

SOCIALIST PRESS

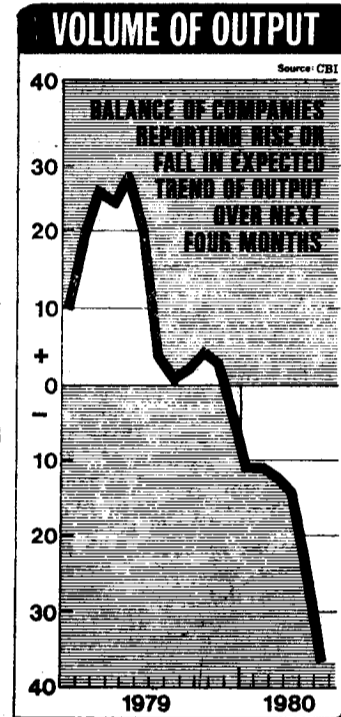
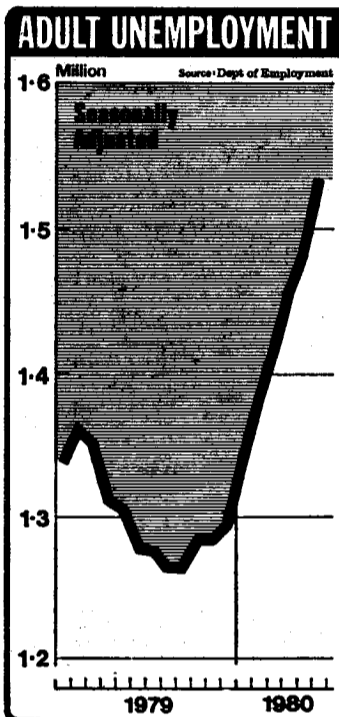


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Fighting Labour's anti-union laws CENTRE PAGES

TORY POLICIES MEAN



A lethal combination of the worldwide economic crisis and the Thatcher government's hell-for-leather drive to restore profitability has sent unemployment rocketing to record levels.

The mid-June total registered UK unemployment of 1.65 million is larger than any figure since World War Two. And excluded from these figures are hundreds of thousands of unemployed married women who are not registered because they are not eligible for benefit.

Among the 150,000 additional workers on the dole queue are some of this summer's school leavers. More leave next month. They and tens of thousands more young people are going to remain unemployed for many months to come, as notified vacancies have fallen for the twelfth month running.

Even these figures are doctored. 189,000 youth and adult workers are kept off the register by government job assistance measures.

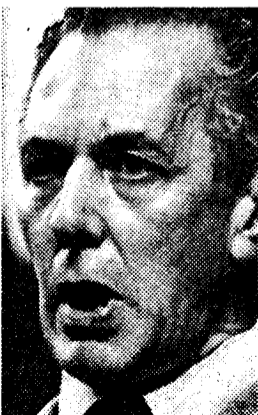
The dramatic rise in unemployment is of course not a specifically British phenomenon. In Europe the last six months has seen 500,000 more workers thrown onto the dole queues of the EEC countries.

Conscious policies

And in the USA 1.6 million workers have been made jobless in the last two months.

But this does not mean that unemployment is like some kind of plague over which man has no possible control.

In each case it is conscious policies designed to restore and protect private profits that lie behind the wholesale closures and the privatisation of private industry.



Joseph

In Britain the Tory government has gone further than most in its attempts to curb inflation and drive up the rate of profit through rigid monetary policies.

Despite growing cries of protest from major sections of employers they have forged ahead with a package of measures centred on:

*A strong pound: while pricing British exports out of world markets, this makes imports artificially cheap in Britain. The policy is designed to force British manufacturers

to accelerate rationalisation and speed-up, in order to compete.

Those that fail are forced to the wall-increasing the profits of the survivors.

*High interest rates: to maintain a strong pound on the basis of a weak and declining industrial base, and, as they see it, to "squeeze inflation out of the economy", the Tories have imposed a record 17% Minimum Lending Rate.

They hope this will help hold wages down. But meanwhile it hits both the weakest firms—who seek loans simply to survive the recession—and those that might otherwise borrow money to finance new investment.

*Huge public spending cuts: swingeing cutbacks in housing, health, education and other public services have a major impact on the construction and other supply industries and on unemployment. Even now the cabinet is considering a further £1 billion package of cuts.

*Rationalisation in the public sector: wholesale closures and sackings have been forced through by Tory cash limits in shipbuilding and Leyland. Now the new boss of the British Steel Corporation has orders to cut a further

10,000 jobs and close still more plants over and above the 50,000 sackings already planned.

The outcome is plain to all: industrial output is at its lowest level since World War 2.

In Birmingham alone manufacturing output has slumped by 25% in the last 3 months.

Machine tool orders are down by 10%.

And retail sales too have fallen, with car sales down a catastrophic 30%.

1984

Even the monetarist London Business School now anticipates double-figure inflation and unemployment at over 2 million well into 1982. Other forecasts suggest 3 million on the dole by 1984.

As it becomes clear that all of the major capitalist economies are simultaneously headed into recession and even highly profitable market leaders such as Ford begin short time and redundancies in Britain, more and more businessmen are sharing the view of one quoted in the *Financial Times*:

"In the long term I know Margaret Thatcher is doing the right thing; but I am worried

about whether British industry will survive in the short term."

Meanwhile the employers show no hesitation to use the massive unemployment as a lever to force down wage demands.

Indeed Sir Keith Joseph has set a cracking pace by blaming unemployment on high wages and even demanding workers accept a cut in wages to below established union rates.

"Just as people can price themselves out of jobs, they can price themselves into jobs."

"It is in the interests of the people out of work to offer a contribution to employers, even at a slightly lower unit cost figure".

Joseph, with characteristic bluntness, spells out one of the key Tory objectives—boosting profitability through imposing a cut in real wages.

For the same reason the Thatcher government is tightening the screws on dole payments and social security payments in an attempt to force unemployed workers into low-paid jobs.

But what is the response of the Labour leaders? The Callaghan government, of course, also drove up unemployment to record levels under the Thatcherite slogan of "squeeze-

ing out inflation".

Now they sit back with folded arms waiting for Thatcher to serve her five-year term of office, with occasional calls for the Tories to implement a "U-turn".

By a "U-turn" they mean the imposition of wage controls and the old Labour strategy of subsidising bankrupt private industry through government cash handouts.

Protect profits

The Labour 'left' and TUC leaders add to this a nationalistic call for import controls—to protect the profits of British employers at the expense of the jobs of workers overseas.

Yet the fact is that the most profitable British employers are among those shedding jobs and waging war on shop floor working conditions. Ford UK, for instance, has virtually stopped importing cars from abroad while at the same time seeking new redundancies and a speed-up package.

Such leaders, respectful as ever of the "right" of the employers to make a profit, have waged not one serious

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Thatcher

BOLIVIA: another coup in the making?

By Don Flint

As the two-million strong Bolivian electorate goes to the polls for the third time in as many years the international correspondents of the bourgeois press are once again gleefully serving up the arithmetic of political instability: three elections, six presidents, two general strikes, three coups and (*Socialist Press*' own contribution, this) no less than seven attempted military putsches.

Gradually the message is getting home—that bourgeois democracy cannot work in Bolivia; that it has proved impossible to translate the constitutional and juridical apparatus nurtured over centuries in the imperialist metropolis to a superexploited neo-colonial state when the national bourgeoisie can be numbered only in hundreds and the only effective political forces are the military and the proletariat.

Since early 1978 the American State Department has sought to mediate the acute class conflict between these forces by pushing for a parliamentary regime in which the middle ground can find its voice.

But the workings of early bourgeois democracy are not only hopelessly anachronistic; they lack any historical roots or any social base in a country where 65% of the labour force are agricultural workers; where infant mortality is 33%; where in 1975 20% of the population existed on £30 per year; and where imperialist capital has developed a small but highly militant and superexploited proletariat.



Soldiers in action during the last military coup

man', army commander Gen. Garcia (nephew of President Lydia Gueiler) has made no bones about the fact that he wants an end to parliament and civilian rule.

This has led the military into conflict with the US embassy and the remarkable situation of the generals assailing the ambas-

sador as 'an imperialist viceroy' and denouncing 'great power intervention' which in May effectively suppressed a planned coup.

Survived

Gueiler appears to have scampered through and survived her term through deft manipu-

lation and the support of Washington.

However, she has been forced to delay implementing major IMF austerity plans and with the economy on the verge of collapse her successor, if able to avoid removal by the generals will be faced with a working class that remains militant, is



Gueiler takes office

increasingly pauperised and yet demonstrably tiring of the parliamentary pantomime.

An indication of the crisis of capitalism in Bolivia is given by the fact that even the reformist-dominated COB has demanded a minimum wage of 12,000 Bolivars per month while 60% of the labour force is paid less than Bs 3,000.

With the national debt 100% higher in 1979 than in 1978 there is no considerable scope for conceding anything near this demand.

The man most likely to succeed to this problem is Siles Zuazo, leader of the 'left' MNR. He is allied to the pro-Moscow CP, the left social democratic MIR, and a variety of smaller 'socialist' parties.

Siles has the critical support of the 'Trotskyist' Vanguardia Obrera.

Pas Estensore's opposing rightist coalition has lost ground since 1979 with his ill-designed support for the Natusch coup and the loss of the Christian Democrats.

(who continues to hold an important constituency in the eastern capital Santa Cruz), the only other important challenger is Lechin, General Secretary of COB.

His PRIN alliance has won the backing of the POR (Combate-USFI), the OST (Morenists) and VCPOR (a section from the POR (Lora)).

Most of these 'Trotskyist' parties have switched their allegiance from the Socialist Party of Marcelo Quiroga, which now stands alone.

No illusions

The number one priority for revolutionary Marxists is the political independence of the working class. This by no means necessarily requires abstention from elections but it certainly entails a rigorous denunciation of class alliance or the slightest illusion in bourgeois democracy for the fulfillment of the proletariat.

This is always the case, but in Bolivia it is the most immediate and transcendent requirement.

Support for Lechin who, though head of COB, has no mass party and, what is more, a 30-year history of betrayal cannot be defended in these terms.

While the Moscow and Peking Stalinists long ago threw in the towel (with Siles and Paz respectively) the partisans of Pabloism continue to be uncertain, shifting from one left talker to another, tottering on the cliff-edge of popular frontism.

