

# The Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS  
Vol. 5, No. 9. 3rd March, 1966

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**VIETNAM :  
AMERICA'S  
MILITARY  
CRISIS**

**LABOUR TO WIN!  
THE LEFT TO  
FIGHT!**

54 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham

Subscription : £2 per annum and pro rata

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LABOUR TO WIN BUT THE LEFT MUST FIGHT

So the "suspense" is over. The most closely guarded open secret for years has come out. We are told that one of the factors determining the timing of the announcement of the general was Mr. Wilson's desire that the Sunday papers concentrate on his Moscow visit. We have almost reached rule by gimmick. Those writers who forecast the coming to power of a meritocracy need not have bothered; it is the day of the Public Relation Officer. But leaving aside the fanfare, what significance has this election for those who want to transform Britain into a socialist state?

Firstly, it must be welcomed as giving the possibility of breaking the political deadlock arising out of Labour's tiny majority. For us, by far the best result will be a big Labour majority. Even if in the first instance Mr. Wilson, his admirers and hangers on all claim this to be a vote of confidence in Wilsonism, the truth will out. The trade unions are just beginning to learn the true meaning of Mr. Brown's incomes policy, and later this year the temporary factors which have masked Labour's failure to deal with any of the basic economic problems facing Britain are very likely to fade. Under these circumstances things will be very much clearer and the tiny majority will no longer provide an excuse for a failure to take vigorous anti-capitalist measures.

But the left cannot be passive. Simultaneously with fighting for the return of Labour they must criticise all those policies with which they disagree. It is a difficult and delicate task but one which cannot be dodged. Those left wingers who have mistakenly decided to give up the struggle and put themselves uncritically behind Mr. Wilson will only have themselves to blame if people are sceptical of them later. They will also be faced with some of the responsibility for anti-working class measures that are taken by the next Labour Government. But those who speak out boldly now will be in a much better position - morally and practically - to fight later on.

LOCAL BIGOTRY

According to local correspondents and at least one press report, the Scarborough Labour Party, at its annual general meeting, passed a resolution making membership of the Scarborough Left Club incompatible with membership of the Labour Party. This piece of narrowmindedness, motivated as it is by fear of people with socialist convictions, is almost unbiddably bad, especially on the eve of a general election. Readers of The Week are urged to protest.

Transport House has recently distributed a most curiously timed "Talking Points" on the future for coalminers. The most important paragraphs dealing with possible solutions for the coal industry's contracting role in the British economy are as follows:

"A guaranteed market?"

It has been argued that all would be well if the Government were to guarantee the N.C.B. a market of 200 million tons a year. Lower prices might help towards this. We might keep down the price of coal by subsidy. Neither the N.C.B. nor the National Union of Mineworkers has asked for this. Alternatively we could burden the price of coal with the cost of uneconomic pits and artificially push up the price of other fuels. In both cases the result would be the same - a heavy burden on the costs of the community.

"We would have to slow down the development of new gas-making processes based on oil and natural gas, which have transformed the nationalised gas industry into one of our most spectacular growth industries. We would also have to slow down the development of nuclear energy....." The document goes on to emphasise the need for a concentrated coal industry where pits are "economic", and for higher productivity.

Let's look at this more closely. There is no mention of the cost-structure and pricing policy of coal in this document. No mention of the huge profits made by the coal distributors which are preventing coal being effectively competitive with other fuels. The miners should insist on the nationalisation of the whole industry, including distribution. Secondly there is no mention of bringing natural gas resources and oil distribution under more effective government control. Then we come to the miners who will lose their jobs in "uneconomic" pits. This document states: "The Government's proposals include: a) Transport for miners who move to pits within travelling distance of their homes. b) Improved transfer allowances to miners who move to take up jobs in other coalfields. c) And of course houses for those men and their families." For those who have to leave the industry, "the Government is working to see there is alternative employment. Programmes for the construction of Government-financed advance factories include 32 in coal mining areas. Four new industrial rehabilitation units are to be set up to help displaced men to find suitable work. Further help will be given by the Government Training Centres which are being expanded." Marvellous, isn't it! There is no attempt here to begin to estimate the number of jobs which will be created in this way, where they will be, or what sort of work. How many, for instance will be in Scotland? We cannot be fobbed off with this kind of soft-soaping.

