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THE BULLETIN

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for
Socialists

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Letter to Readers

Next week's Bulletin will be published a couple of days late as most of the staff (including the editor) will be participating in the NALSO - New Left Review - Young Guard school at Hythe. However, correspondents should send their material in on the same days as usual as this will help in keeping the delay down to the minimum.

The Supplement on Algeria is ready and it looks as though a reprint will be necessary very soon - so please understand if your order is not dealt with immediately.

It has been suggested that we should publish supplements regularly especially as this would give an opportunity to publish longer articles than usual. If any reader has any ideas on the subject please write in.

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WOODCOCK DEFEATED AT BRIGHTON: Despite the attempts by the press to present the three way voting as a 'moral victory' for Woodcock and the right-wing majority of the General Council of the TUC, the result of the voting was a slap in the face for the advocates of wage restraint. We have only to quote Woodcock's own words: "I want to ask Congress flatly: Have they no trust at all in the General Council? If they have no trust, then pass Motion 58." And Congress went on to pass Motion 58, the Boilermakers proposal against all wage restraint. Though the majority was small it was achieved against tremendous opposition. All kinds of machinations, the whole apparatus of the press, radio and television were used to try to stop the passing of Motion 58. Under these circumstances even a majority of only 380,000 was a big victory for the left.

The changes made by the General Council to the controversial 'wage restraint' para, whilst they saved it from a massive 'report-back' vote, have in essence emasculated it. It now speaks of the 'desirability' instead of "necessity" of creating a situation where money incomes did not rise more rapidly than output (the original phrase was "as rapidly as in the past".) Much has been made of the so-called 'verbal assurance' by Ted Hill that he wouldn't oppose wage restraint under a Labour Government. His actual words were: "Mr. Harold Wilson is an old friend of mine and I have complete faith in him. If we have a Labour Government which wants to achieve a planned economy, I will be the first into the rostrum ^{press} pledging my support." Woodcock didn't interpret this remark as the capitalist has tried to do, he retorted that the Boilermakers had passed anti-wage restraint resolutions during the term of the last Labour Government. "I should not say, Ted, you are wise to bluff Harold Wilson," he said. He warned the delegates that the issue of wage restraint would arise even more acutely when a Labour Government was in power.

Again, it has been demonstrated that it is very difficult for anyone to push the British labour movement on to an out-and-out class collaboration path. The differentiation in the trade union leadership is a reflection of their social base. Frank Cousins and Ted Hill are just as much 'bureaucrats' as Woodcock and Douglass, but they reflect the working class base of the trade union movement, whereas the latter reflect the pressure of the capitalist class on the unions. Because the unions depend upon the participation and activity of thousands of ordinary workers, because the unions are financed out of the pockets of working people, because the trade union must, to win and keep members, show some results, there are strict limits to the extent to which even the most right wing of trade union leaders can go. Moreover, at each turning point, an attempt to push the unions along more and more class collaboration policies gives rise to tendencies within the top trade union leadership. This in turn has tremendous significance for the development of mass left tendencies as the consciousness of the class, or important sections of the class does not develop all at once but in stages. Moreover, all this is but a dress rehearsal for coming struggles under a Labour Government - in that respect, at least, Woodcock was right.

BUILDING SETTLEMENT MAY BE PUT ASIDE: The tremendous reaction against the building settlement which has continued all week and was highlighted by the lobbying of the T.U.C. by 150 builders, has had some effect. Union leaders have now postponed the meeting which was to have been held with the employers next Monday to ratify the agreement. The Painters union has already voted against ratification, and the Plumbers are expected to do the same. The AUHTW meets on Saturday to decide its attitude, and the outcome will probably decide the whole issue. This union is divided with the labourers' section very much opposed to the settlement. It is now known that decision to ratify was carried by the President's casting vote. Militant workers can see some results from all their activities.

We have received for publication an official leaflet of the strike committee. It is entitled OFFICIAL STRIKE - P.A. MARRIOTS, Water Rd., Wembley, Middlesex, and reads:

The Executive Council A.E.U. have now officially issued to all Branches and District Secretaries directions to **BLACK** all work. With the official support of the Southall District Committee, A.E.U., our members withdrew their labour on Monday 17th June. On Tuesday 2nd July this dispute was officially endorsed by Executive Council A.E.U.