Military backing

But Paz maintains a hold over important peasant groups and although former dictator General Hugo Banzer is standing yet again, Paz may expect some discreet aid from the military.

In all some 13 slates, comprising 72 parties, entered the poll—a state of affairs that is certain to confuse the voters and perpetuate indecision.

However, aside from Banzer

ZIONIST REGIME IN CRISIS



Natusch

The two year political crisis in Bolivia manifests this essential contradiction but also incorporates those of a secondary order: the temporary divergence of interests between the local repressive apparatus and monopoly capital; the 'internal' competition (sectarianism) natural to bourgeois party politics; and the revival of 'populism' which, in alliance with the trade union bureaucracy, has served to divert the combativity of the workers from the overthrow of the capitalist state to the defence of its liberal form.

All these elements have come to the fore in the most recent period since the removal of the 16-day Natusch dictatorship last November.

Their combination makes it not the outcome of Sunday's elections but the very real threat of a Pinochet-style coup that is the principal concern of revolutionary Marxists.

Setback

Although they suffered a major setback with the mass opposition and overthrow of the Natusch regime, the military 'hardliners' have greatly consolidated their position since November and their 'strong

The months of May and June have seen an important new stage for the two regimes in the Israeli state and the territories occupied since 1967.

There have been important developments in the scale of Palestinian resistance, in the political aims of the Begin government and in the efforts of the imperialist powers to defuse the conflicts in the area.

The recent train of events can be traced back to the Palestinian guerrilla attack on a group of loyalist settlers in the town of Hebron on the West Bank on 2 May.

This has been the most well publicised but by no means the only example of increasingly intense Palestinian resistance activity in the occupied areas.

Israeli army patrols were shot in East Jerusalem on 10 June and in Bethlehem on 22 June.

Bomb attacks

On 25 June an agent of the Israeli security police was killed by members of the Palestinian Popular Front in circumstances that remain unclear.

Daily bomb attacks occur throughout the occupied territories and other forms of resistance include the stoning of military vehicles and strikes in shops and schools.

What brought about this new upsurge in resistance? In part at least it has come from the crisis in the Zionist regime itself which is going through its most testing time since the original state was set up in 1945.

During the 1970s the decline

in the fortunes of Israel's once invincible army and the subsequent election of the ultra-right Begin government brought new problems for the Zionist state.

The same level of support from abroad could not be relied upon to prop up the economy and keep the military supplied.

Amongst other manifestations of the economic crisis, inflation has crept up to the rate of 130% per annum in recent months.

Disillusionment with the 'ideals' of Zionism has grown, particularly among young Israeli Jews who can see no future for themselves in a racially exclusive state.

The reaction of the Begin regime to these developments has been territorial expansion, bloody repression and economic and agricultural expansion.

lishment of new Jewish settlements in the more recently occupied areas of the West Bank.

There are now said to be 92 settlements in this area with 20,000 inhabitants.

Many of the people in these settlements come directly from the US or Britain and have little in common with those, including Jews, who have lived in the area for generations.

The Gush Emunin movement of settlers takes its ideology from selected snippets of the Bible and Jewish religious teaching to the effect that Jews have a divine right to the land of Israel.

There can be no serious doubt that sections of the army will cooperate with the 'settlers' of the Gush Emunin movement and probably with the Kibbutz as well.

Euphrates and whose leaders are among the only Jews ever to be detained by the Israeli authorities.

Some of their leaders formerly ran the notorious Jewish Defence League in the United States and were almost certainly behind the large cache of explosives recently found in a theological college in Jerusalem and probably intended to blow up a Mosque.

The settlers have open sympathisers in the Begin cabinet—namely, Ark Shavit—agriculture minister and Finance Minister—and in the government's main political ally, the Likud.

There can be no serious doubt that sections of the army will cooperate with the 'settlers' of the Gush Emunin movement and probably with the Kibbutz as well.



What is clear is that Begin cannot escape blame for the terrorist attacks on the West Bank.

The attempted murder of 3 West Bank mayors on 2 June and the actual mutilation of two of them could not have been carried out without help from within the military establishment.

These attacks go hand in hand with a long list of measures of 'official' repression ranging from the closure of newspapers to the blowing up of houses and blocking up doors and windows with concrete.

One particularly macabre action of the Israeli forces was to forcibly close a group of shops where the Palestinian flag had been seen and paint the word 'closed' in Hebrew on the outside.

Such measures can only be compared to what the Nazis did to the Jews themselves in earlier generations.

As Mayor Shaka of Nablus said after his legs were blown off, this "will expose Israeli policy of racialism against us".

CORRECTION

IN LAST week's *Socialist Press* (SP 24, 25.6.80) in the 'correction' article on South Africa it was incorrectly stated that in the past month there had been three strikes waves in Durban. In fact, the Durban industrial area involving around 8,000 workers while the mine strike (involving around 4,500 workers) took place near Johannesburg.

INTERNATIONAL



French workers fight to defend social security

from a special
Socialist Press
correspondent
in Paris

The "Berger" law to reform Social Security and the 'Barrot' changes in the medical system have awoken in these last few weeks a profound discontent inside the French working class.

These two proposals are designed to carry out attacks of an unprecedented seriousness against the system of social insurance in France.

Such attacks carried out by the bourgeoisie show that the working class cannot hope for any lasting improvement from its position in a capitalist system in decline.

In order to contain the workers' movement the French bourgeoisie in the tumultuous period following the Second World War, had to concede one of the most advanced systems of social protection.

Impediment

Far from proving the ability of the bourgeoisie to incorporate the interests of the working class, this concession formed a heavy impediment to the competitiveness of French capitalism.

That is why, in the middle of the 60s, because of the rela-

tive strength of the Gaullist regime, the bourgeoisie tried to destroy this basic gain of the working class.

This was the significance of the laws which de Gaulle initiated in 1967.

These decrees and the resistance which they engendered in the working class no doubt were one of the things which directly gave rise to the explosion of May 1968.

Delicate

Today, given the deepening of the economic crisis, the bourgeoisie is trying to inflict new blows against the system of social protection.

But this operation is made particularly delicate because of the considerable attachment that workers have to social insurance.

In the space of one month, four national days of action have taken place (24 April, 13 and 23 May and 5 June).

Compared with the days of action which unfolded on other occasions in preceding months, the participation of workers in strikes and demonstrations in these last weeks has been altogether stronger.

The demonstration of the 13 May was the most important since the elections in May 1978.

Undoubtedly, the united—if somewhat limited—character of the call of the CGT, CFDT and the FEN raised among workers the hope that it would be possible to fight effectively against the politics of the government.

On the evening of May 13, the government declared a retreat on the 'Berger' project; unquestionably, the size of the mobilisation had caused them to reconsider their tactics.

But they had by no means given up their objectives, as was to be shown several weeks later, by the signing of the new medical regulations.

However, the day following May 13 the union leaders began to shout of victory and refused to organise a deepening of the struggle.

FO and the bosses' organisation CNPF signed the new medical regulations. The reformist CFDT union confederation scrupulously carrying out the decision of their last conference, explicitly objected to any centralised or national action.

On the other hand it is undoubtedly true that these four days of action were indelibly marked by the politics of the Stalinist-led CGT union confederation, which was the main if not the only organising force.

(50,000 people took part in the CGT demo on 5 June while the

CFDT could only muster 1,000).

Following the 13 May the CGT leadership called for the organisation of action on a higher level than on the 13th and had insisted on the need to engage in a polemic against the CFDT.

It seemed to represent an intransigent stand in defence of workers' interests.

However, they did nothing. Under the guise of "making a noise" they went for a repetition of the preceding days of action, which were perhaps spectacular but nonetheless inadequate and therefore unsuccessful.

The 5 June was, despite all the efforts of the CGT to inflate the figures, far below the numbers on 13 May.

Despite this the CGT could appear as the only organisation which went against the 'consensus of opinion'. The leadership of the CGT and the French Communist Party used these days of action as a means of putting pressure on the leaders of the Socialist Party and the CFDT.

We are, therefore, a long way from a consistent fight for the defence of workers' interests against the attacks of the ruling class.

Such a struggle would necessitate the putting forward

of clear perspectives and a real plan of action by the trade union leaders.

In the face of the lies about the deficit of social security we must demand the immediate payment of unpaid benefits, the removal of bosses' representatives on the administration of social security, and workers control of the drugs industry and private clinics.

To carry out such measures would mean coming into conflict with the government and the ruling class.

Workers organisations must stop the discussion on "the national interest": it is impossible to reconcile the interests of bosses and of workers.

The workers organisations must abandon the tactic of rotating strikes and of isolated days of action.

Demoralise

This tactic which has been popular with the Stalinists for many decades acts chiefly to defuse the class struggle and demoralise workers while the number of unemployed and the rise in prices only increase.

What is necessary is a clear perspective which lets all sections of the working class take part in the struggle; the prepar-

ation of a general strike, led by democratic workers' councils.

Workers' organisations must say clearly that to defend the gains of the working class, they will not pull back from fighting to remove the Giscard government which is unable to guarantee the health of workers.

They must show that they are ready to take the power by breaking all ties with the bourgeoisie.

We have laid out here, briefly and partially, the main lines of what must be for us a systematic plan to answer the projects of the ruling class.

No illusions

We don't have any illusions that the present leaders of the workers' movement can seriously fight to put such a plan into practice.

But today, millions of workers have confidence in them.

We must organise these workers as much as our forces allow us to, so that they demand of their leadership that they unite on the basis of this plan.

It is only in this practical struggle that it will be possible to free the masses from their illusions and to forge a real revolutionary party.

USA week by week

(reprinted from Labor News)

US labour bureaucrats talk of 'coalition against Reagan'

On June 5 over two hundred trade unionists from throughout California met in Los Angeles to discuss the political crisis within labour and the relationship between the unions and the Democratic Party.

The conference was called by the 1.7 million member state AFL-CIO and was chaired by its secretary John Henning.

Henning began the conference by declaring that the Democratic Party is run by millionaires with the unions being allowed no special representation at the upcoming Democratic Party convention in Kansas City.

He also noted that there is little discussion within the trade unions of independent politics because of the basic federation structure.

He finished by noting that Local 535 of the SEIU had a meeting on the labour party and the United Steelworkers District 38 had passed a motion for a labour party at their western conference in Phoenix.

