

WITH AN ELECTION IMMINENT, THE RULING CLASS GAZE in transfixed horror at the disarray running riot in the Tory Party.

Geoffrey Rippon's call for a 'citizens' force' may excite the frenzied middle classes of Cheltenham and Gerards Cross. For the capitalists, it is a recipe for disaster. The more intelligent capitalists are well aware that to try and set up bowler-hatted brigades of strike breakers is just not on.

Such an open frontal attack against the massive organised strength of the working class would be crushed before it began.

Electoral, Rippon's ravings cause nothing but damage to the Tory chances. Such suggestions simply harden the hatred of the working class for the Tories. Nor can the mood of many of the newly-unionised middle classes for physical strike-breaking expeditions be described as being wildly enthusiastic.

Rippon's foot-in-the-mouth speech followed Keith Joseph's 'Tories went astray' gaff.

Joseph's rejection of a full employment policy—backed by former Bank of England Governor, Lord O'Brien—is simply a call for solving inflation by pushing up unemployment.

By dredging up the spectre of 1930s Toryism, Joseph's speech is guaranteed to arouse the hostility of even the more passive sections of the working class. Not will small business, shop-keepers and the service industries exactly welcome bankruptcy and dwindling markets.

Meanwhile Powell's 'economic realism' and his thinly veiled sugges-

tions to vote Labour drive further wedges in the Tory coalition.

Unable to develop a coherent political programme to fit the realities of the new economic situation, the Tories lurch like political drunks across the electoral scene.

PARADES

The Labour leaders meanwhile are unable to take advantage of this crisis. Healey, Labour's Chancellor of the Exchequer whimpers about 'national unity in the fight for full employment.' Wilson simply parades wage freeze in the threadbare clothes of the social contract.

The splintering and fragmentation within the Tory Party reflects the shifting sands on which the British economy rests. The employers have their backs to the wall. Their options daily become more limited. But on one thing they are clear: they can only save their system by defeating the organised working class.

Instead of hitting the Tories whilst they are down the Labour leaders politely offer them a hand to get up again.

It is clear that the Labour leaders cannot exploit this disarray amongst the Tories. A Labour victory at the

TORIES TOTTER

LABOUR CAN'T PUT BOOT IN

election will be due not to Wilson and company, but in spite of them.

DECISIVE

The Tories will not be defeated in parliament or by elections. What is going to be decisive, is the struggle

that takes place after the election.

The workers' movement has to begin to fight now for demands like: a sliding scale of wages; the nationalisation of those firms causing redundancies; and a trade union plan for nationalisation of the

economy under workers' control.

This is the only way to provide an alternative, not just to the Tories, but to the bankrupt reformism of the Labour Party as well.

BOB PENNINGTON

'No more Kevin Gatelys — workers' self-defence' was a slogan taken up by many of the anti-fascist demonstrators who gathered at Speakers' Corner last Saturday and forced the National Front to change the route of their march. Many followed the IMG's suggestion before the demo and came wearing defensive clothing and helmets — a measure which proved highly necessary (and effective) when hordes of police charged into the crowd in an attempt to recapture escaped political prisoner Pat Arrowsmith after she had spoken from the IMG platform. For a full report of this and other anti-fascist activity see Page 3.



FULL SOLIDARITY WITH CHILEAN WORKERS!

A really big turnout is expected at Sunday's demonstration on Chile. The solidarity campaign has been marred however by the bureaucratic and sectarian wranglings of the Labour Party and TUC leaders.

The Labour Party has officially withdrawn from the Chile Solidarity Campaign on the spurious grounds that participation would jeopardise their chances at the election.

As the trade union leaders skulked behind a sham 'unity' to get the 'social contract' accepted at the TUC, so the Labour Party bureaucrats use the election

as an excuse for scabbing on the Chilean workers.

Labour's election chances would best be improved by making a mass mobilisation in support of the Chilean workers.

CANCEL

The Labour Party has also asked the CSC to cancel the demonstration. This request has been rejected.

The Government will therefore be unable to avoid being told most forcefully next Sunday that they have scabbed on the working class by continuing diplomatic and economic exchanges with the Chilean junta.

The TUC followed next with a pathetic and sectarian refusal to sponsor the demonstration because Tariq Ali will be speaking on behalf of the IMG. No doubt the bureaucrats are sad that

they would not be able to whip Tariq Ali into line with the heart-throbbing appeals to 'unity' that so moved poor Hugh Scanlon last week in Brighton.

As important as the concrete acts of solidarity we can take with the Chilean working class, such as this demonstration, is the maximum discussion on the lessons to be learned from the Chilean tragedy. It is this which is the nub of the matter. What

the bureaucrats really fear is thousands of workers beginning to question 'the Chilean experiment' because the tragic events in Chile are complete indictment of the reformists' own bankrupt policies.

SOLIDARITY

The IMG is appealing to all those attending Sunday's demonstration to march behind the banners of the revolutionary left to show not only their full solidarity with the Chilean working class but their contempt for the policies and the bureaucratic manoeuvres of our own reformist misleaders.

The latest speeches of Rippon, Keith Joseph and Powell show clearly the severe crisis which is wracking the Tory Party and the ruling class. As this crisis can only intensify it is worth looking at the forces operating on the present situation.

The basis for the success of the old Tory Party was that it had both an economic and a political formula for capitalist rule in Britain. The economic formula was orientating towards foreign investment, export to the captive markets of the Empire and Commonwealth, and the financial power of the City of London. This economic orientation more than in any other major capitalist country gave a higher place to exploitation of foreign working classes rather than the working class of the bourgeoisie's own country.

The political formula which flowed from this economic strategy was to make concessions to the British working class which were economically disastrous from the point of view of British based industrial capital but which maintained political stability in Britain. This in turn was more necessary than a high rate of exploitation for those firms oriented towards the exploitation of foreign working classes.

The result of this orientation was that the style of Tory rule towards the working class was one of 'paternalism' in the image of a long series of Prime Ministers from Baldwin to Macmillan. Certainly the Tories were always prepared to use the iron fist if necessary but they maintained a far higher degree of the velvet glove than the ruling class parties of other major European countries.

CAUSE

The underlying cause of the crisis of the Tory Party is the collapse of the economic formula. Foreign investment and the operations of the City can no longer compensate for the great weakness of home based British industrial capital. As a reflection of this in the mid-1960s a decisive change took place in the relation of forces within the Tory Party.

Heath a representative of industrial capital and in particular of the industrial trusts formed in this century, came to the leadership of the Tory Party. He reflected a new economic policy for British capitalism in entry into the EEC, the abandonment of the old exchange rate protection policies and the ending of the old foreign policy orientation of the United States rather than Europe.

But the crisis for the Tory Party arises from the fact that it has not been able to find a new domestic political formula to accompany the economic one. The new economic orientation means a much more direct attack on the British working class.

However given the enormous organisational strength of the British working class such an attack can only be successful if a way can be found of continuing and strengthening the direct ruling class domination over the working class which the old economic line made possible.

The trouble with the Heath government for the ruling class was that it had no answer to this political problem. The reason Heath appeared as a soulless managerial hack was precisely because all he could say in effect was 'we are going to exploit you more and there is not much I can do to hide this'.

Naturally such a policy was not able to divide the working class movement and was consequently doomed to failure. Heath has drawn some lesson from this and has there-

fore taken up the political fig leaf of incomes policy. But as no one, either within the ruling class, or outside, thinks that this policy will work he just appears as ineffectual with neither a rigorous economic formula nor a credible political one.

USELESS

Equally useless are the antics of Rippon and Keith Joseph. The latter in particular is completely committed to the new economic policy but even less than Heath is he able to find a political cover for it. Therefore he has to openly admit that his policies mean mass unemployment and poverty. This admission will merely antagonise the working class again and politically the Tory Party still further.

Exactly the opposite approach is that being adopted by Powell. He does have a new political formula—racism and chauvinism as a weapon to divide the working class and its organisations. But the trouble is that to create this political formula Powell has to adopt economic policies, in particular withdrawal

from the EEC, which run directly counter to the economic needs of the ruling class.

The ruling class, and the Tory Party, continue to be trapped between the devil and the deep blue sea. Given that they believe the Labour Party can't control the situation the bourgeoisie at present have only the choice between people with, from their point of view, a good economic policy but who have no chance whatever of politically getting the working class to accept it, or on the other hand politicians who have a political formula but whose solution involves economic policies directly contrary to the needs of the dominant sections of the ruling class.