The following are extracts from two pay packets which are typical of wages paid before the firm became TU organised.

Male	67½	hours @	4/-	per hour	£13 - 10 - 0d	aged 30
Female	54	hours @	3/-	per hour	£8 - 2 - 0d	aged 26

THESE RATES ARE BELOW NATIONAL MINIMUM - as you will notice no overtime bonuses were paid.

Since October 1962 when the firm became TU organised, a sequence of glaring violations of national agreements and of Factory Acts have been exposed, and some raised by the union with the management. These cover such issues as:-

- (a) Payment of rates below National Minimum agreed rates
- (b) Failure to pay proper overtime and nightshift premiums
- (c) Summary dismissal of individual workers on charges such as 'dumb insolence', 'not fast enough at work', failure to achieve piecework speeds for timework rates' (already too low), etc.
- (d) Constant threats to close the factory on every occasion when the Union takes questions up
- (e) Failure to operate the 1960 National Agreement on the 42 hour week
- (f) Compulsory overtime for women and youths in excess of the maximum permitted by the Factory Acts.

In other words A sorry tale of Victorian standards of labour relations and of employment

About 90 members are involved. We urgently need your support financially and morally, in this struggle. We are confident you will see the basic TU principles involved and back us to the full.

Resolutions and donations to :- Mr. C. W. Clark, 12, Westbourne Terrace, Paddington, London W. 2.

Ed. Note; We are informed that a large proportion on the workers in this struggle are West Indians. Copies of the leaflet, collecting sheets, etc. can be obtained from Brother Clarke.

UNION VOICE AND LABOUR'S VOICE TO MERGE

Union Voice has a statement on the merger which starts:

"In view of the remarkable success of Union Voice since its first issue of February this year, the sponsors have pleasure in announcing that they have joined with the trustees of Labour's Voice in producing a new Trade Union paper, The Voice, which will combine the two existing papers. With an improved layout and a greatly extended list of contributors, The Voice will adhere to the policy of its predecessors which was given in the first issue of Union Voice....."

MR. JAY SAYS LABOUR WOULD MAKE STOCK EXCHANGE BUSIER

Douglas Jay, M.P. for Battersea North, and well-known for his right-wing views has an article in the September issue of The Stock Exchange Journal. He says that under a Labour Government there would be an increasingly busy Stock Exchange. Jay explains that a Labour Government must seek to build a society in which both public and private enterprise flourish. He sees two main forms of public enterprise. One is the established pattern of state ownership of utilities and natural monopoly industries. The other, various forms of state participation in "competitive enterprise."

As a large field of activity will remain open to private enterprise there will clearly be a need for a Stock Exchange to bring together supply and demand for savings. Saying he would like to see the state itself supply equity capital and become a part-shareholder, Jay adds: "But this will supplement, and not supplant, the free flow of private savings. And in the expansionist economy which a British Labour Government will seek to create, not merely will wages, salaries and profits be more buoyant; but the flow of savings channelled through the Stock Exchange machine must be expected to rise." He puts forward several methods aimed at achieving a more even distribution of wealth. Despite many years of death duties and "allegedly high direct taxation" 1% of the population still owns 40% of the private property. He therefore wants private "ownership of "growth types of property" spread more evenly.

A suggested step in this direction is for the Post Office Savings Bank to run a public unit trust of its own, selling 5s. or 10s. units to individuals with £100 in the P.O.S.B. and investing the proceeds in equity shares. Another step is to encourage the present movement for trade unions and local authorities to keep a proportion of their funds in Ordinary shares. These methods will not be sufficient by themselves and must be reinforced "through the powerful instrument of taxation and through public investment in all the social assets we need."

Says Jay: "Such taxation should, I believe, mainly take the form, not of high rates on personal earned income, but rather on distributed business profits and personal inherited wealth." He urges "the various institutions of private enterprise," including the Stock Exchange to "co-operate actively in the maintenance of high rates of social investment" and the "reasonably high rates of progressive taxation" needed to even out the distribution of wealth.