Throughout the conference, delegates complained about the impediments in the trade union structure that prevented the unions from developing an independent political party and the necessity of building that party.

Tony Ramos, secretary of the California State Conference of Carpenters, called for a new

Build a Labour Party!

"coalition" to work within the Democratic Party for now but build a "new party down the line."

His statement fell far short of the labour party resolution passed by the Carpenters State Conference calling for a labour party movement now.

Delegates from the floor were much more adamant about the immediate necessity of starting quickly.

An auto worker reported from the UAW convention that the Democrats had provided no legislation to defend against layoffs, yet there was no presidential candidate to vote for.

Real choice

He called for a coalition against Reagan but that the labour movement needed a labour party to have a real choice.

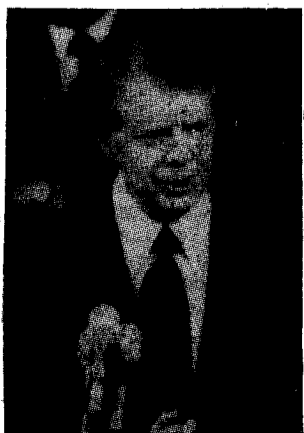
Support for a labour party also came from carpenters, CWA members, bus drivers, steelworkers and SEIU members.

The afternoon session was headed up by Alexander Barkan, national director of the Committee on Political Education (COPE).

Barkan made no secret of the national AFL-CIO's continued support of the Democrats.

"Our real enemy is Ronald Reagan, and we will endorse President Carter, if as now seems certain, he is nominated at the Democratic convention."

He was supported by Jack Crowley, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council and even Henning who, while talking about a labour party, proposed to "wait until January 1 to search out labour candidates".



Carter

Dick Groulx, secretary of the Alameda Labor Council, called for labour to "scare the hell out of the candidates the unions now support" yet was forced to admit that labour-supported candidates in the recent election spent thousands of union-donated funds to advertise on KRON-TV, a struck station in San Francisco.

In that race, the United Farm Workers gave \$30,000 to Democrat Santanà only to see their money spent on a scab station where the office workers are still on strike.

Henning closed the meeting by calling for more discussion with another meeting in December and two or three in 1981, yet no firm proposal was made to call a congress of all the unions to begin the construction of a labour party.

Trade unionists and socialists must demand that their union act now to move forward the struggle for a labour party.

Waiting for Henning and Barkan will not create a mass movement in the working class for a labour party; a labour party must be constructed in the unions without waiting anymore for these fiddlers and dithering opportunists.



Reagan: can only be fought through workers' party.

Labour NEC takes up 'H' Block appeal

Labour's right wing Shadow Cabinet was thrown into paroxysms last week.

The Party's NEC voted—despite Callaghan's opposition—to endorse an LPYS resolution condemning the conditions faced by Irish republican prisoners in the concentration camps of Long Kesh and Armagh Jail.

The resolution which "deplores the appalling condi-

tions which exist in the prisons of Northern Ireland", points to newspaper reports of the beating of women prisoners in Armagh by male warders and them being denied sanitary and medical facilities.

And it points out that in the 'H' Blocks of Long Kesh republican prisoners—who are refusing to wear prison clothing or do prison work as part of their struggle for the restoration of political status—are locked up for 24 hours a day, clad only in a blanket.

They are denied reading and writing materials, and subjected

to humiliating body searches.

The resolution concludes lamely that the party's Northern Ireland study group should investigate the conditions of the prisoners, and "consider" restoration of the right for them to wear their own clothes and have access to newspapers, TV, books and writing materials.

But the very fact that the leading Party body has responded to the four-year struggle for the restoration of political status is a major blow to the Callaghan-Mason right wing, whose attempt to

"criminalise" republican fighters in 1976 has led to the ongoing 'H' Blocks "blanket" protest.

Callaghan, having failed by 11-8 to secure the defeat of the resolution, immediately dissociated himself from it: and the Shadow Cabinet called for an emergency meeting with the Northern Ireland study group to "reconsider" it.

Current

It is clear however that the motion reflects a growing current within the Party and the



broader labour movement that stands opposed to imperialist policy and the military occupation of the six counties of Ireland.

In this context socialists should support the limited but

useful Charter 80 campaign for the restoration of political status to republican prisoners.

Further details of the Charter 80 campaign, which is backed by Czech Charter 77 campaigner Ivan Hartel and a long list of sponsors, are available from:

Charter 80, PO Box 353, London NW5.



Letter

Not past it at 40!

Dear Comrades,
In Comrade Keith White's article on Helen Keller (SP 204) there appeared a very dubious sentence:

"With the decline of the IWW in the early 1920s Helen Keller's socialist writing becomes much less sharp and increasingly mixed in with religion. She was, of course, well into her forties by that time."

It is the last line that concerns me. Is it intended to suggest that because of her age (and what is "well into" 40s?) it is more understandable that she should become increasingly interested in religion at the expense of socialism?

If so, it seems to be dangerously near a particularly insidious form of sexist caricature.

This is the notion that women at 40 are well past their prime, and unable to sustain their intellect, thus becoming susceptible to mysticism or religion.

I've never seen such an argument used to excuse the degenerate political failings of male political figures who are well past forty.

The bizarre assumption that being over 40 is some sort of handicap is simply not applied to men. For them it is seen as developed "maturity".

It is only applied to women, whose intellect as a result of pernicious sexism, is regarded in the same way as the question of their sexuality: at forty they are supposedly "past it", and able to look forward only to churchgoing or being a graceful granny!

I hope Comrade Keith White did not intend the comment in this way as those of our readers "well into 40" could be justifiably irritated by it.

Yours,
AMS
Oxford

Police attack Gay March

Last year's Gay Pride march in London was memorable for its large size. This year's, at only a third of the size will not be.

What it will be memorable for is its rapid conversion from a good humoured amble into an angry and militant demonstration against police repression.

When the march arrived at Parliament Square one participant was arrested by the police (whose conduct had been offensive and provocative from the beginning) for carrying an offensive weapon—a hatpin!

When other marchers protested at this atrocity, they too were arrested.

At the end of the march a now angry crowd refused to disperse and were besieged by hundreds of police in Malet St.

Eventually the police were forced to concede that the march re-form and go to Bow St where the demonstration continued until those arrested were released.

These events not only show up a new example of the provocative and repressive behaviour of the police—visible on virtually all demonstrations; they also demonstrate the readiness of hundreds of gay people to give militant resistance to the oppression which they suffer in numerous respects from bigotry and the repressive forces of the state.

For this reason the 1980 Gay Pride March can mark an important turning point in the struggle for gay liberation.

A campaign to defend the victims of such repression now becomes an urgent necessity in the gay and workers' movements.



WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO KAFKA AND CUMMINGS

PRESS GANG



Critical support for Nastase?

When and how often should *Daily Mail* reporters be beaten up is the question on everyone's lips.

The surprise is only that it has taken Wimbledon and a highly strung tennis star to do to the *Daily Mail* what every worker in struggle must have felt like doing.

John Passmore, who fell to the ground with a pair of broken glasses, wrote a defence of his breed in the *Mail*.

He explained how it was happenstance and coincidence that wherever Nastase went there was Passmore close behind; that it was his sharp sense of tennis reportage that had persuaded him to follow up the question of Nastase's marriage; and how he had been covering at the back of the crowd of reporters when Nastase struck.

Of course Passmore may or may not share the political ambitions of his fellow reporters

on what pass in the *Mail* for the news pages.

Perhaps it was just his despair at the rain at Wimbledon that had dampened his appetite for reporting tennis and increased his desire to find some off the beat story about the private lives and loves of the over paid spoilt brats of the tennis circuit.

But in managing to be just outside Nastase's room every time he opened the door, in contriving to be in the same lift more or less every time Nastase went downstairs, Passmore has certainly shown that he has got what it takes to become a regular *Daily Mail* newshound.

The essence of the press gang is not persistence in the face of overwhelming odds, but a dogged determination to crowd the victim until he or she snaps.

That means that if all else fails the dogged ace reporters can at least have a story from his or her hospital bed explaining how it all happened.

The press loves to be hated. The *Daily Telegraph* used to run regular reports revealing what *Pravda* had said about it.

The *Daily Mail* has its own way of getting round the problem that workers approached by its reporters have a temptation to hit out first and answer questions afterwards.

Reporters are advised not to say that they are from the *Daily Mail*, but from Associated Newspapers, the controlling group.

The 'freelance' photographer who was sent to the Adwest picket last week to catch a picture of Ted Heslin for the *Mail* (and was rumbled by the fact that he seemed totally uninterested in the picketing) reacted with horror when accused of being a witch-hunter. "I don't do series like that", he said before fleeing in his green MG.

It took a hurried police escort to see him safely on his way. There was a hunted, punch drunk look in his eye. Anyone for tennis?

French perfect neutron bomb

As hundreds of families in the USA fled from the still-lethal Three Mile Island power station, the French government announced that it has successfully tested a neutron bomb—designed to wipe out human life through radiation while leaving capitalist property intact.

The French imperialists have in fact devised a grisly "defence" strategy which involves using neutron bombs to create a barrier of intense radio activity designed to penetrate the armour of invading tanks—but of course also involving the obliteration of all forms of life in the selected "buffer" zone.

Whether in the drive for profits through the reckless proliferation of unsafe nuclear energy programmes, or in the ruthless moves to protect their profits through military attacks on liberation struggles and even on the workers' states, capitalism continuously confirms its contempt for human life.

There can be no doubt that a French imperialism that would consider fouling its own nest with neutron bombs is more than ready to use such barbaric weapons against the oppressed masses internationally—unless brought to heel by the revolutionary mobilisation of the French workers movement.

TROTSKYIST INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE



DISCUSSION BULLETIN No. 2

Articles on Nicaragua, Parity Commission, and TILC Declaration

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Callaghan wants expulsion of socialists—not Militant!



Neil Kinnock: draws the line at socialism

The case of extreme right winger Douglas Eden served last week as a guide to the way Callaghan and the Labour right wing are now hoping to carry through the expulsion of socialists.

Eden—a leading member of the crypto-Tory Social Democratic Alliance—had been correctly expelled by Hornsey Labour Party. He had appealed to the NEC hoping that, as in the case of his SDA colleagues Stephen Haseler and Roger Fox, the expulsion would be set aside in a gesture towards Tony Benn's "broad church" view of the Labour Party.