Surely as a basic minimum guarantee, miners will want:- 1) guaranteed earnings, not just basic rates of pay; 2) guaranteed housing which they can afford; 3) a realistic assessment of what jobs are being created, and where; 4) guaranteed training schemes which are planned in line with the new industries and jobs; 5) guaranteed full employment, otherwise re-training makes no sense at all. And there may well be others. These are the sorts of points we must help the miners make.

Finally, what on earth are "industrial rehabilitation units"? Brain-washing outfits for the convenience of managers, stocked with soggy literature like this Labour Party document?

Readers will have heard about the proposal put forward by the executive council of the People's Press Printing Society (the co-op which publishes the Daily Worker) to change the name of the paper. For several weeks now there has been discussion on the topic in the columns of Daily Worker, with a marked preponderance of letters favouring the change. However, when it came to the London meeting of the P.P.P.S. to discuss the question there was a close vote. The proposal to change the name of the paper was carried by only 84 votes to 69. Following the decision, shareholders were asked to vote for one of six alternatives. In addition to Morning Star, proposed by the executive council, there were: The People's Star, The New Herald, The People's Press, New Age, Clarion and The Daily.

The voting on the latter question will be announced later this week, as will the results of voting at 11 other meetings up and down the country of P.P.P.S. shareholders. The London vote having gone in favour of the change means that it will almost certainly be carried.

IMMIGRANTS MUST BE UNITED

The following is the text of a letter (slightly shortened) received from V. Sharma, secretary of the Southall Indian Workers' Association:

"It is with deep regret that we have learnt of the decision of the West Indian Standing Conference to leave CARD. Immigrant workers are deeply concerned about the racial situation in this country. We believe that it is imperative that we should all rally together and strengthen our organisation, CARD, through which we can effectively join forces in the struggle against racialism.

"It is particularly unfortunate that critics of CARD are accusing it of being middle class....organisations of working class immigrants such as ours are fully participating in the work of CARD and building it up. We particularly welcome the initiatives which CARD has taken, in close association with us, precisely in the field of the struggles of immigrant workers.

"The critics are expressing the very real sense of frustration and resentment prevailing in the immigrant community today. This mood is particularly marked amongst white collar workers (and) amongst immigrants who feel isolated and vulnerable. The worker on the factory floor, on the other hand, is learning to fight his battles and to make an impact on local institutions - the trade unions as well as on local politics. We cannot fight racialism in this country by isolating ourselves. We appeal to all our brothers to join with us and to come together in CARD. We all have a place and a role in it.

"The issue of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants has been dragged into the debate now, although the controversy is as old as CARD itself. The fact is that a large number of immigrant organisations are actively participating in the work of the National Committee because we see it as a vehicle through which we can resist some of the illconceived policies in the field and to promote positive policies. If the National Committee were not able to fulfill this role, we would see no reason to continue to work with it. But this is not the case.

"Finally, may we take this opportunity to thank you and your readers for the valuable support which you have given us in the recent strike at the Woolf Rubber Factory. We shall do all we can to establish and maintain firm links of solidarity with workers everywhere."

## A Programme for a Programme Continued from last week's issue

Large local disputes could be covered by personal contact between CSE and the workers concerned; and any small ones that are of special interest (e.g., involving immigrant workers, office girls, or previously unorganised sections). The aim here must be, in all modesty, to offer servicing facilities: publicity and documentation, personal help with strike relief, welfare and legal briefing if needed, contacts with local Labour. For instance, every CSE branch could be contacting the nearest NUR in connection with the impending strike. (NB: This paper was written before the recent settlement. The reference has been left in as a typical example of the opportunities available).

Though many such topics have a local or immediate origin, most of them cannot be pursued to a successful conclusion in action within the locality alone; herein lies their importance in Socialist educational work. Beginning with a direct, sense-informed, behavioural approach, we can draw conclusions that go beyond immediate reality. It must be admitted that on many of these matters little or no reading-list can yet be provided. The CSE nationally will attempt to provide guidance as rapidly as possible; discussions are being undertaken with the Socialist Medical Association, on the invitation of the latter, with the aim of providing study material in the general area of social/industrial medicine and welfare, as well as of developing other common activities. Socialists can do much to mitigate this inevitable delay by using their own eyes and ears over the whole working class scene.