Under these conditions the crisis within the Tory party and within the ruling class can only intensify. The fragmentation revealed by the Heath-Powell-Joseph Rippon rows is merely the first step in the decomposition of the traditional form of the political ruling bloc of British capitalism.

Alan Jones

N.E. LABOUR Bureaucracy & fiddles go hand in hand

Nearly a decade ago Eddie Milne, now the Independent Labour MP for Blyth in the North-East, first went to Harold Wilson and the then Housing Minister Anthony Greenwood about corruption in the local Labour Party.

The issue was a PR contract for a Blyth centre redevelopment scheme which had been given to a gentleman called T. Dan Smith who, as a local Labour Party official, was simultaneously trying to press the deal on to the Blyth council.

T. Dan Smith, along with Alderman Andrew Cunningham and architect John Poulson, became household names eight years later when the biggest scandal since the Profumo business made the headlines.

For several years these three had been cooking up deals using public funds to line their own pockets. They undoubtedly deserved their eventual fate, but for the labour movement there were, and still are, many more important questions to be answered.

As in 1965, so today the national leadership of the Labour Party has systematically refused to conduct any sort of enquiry of its own into corruption in the North-East. No doubt it hopes everybody will think that now the rotten apples have been removed, everything in the garden's lovely. But the crimes that Smith, Cunningham et al committed in relation to public funds cannot be separated from their conduct inside the Labour Party and trade union movement to carry out these fiddles.

WITCH-HUNTING

Cunningham, for example, was the Northern Region secretary for the GMWU, which has a huge local membership, especially in heavy industry like the shipyards. His skill in witch-hunting militants would have made Carron, Deakin and their friends across the seas in the AFL-CIO proud.

One case was that of John Carling, a left-wing Divisional Organiser for the GMWU who was sacked from a full-time post in the union at a Kangaroo Court held in a hotel on a union officials' day-outing for committing, amongst other things, the crime of having dirty shoes at work. He was told that four-hour dock meetings were no excuse!

Better known is the case of Eddie Milne himself who was eventually expelled from the Labour Party for his fight on this question.

So widespread was the knowledge of the corruption and bureaucratic manoeuvrings in the North-East that when Eddie Milne stood as an independent in the last election the massive majority that the Labour Party had enjoyed for decades was removed overnight and Milne found himself once more at Westminster.

At present Milne is still campaigning for an official Labour Party enquiry. The most recent name to hit the headlines was that of Edward Short, Leader of the House of Commons, whose resignation Milne has demanded because of his links with Cunningham and company.

PUBLIC MEETING

The latest stage in the campaign is a public meeting to be held in the centre of Newcastle with Milne and Carling as speakers along with Bob Pennington, national secretary of the IMG and former docks official for the 'blue' union. No doubt more accusations will be made along the lines of 'washing dirty linen in public,' especially so soon before an election.

But a full enquiry into the corruption in the North-East carried out by the labour movement is essential—though not, as many people would put it, simply to get rid of right-wingers.

The basis for corruption will always exist as long as there is no internal democracy inside the organisations of the labour movement. The leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party have to be accountable to their membership. The labour movement in the North-East must not only conduct an enquiry into allegations of corruption but more importantly discuss and take a clear position on the programme of the Labour Party, especially just before an election.

A real fight for workers' democracy, which would eliminate corruption in its stride, would place the working class in the most favourable position not only to influence the programme of the next Labour Government but, more importantly, provide the precondition for the struggle of the working class actually to implement that programme.

NICK ADAMS

Public meeting—'Corruption and the fight for democracy in the labour movement' Thurs 19 Sept, 8pm, Bridge Hotel, Newcastle. Speakers: Eddie Milne MP, John Carling (G&MI), Bob Pennington (IMG)



Another cracking time for the police last Saturday, as they rough up anti-fascist demonstrators heckling the National Front march. One girl had an arm fractured in three places as a result of this treatment.

Jenkins' bowver boys set to

The uniformed 'bowver boys' of the state have been having a cracking time recently.

Unrestrained police violence has erupted at Red Lion Square, Essex University Campus, Windsor Great Park and on last Saturday's anti-fascist demonstration.

ENCOURAGED

The coppers, encouraged by the baying of the ruling class for a strong state, and tough measures to introduce law and order, are coming out into the open with batons swinging.

After the bad publicity of Windsor Great Park and with the Scarman Tribunal looming in the background the police aimed on Saturday to be less open in their violence.

This did not prevent them however from roughing up free-lance reporters, banging the heads of anti-fascist demonstrators on the National Front route and working off their spleen against supporters of militant pacifist Pat Arrowsmith.

Police attempts to arrest escaped prisoner Pat Arrowsmith when she spoke from the IMG platform at the anti-fascist rally in Hyde Park, failed. Lines of militants linked arms to

form a solid block and the police were forced to call off operation 'arrest Arrowsmith.'

REVENGE

They took their revenge later as a friend of Pat explained in the following report to *Red Weekly*:

'We took her to the Peace Pledge Union which was closed. Then we took her to Peace News who offered her sanctuary. It was from there she did her *London Broadcasting* interview.

Then some police turned up and tried to get in.

We told them to go away and get a warrant. Later they returned in force: three police cars, two paddy wagons, several constables and one woman constable with a warrant.

Because of Pat's request (she is a pacifist) we all went to the top room and sat on the floor linking arms and singing: "We shall not be moved."

For a few minutes the police were helpless. Then they turned nasty and dragged us around. They grabbed Pat and took her with one PC on each ankle and one of each wrist. They dragged her on her back down the stairs with her head banging every step on the way down.

I was held with a black leather glove over my mouth—to stop me singing and shouting—a PC was kneeling me in the groin and the woman PC was holding my

arm. We had only offered passive resistance as asked by Pat.'

The 'liberal' Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins will no doubt develop myopia about this incident and all the other instances of thuggery committed by his police force.

Violence against demonstrators and militants is either played down, or smoothed over by some phoney state inquiry. The uniformed thugs of the state are defending law and order as they understand it—capitalist law and order! That is also Jenkins' law and order. He is deeply committed to running the capitalist system and has no alternative but to give unswerving support to the violence on which it rests.

The 'liberal' image of this right-wing Labour leader is being torn to shreds. The chronic economic and social crisis leads to the erosion of its traditional institutions and tears the mask off the facade of liberal capitalism leaving the Jenkinses of this world no room for manoeuvre.

All the 'urbane' and 'civilised' Mr. Jenkins can do is prop up the arm that brings the truncheon crashing down.

JEFF KING

National Front suffers crushing defeat

Anti-fascists scored a big victory on Saturday when they forced the National Front to divert from its intended rally at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, to the out-of-the-way Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Four thousand demonstrators massed at Speakers' Corner determined to stop the NF holding its rally. The AUEW, National Union of Students, International Marxist Group and the Communist Party were in evidence, while the International Socialists left Speakers' Corner to 'harass' the Front along its route.

The police were faced with a stark choice. Either to disperse the anti-fascists and assembled trades unionists as had been done in Red Lion Square, or to divert the NF and thus recognise the power of the anti-fascists in denying the NF the right to organise and use the freedom of the streets to demonstrate its anti-Irish and racistist filth.

The demonstrators were obviously in a determined mood. And this time, learning from Red Lion Square and intent on preventing any more Kevin Gatelys, the demonstrators were clearly prepared to defend themselves against the police. Large numbers wore protective clothing and helmets.

It was this fact which forced the police to find a legal cover for diverting the Front. They insisted on a bond of between £5,000 and £10,000 in case of damage to property or persons as a result of any clash.

The militancy of the occupying forces was such that Pat Arrowsmith—on the run from prison—was able to address the rally in complete safety despite the efforts of over a hundred

police to arrest her.

The National Front was marching under the slogan of 'Smash the IRA'. By playing on this theme they hoped to exploit the fears and backwardness of the British working class on the Irish issue.

CP ATTEMPTS SPLIT

The essential task of the left on the demonstration was therefore to show that the agitation of the NF on the issue of Ireland was directly linked to its fascist intentions. In other words to show to the many workers who actually share the policies of the NF on Ireland and on racism that the very fact of the NF marching to peddle these views was in itself an incitement and provocation to the workers' movement, while the holding of these views leaves the way open for fascist forces.

The Communist Party clearly did not accept this. Indeed they did all in their power to disperse the demonstration well before the NF was due to arrive. By insisting that the demonstration should be peaceful at all costs—even at the cost of capitulation—they actually reinforce the morale of the fascists and *de facto* place all the blame for the violence on the assembled trades unionists.

Fortunately their attempts to split the demo in this manner were an abysmal failure. Virtually no-one left Speakers' Corner when the CP closed up shop, ended the rally, and appealed for everyone to go home.