Benn indeed *did* argue against endorsing the expulsion. The same position was argued

by the party's Organisation Committee and its chairman, Eric Heffer.

But it was Callaghan—echoing recent statements by shadow minister Neil Kinnock—who insisted that the expulsion of this right winger should go through.

Lines should be drawn between acceptable and unacceptable forms of opposition within the party, he argued.

People who were "so disruptive that they would tear the party apart" should not be in the Labour Party, he said.

The NEC voted 13-10 for Callaghan's position.

Challenged as to whether he meant to include the Militant tendency, under this heading Callaghan insisted that he did

not:

"I have never said that Militants should be expelled, and I would be grateful if you would not put words in my mouth".

Kinnock, however—a leading Tribuneite—does not seem so convinced that even the toothless Militant group should be tolerated in the Labour Party.

And he, like Callaghan, is openly committed to the expulsion of those left wingers—including supporters of *Socialist Press*—who reject the Militant strategy of tail-ending 'left' MPs and bureaucrats and insist on fighting for principled socialist policies of nationalisation without compensation under workers' management and the removal of Labour's right wing leadership.

But the right wing is in an extremely uncomfortable position to launch a root and branch purge of socialists.

This was revealed by the fact that the NEC was forced to bow to rank and file militancy on the cuts issue and restore the Labour whip to left wing councillors in Bristol and Manchester who voted against spending cuts proposed by right wing Labour

councils.

And it was underlined by the NEC's rejection of a plea by Oxford CLP for the reopening of the case of Ted Heslin, the *Socialist Press* supporter whose expulsion from the Party has been finally overruled after 18 months of appeals.

Accordingly Callaghan appears to be shifting his tactics slightly. Hoping that as an outcome of the party inquiry trade union bureaucrats at local and national level will draft additional right wing forces onto GMCs, last week he stressed that it was up to constituency parties to "safeguard the constitution of the party" and take action against those they consider to be "disruptors".

If this had been the case in Oxford, Heslin would long ago have been successfully expelled.

The expulsion of right-winger Douglas Eden can thus be seen as a sprat to catch a mackerel: it is an ostentatious display of "even-handed" justice by a Callaghan leadership aching to get its hands on the windpipe of the left.

FIGHT TO DEFEND ILEA AGAINST TORY CUTS!

Inner London has witnessed an impressive series of meetings called under the banner of the South East Region TUC to develop a campaign against Tory proposals to dismantle the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA).

Massive attendances by trade unionists and parents have testified to the determination of the working class in London to defend the education service which must be seen as a historical gain for the labour movement.

The significance of the ILEA to the workers of London is that it exerts authority and power to raise money across borough boundaries, and can therefore force the Tory boroughs like Westminster who receive enormous rates income from West End office blocks, to contribute to the cost of providing education in the poorer working class boroughs such as Tower Hamlets.

Break up

Ever since Labour established a firm hold over the old London County Council the Tories have struggled to break up the unified municipality of London precisely to avoid this economic redistribution in favour of the working class areas.

In the early 1960s they hoped that local government

reorganisation would give them back control over London.

They were unpleasantly surprised when Labour took control in the first Greater London Council and proceeded to build council housing in the middle of the Tory suburban heartlands and then to make them pay for the privilege.

Under Labour control, ILEA was built up into one of the best education authorities in the country, with much lower pupil-teacher ratios than Tory authorities, and a large number of special facilities which smaller

scale authorities cannot afford to provide, and which contribute considerably to the welfare of London as a whole.

If the Tories succeed in splitting up the ILEA and forcing the Inner London boroughs to operate the education service at the level of individual boroughs, there is no doubt that there will be a savage reduction in the quality of schooling in London.

There will also inevitably be great cost increases as the present central administration is reconstructed in each of the

inner boroughs.

But the main aim of the Tories in breaking up ILEA is to force cuts in London's education spending. The ILEA raises its money by passing on a demand (technically called a precept) to the GLC and the boroughs which they *must* raise.

These powers make the ILEA independent of Heseltine's controls over the individual local councils, and this is what most irks them.

The campaign to defend ILEA is now supported by NALGO, NUT, NUS/AWT, NUPE, TGWU, GMWU, and the GLC Staff Association, and is coordinated through the SERTUC.

Long serving bureaucrats and wheeler dealers are rushing to get onto the platforms of the defence campaign.

The notorious Jack Dromey has been appointed by SERTUC to run the whole campaign.

It may well be that the deadening hand of the bureaucracy will find itself incapable of holding the campaign back from confrontation with the government.

Few of those present at the first round of mass meetings have been prepared to take seriously Dromey's proposal to seek allies among 'progressive' Tories.

Most of the applause was reserved for speakers from the floor correctly demanding industrial action and occupation of ILEA facilities to prevent the break-up.



Tory GLC leader Horace Cutler

Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

Public meeting

Wednesday 23 July at 7.30

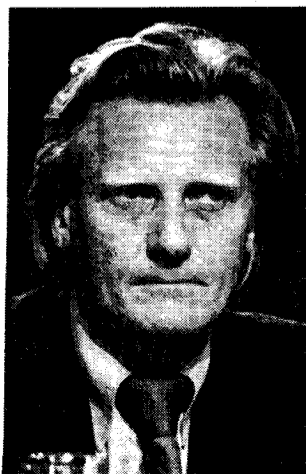
*For a full discussion on the crisis of the world Trotskyist movement.

*Reconstruct the Fourth International!

Speakers from the WSL and TILC sections

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1

Tickets £1



Heseltine

Labour's right shield Indian fascists

The Rashtriya Swayem-sevak Sangh (RSS) is a vicious fascist organisation in India.

The threat it poses to the Indian working class is growing, in the light of the capitalist economic and political crisis and lack of revolutionary leadership of the Indian working class.

Acting as a spearhead to smash the organisations of the working class through the medium of religion, caste and chauvinism, the RSS (the so-called "cultural" front of the parliamentary party, the Jan Sangh) practices a full fascist programme.

Drawing its support from high caste landlords and the urban petty-bourgeoisie (especially the trading castes), the RSS has been responsible for countless incidents of communal violence and agitation against minority groups, militants and the workers' parties.

Whipping up propaganda against other religious minorities and the lower castes it ultimately seeks to combine the preservation of the exploitative caste system (which is itself utilised by the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the state to impose their own class rule with national chauvinism.

A clear class response based on the strength of the independent organisations of the Indian masses and which points to the need for workers self defence to crush the fascist menace remains an urgent task in India.

This month after a long struggle by militants in the Brent Labour Party, clear evidence has emerged to show the penetration of the Hindu Swayem-sevak Sangh (HSS), the fraternal organisation of the RSS in Britain, into the British labour movement.

An inquiry into the activities of the HSS, set up by concerned militants, reveals that the HSS shares the same constitution as the RSS.

It also provided an audience to two leading fascists in the Indian parliament, Nanaji Deshmukh and S. Bhandari, and

upholds identical aims to the RSS.

In the struggle to oppose such an organisation, militants were obstructed at every step by the right wing social democrats of the Labour Party.

The chairman of Brent South CLP, Len Snow has not only expressed solidarity with, and defended the HSS, but also sharply condemned militants for highlighting the issue.

Recently, in the face of a growing outcry at the existence of such an organisation as the HSS, Len Snow has somewhat retreated to adopt a "neutral" stand:

"We in the Labour Party should be wary of getting involved in Indian politics, just as we should avoid West Indian affairs, Israeli politics or those of any other foreign country."

The Labour MP for Brent South, Laurie Pavitt, has stated: "I refuse to divide my comrades (!) into 'left wing', 'right wing' or any other label—socialism means unity in diversity."

In their refusal to pursue politics that are in the interests of the immigrant working class in Britain, these class collaborationist misleaders instead surround themselves with the most reactionary elements of the immigrant petty bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Brent Labour Party is shielding A. Sharma, one of the leaders of the Wembley HSS who is also a member of the Labour Party.

Militants in Brent labour movement must confront such rank opportunists as Snow and Pavitt and the left talkers in the Labour Party.

They must enlist the aid of the organisations of Indian workers and the trade union movement in this task.

The fight must be taken up for the *expulsion* of HSS scum from the labour movement.

But as this case makes clear, that fight is inextricably bound with the struggle to expose and remove present misleaders in the labour movement who refuse to take up a fight in the interests of the working class.

FIGHTING LABOUR ANTI UNION LAWS

The second half of the 1960s saw the end of the post-war boom and the reassertion of the reality of the general crisis of capitalism.

From 1966 onwards the Labour government of Harold Wilson responded to this by attacking the old age pensioners, devaluing the pound and introducing a wage control policy under the Prices and Incomes Board on the instructions of the IMF.

At the end of 1968, the Minister for Employment and Productivity, Barbara Castle, began formulating a nasty little piece of anti-union legislation.

She presented it to Parliament as a White Paper in January 1969 under the misleading title "In Place of Strife".

Her White Paper was clear in its objective. The working class had responded with militant action against the attempts of Wilson to resolve the crisis of capitalism at their expense.

It was necessary, she said, to control strikes if "Britain is to survive and prosper".

Strikes were increasingly inflicting "disproportionate harm on the rest of society".

She singled out car assembly and components, docks and shipbuilding as examples.

Donovan

The White Paper was based heavily on the report of the Royal Commission on Trades Unions and Employers Associations.

This Commission had sat for three years under the chairmanship of Lord Donovan and produced its 350 page report early in 1968.

It called for incomes policy—the 'reform' of payments systems—particularly through use of job evaluation methods.

It demanded more control over shop stewards, new discipline procedures and the reform of the trade union structure.

The report also called for the necessary bodies to be set up to effect these changes.

Castle's main provision was the setting up of the Industrial Board—a kind of industrial court.

This body would have powers to order strikers back to work for a "cooling off period" of a maximum of 28 days. In addition it could order a ballot of strikers to be conducted by the union.

If its orders were defied, it could impose financial sanctions on a union or on individual members—in which case the fines would be collected by attachment of wages.

Castle argued that her provisions would not lead to workers going to prison. But there is little doubt that a persistent refusal to pay fines would in some cases have led to contempt of court and imprisonment.

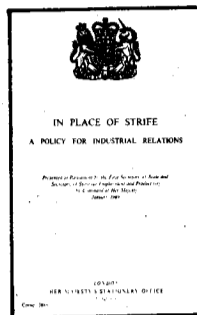
In the White Paper she explained her tactics.