### 2) Local Labour History

Working-class history will be much more appealing if it has a local connection. The work of E.P. Thompson derives its strength largely from its powerful sense of place and situation. There is a vast amount of archive material awaiting Socialist digestion in trade-union records and local history libraries. 1966 offers a specially good opportunity for examining the role of local Labour, and especially the Trades Council, in the 1926 General Strike. Local "Bloody Sundays", labour heroes or villains are worth looking up. Recent labour history ought not be overlooked; quite often there is no source available which gives a conspectus of the various industrial movements in your area.

Brief but accurate essays, suitable for pamphlets of around 20 pages or less, are the format one should aim at. Nobody is going to win any academic spurs in this kind of work. This is a field in which financial sponsorship from local Labour bodies may often be available; it is also an opportunity to offer a very real service to working-class organisations which may well form the basis of cordial working relationships over a wider area.

### 3) Local Democratic Issues

It is almost impossible to make any generalisations here. Problems of property development and traffic flow; welfare facilities (especially conditions inside institutions of various kinds); matters of local bureaucracy and democracy - these in their particulars vary from town to town. It is suggested that a CSE might see its function as that of providing documentation and propaganda (e.g. as evidence at public enquiries) in whatever live campaigns are waged.

continued over/

Members of the staffs of local government offices and other planning or welfare authorities may well have special skills to offer in such situations (even though they may have to work purely as local civil servants within their own specialism). A well-developed literature is beginning to form on many of these questions. Where it is possible to offer general guidance, national CSE should help. It would be of assistance if local members would write in with some idea of the most salient problems where research and reading is needed.

Two further points. It is strongly advisable to approach Trades Councils, either through their officers or through sympathetic delegates, to discuss the type of educational work that is likely to fit in with local demands. Good relationships with a Trades Council can be of inestimable value for a local Socialist society; some Trades Councils will enclose the circulars of "official unofficial" organisations along with the material they send out to affiliates. Finally, the above comments are an attempt to break away from a style of Socialist education based upon academic subjects: Political Theory, Labour History, or Economics in a course of so many lectures. Educational aids and educational methods have to be devised afresh for our work; the experience of 'adult education' techniques may have little to do with the tasks of Socialist education, which has to create its own union of mental with manual labour.

We need a renewed attention to the details of interpersonal behaviour in face-to-face study: the amount and distribution of the tutor's utterances as well as their content, the physical distance separating speaker and audience, the shape of seating arrangements. We must be realistic about reading lists and bibliographies; if we have the audiences we want, they will not have the leisure to do a lot of reading. One book per syllabus may be all we should expect (and CSE may have to write it). In general we should not think of lectures so much as gatherings: we should begin to find it strange that a set of chairs with silent people on them should face one way while a talkative person faces another. Socialist education cannot be the job of 'providing theory': like scientific and technical education, it is qua education, the joining of theory with practice, in which (as William James said in his Talks to Teachers) there is no impression without a corresponding expression. Interposing himself at a particular station in the theory-practice loop, the educator himself becomes educated. Socialist studies are not simply Liberal Studies with Socialist titles.

#### VIETNAM SOLIDARITY MEETING TO BE HELD IN LONDON

As readers of The Week will know, the days the 25th and 26th of March have been set aside by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee as international days of protest against the American aggression in Vietnam. To give a focus to this international campaign in Britain, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, are organising a meeting in London on the 25th of March (Friday). This meeting will be addressed by leading spokesmen of the various components of opposition to American aggression against Vietnam.

It is very important that this meeting be an outstanding success, not only in attendance but also in quality. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is hoping that the meeting will mark a big step forward in its campaign to win the active support of individuals and organisation. Full details will be given in next week's issue but in the meantime please book this date.

Croydon Centre for Socialist Education has published facts and figures for use in the current dispute about the proposed rent increases in Croydon. This is an excellent activity for a C.S.E. branch to carry out and it is to be hoped that other branches will find the ways and means of doing similar things. The Croydon C.S.E. leaflet reads:

"Proposed increases: ranging from 40-60% - an average of about £1 per week.

