site Procedure by consulting with the works committee over such matters as safety, bonus and working conditions. Recently the management informed the works committee that regardless of what the trade unions thought or did gang bonus would operate from October 24th, and that clocking-on would also be introduced. Negotiation was refused point-blank by the management. When the men decided to stop work until a return to the status quo during negotiations was granted, the management called on the works committee to order the men back to work. At a mass meeting it was decided not to return to work, and the management then announced the sacking of the entire works committee for "industrial misconduct".

Editorial note. The above reports have been cut slightly for space reasons. As we go to press both disputes are still in progress and we would urge readers to send donations or collections to Hugh Cassidy, 61 Bengarth Road, Northolt, Middlesex, for the Sunley dispute and A.D. Leadbetter, 9 Wells House, Rosebury Avenue, London E.C.1. for the Myton dispute.

TEXTILE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

from Barbara Wilson

Unions representing 125,000 Lancashire textile workers have sent £3,000 towards the strike fund of 270 workers who have been out for over a month after their firm, East Asia Textile Mills of Hongkong, sacked a worker. The man concerned, Chung Hon Loong, had worked for 6 years, seven days a week, without a day off. He asked for a rest day because he felt unwell, was refused, took the day off and was then sacked for being absent. Mr. Lewis Wright, secretary of the Weavers' Amalgamation, the Lancashire workers' Union, says the £3,000 will keep the strike going for 30 days. He is also appealing the 33 unions affiliated to the International Textile and Garment Workers' Federation, of which he is also secretary, to send funds

Despite the fact that unemployment is zooming over 120,000 women, and boys and girls between 16 and 18 are working hours not permitted by the Factory Act of 1961. The way the employers get round this Act is by applying to the Minister - Ray Gunter - for a special exemption under Section 117 of the Act. On the 31st of October, the numbers covered by these exemptions were:

Type of employment permitted by the Orders	women 18 years and over	Boys 16-18	Girls 16-18	Total
Excess hours	38,073	1,910	4,874	44,857
Double day shifts	29,433	1,657	2,658	33,748
Long spells	7,954	284	916	9,154
Night shifts	5,656	1,457	-	7,113
Part time work	12,224	-	1	12,225
Saturday afternoon work	2,386	93	63	2,542
Sunday work	8,572	487	93	9,152
Misc.	4,914	293	182	5,389
Total	109,212	6,181	8,787	124,180

Excess hours are those worked over and above the number permitted by the Act in a given day; long spells are those which exceed the maximum number of hours without a break specified by the Act; and the figure for part time work covers those working in hours not allowed by the Act.

This figures are an absolute disgrace: when hundreds of thousands of motor car workers are on short time we find a Labour Minister of Labour permitting nearly 6,000 young workers under 18 to work hours which are considered to be too long. The figure of over 12,000 women working on part time work in hours not permitted by the Act is very sinister. Translated into human terms it probably means mothers compelled to work ghastly hours - very early in the morning or very late at night - because they have to look after young children in the day. Over 11,000 are permitted to work weekends; how many of them must be on a seven day week? Many people will be astounded when they read that thousands of women are working night shifts, along with nearly 1,500 boys under 18. The figure for double day shifts includes 10,181 employed on shift work which involves work on Saturdays or Sundays.

It would seem to me that the trade union movement should stamp this kind of thing out completely. M.P.s should point out that the function of the Minister of Labour is not to facilitate the working of hours injurious to health but to prevent it. By granting these permits, the Minister puts the convenience of employers in the interest of earning profits above that of the young people's health. The article in the Ministry of Labour Gazette (November, 1966), which gives these figures, talks all the way through about "persons" - which just about typifies the callousness involved. Maybe soon we will read of "units of production"!