GREATER RATE OF EXPLOITATION IN THE COAL INDUSTRY

The following facts from the "Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the National Coal Board" for the year 1962 show that less miners are producing more. Ed. note.

In 1962, productivity rose by nearly 8%, the tonnage lost through strikes and restrictions was almost halved, and a financial surplus was made for the first time in six years. The outstanding feature of the year was the spectacular rise in productivity, which increased at more than twice the 1961 rate: the improvement compared favourably with that of British industry as a whole. Wider and more efficient use of machines resulted in 20,000 fewer men producing eight million more tons of coal from 450 fewer coalfaces. The tonnage lost through strikes and restrictions amounted to only 0.6% of total output and was, with the exception of 1959, the lowest for more than ten years. By the end of the year, transfers had been arranged for nearly 3,000 men from the northern Divisions to Yorkshire, the Midlands and South Wales.

Recruitment became progressively easier in 1962 and fewer men left the industry voluntarily than for some years, the total wastage falling nearly by 14,000 to 60,700. Recruitment was purposely kept substantially below wastage and the number employed was allowed to fall by 25,000 to 536,200.

"To stop the internal war and to restore peace is a question of prime importance for settling the various problems within the country." It is also a key issue in settling these problems. Declared the leader of the advance peace delegation of the Burmese Communist Party, Ko Htay at a press conference in Rangoon on September 3rd. The delegation arrived on August 28th.

Ko Htay said, "To establish internal peace on the basis of genuine national democracy, each party must recognise the ^{other} and both must reach agreement through discussions on the basis of equality. For these reasons, negotiations on the basis of equality cannot be neglected. This is the only correct way. Former governments which pursued a policy of total annihilation had rejected proposals for negotiation and for this reason, the internal war which was fanned up by the imperialists for opposing the people and Communism had been prolonged." He emphasised that imperialism and the reactionaries within the country were using various shameless means to undermine the peace talks. "Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance. The question of establishing genuine internal peace is not divorced from the question of opposing imperialism and the reactionaries within the country. That is to say if we want to realise internal peace, we must firmly oppose imperialism and reactionaries at home." He expressed support for the action taken by the Revolutionary Council against reactionaries in the country who were undermining internal peace.

Replying to a question on the Sino-Indian boundary question. Ko Htay said, "China is a socialist country. It consistently observes the 5 principles of peaceful coexistence. It has also successfully and peacefully settled with Burma and its other neighbouring countries through negotiations the boundary questions which have had been left over by history. But the Indian government has time and time again undermined the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

On the question of the Moscow tripartite treaty, he said, "We do not approve this treaty because it does not completely ban nuclear weapon tests..." Answering a question on Khrushchov's 'peaceful coexistence', Ko Htay said "I cannot understand Khrushchov's 'peaceful coexistence.'"

THE GUARDIAN ON KHRUSHCHOV'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

The September 3rd Guardian carried an editorial which in part reads:

"Mr. Khrushchov ends his working holiday in Yugoslavia today, having bestowed a fairly comprehensive benediction of the former heretics of Belgrade. Ideologically speaking, their position is an enviable one: they must now be feeling the same sort of smug complacency which Martin Luther would have felt if, after successfully defying the Pope, he had been offered a cardinal's hat and possibly canonisation to come. One of the central doctrines of Yugoslav communism is the belief that workers' councils contain the germ of the Communist society of the future. A few years ago the Soviet Union denounced this doctrine as "a debased variant of a number of revisionist theories of Right-Wing Social Democrats" ; and although Mr. Khrushchov spoke of the the workers' councils in moderately friendly terms as long ago as 1957 he made it clear that they were not for export to the Soviet Union. Now he has declared categorically that he "likes this form of organisation," and that the workers' councils are a "progressive institution." Soviet party and trade union commissions are to be sent to Yugoslavia to study workers' councils - apparently undeterred by the fact that similar delegations may be sent on exactly the same mission by the debased, revisionist, Right-wing Social Democrats on the General Council of the British T.U.C...."