Number of dwellings completed by November, 1965: 15,239.

Cost of three- bed roomed house: £3, 650-£3,725 excluding land.  
 £4,500 including land.  
 Loan charges per house: £300 per annum.  
 Cost rent: (excluding Exchequer subsidy)  
 £6.16. 6d per week.  
 Loan charges= approx imately 5/6 of cost rent.

Assuming loan over 60 years, real cost of a single house approximately £21,700.

Total loan charges

1955/56:	£435,780	Loan charges= approximately 1/3 instalment on principal and 2/3 interest.
1964/65:	£1,174,664	
1968/69:	£2,478,000	

Loan charges make up approximately 2/3 of total expenditure on Housing Revenue account.

Income from rent

1955/56:	£438,722	Total income 1968/69: £3,633,350
1964/65:	£1,325,914	
1968/69:	£3,247,500	

Rate Subsidy

1955/56:	£46,192	<u>Exchequer subsidy</u>	£113,924
1959/60:	£55,000		-
1964/65:	£25,908		£220,398
1968/69:	-		£466,700

WHERE DOES YOUR M.P. STAND ON ANTI-TRADE UNION LAW? by Bill Vester

George Brown and his associates have been unusually placid about the opposition which has been shown to trade union legislation. The reason why we have not experienced the usual uproar which greets any dissent in the Labour Party is probably due to the fact that the right is expecting to win the coming election by a sufficient margin to make Parliamentary opposition to the trade union Bill, when it comes, insignificant. Wilson and Brown are dead set on a policy which must involve stifling the unions. Labour Party members must immediately find out the attitude of their M.P.s or candidates to legislation on unions. This can be done at general committee (where affiliated union branches will be particularly responsible), through C.S.E. branches and through left wing journals. This is terribly urgent and a fair amount of opposition could be mobilised for interviews with M.P.s, deputations, etc.

Of course, the campaign need not be exclusively Parliamentary-angled, but the Parliamentary aspect could be used to bring together union branches, C.S.E., etc., in particular areas.



The following excerpt from the minutes of the National Association of Operative Plasterers is a poignant indication of the state of mind of a part of the movement just before Labour's crucial conference last year:

"Labour Party: Sixty-Fourth Annual Conference: The Agenda and the Report of the Labour Party Executive which was to be submitted to the Annual Conference at Blackpool had been circulated to members of the Council. The General Secretary stated there may be many varied opinions expressed at the Conference seeing that all members of the Parliamentary Labour Party were not of the same mind, and various points of view had been expressed by different Members of Parliament, and it could be there will be some conflicting resolutions submitted to Conference, and the General Secretary asked for guidance with regard to any Card Vote that might be taken

"It was agreed that our Card Vote should be used to support the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, and any requests from the platform should have our support." (emphasis in the original).

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"RED TAPE" EXPOSES ARCHAIC WAGES SYSTEM from a special correspondent

This month's Red Tape, the journal of the biggest civil servants' trade union, the Civil Service Clerical Association, has an almost unbelievable story of how wages are paid at an R.A.F. department in Gloucester.

There is a pay parade which involves three pay witnesses and a variety of "equipment" ranging from tin cans to a tea trolley. The ironic thing is that the wages are calculated by computer. The following procedure is followed: first the sums are put into tin cans, each marked with the serial number of the payee. The cans are then placed in five large wooden trays, one for each pay point. "A paying officer and a colleague who is designated first witness are chosen for each pay point. With their trays of cash and accompanied by a uniformed constable they proceed to the appropriate office. At the office they are met by a uniformed messenger with a tea trolley....Then the procession - the trolley, the paying officer and the first witness, carrying a large wastepaper basket - proceed down the corridors until they arrive at the office where the pay ceremony takes place. At this point another official, the second witness, appears on the scene. His job is to identify the individuals to be paid.

"Then the performance begins. The staff who have been lined up in numerical order are called up to the paying table one by one. The first witness checks the pay roll and the paying officer hands over the tin can. The payee then walks forward a few paces where another official is involved. He is the third witness. His job is to see that the payee, who at this stage counts his money, does not drop any of it (or slip a fiver up his sleeve!) and complain about being short. After the money is checked the empty can is dropped into the wastepaper basket which is eventually full of empty cans and is picked up by the first witness to return to the finance office."