ANOTHER ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST JOURNAL

The Latest issue of I.S.J. (Vol. 3 No.16-17) is a double one, and although it costs 8/- it is value for money. The extra size (it is over 170 pages!) gives scope for larger articles. Of special interest to Week readers will be Lelio Basso's study of Rosa Luxemburg's use of the Dialectical method. Other articles are on France (the new Federation); Italy (Social Democrats and the Centre Left); West Germany (neo-capitalist ideology) and some very important trade union studies. I.S.J. is available from 19, Greenfield St., Nottingham. Editorial note: next week there will be a full review of this issue.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL OPENS OFFICE IN LONDON

The International War Crimes Tribunal has opened an office in London. Very conveniently placed (it is one minute from the Liverpool St. Tube Station), the office houses the publishing and administration sectors. It occupies two floors, each with three rooms. In addition to the International War Crimes Tribunal, two rooms are taken by the publishing department of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

This change has already led to a big improvement in the running of the campaign for support for the International War Crimes Tribunal, a special advantage being that there are now much better facilities for voluntary workers. All communications, requests for literature and information should go to:

International War Crimes Tribunal,
11a, Wormwood St.,
London E.C. 2 Telephone: London 588-1924/5

"THE TIMES" CORRECTED

The December 9th issue of The Times published the following letter:

"Sir,

The report in The Times (November 17) is unusual journalism and I am disappointed to find such tendentious reporting combined with so little accurate information. Why is your reporter so hostile? He complains that Lord Russell only gave a speech, yet the invitation card sent out to all members of the press stipulates that Bertrand Russell will make a statement after which members of the Tribunal will answer questions.

"Why does he complain that Lord Russell's speech was distributed ("a hand-out everybody had")? A folder containing the most detailed information in a considerable number of documents was provided to each journalist so that he would not be dependent on his notes and could ask questions in the light of prepared material. In my experience, heretofore, journalists have appreciated such facilities instead of regarding them as a ground for grievance.

"Why does the report carry the sub-heading, "questions rationed, straight answers scarce"? Every single question was answered and the press conference closed when there were no more questions. It is shocking that your reporter mentions those members of the Tribunal who were not at the press conference but omits mentioning those who were. He also fails to mention the officers of the Tribunal and implies, through insinuation, that the absent members were not fully participating despite the fact that Jean-Paul Sartre and Professor Laurent Schwarz, to take two examples, had been discussed at the press conference with respect to their role during the coming sessions.

"The press was informed that Jean-Paul Sartre, as executive president of the Tribunal, would be holding a press conference for the Tribunal in Paris on November 22. I think it important for your readers to understand a matter involving men of considerable intellectual stature.

Yours, etc.

Ralph Schoenman,

Secretary-General, International War Crimes Tribunal."

N.B. there was no editorial reply neither was there an explanation of the delay in printing this letter.

LEADING U.S. REPORTERS AGREE ON AMERICAN MILITARY FAILURES IN VIETNAM

from The Militant

Despite U.S. propaganda claims about military gains in Vietnam, news reports reveal that the U.S. and its Saigon puppet regime are suffering stunning defeats in their efforts to "Pacify" the country. The reports confirm they are unable to crush the guerrillas who continue to attack the occupying forces and who enjoy the support of the local population in doing so.

Writing in the Dec. 1 New York Times, R.W. Apple Jnr. describes a trip from Saigon to the nearby Mekong Delta a history of the effort to pacify South Vietnam. "At every stream or river crossing, there is a reminder that all past efforts have failed. Each waterway is spanned by a Bailey Bridge or some other expedient, the original bridge having long since fallen to Vietcong explosives." A U.S. major serving as adviser to Saigon forces in the area tells him: "Things are no good. They (the guerrillas) hit you with a battalion one night, but next morning you can't find a squad." The major shied away from answering Apple's question as to just how secure the area was, but, Apple observed, "when he went to the highway for a quick trip to a nearby headquarters, he wore an armored vest, carried a rifle and took a second jeep along for protection."

Describing the extreme difficulties confronting U.S. forces in the Delta area, Apple writes that while in the first two months of the drive "bulky GIs waded for hours through rice paddies, wet below the waist from mud and paddy water, wet above the waste from perspiration - only 14 guerrillas were killed." Four teams of "rural-development workers, who are supposed to win over the local peasants, are assigned to the area, "but none are yet old enough to sleep in the hamlets they are supposed to bring under Saigon's control." The lieutenant colonel in charge of the area told Apple that even if he could accomplish his entire mission in a year - which he considers improbable - he would have dealt with only one of six districts in the Delta's 16 provinces. "In a province like this, a whole battalion - 600 men - can be gobbled up by the rice paddies."