GRIPPA GROUP REPLIES TO MOSCOW

In reply to the attack on them in the C.P.S.U. Open Letter of July 14th the Brussels Provincial Committee of the Belgian Communist Party (which is controlled by the Grippa group) issued on August 15th a resolution entitled "Marxist-Leninists, Unite!". The resolution covers the views of the Grippa group on the major issues in the international Communist movement. It is divided into 13 parts. We will only refer to points of special interest. Part one claims that Polyakov, editor of Izvestia and Khrushchov's envoy to Paul-Henri Spaak, demanded that Spaak close the Hsinhua News Agency in Brussels. Tracing the development of the Grippa group it explained that the revisionists had expelled and excluded hundreds of comrades from the ranks of the Belgian Communist Party, flagrantly violating the party constitution and the principles of democratic centralism. In accordance with the party constitution, the Brussels Provincial Committee of the Belgian C.P. called a provincial congress in the latter part of June. The congress adopted a resolution declaring null and void all arbitrary and unconstitutional measures, the suspension and dissolution of party organisations and the decisions to exclude from the ranks of the party those comrades and organisations that have upheld a Marxist-Leninist stand. The congress demanded an extraordinary national congress be called. The resolution claimed that there has been a growth in the activities of Marxist-Leninists in the other provincial party committees.

In part six, the resolution emphasises the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp. It says: "It is certainly not an expression of socialist ideas to sell to fraternal countries at high prices, especially industrial goods, and, to buy from them at low prices, especially raw materials, seeking profits out of trade among socialist countries....Is this not creating an economic basis for ties of subjection?" A charge that Khrushchov tried "to grab the naval vessels of socialist Albania and ordered the warships at the Valona base to be abolished.." appears later in the resolution. In part eight, the resolution says that "Khrushchov....attacks the work done by the Soviet people from 1924 to 1953 under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Stalin. This is 'anti-Soviet and Anti-Communist.'" "His attacks are vile, groundless slanders. What he complains of is not Stalin's mistakes, but his achievements. In attacking Stalin, Khrushchov is attacking Leninism." The resolution asks: what was Khrushchov's motive when he extolled Stalin? When is he sincere? "Who, either inside or outside of the Soviet Union, knows the political circumstances of Molotov, Kaganovich or many others. Many names have mysteriously disappeared from the leadership since Khrushchov became first secretary of the C.P.S.U."

IRISH WORKERS PARTY SUPPORT KHRUSHCHOV

The Irish Workers Party, which is generally considered to be the C.P. of Ireland, has issued a statement on the Moscow test ban treaty. In this it argues the Russian line and ends:

".....It is unfortunate that the Chinese leadership pursues its present policies; they weaken and harm the unity of the socialist countries and disrupt the unity of the peoples and movements working to safeguard world peace and advance the cause of socialism; also they only help the imperialists to continue with their policy of denying China her rightful place in full membership of the United Nations."

CHINESE PRESS PUBLISHES SUPPORTING LETTERS FROM NUMEROUS COUNTRIES

In recent days, Chinese papers have been publishing letters which are to come from supporters. They include letters from the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Japan, New Zealand, Greek and Spanish emigres, India, Bulgaria, Holland, Luxemburg, U.S.A., Africa, Algeria, Morocco, U.K., etc.,

1719 A call was issued in Washington on August 28th for the formation of a nation-wide, all-Negro Freedom Now Party which would run its first candidates in the 1964 elections. Using the March on Washington as a launching pad for the new party, its organisers issued a stirring Declaration of Washington proclaiming the movement's aims and possibilities... Simultaneously there was a distribution of leaflets calling for support in formation of the Freedom Now Party to the huge throngs of civil-rights demonstrators pouring into the capital.

Word that a call for a Negro party would be issued at the March on Washington leaked out a few days before and caused considerable stir. On Aug. 24 the New York Times carried a front-page story that such a call was going to be distributed to the marchers in Washington and added that on the same day "leaflets will also be distributed in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Seattle and other cities with large Negro populations." The Times also reported that a tentative national committee under the acting chairmanship of civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, had opened an office at 81 East 125 St., in the heart of New York's Harlem.