In the event the occupation was peaceful. But this was because it was made absolutely clear that the demonstrators saw the NF march as a provocation, were determined to



Pat Arrowsmith, on the run from jail, was the first to speak from the platform set up by the IMG after the Communist Party had called on the demonstrators to disperse. She told the crowd that she had originally been invited to speak from the official platform, only to find that they wanted her to play down the question of Ireland. Pat rightly stressed in her speech that to fudge this issue was to play into the fascists' hands.

allow them no platform and were organised to defend themselves against the police if there was any attempt to disperse them. This is why the NF were diverted.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Clearly the key objective for those who supported the 'No Platform' position was to be in Speakers' Corner waging the political fight against the CP and other reformists. The action of the IS in deserting Speakers' Corner and ducking the fight with the reformists was therefore incorrect.

The IS, as they had done in Leicester, were quite prepared to hand the mess of the demonstration over to the Communist Party and not to confront the CP directly.

Equally, IS's insistence on the priority in all circumstances of physical attacks on the NF is correct. The essential threat of the fascists at this stage is their political impact inside the working class on those issues on which the working class is weakest, not their repressive role.

However, the objective propaganda effect of the IS actions along another path than they had intended was excellent. As a supplement to the mass action in Hyde Park, the harassment, goose-steppings and Nazi salutes of the IS served to reinforce the identification of the NF as a

fascist organisation.

It reinforced the IMG position that what is needed is a combination of self-defence of the *mass* of the anti-fascist forces and *propaganda* initiatives, not physical attacks by a minority.

WHAT NOW?

It is unlikely that the NF will attempt to march again too quickly after Saturday's debacle. Although they have threatened to do so in November this is more likely bravado. The most likely development for the next few months is the localised nature of the anti-NF actions, especially during the elections. On a national scale, delegates should start to be won for the Coventry anti-fascist conference to be held on 23 November at Warwick University.

But as for the central political importance of opposing fascism—the shoring up of the weak links in the political armour of the working class—the most important question here is that of the fight against Enoch Powell on the Irish issue. This involves the winning of the anti-fascist forces to the fight for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and in the immediate term the building of support for the TOM/BPC demonstration on 27 October.

Brian Clynes

Women's groups counter NF

A number of women's liberation groups—including Arsenal, Harrow, and Oxford—took part in Saturday's rally at Speaker's Corner against the National Front. This followed the decision of the last national women's conference to fight fascism.

Women's liberationists talked of the attacks on the demands of the women's movement—especially those for free abortion and contraception—and of the threat to workers' organisations.

Will teachers sling out NF member?

When demonstrating against fascists you can come in for some nasty shocks.

At Leicester, for instance, a teacher from Tube Hill Comprehensive, a working class school in South London with 1650 students nearly half of whom are black, caught sight of and photographed one of his 'colleagues', a Mr Edmonds, proudly bearing a Lewisham National Front banner.

Two of the school's governors got hold of the information, and demanded an inquiry into his political views and position at Tube Hill, with a view to removing him. The Inner London Education Authority naturally turned down the request, but the matter is now fully in the open.

Edmonds has since revealed to the *Guardian* that he will be standing as an N.F. candidate for Deptford in the coming elections, and has been backed up to the hilt by his mentors, Tyndall and Webster, the former commenting that Tube Hill's 'multi-racial' record had been pretty bad, and he could not imagine how Edmonds's presence on

Gays oppose fascists

You don't often see bands of homosexuals roaming the streets. You don't often see defiantly homosexual people lined up next to ordinary trade unionists. But this is what has been happening during the anti-fascist demonstrations.

The Gay Liberation Front was one of the groups on the receiving end of police brutality at Red Lion Square in June. They turned up again at Leicester last month, and in increased numbers at Hyde Park on Saturday. But this isn't all that surprising.

Gay people - homosexuals - are usually among the first to get it in the neck from the right wing. In Nazi Germany tens of thousands were exterminated. In Santiago, Chile, massacres of gays are going on at this moment.

In Leeds, the lunatic National Democratic and Freedom Movement is putting out stickers calling for the death of a local gay militant. The National Front itself is opposed to gays, along with hippies, 'permissiveness', and other 'non-patriots'. And of course homosexual workers are well used to being in the front line when it comes to sackings, evictions or police harassment.

WEAK FLANK

On the Leicester demonstration gay lib was under attack from people who should have known better - members of a left-wing contingent. This action strengthened the hand of those in the gay liberation movement who argue against joining the rest of the left in fighting fascism. That even more gay lib members showed up at Hyde Park, that they were not put off by the arguments of those within the movement who think you can fight fascism without physically opposing it, is no thanks to the people who harassed them at Leicester.

The more divisions that exist in the ranks of the workers movement, the easier it is for the fascists and the ruling class. The full participation of gay workers is vital.

JANICE MILLS

FASCISTS THWARTED IN EAST LONDON

The fascist National Front were prevented from holding a meeting in East Ham town hall this week for their local parliamentary candidate.

The hall was occupied by over a hundred anti-fascist militants, mainly from the IMG and International Socialists, while several dozen more picketed outside. The fascists wandered around looking extremely dejected.

A police inspector tried unsuccessfully to persuade the occupiers to leave, so the fascists were then given a police escort into the building. Once inside they started hurling chairs about without police interference.

At this point the demonstrators decided to make an orderly withdrawal, recognising that a political victory had been scored. The seal was put on it when Council officials turned up and informed the NF that permission to hold the meeting had been withdrawn.

Photographers assaulted by police

The police, fresh from their riot at the Windsor pop festival last month, continued the practice they had adopted there of persistently harassing and in some cases physically assaulting press photographers.

Ron McCormick, a freelance photographer who had secured widely-published pictures of the police attack at Windsor, was punched in the face by a police officer when the National Front made their about-turn into Shaftesbury Avenue. McCormick's glasses were smashed, and Larry Herman, another freelance who was close by, was thrown a punch when he attempted to photograph the assault on McCormick. 'You fucking photographers,' yelled the genteel policeman as he hit out.

'The problem about recording these assaults,' says Herman, 'is that it's very difficult to get your camera to your face when three or four cops are tearing down on you. There's the danger that they will simply punch it into your face.'

A Swedish photographer was thrown bodily over a motorbike, and another had his camera knocked from his hands and trampled on by the police, who throughout the march instructed photographers to keep away from the fascists. The police strategy became transparent when the NF entered Lincoln's Inn



On 16 June *West Indian World* photographer Caudley George was arrested at the Red Lion Square demonstration on a trumped-up charge of obstruction, for failing to produce his press card. So on Saturday he made sure he took it with him. But as our photo shows, it didn't make much difference—George was again viciously assaulted by police to the obvious delight of the passing NF marchers.

Fields. Photographers were not allowed in until the officer in charge was satisfied that there would be no clashes.

Action on the assaults, harassment, and restrictions imposed on photographers' movements is to be considered by members of the National Union of Journalists at a specially-called meeting to be held

at the union headquarters, 314 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1, at 1 pm on 17 September.

All photographers and reporters who have experienced police interference are urged to attend, or to send evidence to Larry Herman care of the above address.

RICHARD BRINSLEY

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

LAMBETH M.G.



Chile after

365 DAYS OF

TERROR

THE STATE OF THE RESISTANCE



One year after the Chilean military coup the various parties of the Popular Unity (UP) and revolutionary left are still largely in a state of disarray.

The Socialist Party (SP), which of all the organisations was the most seriously hit by the repression has made little headway in its attempts to re-establish itself. On its own admission, it lost one third of its militants during the coup. Carlos Altamirano, the SP General Secretary, was able to escape only because of assistance from the MIR.

Recently the SP attempted to restructure itself by setting up a network of militants across the country. This attempt rapidly met with disaster, the military soon identified the militants involved and arrested or killed a large number of them. As a result the SP has still not succeeded in restructuring itself and although of course there are thousands of people who regard themselves as members of the SP that is quite another thing from its existence as a political and organisational force.

The situation is much the same for the MAPU, which has still not recovered from the blow it suffered by the isolation of the membership from the leadership who were forced to take refuge in foreign embassies immediately after the coup. Of the other major organisations only the Communist Party and the MIR have managed to retain some level of organisation and to function as political parties inside Chile.

ACTIONS

The Young Communist section in particular has managed to initiate several actions (such as the demonstration at Pablo Neruda's funeral) and it is clear that there are isolated cells of the CP which still exist. But these do not function as part of a genuine national organisation, they instead tend to operate locally according to the most pressing needs of the situation. Within the CP there appears also to be a great deal of political divergence.