Immunity

She explained, for example, why she did not propose simply removing immunity from trade unions and allowing the employers to sue strikers for damages in the courts.

This had happened in the case of the Taff Vale railway strike in 1901, where the unions were fined £55,000 for damages. This initiated a struggle which led to immunity under the 1906 Trade Disputes

Alan Thornett looks at the struggle against 'In Place of Strife'



SOGAT workers join the protest

Act. Castle's reluctance to revert to pre-1906 legislation was not because she was opposed in principle to letting the capitalist courts loose on the unions.

In her view the measure would simply not work because: "The great majority of employers would probably not be prepared to sue unofficial strike leaders"!!

Similarly she held back from simply making secret ballots compulsory before all official strikes because she feared that this may not be effective.

Secret Ballots

The use of the secret ballot, she argued, had to be very selective and tactical if it was to genuinely benefit the

employers. If you were not careful, she explained, it could end up strengthening the resolve of the workers!

"In major disputes, union members are very often more militant than their leaders, and are likely to be less closely in touch with the progress and prospects of negotiations.

"If the union leaders were always obliged to hold a ballot when using the strike threat in negotiations, they might well find their hands tied by a vote to strike...

"The power will be used where the Secretary of State believes that the proposed strike would be a threat to public interest, and there is doubt whether it commands the support of those concerned".

In other words a ballot would be ordered only when the Secretary of State is sure it would be certain to go the right way!

Another part of the White Paper proposed the establishment of a Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR). The function of this body would be to promote "reforms" of bargaining and procedural agreements, introduce forms of 'participation', worker directors and new wage structures—particularly on a corporate basis.

Extension

The White Paper explains that it would be similar to the National Board for Prices and Incomes but would do a "different" job. It explains that its

work would be a "novel extension of public (i.e. state) involvement in industrial relations in this country".

In addition to this, Castle proposed a new Registrar of Trade Unions and Employers Associations.

Unions would be required by law to register—and to do so they would be required to have a rule book which met government requirements in regard to discipline, elections, strike ballots and (very important) the appointment and function of shop stewards.

Castle claimed that the White Paper did not amount to an attack on the closed shop, but this was not the case. It had provisions to exempt those who objected on conscientious grounds not far removed from those in James Prior's "Employ-



The lobby outside Fairfield Hall

ment" Bill today. So the sum total of Castle's White Paper and the Industrial Relations Bill which came out of it was a full blooded attack on trade union rights through the direct strengthening of the capitalist state.

Agents

If the capitalist class, through its agents in the Labour government was responding to its needs as a class to make the working class pay for the crisis, the reformist leadership of the trade union movement certainly was not responding to the needs of the working class to defend its hard won rights.

Quite the contrary. Although almost every union formally opposed the Bill, none mobilised official action against it.

Worse, the TUC and the leaders of the main unions all actively opposed the unofficial action which did take place.

The actions called were unofficial and the forces involved were the Communist Party and the Trotskyists of the Socialist Labour League, at that time by far the biggest of Trotskyist organisations.

Today's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) with its wholesale adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalism, its slander campaigns against opponents it cannot answer politically and its abstention from serious work in the unions is a mere shadow of its fore-runner—the SLL of that period.

Private eye up against the union-busters

JOHN LISTER reviews 'October Heat', a novel by Gordon DeMarco (Germinal, \$8.50 hardback).

In a socialist-written detective thriller in which there are plenty of (dead) bodies, it is not a little unfortunate that the first body to be described is that of the mysterious but very much alive Lana Birdwell:

"The door opened and in glided a hundred-and-five-pounds of the slickest gift-wrapped frail my tired, wet eyes had seen since Hector was a pup. She was a tall job with plenty of fahrenheit".

With this brief passage hero/narrator/detective Riley Kovachs betrays himself as a run of the mill 1934 sexist.

Obsessed

Within a few more pages it has become plain that he fancies himself as the left wingers' Philip Marlowe, that he tends to be obsessed with expressing the most mundane statements in the most tortuous and contrived terminology, and that—to make matters worse—he is keen on that most indecipherable of American institutions, the "ball game".

Yet for all these considerable faults *October Heat* is, for those that persevere, an intriguing attempt at combining fact and

fiction, politics and detective drama.

Centred in California its action takes place in the aftermath of the great 1934 San Francisco longshoremen's strike in which 100,000 dockers newly organised into the ILA battled eleven weeks against a vicious union-busting employers' alliance and their own bureaucratic leaders, to secure recognition, wage increases and a coastwide agreement.

General Strike

The strike was the biggest in the USA since the Seattle General Strike of 1919.

Coming at the same time as the militant Trotskyist-led unionisation battles of Teamster truck drivers in Minneapolis, and the breakthrough in unionisation in the car industry in the Toledo Auto Lite strikes, this blow at the employers underlined the growing militancy and self confidence of the American working class.

As such it prompted still more desperate measures by the employers—with the fostering of extreme right wing and fascist currents utilised to physically attack and intimidate trade union organisers and communists.

And at the same time it

provided the basis for a populist wing of the Democratic Party to put itself forward as the representative of the American worker.

While President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to please both capital and labour by promising to resolve the problems of the depression through his "New Deal", others went even further in their efforts to win the electoral support of the working class and thus wall off any political break from capitalist politics.

Central to the plot of *October Heat* is the 1934 gubernatorial election in California in which one such "progressive" candidate, Upton Sinclair—pledged to release class war prisoner Tom Mooney from jail—challenges the openly reactionary governor who has stood foursquare behind the employers' union-busting drive on the docks.

Desperate

As extreme right wing fears grow that Sinclair might win, they resort to a desperate plot to assassinate him. They are rumbled by a longshore militant—who is murdered.

Kovachs is framed for the murder. As he probes deeper into the case he lurches from



the violence of the union-busters to the violence of the police. He becomes increasingly committed to the struggle of the union militants and thus—implicitly—to their support for Sinclair.

Yet the novel's restricted terms of reference render it a blunt instrument for revealing any real political insight into the comings and goings all around.

The events are described only through the eyes of Kovachs—whose class instincts, while generally correct, are by no means adequate to comprehend the nature of Sinclair's politics.

And for the same reason we have only a hopelessly idealised picture of longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges, who, under the influence of Stalinism, was by the late 1930s to become an

extreme patriot. During World War 2 Bridges argued for the unions to become "instruments of speed up" and imposed no-strike clauses on his members.

Incomplete

We could not of course expect an ordinary—if rather wordy—private investigator of 1934 to anticipate Bridges' subsequent political degeneration. The book thus rings true to life, but offers only a very incomplete part of a much richer and more complex picture.

October Heat is clearly the result of much research and painstaking work to evoke the atmosphere of the period.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the only character who attains any form of solidity is the evasive Riley Kovachs.

But then it is also unfor-

tunate that the first of what promises to be a new wave of novels from a group of socialist writers on the West Coast of the USA should be so heavily derivative from Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe novels.

Nevertheless, *October Heat* makes a good read. It is not often you hear a private investigator tell you that:

"It brought back memories of the days when I was a part of the drive to unionise the rubber shops in Ohio".

When one does, it is worth taking notice.

'October Heat' can be obtained from Germinal Press, 209 Prospect St, San Francisco 94110, USA.

The politics of contraception

Carl Djerassi, as one of the scientists who developed "the Pill", has an axe to grind—and this seems to be his primary purpose in writing this book.

He feels that the Pill has been denounced and abused unfairly because of public ignorance.

For him the "politics of contraception" means the way in which the media, the politicians, feminists and "public opinion" have attacked contraception in general and particularly the Pill.

In fact, less than half the book specifically deals with the politics of contraception—or the "software" as he calls it, following computer terminology.

Detailed

The other aspect, the "hardware" or facts and figures, is covered in a much more detailed way.

Djerassi, as a scientist, is a member of an elite with access

to information and knowledge not easily obtained by the mass of the population. But he has a rare quality in scientists—the ability to impart this information in a fascinating and comprehensive manner.

All women who are faced with bewildering and contradictory information about birth control would be interested in this book.

China

Djerassi also looks at the distribution of contraception throughout the world—including a very detailed chapter devoted to birth control in China.

When he comes to talk about the "software" Djerassi's analysis is limited by a shallow conception of what constitutes "politics" and by his crusade against all detractors of the Pill.

He lumps together right wing politicians who oppose the Pill because of the independence it brings women, together with feminists who have legitimate worries about its safety—partic-

ularly with long-term use.

He is so busy defending the Pill (devoting a whole chapter to "The Fear of Cancer") that he doesn't get round to looking at the much more important question of why and how bourgeois politicians seek to control the availability of birth control and thus control women.

The use and abuse of birth control in underdeveloped countries is another major aspect of the "politics of contraception" which Djerassi touches on.

Yet he manages to do this without mentioning the role of multi-national drug companies in dumping particularly dangerous contraceptives in the name of "population control".

In fact, Djerassi completely accepts the bourgeois argument that population control is a precondition to economic development.

This becomes particularly clear when he goes on to talk about "Strategies for the Future" in which he seriously discusses (but discards as impractical) a proposal for

ROSEMARY HARDWICK reviews 'The Politics of Contraception' by Carl Djerassi, (Norton, £6.50).



Photo: Derek Speers, IFL

The politics of no contraception: protest march in Dublin.

developing a contraceptive that can be added to the water supply!

The question of choice for women (and men) involved is entirely secondary to the "need" to keep down numbers—although he does concede that people should be able to "opt out" of this scheme—e.g. by boiling the water!

But it's when we come to the role of drug companies and governmental control of

safety standards that Djerassi's perspective becomes completely warped.

His proposal for developing safer, simpler and effective contraceptives boil down to advocating that governmental controls should be eased so that drugs could come to the market quicker.

As the President of the Zoccon Corporation he clearly has an interest in this argument—and even more in his second

proposal that companies should be made more or less immune to lawsuits resulting from dangerous side-effects to their products!

That the foremost scientist in research into contraception should think this way is hardly comforting for women who are waiting safer completely effective ways to control their fertility.

Fighting Heseltine's cuts

LAMBETH LEFT OPPOSES KNIGHT



Ted Knight

rates question and onto a general point about democracy in the Labour Group.

Nevertheless it had been possible to use positions on Newham Council to make propaganda for a fight against the cuts and to contribute to the development of local cuts campaigns.

The main question at this point was how these campaigns could be turned back into the Labour Party to give them a political dimension.