...In addition to the Declaration of Washington, a brochure has been released entitled "A Call For a Freedom Now Party." It asks, "What sense does it make to go on supporting the party of Eugene (Dull) Connor? Bull Connor is still Kennedy's Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama. Should Southern Negroes register to vote - at the risk of death - when the only 'choice' on the ballot is a James O. Eastland or a George C. Wallace? When have Republicans or Democrats ever used long existing Federal laws to protect us from daily, coast-to-coast police brutality?"

"Our African brothers have shown us how to win freedom. Their principal technique: All-black political action. This is self-reliance not 'racism.' The times are with us," the brochure says. "A Freedom Now Party will unite us for the first time. We will be the permanent party of change and challenge. We will take the issues to the streets."

Lynn said the idea for an all-Negro party developed from a suggestion made by William Worthy, well-known Negro correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American at a June 1 street rally in Harlem.

THE DECLARATION OF WASHINGTON (Text of Manifesto, somewhat shortened)

"one hundred years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, we American Negroes are resolved to end all political dependence upon the political parties upholding segregation and to take our destiny in our own hands. Our way to freedom and equality is through all-black political action. Our way to unity is through the creation of a Freedom Now Party.

"What can a national all-Negro political party expect to achieve?"

"It can put genuine representatives, responsible to the Negro people, in office all the way from local communities to Washington. Unchained to vested interests, the Freedom Now Party can promote basic economic changes that will give everyone adequate employment, housing and education. It can carry forward the struggle for jobs and justice, not only at election times but all the year round. It can win at least a million votes in 1964.

"It will certify that the Negro has come of age. If our African brothers can win independence, freedom and self-government, why cannot we American Negroes assert similar capacities for political action and achievement? Moreover, the new party will be the natural voice of fraternity with the oppressed of Africa, Asia and Latin America... 100 years of waiting for Democratic and Republican politicians to correct our grievances is too long. We have to take our freedom; no one will hand it to us. This Party has been initiated by Negroes. All of its candidates will be black. But we are not racists. Our banner is not "racism" but self-reliance. We are the political expression of the mighty black crusade for freedom, that nobody can now halt or suppress..."

News of the debate and voting on the draft constitution in the

Algerian Constituent Assembly must give rise to misgivings to all those who support the struggles of the Algerian Revolution. The most disturbing feature is the proposal that Algeria should be a one-party state and that the one party shall be the F.L.N. This constitution has not been approved by a congress of the F.L.N. only by a meeting of party organisers.

Misgivings must be expressed on all these counts, especially in view of the continued arrest of Boudiaf. Firstly, on the question of the one party state, revolutionary socialists reject this concept as being an essentially Stalinist concept within the working class. The dictatorship of one party bears within it the seeds of the dictatorship of one man. Already Ben Bella gathers together the offices of President and Secretary-General in his own person.

On the question of the F.L.N. it must be bluntly stated that as yet it is only a shadow party, Ben Bella admits this himself, it has yet to be organised as the mass party of the socialist revolution. Therefore this itself places a question mark over its future role.

Thirdly, how can one speak of the F.L.N. playing a vanguard role when its rank and file are not allowed to pronounce on the very important question of the constitution. No doubt there would have been difficulties in calling a congress, but they were not insurmountable.

However, to see only the black side of the picture would be wrong. The most hopeful and politically powerful event to emerge in Algeria has been the creation of organs of workers management. Given enough time, and clear leadership these could develop into real organs of popular control and challenge the Constituent Assembly itself.

For Marxists at this stage to either wholeheartedly reject or support the dominant tendency of the Algerian Revolution would be wrong. We must criticise all those things that seem wrong, but in doing so must not allow ourselves to be driven into the camp of "prophets of doom" who only see calamity at every turn of the colonial revolution. Despite any setback or disappointments for our hopes on this or that issue we are confident that many more acts of the revolutionary drama are yet to be played.

Therefore whilst protesting at the imposition of one party rule, our support is given unreservedly to the Algerian Revolution.