The report did not say whether the civil servants had to salute or not! During the annual meeting of the local C.S.C.A. branch a speaker said that his grandmother recalled having been paid by a similar method in 1901. The branch has passed a resolution which is "determined that immediate action will be taken to end this unpopular and preposterous type of pay parade."

ORGANISING PRIEST VICTIMISED - by Dave Windsor

The Roman Catholic church in the United States is reflecting the growing ferment in that country. Not only do we have the amazing occurrence of priest-teachers striking against the church-controlled colleges, but now we have a man determined to organise the priests on a trade union basis. The Reverend William Dubay, has announced his intention of organising a trade union for his 58,000 fellow priests in the United States. In a statement issued in mid-February he claimed he had made some progress with his drive for unionisation and now had the embryos of two local unions. By strange coincidence, shortly afterwards he was transferred from his job as chaplain at the Santa Monica, California, hospital to an unnamed parish.

The Right Reverend Raymond O'Flaherty, Dubay's superior, said that he had been transferred "because of expressed dissatisfaction from the hospital administration, medical staff, and patients with his service and his excessive personal publicity." He was evasive when asked by reporters whether this meant that Father Dubay would receive less wages.

WHAT'S THE HOLD UP? from a paper published by the Bristol Channel Seafarers' Liaison Committee..

Brothers: we all know our immediate aims :- To get rid of the infamous 56 hour agreement, to implement the N.U.S. 1964 AGM Policy which is still valid, the 56 hour deal being illegal under N.U.S. rules. We want the same things we voted for in 1964, at the AGM; 1. A 40 hour week at sea and in port, 2. £5 monthly wage increase. 3. Overtime rates as follows: time plus a half Monday to Friday, double time for all weekend work.

What is stopping us from going forward for these aims? Nowadays, we are organised to some extent in rank and file matters. We don't lack experience or militancy in going after what we are entitled to. However, we can only start moving effectively, if we are united nationally around a national rank and file seamen's policy. In 1960, we took united action on a national basis, supporting the call from our National Committee, around the national policy they gave us. In June 1961, we were conceded that policy in full. Our failure to crush the 56-hour Sellout early in 1965 was due to lack of national unity. Some districts took strike action, others didn't. We should either have struck nationally or stayed out nationally. As it was the strike was a fiasco - a graphic illustration of: 'United we stand - Divided we fall.'

A National Rank and File Committee can only be created by rank and file seamen themselves electing their own committee-members from the various port districts of the U.K. and also by electing delegates to a National Rank and File Conference. The Conference would bring about discussions on a national basis of all our future aims. It would provide the Policy for our National Committee to lead us to success in achieving that policy. We feel that the National Committee should take part in the Conference, acting as delegates during the Conference and thereafter as the National Committee representing U.K. Seamen and their aims. As soon as there are enough districts represented for a National Conference, the date, and location, etc. of the Conference will be circulated.

Editorial Note: To carry on their fight, the seamen need as much help as they can get from the rest of the Labour Movement. Readers in the South West can contact either G. Foulser, Editor, 'Bristol Channel Seafarer', c/o M. Crawley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff, Glam., or M. Nogan, Sec. Bristol Channel Seafarers' Liaison Committee, 15, Pyle Road, Bly, Cardiff, Glam.

#### THE JOHN PALMER CASE

from Tom Nicholls

Bristol West C.L.P. have written to the Labour Party N.E.C. taking up the case of John Palmer's candidature. Referring to the recent letter from the officers of North West Croydon C.L.P. in Tribune, their letter to the N.E.C. states: "We feel some concern about this because it suggests that relations between the N.E.C. and Constituency Parties are not as close as they should be if the solidarity which will be so badly needed at the next election is to be maintained." It goes on to ask the N.E.C. to revise its decision not to see the officers of the North West Croydon Party. A number of wards are also understood to have raised the case.

John Palmer is one of a number of Parliamentary candidates the N.E.C. have refused to endorse. The original letter from North West Croydon C.L.P. was published in Tribune of 21.1.66. and in The Week at about the same time.