It is reported that there is a considerable rift between the leadership of the CP, who as we shall see have learnt nothing from the coup, and the base of the party. Information on this is however extremely limited.

The MIR was the organisation most prepared for the coup. Despite the fact that it has been the main target for the junta's repression it has been able to survive. Only the MIR was able to engage in some armed resistance during the coup and the majority of its leadership have remained inside Chile, which has meant that its credibility has enormously increased inside the working class. In fact the MIR now has a higher standing than it did before the coup.

It is clear that there is much still to be done before the organisations of the working class are rebuilt, but that is only one side of the problem which these parties face.

When it comes to the working out of general political statements and perspectives there have been major difficulties. So far only two statements from the 'United Chilean Left', which have been signed by the parties of Popular Unity and the MIR, have been produced.

Both these statements have been

so general and ambiguous as to give no clear perspective for the struggle against the junta. The February statement did, however, call for a 'broad front of struggle' against the junta in which there was a clear overture towards sections of the Christian Democracy.

by Gerry Hedley

It was not until May 1 1974 that a major joint statement was issued in Chile which both drew what it saw as the lessons of the UP and laid down the way that the struggle should develop against the junta. This document although issued in the name of the UP was in fact signed only by the CP, SP, and MAPU-OC. The driving force behind the statement is the CP.

The May 1 'UP statement' purports to be a balance sheet of the UP period. It asks:

'We have suffered a heavy, although necessarily temporary defeat. Why?'

But the answers which it gives to this vital question indicate that these



Chilean peasants looking for leadership against the junta

most favourable conditions for the defeat of this enemy, not in heroism its civil nature.

When it comes to the behaviour of the UP itself the 1 May statement makes several points. Its two main criticisms are that the Popular Unity did not succeed in creating the alliances necessary to defeat the reactionaries, and that,

'there was a lack of understanding of the domestic situation and the special characteristics

In other words the UP should have formed an alliance with a section of the bourgeois Christian Democrats (CD). It is unfortunately necessary to remind the authors of the document of a few simple facts. It was the CD party as a whole which played the major part in the political preparation for the coup and which issued a statement on 12 September 1973 warmly welcoming the military.

Why did the CD support the coup? The reason was that they feared that the radicalisation of the working class had developed beyond the control of the UP and that only a military solution could control the situation.

CAPITALIST FRAMEWORK

They would have entered into an alliance with the UP on one condition only - that the UP was able to contain and control the working class and peasantry firmly within the framework of the capitalist system.

There is only one conclusion possible, the May statement says that only by abject capitulation to sections of the Chilean bourgeoisie and by limiting the struggle of the working class could the military coup have been avoided. This is truly the voice of the Chilean CP!

On the 'lack of understanding of the Armed Forces', we would agree wholeheartedly. There has hardly been such a criminal lack of understanding in the history of the world working class movement. But, unfortunately, that is not what the document means. For the UP statement the main problem was the lack of collaboration between the patriotic and constitutional sectors of the army and the popular movement.

Are we to believe that was the main error? Of course not. The mistake was to believe and continually peddle the nonsense that the Armed Forces would defend the constitution and the gains of the working class. The mistake was to fail right from the beginning to provide the workers and peasants with the only meaningful guarantee against a coup, to arm them, to form self-defence teams in the factories and localities, and to



form a militia.

Even after the coup the CP still believes that the army could have performed these tasks - if only the UP had snuggled up closer to the 'constitutional sectors'!

It is apparent that the statement affirms the essential correctness of the UP strategy with the main 'criticism' that it did not work sufficiently hard enough to build an alliance with the Christian Democracy and the 'exceptional' Chilean Armed Forces.

PEACEFUL LOGIC I

But such alliances, as we have already noted, could only have been created on the understanding that the UP would control the workers and peasants and allay the fears of the bourgeois sectors with whom it wanted unity.

Such is the logic of the peaceful road to socialism!

It is of course not a question of this or that 'error' committed by the UP, but that the whole strategy of the UP was totally wrong. The UP did not pose the central question of the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and the building of qualitatively new structures of workers democracy such as the

The wreckers...

The American ruling class has a very clear understanding of international class solidarity, and has not hesitated to act on it. Information revealed this week confirms that the Nixon administration paid out over £3 million for covert action against the Popular Unity Government in Chile between 1970 and 1973.

These funds, allocated by the CIA, were designed to 'destabilise' the situation in Chile - a polite expression for Allende's brutal overthrow. The information comes from Democratic Congressman Michael Harrington, who says: 'Funding was provided to individuals, political parties, and media outlets in Chile'.

Masterminding the operation was none other than the American ruling class's knight in shining armour, Dr Henry Kissinger, who headed the '40 Committee' in Washington, a secret espionage and counter-revolutionary group.

Washington gold first began pouring into Chile in 1964, under the Johnson administration, when the CIA decided that the Christian Democratic Party needed financial support in running its presidential candidate, Ernest Frei, against Allende. Frei won.

More money was authorised in 1969 to 'fund individuals who could keep the anti-Allende forces active and intact', and during the 1970 election which Allende eventually won, handouts were despatched to bribe the Chilean Congress.

But it was during Popular Unity's three-year rule that the forces of reaction were kept especially well primed. Congressman Harrington's revelations reflect the growing need now felt by large sections of the American ruling class for an international policy of detente undisturbed by the CIA's free-booting adventures.

gentlemen have learned nothing whatsoever from the crushing defeat of Allende's strategy.

They advance several reasons for their failure. The prime reason is apparently that, 'a process of that character could not have been tolerated by those who had controlled the wealth and power for 150 years'. But this is a meaningless banality! It is no use attempting to explain away the failure of the UP by referring to the pernicious nature of its enemy. It was precisely the task of the UP to create the

of the Chilean Armed Forces which hindered collaboration between the popular movement and the patriotic, constitutional sectors'.

The document leaves no doubt as to what sort of alliances should have been created:

'...narrow minded, sectarian, left wing opportunist notions played into the hands of Frei and his supporters in pushing the Christian Democrats into a position of intransigent hostility with regard to the Popular Government.'

... Cordones Industriales'. It did not see the arming of the workers and peasants. That was why it was defeated.

The document does not stop at its understanding of the UP period - it also puts forward a strategy to fight the junta. What is the nature of the strategy? A 'broad anti fascist front' must be created in which, 'the participation of the Christian Democracy..... is a necessity of even greater importance'. Even among the armed forces the document declares, 'the people will find allies'. And what is to be the object of the broad front? The document explains that, 'all democrats must march together' to achieve, 'the struggle for a renovated democracy' which it says, 'is the only road that will lead the proletariat and its allies to construct.... a socialist society'.

STRATEGY REPEATED

This is simply a repeat of the strategy of the UP under Allende. The revolution is to take place by stages, first a democratic anti-imperialist stage and then, sometime in the future, the socialist stage. But the UP experience showed that no such middle road exists, just as the contradictions which led to the coup broke out under Allende's experiment so they would break out again under the 'renovated democracy'.

There is though one point of difference. The 1 May document starts from the need for an alliance with the bourgeois CD, whereas during the UP period this was something which the CP always advocated but never managed to get the UP to adopt.

This front cannot include the bourgeoisie. What is more while this front can and must fight for democratic rights and other concessions in the battle against the junta - the only correct framework for this struggle is in the context of the fight for socialism.

The task, both in the fight against the junta, and after its overthrow is to

The Fourth's the First

The first organisation to hold an underground conference in Chile was the Liga Comunista de Chile - LCC, sympathising section of the Fourth International.

The LCC has produced a number of leaflets which have been clandestinely circulated and has done some joint activities with comrades from the MIR.

Documents from the March 1974 conference are now being translated. Copies can be obtained from Red Books 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

develop and extend revolutionary organs of democratic mobilisation and organisation of the masses, such as the Cordones Industriales. The perspective after the overthrow of the junta cannot be one of a long stage of 'democratic' capitalism during which gradual advance will be made to the socialist millennium. Instead it will be a period of rapidly developing crisis.

Either the working class will organise to achieve the conquest of power during this period or the bourgeoisie will impose its solution again - and the workers and peasants will once more



The Chilean CP wishes to serve up the same recipe as before, with the added ingredient of explicit class collaboration with the very party that prepared the UP's downfall. It is a course which must be firmly rejected.

Revolutionaries in Chile must instead fight for a united front against the junta on a class basis. A united front of workers, peasants and other oppressed layers must be created.

pay dearly.