Apple's findings confirmed an earlier Saigon report to the Nov. 25 Times by Max Frankel. "In Saigon, they worry about the chiefs of villages who understandably but still unfortunately refuse to risk sleeping in their hamlets at night. Almost every soldier, from private to colonel, counts the days until his year of duty here expires. Yet all believe that there is now no easy way out of the morass. They expect a long guerrilla war. So far there is only a doctrine of pacification, no program worth the name, and the experimental teams already in the field still fear to spend the night in their assigned hamlet." A lieutenant colonel told Frankel: "Make them understand that this is just like the Indian wars, except that the helicopter has replaced the horse. And you know how long those wars lasted."

The theme is echoed by Marvin L. Stone in a particularly revealing article in the Dec. 5 U.S. News and World Report. He began covering Vietnam in 1954. "After all these years," reports Stone, "the wherewithal of victory does not seem to exist. The political fabric of the country is still shredding. Social progress is held in tight rein. The influence of the Saigon government seems not to grow at all in the vast countryside. Some Americans insist there is less effective presence in the villages now than there was three years ago. A third of the countryside is under the permanent day and night control of the Vietcong. In the past year, no substantial number of new roads have been opened; no substantial number of people brought under government control. ... The Reds have mobile taxation points on the roads, canals and rivers ... and levy taxes of one form or another in every province in south Vietnam, even in Saigon itself."

The journal Yugoslav Trade Unions, which is published in several languages, by the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation, contains a remarkable article in the December, 1966, edition, (Vol. 7, No. 30). Entitled "A Phenomenon: Stoppage of Work", it grapples painfully with what is clearly a rising trend of short, plant or local level, strike action. It summarises the disputes in four examples, and in each case comes down firmly on the side of the strikers. Teachers in Titovo Uzice refused their salaries in a collective demonstration against the Commune Council's decision to pay them less than similar salaries elsewhere. A wages dispute at a glass factory involved 550 workers in a thirty hour stoppage, over the use of the personal income fund for holiday pay. One department of the automobile factory in Kragujevac stopped work in protest at a rate-cutting decision of the workers' council. 400 workers in another case stopped work for eight hours over the discrimination in pay between office workers and themselves.

The article says of the Titovoc Uzice case that the Commune Council should have quickly met the justified demands of the teachers; of the glass factory that the workers' rights "had been usurped by the workers' council"; of the car factory, that "the long fingers of the workers' council interfered with the self-management of the Working Unit No. 130" (the department in question) "even though there was neither political nor economic logic to what it" (the workers' council) "was doing."

In attempting to generalise from such experiences, the article concludes that "in the main, it is a question of worker resistance to the violation of rights affecting the distribution of personal incomes, of a protest against unco-ordinated operational conditions, and lastly, of struggle against the still-strong roots of a bureaucracy which has survived in the self-management relationship also."

In order to distinguish between this "phenomenon" and the strike action of workers in capitalist countries, the writer concludes: "So, stoppage of work and strike are two different things. In the Yugoslav conditions, stoppage of work is a manifestation of worker struggle for the realisation of the already acquired rights, for self-management as a whole to pass direct into the hands of workmen. And striking, in many countries, is struggle for the acquisition of rights which the workmen do not possess."

Looking more deeply at the matter, it would seem that the workers' Councils and Commune Councils are developing increasingly into controllers of the "surplus". This interpretation of the needs of the "surplus" has developed in ways increasingly antagonistic to the needs of the workers, who resort to strike action against something which has passed beyond their control. The use of the reserves, the "surplus" in the Yugoslav economy is, we know, more and more related to the dictates of "the market" in which the enterprise is situated. The alienating influence of the market, mediated through the Workers' Council, creates antagonistic relations between that Council and the workers. The official attitude of the unions to this development, whilst it will have the unqualified approval of the pure liberal, must be seen by socialists as seriously ambiguous.

continued over/

It is healthy and desirable that the unions should defend "the right to strike", but if they see such protests as the product merely of "bureaucratic survivals" which can be eliminated by improved administrative forms and constitutions in the self-management machinery, they are not recognising the underlying cause of the antagonism. Bureaucracy not merely "survives" (from the earlier stalinist model of administrative centralism) but is being re-created in new forms as a result of the growth of the market and of commodity relations. The way to overcome the contradiction is through the growth of an overall political workers' democracy which embraces the control of the total product through democratic planning. This in turn requires not the demotion of political control over the economy (which is the object of Tito's recent reforms of the state and Communist League, and which have so delighted liberal commentators in the West) but its elevation above the power of market forces, and its democratisation. The trade unions, being an integral part of the political structure of the country, cannot avoid this issue. Their present attitude seems to presage a turn towards the "economism" which is characteristic of unions in a market economy.