Clarity

John Ford, Deptford CLP and a supporter of the Socialist Newsletter argued that a fight against the cuts and against the Thatcher government would also mean a fight against leaders like Knight, and would mean that the campaigning bodies would need much greater political clarity than is generally the case.

He accused the Lambeth Fightback Campaign of providing left cover for what he called Knight's betrayals.

This contribution was greeted with a wave of groans and jeers.

In attempting to assess the meeting the first thing to be said is that it is a big step forward for it to have happened at all.

It is notoriously difficult to extend Labour Party campaigns out of the constituencies in which they commence without the backing of the official leadership.

Welcome

Secondly, it is necessary to welcome the fact that there are groups and individuals in many parts of London who are concerned to turn the fight against cuts in municipal services into a mass campaign which will challenge the government and the present Labour leadership.

It would be wrong however to ignore the problems and weaknesses of the movement at the present stage.

The majority of those present were associated more or less closely with one or other of the left groupings in the Labour Party, and the rank and file membership was not present as a major component of the meeting.

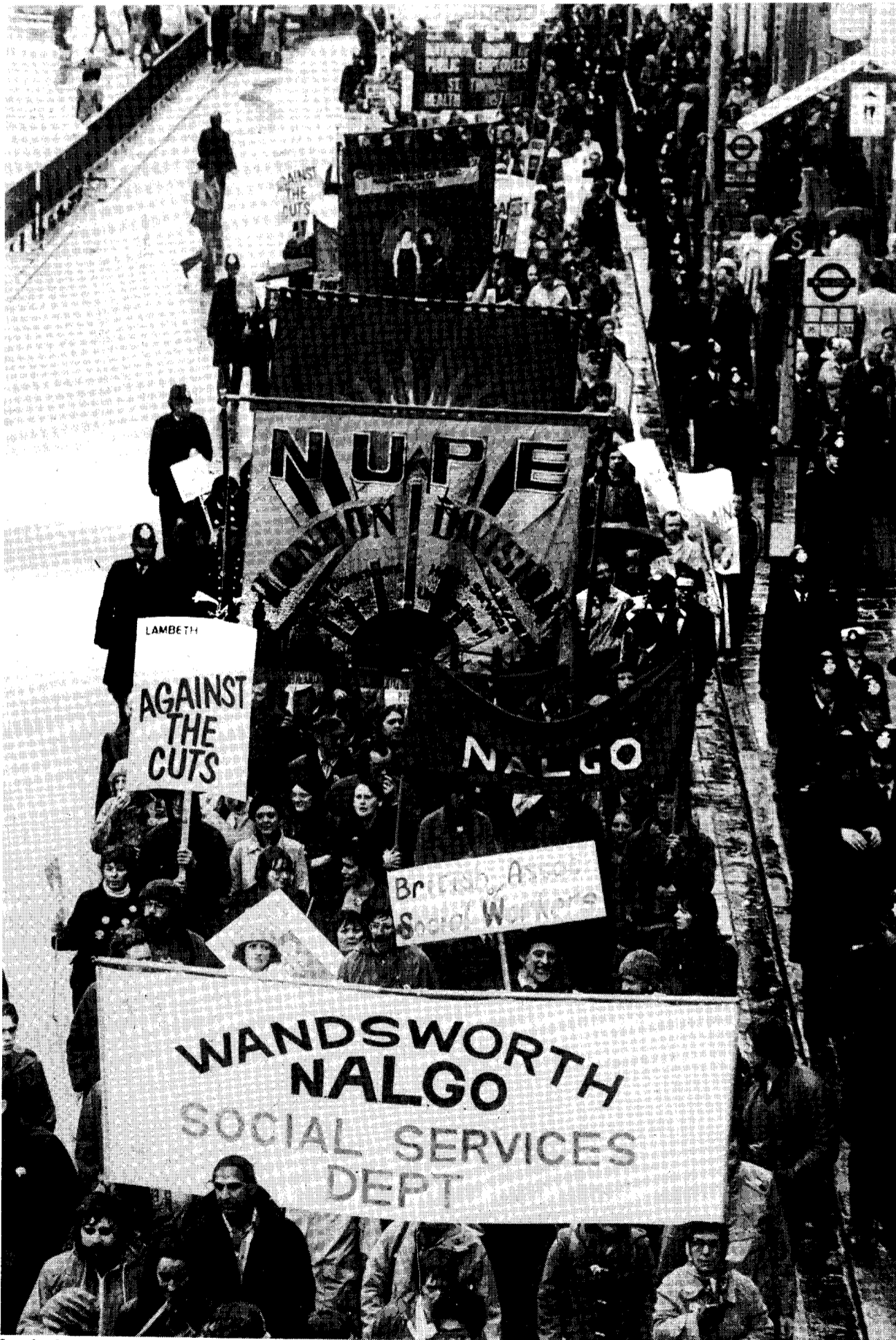
Nor were there significant numbers of trade union representatives or delegates from tenants movements.

Activists

The organisational discussion which took place was to a large extent one between already convinced activists.

This in itself is no bad thing at this stage in the campaign, but it is obviously necessary that the campaign turn outwards towards the mass membership of the Labour Party and the unions as quickly as possible.

Before this step can be achieved there will have to be further discussion on the detailed tactics of the campaign, particularly in relation to leaders of the Knight/Livingstone variety, who will in all probability be forced to fight Heseltine, on Heseltine's initiative if not their own.



Lambeth anti-cuts demonstration last November

PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

A meeting called by Lambeth Labour Left at Lambeth Town Hall on Friday 27 June brought together some 50 Labour Party activists from the left wing of constituencies all over London, on the basis of the 'No cuts, no rent or rate rises' position.

Lambeth Labour Left is a group of party members covering the four constituencies in the Borough of Lambeth, convened by Councillor Neal Turner.

Rate increases

Its origins were in the opposition to Ted Knight's Council's decision to increase rates and rents in the Borough and to evade attempts to mobilise the people of the Borough against the Tory government's attacks on municipal services.

Knight's budget for this year included a 49% increase in the rates and £1.50 on Council rents as well as some reductions in capital spending plans, in order to maintain as far as possible the present level of services.

The LLL opposed this policy and argued for mass mobilisation against the Government's reductions in Rate Support Grant, on the lines of continuing the campaign commenced by the Lambeth march against the cuts of November 7 last year.

Thus far LLL have won support for their position from one (Vauxhall) of the four Lambeth constituencies, and have a growing number of supporters in areas of the other three constituencies.

As a result of its 'Left' reputation, Lambeth is in a somewhat different position from other Labour Boroughs in London.

Paula Moore from Southwark Council described how the right wing 'Mafia' held onto control and implemented all Heseltine's instructions with alacrity, having made a 46% rate increase, 17% rent increase and 5% cuts.

Sell off

They are now planning to sell off their land holdings to private developers in order to make a quick capital profit before the Local Government Planning and Land Bill No. 2 comes into effect which will force Councils to sell under very disadvantageous conditions.

Mike Titchelar, from Lambeth NALGO described how Knight had won the support of the unions with promises of no redundancies, and that this position had blocked the involvement of the public sector unions in any fightback against the Tories which was developing in the area.

Nevertheless conflicts were developing inevitably, on the question of vacancies in posts in the Town Hall, and also on the introduction of new technology.

The industrial action on the comparability claim earlier this year had shown NALGO members that they had real industrial muscle.

The Council had to make special arrangements with the union to keep the Finance section working at a level sufficient to keep afloat all the emergency loans that the Council had arranged with City money lenders.

He looked to a future

position where unionists in the public sector would link up with the tenants and the clients of the public services in a common struggle against the Tories.

Discussion turned to the various forms of struggle which were appropriate in the differing conditions of various parts of London and how these could be linked into a unified and strengthened campaign.

John Archer, Haringey CLP, stressed the fact that the 'No

cuts No rate/rent increase' line necessarily implies a challenge to the Thatcher government's right to rule.

There should be no more Clay Crosses, he said, calling for joint action across the whole of London.

Obstructive action particularly by the public sector unions would play a crucial part in developing the campaign and would give confidence to the Councillors who would have to

live under the personal threat of surcharge or imprisonment if they acted in isolation from a mass campaign.

A central part of any such campaign would be the removal of Callaghan and the other leaders who obstruct the fightback.

Newham

John Plant, from Newham Council, described some of the

problems of fighting for the 'No cuts, no rent/rate rises' line in a right wing dominated council.

He had spent half of his time as a councillor under suspension from the Labour Group for various 'offences' of voting and speaking against the majority line in Council.

The Tribune supporters in the Local Government Committee had headed the conflicts away from the sharp edge of the



NGA SAYS 'NO' TO ELECTIONS

The workings of nature will continue to have more influence on the choice of officials in the National

Graphical Association than the wishes of the union's membership.

the union's National Council and the membership!

Democratise

That was the decision of the NGA conference, which threw out calls for the re-election of officials every five years in order to retain the present set-up—in which they are appointed for life.

At least Wade acknowledges that the National Council and the membership are at odds with each other.

There could scarcely be a clearer case for democratisation of one of the most rigidly bureaucratized unions in the labour movement.

General Secretary Joe Wade defended this, arguing that officials could not serve both

Ford-£386m profit 2,300 sackings

The US Ford motor corporation last week embarked on a spree of borrowing from its UK and West German subsidiaries to tide over its expected \$2.5 billion losses in the American market.

Ford UK last year made a taxable profit of £386 million—£135 million of which was paid in dividends to the US parent company.

Deep slump

But with the world car market now in deep slump and even the highly profitable Ford operation hard hit by Japanese competition, workers throughout the world are being called upon to bail the employers out of their crisis.

Layoffs in the USA already total tens of thousands. In Britain short-time working and layoffs have been restricted only by a cut in Ford's import of foreign-built models into the British market.

But last week management announced plans for 2,300 voluntary redundancies to slim down the British workforce: and they have revealed far reaching plans for speed-up and other "strings" to be attached to this year's pay review.

Ford's abrupt lurch from apparent boom-time security to short time and sackings spells out the unmistakable lesson that in this period of worldwide capitalist crisis, no firm, no job is safe from the impact of the bosses' hell-for-leather drive to maximise profits.

In resisting the redundancies, the short-time working and the forthcoming package of strings, Ford workers must struggle to force the opening of the books of this giant firm, its bankers and suppliers, to elected trade union committees to reveal management's worldwide strategy to force workers to pay for the crisis.