If the 1 May document of the UP becomes the guidelines for the struggle against the junta then further defeats are inevitable. It is only by workers unity - as opposed to class collaboration - that the junta can be smashed. It is only by fighting against the junta not for 'democracy' but in the context of the struggle for socialism, that a victory of the working class can be ensured.

footnotes

1. Socialist Party had 260,000 members and claims to be marxist. Its left-wing claims to be revolutionary but it is unstructured and very confused.

2. Movement for United Popular Action is a split-away from Christian Democrats. Took part in Allende Government, its split into right wing - known as MAPU-OC - and left wing, probably the majority, known as MAPU - Garelton. MAPU-OC is very close to CP. Before coup total membership was about 30,000.

3. The Communist Party had membership of 150,000 with a number of representatives in Allende Government and on most questions was to the right of the Socialist Party.

4. Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria. Before coup had 4000 members. Before election of Unidad Popular had declared situation could only be resolved by guerrilla warfare. MIR then, however, gave Allende critical support. Main base of support in peasantry and students but probably increasing its support in sections of working class now.

5. Pablo Neruda was an elderly poet and CP member who died shortly after the coup. Was strong supporter of Allende Government.

6. Cordones Industriales were organisations formed to combat the 'bosses' strikes of October 1972. They united workers to run the factories, arrange distribution of food and form self-defence against bosses' attempts to scab,

The date 11 September 1973 remains engraved on the thoughts of the international working class. It was on that day the Chilean ruling class and the military junta unleashed their reign of bloody terror.

The Chilean working class was subjected to violent and systematic barbarism. The junta are still carrying out this violence to try and obliterate any attempts by the working class to reorganise their forces. Frightened of spontaneous demonstrations on the anniversary of the coup, the dictators have rounded up hundreds of militants in the last few weeks.

ISOLATION

This testifies to the weakness of the Pinochet regime and shows its isolation - an isolation created by the international revulsion of the working class against the junta.

The desperate economic crisis in Chile is also provoking massive discontent in the middle classes who originally supported Pinochet. The junta's former base in the middle class is beginning to be eroded.

To break out of its growing isolation the junta has to wipe away its bloody image. The deaths in the concentration camps, the bullet in the back of the head, have to be 'legalised'.

The charade of trials now taking place in Santiago are aimed to institutionalise the daily terror and the military courts are put on to present a semblance of 'normal justice'.

The world-wide response to 11 September was unprecedented. Hundreds of thousands of workers and students came together in mass meetings, demonstrations and other actions to protest the overthrow of the Allende Government. But the actions did not just remain at the level of protest. Workers in various countries took solidarity actions in support of their brothers and sisters in Chile.

Swedish workers blacked goods for Chile. In Britain engineering workers stopped work on the Hawker Hunter jet engines bound for Chile. Merseyside dockers refused to handle Chilean cargo.

But as the memory of the bloody coup fades there is a danger of the solidarity movements going into a downturn.

DRIVE HOME

But it is right now that the Chilean struggle needs its greatest support. More than ever solidarity actions can drive home the isolation of the junta and encourage the mobilisation of the Chilean resistance.

Trapped in the contradictions of its tottering economic policies, absolutely dependent on aid from international capitalism, the junta is more vulnerable than ever to campaigns outside Chile.

The anniversary of the coup give an excellent opportunity to build a real force which can organise solidarity with Chile. Blacking actions against trade and arms must be increased. The call of the International Transport Workers' Federation to cut off and black all communication with Chile provides a springboard for the campaign.

This is the kind of action which shows the real strength of the inter-



The book-burning in Chile goes on - even books on the Cubist school of art have been banned, 'lest the ideas of Castro gain a hold'! International solidarity could help the workers' movement reassert itself.

Black the junta!

Smash the junta!

national workers' movement and lays the groundwork for genuine solidarity with the Chilean workers.

WELCOMED

The ruling class of Europe welcomed the coup. It not only suited their economic interests but they saw it as an effective way of grinding down the mass movement unleashed by the Government of Popular Unity. The ruling class feared the effect that such a movement could have on their own working classes.

This is why they rushed to give political and diplomatic support to the butcher's regime. The British Conservative Government had no hesitation in bestowing its goodwill on Pinochet and his fellow-murderers. The Labour leaders paid lip service to opposing the junta but insisted on 'honouring' the Government's trade agreements. The balance of payments means more to Callaghan and Healey than the crushing of the Chilean trade union and socialist movement.

Now the Labour Party has compounded its scabbing. Putting 'electoral considerations' above the need to build solidarity with the Chilean masses the Labour Party has withdrawn its support from the 15 September demonstration.

This action dramatically underlines the complete bankruptcy of social democratic thinking. The tragedy of the Popular Unity Government was its refusal to base itself on the independent actions and interests of the working class. As a result the workers could not meet the bloody campaign of the junta.

PREPARING

The Labour leaders do not see solidarity with the Chilean masses as a way of preparing the British working class to take its own independent actions. The British ruling class are increasing the repressive powers of their state for use against the working class.

It is of tremendous importance to build active solidarity with the Chilean struggle. Such action is necessary in order to convince British workers of the international character of their struggle. It can give practical aid to the Chilean people and it will help British workers to prepare for their part in the struggle against their own ruling class.



CHILE LESSONS OF THE COUP WHICH WAY TO WORKERS POWER?

Tony Ab
Gerry Hickey



NEW IMG PAMPHLET! JUST OUT!
Available from Red Books, 97, Caledonian Rd., N.1. (Price 30p inc. p & pt)

FROM ONE ELECTION TO THE NEXT

ALAN JONES explains that while revolutionaries are in favour of voting Labour the election will produce a weak government whichever party wins - the really decisive struggles which will determine the relation of class forces are going to come after the election

When Heath called the election last February both he, and the ruling class, thought they were taking a key decision regarding the development of the struggle in Britain.

But the reality was different. Faced with the miners' strike the ruling class had only had three tactical options - and no strategic ones.

It could have granted the miners their claim. But with the working class aligned behind the miners this would just have opened a breach through which the rest of the unions would have flooded.

The ruling class could have attempted to break the miners' strike through repression. Given the relation of forces between the classes this, at best, would not have worked and at worst could have led to a General Strike.

Thirdly the ruling class could try to use its political strength to defeat the miners by out-manoeuvring the bureaucracy. But this was defeated when the power of the mass of miners and rest of the working class forced the bureaucracy to call the strike.

REALITY

The reality of the election, despite all the pittle-tattle in the press about 'options', was therefore very clear. Heath was *already* defeated when he called the election. Indeed the calling of the election was objectively the acknowledgement of the immediate defeat and was simply the hope of gaining a breathing space before the outbreak of still more decisive struggles. Even Heath had to openly admit he would give in to the miners. Of course Heath might have technically won a small overall majority in the election but the main fact was that any government

elected in that situation, regardless of its political colour, would be a weak government.

Despite the fact their own ideology hid it from them, the bourgeoisie and Heath could only choose whether they wanted to be defeated by the working class in a 'French May' variant - a sudden and explosive confrontation which would have been provoked by an attempt to defeat the miners by repression; or in an 'Italian' variant - a more long drawn out working class upsurge leading to a permanent situation of bourgeois political instability.

Heath chose the Italian road but from the point of view of the ruling class this is not a fundamental 'option'.

The consequences of the crisis last winter have continued to develop since then. Far from the election of the Labour government satisfying either the working class or the bourgeoisie it is clearly a government with no firm base of support in either class. Labour has only brought about a very temporary lull in the struggle of the biggest battalions of the working class and it has brought about no lull whatever in the struggle of the most oppressed sections of society or on political issues, for example Chile, where its policies are most

It is clear that if Labour is elected it will have to carry out vicious attacks on the working class which there is no possibility whatever of the working class accepting passively. By next spring at the latest we will be back in the middle of class confrontations on a higher level than against Phase Three or in 1972.

But if Labour cannot satisfy the working class neither can it satisfy the

bourgeoisie. No significant section of the ruling class believes that the social contract will succeed in containing the working class struggle for anything other than in the most short term.

Objectively it might appear the extraordinary bankruptcy which is the perspective facing a future Wilson government means that the position of the ruling class should have a good chance of defeating Labour at the election. But the problem is that the parties of the ruling class, the Tories in particular, are themselves so politically discredited and dis-oriented that they cannot take advantage of Wilson's weakness. The ruling class is indeed scared

coming round of struggles. The disintegration of the traditional ruling class political formulae is leading to the emergence of the most vicious and extreme elements of bourgeois society. The struggle against the development of the strong state, and in particular against the Powellite-Loyalist alliance which is now the political pivot of these moves, must become a key theme in the election.