THE HULL BUS STRIKE ENDS

from Alan Rooney

The East Yorkshire busmen and women returned to work Sunday last week on the advice of the bus section officials of the TGWU, Allan Thompson and Larry Smith, who had come up from the union's London headquarters. Although a majority of the workers took national TGWU advice to return, a substantial number walked out of the meeting with the officials, in protest over what they regarded as a sell-out. The terms of the settlement certainly favour the EYMS and British Electric Traction. It seems that Thompson and Smith had failed to see that the workers would have stayed out until past Christmas if they had had the right lead from their union at national level. This lead failed to come - apparently Thompson and Smith failed to see the national issues involved in the strike.

The management saw the importance of the issues involved in the strike, and Carling of BET and EYMS went out of his way to say at a specially convened press conference on December 6 that other private bus interests told him to out against the EYMS strikers as a "matter of principle". The pamphlet, No Bus Today warned about this.

The Hull bus officials of the TGWU have been forced to admit that feeling of the EYMS workers is still running high. As one of them pointed out, the decision to end the strike was by no means unanimous. This is very true. The leader of the strike committee is dissatisfied with the terms of the return to work which the national bus section leaders of the TGWU recommended. The line of argument of No Bus Today is having a positive impact among the EYMS still. The workers are still arguing their case and the strike committee is keeping up its contacts with the Hull Workers' Committee. The battle is by no means over.

Editorial note: Although the strike is over printing bills and other expenses will have to be paid. Any reader having money for copies of No Bus Today or any donation towards the strike fund should send it as a matter of urgency to: The Strike Committee, Busmen's Dispute, Bevin House, Hull.

REMINDER - REMINDER - REMINDER - REMINDER - REMINDER - REMINDER

Articles and review material are still going to our old address in Nottingham. Will all readers ensure that they go/our new address: 8, Roland Gdns., London SW7

RISING ILLITERACY from a U.S. correspondent

An article in the November issue of Scientific American discusses the rise in world illiteracy revealed by recent United Nations statistics. "The continuing rise in world population", it says, "has caused an alarming reversal of past trends favoring an increase in world literacy." It considers the U.N. figures - themselves alarming - of a rise of 200 million in the world's population of illiterates during the past six years, as suspect and quotes the Population Reference Bureau's opinion of the figures as "an optimistic underestimate."

The Bureau, which is a privately supported organisation concerned with demographic forecasting, characterises the developing countries' low per capita income, malnutrition and illiteracy as a "three-way feedback" problem. "The single nation with the largest problem is India, where only 55 million out of 187 million school-age children, or less than 30 per cent, go to school, and the government's expenditure per pupil per year is no more than 32 cents. In contrast, Federal, state and local government support of education in the U.S. totals some 600 dollars per pupil per year, a figure that does not include the 11.5 billion dollars spent by private colleges and schools.

"In Latin America, although the school situation is more favorable than in Asia or Africa, dropouts increase with each grade. In Brazil, for example, the average number of school years completed by each pupil is 2.6, and only 10 per cent reach eighth grade. Considering the likelihood that at least a minimum of education is a prerequisite for population control, the bureau finds it significant that nearly 85 per cent of the births today occur in the nations where 70 per cent of the children have no school to go to. . . . Half of the adult population of Africa, Latin America and non-Communist Asia, a total of almost 750 million, have received no schooling at all, and only 30 per cent of these nations' 373 million school-age children are now in schools of any kind."

NEGROES FIRST IN LINE IN U.S. ECONOMIC SLOW DOWN

Discounting the U.S. Administration's forecasts of the effects of the slowing down of the growth rate to 4 per cent, Mr. Andrew Brimmer, a governor of the Federal Reserve System, has stated in Washington that, while overall unemployment might well remain steady, in fact negro unemployment was bound to rise. Although only at a late stage did the negro enjoy the fruits of the five year economic boom, he would nevertheless be the first to suffer. "Sadly but honestly", said Mr. Brimmer, "I have concluded that the outlook for further substantial progress in the effort to broaden and deepen job opportunities for minority groups is less promising than it was even as recently as a year ago". He called for a special effort to "ensure that the burden of restraint does not fall unduly on those least able to bear it."