Nationalisation

The figures revealed would underline the necessity for the nationalisation of Ford, along

with other British car manufacturers and supply firms, as part of a planned, socialist economy.

The demand must at the same time be raised for work sharing on full pay to defend all jobs at the employer's expense under conditions of a declining market.

Where necessary plants should be occupied—with

supporting strike action throughout the combine—to enforce this demand on the employers.

One thing is certain: every concession now made by union leaders to Ford management will be seized upon as a sign of weakness and a green light for further attacks.

BID FOR NEW "CONTRACT"

Scared rigid by the experience of last year's series of one-day strikes which cracked the vicious Engineering Employers Federation, Confed leaders last week attempted to ensure it would never happen again.

AUEW and EETPU delegates blocked together to carry a right wing resolution calling on Confed unions to "consult their members" before calling industrial action—while the TGWU politely abstained.

The motion—passed by 1,105,999 to 774,000—does not actually specify ballots on industrial action, but is patently designed to impede any national call and offer the mass media the best chance of whipping up anti-strike hysteria.

Meanwhile Confed President

Ken Baker has gone still further in his efforts to prevent a struggle on wages—praising up the last social contract and hinting that leading bureaucrats are ready to sign another one.

The wage cutting social contract under the last Labour government was, in Baker's view, "a bid for sanity and cooperation in our affairs".

But for all the glee that this will provoke in the Callaghan camp, there is little sign that Baker is speaking for anybody other than himself and his fellow right wing union bureaucrats.

Indeed the Confed pay claim this year, though vaguely defined as "substantial", is likely to be broadly in line with the increase in the Retail Price Index—a far cry from the wage cuts required under each round of the Social Contract!

JOIN THE WSL!

Returned to office after five years of Labour betrayals, the Tory government has immediately begun wielding a sharpened axe on jobs, conditions and social services. Trade union rights face imminent legal attack. Prices are already rocketing upwards.

Plum sectors of state industry will be handed to the Tories profiteering big business backers, and the pay rises to police and armed forces mark only the prelude to increased state violence against pickets and anti-fascists and an intensified army crackdown in the occupied North of Ireland.

The Callaghan-Healey leadership has made it clear that it will oppose any perspective other than settling down and meekly accepting five years of Tory devastation.

And, though they have once more dusted off their near-forgotten "socialist" speeches, Labour's "left wing" MPs have continued to duck away from any fight to remove Callaghan.

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan.

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles in the winter of 1978.

These experiences are not dead. They point to the way that jobs, social services and hard-won union rights can be defended against renewed Tory attacks.

But a principled, revolutionary leadership is needed if the Labour traitors, the TUC collaborators and their hangers-on in the Communist Party are to be exposed and pushed aside, and the mass struggles mobilised that can defeat and remove the Tory government.

Such a leadership must fight day in and day out for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's conditions and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

And in taking up democratic demands—such as an end to racial and sexual discrimination, it must show the crucial role that must be played by the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

And it must fight on an international basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, South Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in Iran. This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

To this end, the Workers Socialist League is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee which fights to reaffirm and develop the method and principles of the 1938 Transitional Programme, and for full discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

The next period will see major class struggles in Britain. A principled Marxist leadership is essential. Our movement though strong in programme is small in numbers.

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

DON'T GO INTO THE FIGHT BLINDFOLD!

GET SOCIALIST PRESS ★

For a clear lead in the struggle against wage control, cuts and redundancies

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- *TROTSKYISM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WOMEN'S OPPRESSION.
- *TROTSKYISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION
- *TROTSKYISM AND PETTY BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS
- *THE FIGHT FOR A TROTSKYIST YOUTH MOVEMENT
- *RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Evening meetings on additional topics, films and social events.

The school will be attended by delegations from the organisations affiliated to the TILC and members of the WSL. A special invitation is being extended to supporters of the WSL to take part in the discussion and learn more about the WSL and the TILC.

Details are available from any WSL branch or from: WSL, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX.
Cost: £12 including accommodation for the eight days. A cheap meal will be provided at lunch time and there will be a pooled fare arrangement. Crèche facilities.

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Tory policies mean collapse

From front page

official struggle against closure or redundancies. Instead they have focused on negotiating redundancy payments while collaborating in cutbacks and speed-up.

Even while they engage in ritual handwringing about youth unemployment these leaders are busily worsening the plight of the next generation by selling off jobs in all directions.

The fact is that the Tory strategy and the world wide slump are both the product of a crisis-ridden capitalist system in which the rate of profit has slumped to an all-time low.

Destruction

Every effort to restore capitalist profitability leads to further destruction of the jobs, living standards and basic rights of the international working class.

While the crisis of capitalism brings only the wanton and anarchic destruction of the productive forces, the material basis exists for a socialist solution.

For workers that reject Joseph's arrogant "Work for Less!" ultimatum and the prospect of permanent mass unemployment, the way forward lies in a break from the timid reformist politics of the TUC and Labour leaders and a fight for:

*Defend all jobs! For occupations, strikes and blacking action to force a policy of work sharing on full pay! No to the nationalistic policy of import

controls!

*No to the anti-union laws! No talks with the Tories—for a general strike to force them out of office.

*Unite strikes and occupations as a step towards forming councils of action.

*Remove the Labour and trade union leaders who won't fight. For a workers' government!

*Open the books of the employers who threaten redundancies or refuse wage increases, and of their suppliers and bankers! Prove the case for their nationalisation, without compensation under workers' management.

*Fight for a woman's right to work! Defend and extend state nursery and childcare provision! For free abortion on demand! Defeat Prior's attacks on maternity rights!

*Defend living standards!

Fight for cost of living clauses to give a 1% rise in take home pay for every 1% rise in the cost of living—as calculated by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives.

*Stop all cuts! Occupy threatened facilities, fight for supporting strike action. Set up workers' inquiries into health, welfare and social services to expose private profiteering and the savage impact of the cuts!

*Demand a restoration of public spending with automatic increases to keep pace with inflation. Demand Labour Councils repudiate debts and interest charges and refuse to implement cuts or raise rates and rents.

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement

AFTER THE STEEL AND BL STRIKES—NEW LEADERS NEEDED!

Saturday 5 July at Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham 11.00 a.m.—5.00 p.m. Credentials £1

Write to: G. Webster, 169, Barclay Rd., Warley, West Midlands

Edwardes

From back page

solely due to the trade union leadership at all levels in Leyland. When they have not actually supported the company they have sabotaged any real fight to defend union organisation.

Some union leaders are now saying they are against the new proposals.

But in reality all the top officials are already negotiating directly with Leyland, completely ignoring their members and even the senior stewards.

The company also wants the new negotiating body to step in against strikers.

Obviously the company is confident the union leaders will agree to this—having seen what the bureaucrats have already done in BL.

With their help the company has just forced through a 5% pay deal with 92 pages of strings. Now they are looking to the November review and quite obviously have a similar figure in mind.

The union leaders' attitude stems from their defence of the

'viability' of the company, at the expense of the viability of their members.

The attitude of the membership can be seen by the continuing struggles against the 92 page document.

At present the whole of Longbridge is closed down because of a strike by paint shop workers. They are protesting at the shortening of their breaks, in line with the 92-page document.

This is a major challenge to both the company and the union leadership.

Recently the union leaders signed a new grading procedure agreement, completely over the heads of their members. But in Cowley sections of workers are refusing to go along with this.

Assembly Plant forklift drivers went on strike for a day last week when a move was made to defeat their overtime ban, imposed against the grading.

In the Body Plant, 700 Maxi/Princess/Rover production workers are also banning over-

time over their grading. This latter has been so effective that shortage of bodies has been regularly affecting Solihull.

A walkout for an afternoon by 80 of these workers over the demand for the withdrawal of a written warning given to their steward four months previously was followed by a mass meeting which only voted down indefinite strike action by the narrow margin of 170-135.

Militancy

All these actions show the build-up of militancy in BL—which is bound to explode not only against the company but also against the union leadership.

In this context the fight for a democratic means of drawing up claims and pressing negotiations at national level is a vital part of the fight for a principled revolutionary leadership in BL to defend the basic interests of the workers against the ever-increasing management onslaught.

College strikers scent victory

After a week's strike action for union recognition and improvements in pay and conditions, workers in Pembroke College, Oxford seem certain to achieve a complete victory.

Though not signed and sealed, an agreement reached between NUPE and the college authorities last Friday was accepted unanimously by the strikers as sufficient guarantee for a return to work on Monday.

In being forced to agree a new minimum rate of £1.40 an hour (and backdating a previously agreed rise by six weeks) together with several other improvements, the College's Governing Body made a rapid about-turn from their earlier hard line attitude.

Clearly anticipating that the forty-seven strikers would

quickly break ranks after a few days on the picket line, the Pembroke Bursar made threats to evict staff living in College premises and harassed steward Bill Grebanks.

But this only hardened the workers' determination to stick it out.

Another factor which sowed false confidence in the employers mind was the high proportion of married women and old age pensioners drawn into union membership in the run-up to the dispute.

Far from wanting to give up, they were throughout amongst the strike's strongest supporters.

With the management's assessment proving badly off beam and the threat of TV coverage and even a lurid 'Life below the staircase' expose in the *News of the World*, looming on the horizon, not to mention the first of the college's highly

lucrative vacation conferences set to begin this week, a climb-down was their only way out.

The Pembroke breakthrough is now the talk of the University's thousands of super-exploited 'servants'.

It cries out for a major recruitment campaign by the local NUPE branch to extend the limited concessions that have been won.

Right wingers

That will not be easy, since that branch is presently in the hands of right wingers and time servers backed by the local NUPE full timers.

The only other strike in the University's centuries-old history was a similar victory at St. Annes college in 1972.

This latest success must be used to take the opportunity for full union organisation that was then.

Evans promises to act on Adwest



Police in action during last week's mass picket

A delegation of four strikers from the Adwest Engineering plant at Reading last week lobbied the TGWU Rules Revision conference at Weymouth in search of official support.

They were given an avuncular welcome by General Secretary Moss Evans and promised a full investigation into the handling of their struggle by local officials.

So far the TGWU has refused to make the strike official—though it results from management's sacking of the TGWU convener and all TGWU stewards along with 60 other workers from the plant after

they took action in defence of a victimised worker.