'Britain out of Ireland now'. Withdraw British Troops from Ireland Now', must be the third central thrust of the election period, not only in solidarity with the Irish people but from the needs of the British working class.

candidates. We regard it as a setback that the revolutionary left has not been able to reach a united front to put up candidates. We will still call for a vote for any organisation of the left, for example the Workers Revolutionary Party, which puts up candidates. We simply think that the allocation of our resources to our campaigns in the summer and to the production of a 12 page paper from the autumn onwards is the best way, given our limited resources, to strengthen the revolutionary left and build the IMG. If we achieve this we will ensure that at future elections the revolutionary left will be well and truly represented.



that the explosion of the working class on the wages front might be even bigger if the Tories get in or there is a Tory-Liberal coalition.

The outcome of the election is therefore clear. No matter which party is elected there is going to be a fierce rise of class struggles during the winter and spring as the working class's standard of living falls and unemployment mounts in a situation where the working class is undefeated. Obviously revolutionaries are for Labour winning as this will take forward the combativity of the masses on all fronts, particularly the political ones, and will see the masses very rapidly brought into conflict with a reformist leadership.

The really decisive struggles which will determine the relation of forces are going to come after the election. Firstly will come the big wave of direct working class struggles against inflation and unemployment. Then, particularly if Labour is elected, will come a crisis within the Labour Party itself as the implications of its leaderships strategy of alliance with the ruling class becomes clear and as the combativity of the working class increases on all fronts.

In this situation revolutionaries have to advance two essential themes and slogans. The first is 'Prepare for the coming confrontation' and 'Vote Labour but only rely on your own struggles'. The second is 'For a Labour Government responsible to the organisations of the working class and not to Parliament'.

But revolutionaries must also prepare for what will follow the

CANDIDATES

At the February 1974 election the IMG stood three candidates. This was an extremely valuable way of putting forward a revolutionary political position and in particular of contrasting the possibilities which lay in the miners and other working class struggles and the utterly miserable outcome any election would lead to.

We distributed over 50,000 election addresses, sold nearly 12,000 of our election manifesto and in three weeks in one constituency alone we sold over 1,100 copies of *Red Weekly*. We consider that this type of impact would be enormously multiplied if a united front of the revolutionary left in the election could be obtained. Unfortunately, despite our efforts after the election neither the IS nor the WRP would agree to this.

Given this situation the IMG was faced with a difficult choice. The important campaigns on Chile and the National Front which we have run during the summer have cost a lot of money. To produce a 12 page newspaper will require a further £2,000 within a few weeks. Running candidates is a great expense - around £600 per candidate for an effective campaign.

Given our limited resources we were faced with the choice of producing a 12 page paper or running candidates in the election. As we could not achieve a united front of the revolutionary left, and as we consider that the decisive struggles, for expanding our intervention in which a 12 page paper is key, will come after the election the IMG has very reluctantly decided that it will not run candidates in the election.

This does not indicate the slightest change in our political position. We would still like to be able to run

The Irish Civil Rights Association has announced that it will be running candidates in the coming election. From the point of view of the objective importance of Ireland in the class struggle the IMG would very much like to support candidates standing for Withdrawal of British Troops from Ireland and for Self Determination for Ireland.

However the tactics of the ICRA, standing in Labour marginals and calling for an abstention where their candidates are not standing, will not help the class struggle in Britain but neither will it help it in Ireland. Anyone who believes the return of the Tories would help the struggle in Ireland, which is what the ICRA position amounts to, completely fails to understand the most elementary facts about how it is the struggle of the British working class which is the only potential ally the Irish people have.

A set back for that struggle, which is what the defeat of Labour would mean, would weaken the position of the Irish people and not strengthen it. If ICRA were to reverse its tactics to stand in safe Labour seats and to call for a vote for Labour where they are not standing the IMG would support their candidates. This however would mean a drastic change of line by the Provos and their grasping of the importance of the class struggle.

As long as the line of ICRA remains the defeat of Labour the IMG cannot, very regretfully, call for a vote for the candidates of ICRA.

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97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.
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WHAT'S ON

NOTTINGHAM RED CIRCLES: Wide-ranging series of discussions based on the politics of the Fourth International. Every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in the month at 8pm in the Lion Hotel, Clumber Street.

IMG GAY GROUP: Contact J. Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds for further information.

SOUTHALL RED FORUMS: Every Friday evening at 8pm in the 'Featherstone Arms', Featherstone Road, Southall (in Dominion Cinema).

ZANU PUBLIC MEETING to be addressed by ZANU national chairman Herbert Chitepo on the Zimbabwe revolution. Sunday 15 September at 2pm in Afrika Centre, 38 King Street, London WC2.

GAY LIBERATION picket of BMA conference on 'Psychosexual problems' at Bradford University, Thurs 12 and Fri 13 September at 9am

BENGLI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and *Lara* (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, Mullvadén, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden

LIVERPOOL RED BOOKS: Revolutionary literature—Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, E. Europe, Third World, Ireland, Women's Liberation, 81a Renshaw Street, Liverpool. Tuesday-Friday: 12.30-3. Sat: 11-3.

LONDON RED FORUMS: A comprehensive political education series, every Tuesday at 8pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, N.1. (King's X tube).

'CHILE: Which Road to Socialism?' - IMG public meeting, Friday 13 September at 7.30pm in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, with speaker Brian Stocock (editor, *Red Weekly*) and play on Chile.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER Campaign: public meeting Saturday 14 September from 2-5.30pm at University of London Students Union, Malet Street, W.C.1. Creche provided. Start of major campaign to persuade unions, trades councils, tenants' associations, etc to adopt the Charter, which pledges support for 10 anti-discrimination clauses. Enquiries to 01-567 4382.

SPUC vs ALRA debate at Ealing on 23 September. Ring 863 6089 for details.

SHEFFIELD IMG public meeting on Chile. The Mailcoach pub, West Street on 18 September at 7.30pm.

A LUTA CONTINUA! Public meeting in solidarity with the liberation struggles in Portugal's African colonies, Weds 25 September at 7.30pm in Central Colliage Theatre, 25 Gordon Street, London WC1. Organised by CFMAG.

Mozambique revolt highlights Portuguese manoeuvres

The surrender in Mozambique of the white extremists who seized the radio station, the airport, and various other buildings in Lourenco Marques last weekend came as no real surprise. Behind their surrender lay their failure to win support from more than a small section of the white community; while for all their declarations of multi-racialism, the only blacks who rallied to them were 'ex-FRELIMO guerrillas who defected to the Portuguese before the coup, informed on their comrades, and now fear the consequences', as the *Guardian* put it. Their isolation was further emphasised by South Africa's decision to stay firmly on the sidelines during the dispute.

Nevertheless, the mere fact that the revolt took place at all has important lessons for the future.

MANOEUVRES

The first thing to note is the responsibility of the Portuguese Government in allowing this situation to develop. Instead of coming out immediately after the 25 April coup for total independence for the African colonies, they instead engaged in a series of anti-FRELIMO manoeuvres which at best tolerated and at worst encouraged the growth of such reactionary groups.

These manoeuvres were foiled not by any action by the Communist and Socialist Party representatives in the Government - who preferred office to principle - but by the admirable determination of FRELIMO to reject all compromises.

Understanding clearly what was at stake, the liberation forces took advantage of the capitalist weakness shown by the coup to step up their military and political activities to a new level. In July they opened up a new front in Zambezia province, and at the same time escalated attacks on the main rail communications so that supplies of equipment to the Cahora Bassa dam and of coal from the Montize mines to Beira were continually disrupted.

LESSONS FOR ANGOLA

The effect of their political activity was shown on 21 July when African dockers refused to load Lisbon-bound cargo ships with property belonging to whites leaving Mozambique, in response to a FRELIMO call for white residents to remain in the territory and assist its development.

These lessons are especially important when applied to the present situation in the remaining African colony of Angola (where the white population is much larger). The Portuguese Government is playing the same game here as it did in Mozambique - but with Angola's mineral wealth together with the oil in the Cabinda enclave at stake, it will be much less willing to concede defeat this time.

Furthermore, it is manoeuvring against an opposition which is deeply divided. There are no less than three liberation movements in Angola, and two of them (the FNLA and UNITA) seem susceptible to some kind of neo-colonialist compromise. The third group, the MPLA, has in the past shown more determination to fight for a completely independent, socialist Angola, but it too is now riven with divisions which were only temporarily patched up at its recent congress.