CANADIANS PROTEST AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

from the "Workers' Vanguard"

The New Democratic Youth have called for a massive protest rally in Ottawa on March 26th. This rally will demand an end to the Vietnam war, and attempt to outline and condemn the guilt of the Canadian Government. The NDY will hold supporting demonstrations in key centres across Canada on the same date. Simultaneously, protest actions will be taking place across America. An all-day conference on Canada's role in Vietnam was held on February 19th, at which two former members of the Canadian delegation to the International Control Commission, assigned to police the Geneva Accords, exposed the true role of that body.

Note: The NDY is the youth section of the New Democratic Party- the Canadian equivalent of the Labour Party.

PROVOCATION BY U.S.- IGNORED BY BRITISH PRESS(?)

"PEKING, Feb. 24th. Over three hundred Laotian people of all sections in Phong Saly at a rally on February 20th strongly protested against the U.S. bombing of Phong Saly and the strafing of the Chinese Consulate-General on February 18th."

The above has been extracted from Hsinhua No. 2965. It is part of a wider news report of opposition to the bombing. We have had to include it in this incomplete state, as we have been unable to trace any other report of the bombing in the British press.

Note: Phong Saly is in Laos-a neutral country. The Chinese Consulate is officially Chinese territory(also neutral) in international law.

SWEDISH PROTEST AGAINST U.S. IN VIETNAM from "Stockholms Tidningen".

More than five hundred people met in Uppsala, Eastern Sweden, on 23rd February to condemn the Vietnam war. They issued a statement demanding that the U.S. stop the war, withdraw its troops and remove its military installations from South Vietnam. They pledged support for the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

CIA RECRUITS AGENTS AT UNIVERSITIES from a London reader

The 'Daily Telegraph' of 17th February contained the following report: "The Central Intelligence Agency admitted today that its recruiting teams are touring American universities, looking for potential agents and analysts... The number employed by the Agency is secret, but (an assistant to the Director) said of 600 'senior people' 53% had advanced academic degrees such as doctorates. "We try to get the very top people in academic standing."

The Agency's recruitment programme came into national prominence when a group of students at Grinnell College in Iowa picketed an Agency official conducting interviews there. The students displayed posters asking what the Agency was doing in Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Dominican Republic. One poster said: "Where there is an invisible Government there is no democracy."

HELP WANTED: The Week is shortly to move into more spacious offices. The growing circulation and our increasing involvement in day-to-day struggles makes this move an absolute necessity. We need a lot more office equipment to make this change; if any reader has any equipment they would donate or loan (especially typewriters, stapling machines, etc.,) please let us know. Full details of the new offices will appear in next week's issue.

One of the American left's most galling frustrations today is the movement's nearly complete exclusion from viable political expression. Most radicals agree that the tactical value of direct action - demonstrations, pickets, civil disobedience - has almost if not entirely run its course as a primary focus of agitation. It is time for a new tack and increasing leftist discussion of the possibilities of an independent, broad-based radical political movement may indicate that such a development is in the works. A recent <sup>special</sup> congressional election in New York City re-emphasised the futility of hoping for a dissenting movement within the old party structure.. For a fleeting moment early in the campaign there were visions of at least an anti-Vietnam war referendum but, sadly true to form, the American politico's sui generis compulsion to consensus transformed it into a "me too" affair of the usual type.

Leftist and "peacenik" hopes were aroused when the Republican nominee, Theodore Kupferman, launched his campaign calling our Vietnam involvement "a tragic mistake" and urging unilateral withdrawal of troops. Orrin Lehman, the Democrat and Greatsocietyman, countered with the precise ambiguity of the American liberal: While he had grave reservations about the wisdom of the war, administration objectives were essentially honorable and President Johnson was, after all, in the midst of his "peace offensive" and deserved the warm support of all patriotic Americans.