Meanwhile the scab leadership of the AUEW has gone one step further—and taken advantage of the strike by TGWU members to sign a deal with management giving them sole negotiating rights in the plant!

On the spot

The Adwest delegation to the Rules Revision conference however has placed TGWU leaders on the spot. Many conference delegates expressed a willingness to support their struggle for official backing.

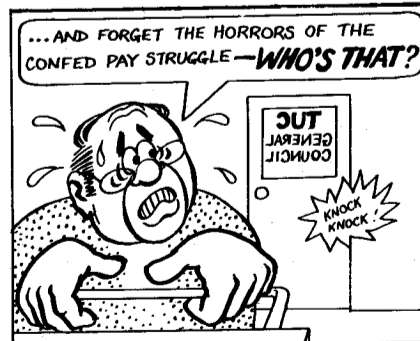
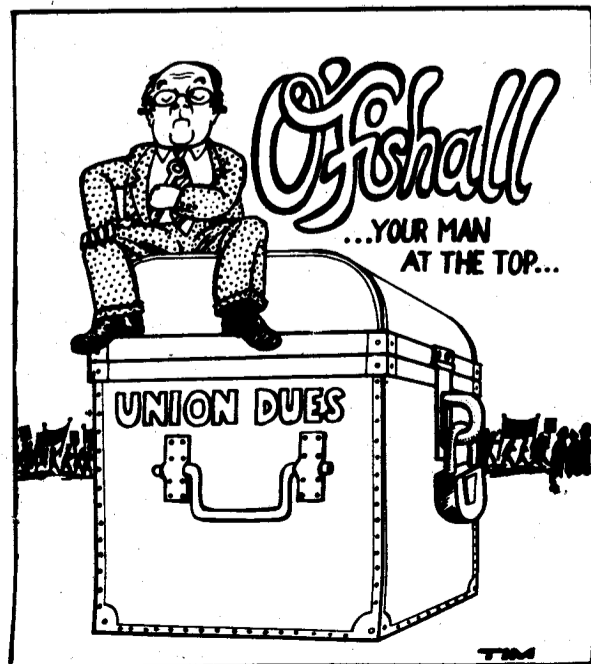
Meanwhile there are rumours that ACAS has made contact

with the TGWU district office. Meetings of Adwest AUEW and TGWU stewards with officials present are also due to take place as we go to press.

Meanwhile all TGWU branches and committees should demand that the strike is made official and the full resources of the union thrown into the fight to defeat this vicious attack by management.

Messages of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to Danny Broderick, 46 Berkley Avenue, Reading.

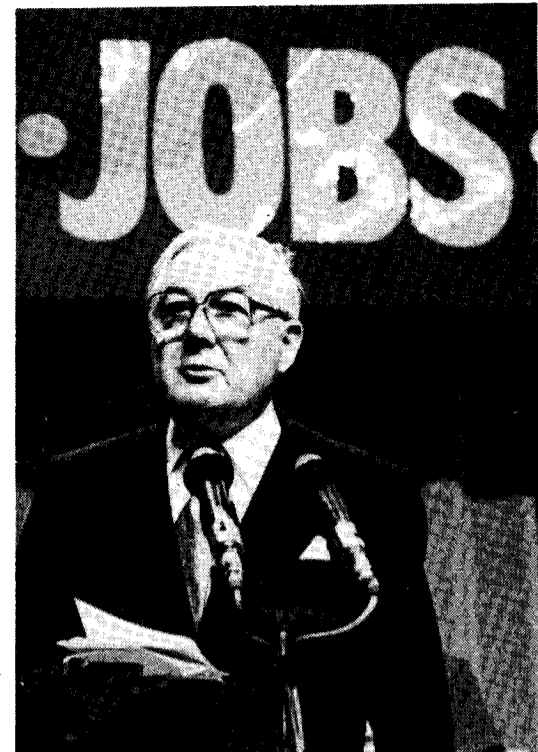
Strikers are also seeking maximum support for their next Day of Action, scheduled for July 14 outside the Adwest plant.



SOCIALIST PRESS



PRESS RALLIES BEHIND 'JIM'



Callaghan

A common cry has gone up in the last ten days; it is on the lips of right wing union leaders and on the pages of the gutter press.

The message is "stop the bickering in the Labour Party". But its real content is that socialists should abandon any struggle for democratisation of the Labour Party or for socialist policies and settle back comfortably as Callaghan and union bureaucrats slip on the straightjacket of a rigged "electoral college" to ensure the continuity of right wing leadership.

Bitter experience of five years of the last Labour government has underlined for millions of workers the harsh fact that the existing leadership has no serious alternative programme to resolve the economic crisis—and that it always turns to Tory-style cuts, closures and to wage controls as a means to prop up the decaying capitalist system.

Unless these leaders and their policies are challenged and defeated, the re-election of a further Labour government can hold out no promise of resolving the problems of unemployment, inflation and devastated social services.

Base of support

Recognising this, rank and file Labour Party members and workers driven into politics by the Tory offensive have provided a firm base of support for the left wing's campaign for democratic reforms in the Party.

Callaghan's base, on the other hand, consists of the right wing rump of the Parliamentary Labour Party and—more important—the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions.

They cast their block votes against policies or leaders who they feel might trigger a wave of struggles which could

develop beyond the control of the union leaders and disrupt their deferential relationship with the employers and the Tory government.

So isolated is this right wing camp from the mood of the rank and file in the unions and the Party that they have been forced to make some concessions on democratic reforms which have outraged the most diehard right wing MPs.

But their proposals on the new "electoral college", as drawn up by the top-level inquiry, are precisely designed to reinforce the right wing grip on the leadership.

The plan is for no less than 50% of the votes to be monopolised by the PLP backwoodsmen; 25% by the union bureaucracy; and a mere 20% to be cast by constituency representatives who might reflect the mood of the members!

In other words the MPs need theoretically only to persuade one trade union

representative to vote with them to secure the election of their chosen leader!

Left wingers have rejected this scheme as unacceptable and announced they are ready to fight on the issue—though they have long ago abandoned the necessary demand for the regular election of the leader at conference.

Viable leadership

Hence the growing campaign against "bickering". With the Thatcher government facing a mounting crisis, the Tory press wants a viable right wing Labour leadership ready if necessary to take over.

The problem for the working class is not the squabbles but the refusal of any of Labour's 'lefts' to take up a campaign in the unions and Labour Party to oust the Callaghan clique and spell out a programme of socialist policies to meet the crisis.

Edwardes issues new document



Edwardes

British Leyland has issued national union officials with a document containing proposals that would bring to fruition two years of changes in negotiating procedures.

The new document, which only union bureaucrats and the Tory press have seen, proposes that all negotiations be conducted by national officials

and the company.

The company's plan would mean that nobody who actually works in Leyland would represent the unions!

This would mean that Leyland would have moved in only two years from plant negotiations carried out by plant negotiating committees, in 34 separate plants, to total centralised bureaucratic control.

This management coup is Continued page 11



TGWU negotiator Hawley: centralised control on pay

Give us some cash

Another good week for our Special Fund has brought us to within £234.27 of our target—which should not prove too difficult to raise in the remaining three weeks providing we don't rest on our laurels. Worcester readers donated £8 and a Socialist Press reader from Kent brought the final total of our Oxford Summer Fete up to £300 with a donation of £12.

But our Monthly Fund remains in a state of crisis. Only £515.73 has arrived to date and with only one day of the month left as we go to press it looks certain that we will again fall short of our £750 target.

We must once more urge all our readers and supporters to seriously consider making a donation to our funds. We realise that wage increases are not in general keeping pace with inflation and therefore there is less money to spare, but we cannot survive if we fail to raise our Monthly Fund.

Our address is Socialist Press Fund, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX.

ANC NO LEAD FOR S. AFRICAN WORKERS

South Africa's "Freedom Day", June 26, was celebrated by a large rally in Camden organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Stalinist-dominated African National Congress of South Africa.

The keynote address to an audience of several hundred was given by Alfred Nzo, the General Secretary of the ANC (in the absence of the President Olivier Tambo).

The tone of the speech (as of the rally as a whole) was one of self-congratulation by the ANC.

Nzo, of course, described the giant tidal wave of youth and workers mobilisations of the last few weeks.

Of course, he was unable to claim that the ANC was at the head of these mobilisations.

He could directly associate the name of the ANC only with the successful sabotage attempts a month ago against the important SASOL coal-to-oil plants.

But far from honestly recog-

nising the limited role which the ANC, with its guerrillaist orientation, is playing in today's upsurge of mass struggle, Nzo cooked up a fraudulent argument which gave full credit for it to the ANC.

Sabotage actions which the ANC has carried out over recent years, Nzo argued, "instill confidence" in the masses and "convert latent hostility into open opposition".

These armed actions, he said, "create the appropriate psychological and political climate" for open mass struggle.

Nzo was not however referring to the undoubted effectiveness of armed struggle carried out as an integral element of the mass struggle against the capitalist apartheid state.

He was claiming that the ANC's isolated armed guerrilla actions were themselves the things which stimulated the mass struggle.

This is a position which must be emphatically rejected by revolutionary socialists who consider the masses not as auto-

motons who simply react to dramatic events but as having a political consciousness based upon their own experience in struggle.

Nzo's speech showed that the ANC cannot provide the leadership which can recognise and develop that mass consciousness.

The programmatic content of his speech was restricted to the purely bourgeois democratic programme adopted by the ANC twenty-five years ago.

The programme—The Freedom Charter—contains the following demands:

- *The people shall govern.
- *All national groups shall have equal rights.
- *The people shall share in the country's wealth.
- *The land shall be shared among those who work it.
- *All shall be equal before the law.
- *All shall enjoy human rights.
- *There shall be peace and friendship.

But the present mobilisation of the masses show them already in some ways passing beyond the ANC's limited programme.

Outside the hall the ANC gave some examples of its methods of programmatic debate and "democracy".

A group of expelled ANC members selling a pamphlet critical of the ANC leadership were slandered by stewards and ANC members as "agents of the South African BOSS" (the secret police).

One of them was manhandled by an ANC member, as was a *Socialist Press* seller who protested against this.

Despite the continued domination of the traditional nationalist organisations among exiled South Africans, their self-congratulation and attempts to suppress democratic rights of their own members are evidence of the old leaders' fears that the latest wave of struggle will once again (as in Soweto) clearly show the way they have been politically superceded.