This situation therefore demands the utmost vigilance on the part of the world working class movement; to ensure that the achievement of real independence by the people of Angola is not frustrated by right-wing manoeuvres. Here as elsewhere our slogan must be: **SOLIDARITY TILL FINAL VICTORY!**



FRELIMO leader Samora Machel addresses a press conference towards the end of last week's talks with the Portuguese Government in Lusaka.

Portuguese strikers defy CP

All across Portugal the printing presses of the big daily newspapers ground to a halt last Thursday (September 4) as newspaper workers walked out in solidarity with their striking comrades on the Lisbon daily *Jornal Do Comercio*.

The *Jornal* workers have been on strike for more than three weeks over a series of demands, the most important of which is the dismissal of the paper's general manager, Carlos Machado, whom the workers accuse of fascist sympathies.

Originally the workers occupied the paper's offices and plant and produced their own 'strike edition' of the *Jornal*. But two weeks ago the army moved in to expel them and shut down the building.

Following the military's move a discussion began among workers throughout both the newspaper industry and the Borges monopoly, of which the *Jornal* is a part, on the best way to demonstrate solidarity.

Last Wednesday workers from another leading Lisbon daily, *Diario de Noticias*, convened a general assembly and invited delegates from 11 papers in Lisbon and Portugal's other major centre, the northern town of Porto. This meeting - attended by over 400 newspaper workers - voted for a 24-hour national solidarity strike the following day. Radio and television workers decided to join the solidarity

movement by broadcasting on every news programme a lengthy explanation of the *Jornal* workers' struggle.

This strike was opposed by the Communist Party, whose supporters in the industry did what they could to sabotage it. Both the Lisbon Organisation of Communist Party Journalists, and the CP's Lisbon cell of graphic artists put out statements opposing the strike. Under the influence of the CP workers on two Lisbon newspapers, including the biggest Portuguese paper *O Seculo*, voted against joining the strike.

POUNCED ON

This decision by the *O Seculo* workers was pounced on by the Government who praised their 'responsibility' in a statement denouncing the strike.

But the Government carried its enthusiasm a bit too far. Finding the *O Seculo* printworks surrounded by strike pickets from the other papers, the Government dispatched a squad of armed soldiers to protect the *O Seculo* workers' 'right to work'. However the *O Seculo* workers were not so eager to bring out a paper stained with the blood of their fellow workers, and so they decided to hold back the edition until after the strike was over.

This strike is tremendously important not just because of its national scope and the big dent it has put in the Communist Party's stranglehold over the workers' movement, but because of the big debate it is opening up on the best way to defend and extend the democratic gains which the Portuguese working

class has won since 25 April.

The Communist Party denounced the strike as a threat to the 'unity of the people and the Armed Forces Movement'. They argued that the Portuguese press was not 'open and democratic' and that the strike violated the 'right of the people to information'.

In the aftermath of the strike a general assembly of workers from *Diario De Noticias* (who launched the strike movement) issued a statement applauding the action of the strikers and the radio and television workers. They stressed the importance of breaking the hold of the monopolies over the information services and they argued that the strike had reinforced the unity of information workers, and strengthened their capacity to take united action in the future. 'The striking workers demonstrated a much higher degree of class instinct and class consciousness than certain political 'specialists' give them credit for. They chose this form of struggle to serve notice of their strength and unity'.

The statement also reflects the disillusionment of the most politically aware workers with the policies of the coalition Government. It lists as one of the objectives of the strike:

'...to try and take the initiative away from reaction and take a big step forward in the attempt to call to the attention of the coalition Government the blind alley into which its hesitant and conciliatory policy is allowing the reactionary forces to lead the country.'

The statement concludes: 'The work *Diario De Noticias* accuse those political forces who opposed the general solidarity strike...of distorting its meaning, publicly compromising it by all available means, blocking the attainment of its aims, minimising its results, and isolating the unions from the mass of workers, with actions that could break up the unity of workers and contribute objectively, to their defeat and the victory of reaction.'

Chris Balfour

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΠΑΛΗ

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has made a world-wide appeal for funds to build the Greek revolutionary socialist weekly *Ergatiki Pali* (Workers' Struggle), the paper supported by the Greek Trotskyists whose fusion we announced last week.

In Britain we have set ourselves the modest task of raising £50 towards this project, of whose importance in the present situation we are sure all readers are aware.

Please send all contributions to: Red Weekly (EP), 97 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Copies of *Ergatiki Pali* are regularly available, price 8p (includes p&p) from Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

HONG KONG:
A CASE
TO ANSWER

香港
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答辯
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The Labour Government got off pretty lightly a couple of months ago when it was revealed that it had allowed 118 refugees to be deported back from Hong Kong to Thieu's prison camps in South Vietnam.

But it may have more difficulty in brushing aside further protests about the situation in this British colony as a result of the publication of a new pamphlet by the Hong Kong Research Project and Spokesman Books - *Hong Kong: A Case to Answer*.

Every page of this pamphlet testifies to the aptness of a recent *Times* article on Hong Kong entitled 'Where a quick profit is a way of life'. Between 1960 and 1967, for instance, the rate of profit rose from an already high 20% to an incredible 35%.

EXPLOITATION

This capitalist paradise depends, of course, on the ruthless exploitation of the Chinese workforce, who have the longest working day and the longest working week in South-East Asia if not the world. The Government recently introduced a regulation making four rest days a month compulsory (including Sundays, not in addition to them), but 'many workers signed agreements with employers to forfeit holidays in order to keep up their income to the minimum necessary to live'.

Just in case there might be some complaints about these conditions, the Government has taken care to ban all political parties and impose severe restrictions on the trade unions that exist. Moreover, every single member of the two main governing bodies - the Executive Council and the Legislative Council - is appointed, not elected.

To help maintain this state of affairs the colony disposes of an enormous repressive machine,

whose relative importance can be judged from the fact that eight times as much is spent on the police force as on the social welfare department.

The corruption in the former is notorious - last Saturday a senior British police officer finally appointed to make some gesture at investigating corruption left the colony after only ten days of his three year term, amidst widespread speculation that he had met with total non-cooperation from the local force. As the pamphlet points out: 'The force is directly involved in profiting from the inequality and insecurity which the ruling class it serves needs to maintain its high level of capital accumulation and profit.'

LABOUR RESPONSIBLE

The consequences of maintaining this repressive apparatus (which also includes several thousand troops) are tellingly outlined:

'In 1974, in the territory which, it is officially claimed, has the second highest per capital income in Asia (excluding the Middle East), for which a Labour Government elected by the British people is responsible, there is: no minimum wage, no paid maternity leave, no sickness benefit, no medical attention free to all, no unemployment

insurance, no pension, and no insurance provision for widows with young children.

'This refusal to enact protective legislation cannot be interpreted as anything but active intervention by the Government on behalf of business interests. The lack of social services, the refusal to make education compulsory, the poor housing and the lack of factory legislation combine with the derisory taxation of the rich, lackadaisical attitudes towards company accounts, etc., to form an all-embracing system of assistance to capital and discrimination against the working population'.

REAL FACE

This is the real face of the Labour Government - a Government which will make noises about the manoeuvres of 'international capitalism' in Chile while at the same time doing its best to prop it up elsewhere.

Just four weeks after Labour was returned to office, Government spokesman David Ennals was eager to reassure a Tory questioner on this score: 'There is no doubt that Her Majesty's Government's commitments to Hong Kong will remain, and there is no suggestion at all that our presence in Hong Kong should be withdrawn'.

Ennals was simply reaffirming the previous Labour Government's policy spelt out by the current darling of the 'left', Judith Hart, in the House of Commons on 26 April 1967: 'We start from a recognition of the fact that Hong Kong is quite different from any other of our colonies ... because of Hong Kong's special position, it is not possible to think of normal self-government....'

TUC MOTION

That it may not be possible for Labour politicians who base themselves on capitalist interests is of course understandable; but it should be quite a different matter for the working class movement as a whole. This means it is essential to campaign for the implementation of the resolution passed at last week's TUC calling on the general council 'to investigate social and economic conditions in Hong Kong and the state of industrial relations there'.

Moreover, rank-and-file action must ensure that any such 'investigation' does not take the form of a cover-up job (as happened over South Africa), but instead provides the basis for concerted action to get the imperialists and their Labour backers out of Hong Kong.

Martin Meteyard

TUC like vicar's tea party

Militants, reviewing events in Brighton last week will feel puzzled. The deliberations of the TUC seemed not to signify anything, and there wasn't much sound and fury either.

The ruling class were frightened that the programme of the future Labour Government would be established by the TUC.