Lehman did not run on a "Hawk" platform. With admirable dexterity he left himself the opportunity to join the war's critics if and when things get hot enough in the future. But Kupferman had performed the unspeakable in establishment politics. He had committed himself to a critical position. Or had he? As the election sized up to be a close one, Kupferman got nervous. When his co-partisan, Senator Javits, returned from sizing up Southeast Asia, Kupferman retracted (the American euphemism is "I was misunderstood.") his early stand. On the basis of Javit's researches (or his political advice), Kupferman announced that he too supported administration objectives especially, of course, the president's sisyphian labours for an honorable peace. So much for the "peace candidate."

With both candidates standing on identically unprincipled ambiguities, several peace groups in the district withdrew their previous endorsement of Kupferman and, days before the election, urged a write-in vote: "Peace." The new Kupferman won narrowly on February 8, polling 44,225 votes to Lehman's 43,230. (The "Drop it anywhere quick" Conservative polled 7,810). The "Peace" votes are legally invalid and there has been as yet no official disclosure or informed estimate as to their number. Probably there were not many. Something like the left voters of Hull who apparently optioned to avert a Tory victory as worse than their tacit approbation of Wilson's toadying to Washington, most anti-war voters in New York's 17th District likely gave up on the "Peace" write-in as futile and went to Kupferman in memory of his repudiated stand or even to Lehman in memory of their traditional party.

So in the end there was no "peace referendum" and another chance at some sort of political expression which might have been noted by the great opinion sampler in the White House was done in by establishment conformism. The American left is accustomed to frustrations and seems amenable to lessons. Perhaps Kupferman's liberal shilly-shallying will have some educational as well as therapeutic value for us.

U.S. TRAINED MILITARY UNITS ALMOST EXHAUSTED by a special correspondent

The United States armed services "have almost exhausted trained and ready military units, with all available forces spread dangerously thin in Vietnam and elsewhere", wrote the military commentator Hanson W. Baldwin, in the New York Times on 21st February. Baldwin's article, entitled "Survey finds shortage of U.S. combat forces", shed some light on the growing contradiction between the limited manpower and material resources of the U.S. and its ambitions for global aggression. He pointed out that "virtually all of the combat-ready units in the United States have been committed to Vietnam, and except for a few army and marine battalions and a few squadrons of the tactical air command no more units will be fully trained and equipped for a number of months. In addition to the shortages in trained military manpower and in field-grade officers, there are major existing shortages in uniforms and clothing, and actual or potential shortages of various types of ammunition and equipment that are causing the services increasing concern."

"The commitment of more than 200,000 men to Vietnam, supported by strong air and naval forces, and the maintenance of two divisions in Korea, more than five in Europe and of smaller units elsewhere, including the Dominican Republic have reduced the forces in the U.S. to a training establishment. The level of the Atlantic Fleet and all other commands has been reduced to provide the needs of Vietnam. According to the services, the 'squeeze' appears to be getting worse instead of better. General Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, is understood to have requested some 200,000 more men in Vietnam during the 1966 calendar year, and a proportionate increase in air support."

Baldwin went on to say: "In recent weeks the services have been conducting studies ..... to determine how best to meet General Westmoreland's 1966 requirements. The alternatives considered were continuation of the present slow build-up of the regular forces by increased draft calls and voluntary enlistment, transfer of troops from Europe, Panama, Alaska and anywhere else available; or a selected call-up of the national guard and reserves." The studies, as far as could be learned, it said, indicated that "the first course, of dependence upon draft calls and enlistments, could fill only a fraction of the requirements, and that the result would be what one officer called 'a very slow and disorderly build-up' of the regular forces with a greater and greater lowering of the experience level, and more and more bottle-necks."

"Transfer of troops from Europe and elsewhere would supply a greater proportion of General Westmoreland's stated requirements, but not all of them. Even the mobilization of the national guard and reserve might not supply all his stated needs, it was said, since various material shortages, as well as shortages in certain types of trained manpower, might develop by the end of the year. A recently retired officer, whose last active duty assignment was concerned with the army's mobilization base and strategic reserve, said that 'whatever the course of action (in Vietnam), whether continued, escalated, or modified downwards, we are in a situation of perilous insufficiency', without much capability of 'a graduated response to any serious challenge.'

"The actual and potential trained manpower and material shortages are now affecting all the regular services - particularly the army and the marines - and, of the national guard and reserves, one national guard general said that 'there is not a guard division in the United States to-day that could fight its way out of a paper bag'."