ALGERIAN STUDENTS TO BLOCK WAY OF NEO-COLONIALISM From Hsinhua 4/9/63

The National Union of Algerian Students said in a statement that the fifth congress of the union held recently stressed that "the chief enemy of our revolution remains imperialism and colonialism." The statement, which appeared in the press on September 2nd, continued, "therefore, all patriotic students are determined to stand together with their brotherly peasants and workers with a view to blocking the way of neo-colonialism and its lackeys, and work for the realisation of the Tripoli Programme."

The statement said, "our relations with foreign student organisations is based on the principles of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, and anti-fascism. In accordance with the principles, we should first of all in our action support our fraternal students in Africa, the Arab world, Asia and Latin America,"

ALGERIAN PAPER CALLS FOR UNITY OF MASHREB COUNTRIES

The Algerian paper, Le Peuple, which reflects government opinion, called for unity of the Maghreb Arab countries in their common struggle against imperialism in its August 30th editorial. It pointed out that imperialism had all along been pursuing a policy of creating splits in relations between the 4 Maghreb countries of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. These 4 countries must unite on the basis of all round mutual support.

1721 Despite the hopes aroused by the test ban agreement, Congress seems likely to approve President Kennedy's requests for funds to provide fall-out protection throughout the nation. The House Armed Services Committee has overwhelmingly approved a bill that would appropriate some \$200m. for building a national network of fall-out shelters. This will be one of the first items of business before the House of Representatives when it returns from the Labour Day holiday.

While there is no feeling of urgency behind the bill - fall-out shelter builders have been doing poor business for the past year - it seems to be widely accepted that the U.S. must be prepared for the eventuality of nuclear war. The bill will provide \$175m. for the establishment of shelter facilities in public buildings such as schools and municipal offices, providing protection for about 11m. people. Some 70m. shelter spaces have been already marked and made available in existing buildings. The rest of the funds will be used to provide protection in Federal buildings and to make a further study of shelter needs.

The authorisation is for one year only, instead of the five-year \$2,000m. programme that had originally been proposed by the Administration. There had been fears that such a long-term programme would be seriously open to abuse by contractors and it was strongly opposed by the House Appropriations Committee. This committee which controls Government expenditure, is not yet committed to support of the more limited bill now under consideration, but its supporters seem confident of success.

CONGRESS STRIKES A BLOW AT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING from Financial Times 2/9/63

The use of compulsory arbitration to settle the labour dispute on the railways is regarded in Washington as the most significant development in labour-management relations since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Bill. Last week's action by Congress, which was largely overshadowed by the civil rights march, was unprecedented. Even though the arbitration panel will be limited to the consideration of the two most controversial issues in the dispute - the use of firemen on freight and yard diesel engines and the size of train crews - the need for compulsory arbitration in any form is seen as a serious blow to the collective bargaining system.

The measure finally adopted by Congress was considerably stronger than President Kennedy's original suggestion, which would have required the Interstate Commerce Commission to arbitrate the issues on an interim basis. Congress provided for a seven-man panel: the unions and the employers will appoint two members each and these four will then pick 3 neutral members. Its deliberations will begin within a month of the Bill's signature, the panel has 60 days to reach its decision and the decisions will take effect within 60 days thereafter. The Bill expires after 180 days from enactment.

There are fears, however, that the dispute will be back in the hands of the Government after these 180 days have passed. For many of the secondary issues not covered by compulsory arbitration and intended to be settled by normal bargaining procedures may prove intractable. These issues include the employers' demand for greater freedom to use road crews for yard work, manning requirements for self-propelled trains, and the revision of the pay structure based on a combination of time worked and miles travelled. If bargaining on these issues breaks down, yet another emergency will be created and Congress may have to step in again. The Administration hopes, however, that the limited application of compulsory arbitration will be sufficient warning to the two parties to ensure that collective bargaining is made to work.

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE SEAT SOLD FOR \$215,000 based on Comtel report

A membership of the New York Stock Exchange was sold for \$215,000 on September 4th. This is unchanged from the previous sale. Seats are currently \$195,000 bid and \$220,000 asked. (pickings must be pretty good - Ed note)