What actually happened was that the Wilson-Cabaghan duo mapped out the programme for the trade unions over the next period. Election fever was a better guide to Scanlon's and company's actions than the course of any of the debates.

UNREALITY

The whole proceedings seemed to have an air of total unreality about them. The only decision taken which was more than a simple endorsement of the official Labour line was the demand, on Tuesday, for Labour to end all private practice in the health service. And even

this seemed to have been given an official nod and a wink from Labour's NEC.

Murray, commenting on the state of the British economy, pointed to the big profits still being announced by sections of industry, as a justification for... maintaining workers' living standards' (This is the exact formula used to describe the workers' end of the Social Contract.)

Murray's speech, and that of a lot of other delegates, simply echoed the amazing line of the *Morning Star* attacking the purveyors of gloom and doom. Basically if you (the friendly captains of British Industry) give us workers enough money, we'll spend our way out of any crisis. This sort of nonsense was heard time and

time again throughout the proceedings.

But the biggest turn around of the week was Scanlon's definition of principles. On Wednesday Scanlon argued strongly in the *Morning Star* against wage restraint. 'One of the arguments of those in favour of wage restraint is that it supposedly assists in promoting investments. But during the three years of Tory policy investment was at one of its lowest levels.' Then he voted for it.

ICING ON CAKE

Nor did Hughie exactly receive a barrage of criticism from the *Morning Star* the day after. They pointed out that this was no way to achieve unity, and that Scanlon did not consult his delegation, but all they are suggesting is that we return to 'free collective bargaining.'

The TUC's 'job', in the eyes of thousands of militants was to map out a programme of action on the economy, on wages, on prices and on unemployment. As it was, the Congress was used to simply put the icing on Labour's election cake.

The trade unions have never been stronger. Instead of mobilising that power on behalf of the working class, the union chiefs—aided by Gill and Scanlon—parcelled it up and handed it over to the right-wing Labour leaders.

There was no strategy to fight the impending attacks of the ruling class simply a touching faith in the solutions offered by the Labour Party.

The TUC displayed about as much aggression as the guests at the vicar's tea party.

PAUL SMITH



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Scanlon turns it on at last week's TUC meeting, watched anxiously from the platform by Len Murray and other assorted worthies. But they really needn't have worried...

Hughie's fan club meets

About 200 militants from the engineering industry attended a conference in Birmingham last Sunday called by the rank and file paper *Engineering Voice*.

Most of the leading left-wing officials from the AUEW were there, including Hugh Scanlon, Ernie Roberts, Les Ambrose, John Foster and Bob Wright.

Again we saw Scanlon trying to face two ways at once. In his opening speech to the conference he put the record straight on the rumours that he had opposed the AEU's delegation to the TUC from the start.

It was true. He had argued that they should abstain, or vote for the General Council's resolution supporting the social contract.

He then rejected the allegations that the AUEW was 'rocking the boat' and not playing their part in co-operating with the Labour Government's incomes policy.

After all, hadn't they settled with the employers far short of the original claim precisely because there was a Labour Government. They had even postponed the adoption of the next wage claim until November.

In case Harold Wilson had any worries about this Scanlon assured everybody that the next claim

would be designed so as not to increase living standards but just to keep up with prices. After demonstrating how 'reasonable' he was he then announced that none of this implied that he supported the 'social contract.'

Obviously, he hadn't completely forgotten that he was talking to a CP-dominated audience who also happened to be his base in the union. This did not prevent him from informing a delegate from Sheffield that if he moved a resolution rejecting the 'social contract' he would speak against it. In the end, the platform decided that this might cause too many problems and that no resolutions would be allowed.

Of course, Scanlon received the usual ovation that a star always receives from his fan club. But there must be a few worried minds after last Sunday's display. It is clear that Scanlon is firmly on the road to collaboration with the 'social contract' in spite of his protestations.

As was pointed out in the discussion at the conference the TUC's decision is not the last word on that. The fate of the social contract will be determined by the struggle of the working class—not the deals made by government ministers and trade union bureaucrats.

TERRY CRAWFORD

LEFTIST KILLED BY ITALIAN POLICE



A 19-year-old demonstrator was killed and dozens of others injured in Rome over the weekend when armed riot police moved into the San Basilio district to clear out 150 squatter families. In Italy as in Britain, increased State repression is capitalism's only answer to the deepening social crisis it has spawned.

London teachers plan action

Over 51 schools were represented at a meeting last week of the London Teachers' Action Committee which endorsed a proposal for a half-day unofficial strike and picket in support of the London allowance claim.

The Action Committee also called for a lobby of the NUT executive the same evening where they will be discussing any new offers made by the Burnham Committee. Both proposals were carried overwhelmingly.

These decisions mean that the Action Committee has re-established itself as the organising body of London teachers

taking action on the claim.

The Action Committee has drawn up contingency plans for action this term. In the event of the union executive settling for less than the union claim—£350 across the board, backdated to 1972—the representatives of the schools voted for an unofficial strike from 17 September. It was also decided that if a ballot is proposed the executive should ballot all members by 25 September, otherwise the schools will again take unofficial action.

The successful organisation of last term's unofficial action indicates the need to retain democratic control over any strikes. Mass meetings at a local and all-

London level are the only way to ensure that decisions are taken in a democratic manner.

However, the replacing of official union bureaucrats by unofficial ones will not advance any union struggle. The existence of a committee of striking teachers similar to last term's will continue to be important even in official actions, which can be sold out more easily than unofficial strikes.

With the settlements made by other unions over London weighting, the NUT executive will be eager to settle, under the cover of the need to uphold the social contract.

Teachers must gain the support of other workers both in their rejection of the social contract and in their fight for the educational system, which is in grave crisis.

Both these questions are crucial for the whole of the working class and unions should follow the example of the Welsh miners who supported the nurses' struggle. Only by a united effort of the working class can the crises in social welfare—including education—be tackled.

Jon Duveen (NUT)

Sheffield workers black Chile trade

Employers in Sheffield are beginning to open their eyes to the profitability of trade with Chile, in the wake of the crippling of the workers' movement by the military junta.

Balfour-Darwin's have signed a trade contract worth £200,000. James Neill's, another leading engineering firm, have felt it worthwhile getting a report from their agents in Chile published as a major article

The strike at Wingrove and Rogers, Liverpool, of women workers for thresholds to boost their miserable wage of £15.40 took a decisive turn for the better last week.

The women, fed up with the lack of interest or support from the local AUEW sent their shop stewards to the TUC conference at Brighton and camped outside Scanlon's office until he agreed to see them. Scanlon then contacted the local AUEW officials for a full report. Because of this and other badgery of the local officials by the women the union has now been forced to take up the struggle in a serious and practical way.

A mass picket was organised for 9 September where 200 people including many workers from other factories turned up to support the strike. There were confrontations with the police as they attempted to clear a way for the scabs. The police appealed to the women to cooperate as they had done in the past but the women replied making it quite clear that from now on they would no longer cooperate in helping to defeat their own strike by letting scabs go in unchallenged.

Following the success of this mass picket the management were frightened into agreeing to negotiate. At a public meeting on Monday the militant women

in the business section of the local *Sheffield Telegraph*, which begins: 'Generally speaking, the country has recovered rapidly and the general situation is one of quiet confidence in the future and hard work.'

But these moves have not gone uncontested. The shop stewards' committee at Balfour-Darwin have set an example for the rest of the local labour movement in getting production of the £200,000 contract blacked. At Neill's, IMG members have been mobilising support for this Sunday's demonstration. On the initiative of IMG steward Cath Cirket, the shop stewards' com-

MASS PICKET BOOSTS WOMEN'S STRIKE

left the union officials in no doubt that they wanted a full increase plus no victimisation—'one back, all back'. The negotiations were fixed for Wednesday and it was seen by the women as essential that mass pickets have to be continued every day especially on the day of the negotiations.

At the meeting, the chairwoman of the women's committee of the Trades Council, Sue Lincoln (IMG member), demanded that union officials present make a public and definite commitment to contact all convenors to get their workers on the mass picket; a demand which so reflected the feeling of the strikers that the official had no choice but to agree to such a commitment.

LIVERPOOL IMG

mittee is arranging factory-wide meetings on Chile, and a contingent from the fact will be on the demonstration behind the shop stewards' banner.

The next step is to campaign for the adoption of a position of backing through the labour movement in Sheffield, at this week's shop stewards' quarterly meeting IMG stewards will be putting a resolution calling for the organisation of meeting of delegates from shop stewards' committees in the district to discuss the extension of blacking. Sheffield IMG

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