No. 68. - Sept.7th to Sept. 14th, 1974.

WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS -

FACED with a political and economic crisis, the TUC has sacrificed debate and discussion to the simple, heady, pre-election euphoria of "unity".

The one resolution which, for all its imperfections, could have breathed life into the Congress's deliberations the life of the class struggle, the life faced by ordinary British workers day in and day out — is withdrawn.

Communist Party member Ken Gill, leader of the AUEW technical section (TASS) and hailed as the new "red menace" on the General Council, hadn't been on the Council for more than a day when he knuckled under, withdrew the motion opposing the "social contract" and spat in the faces of the tens of thousands of trade unionists who supported his union's resolution.

FAIRLY

And with that, what could have been an important debate showing where the left stands and what alternatives it can put forward, turned into the same old stale rallytype speeches.

Len Murray and Lawrence Daly made strong speeches convincing the TUC (which didn't need any convincing) to vote for the "social contract". But what they never said is exactly what the social contract is.

One part of the social contract does come out fairly clearly. That is the unions' side of the contract. The unions are to accept wage restraint.

The other partner in the contract is the Labour Government. And what is their side of the contract? Here it is not so clear.

If the unions accept wage restraint, then the Labour Government's side is to impose wage restraint. But that's not much of a contract!

Beyond that, Murray talked about "improving Britain's economic performance and living standards" (how, if wages are to be held down?), and "improving industrial structure". Lawrence Daly talked about the need to get a Labour Government in (to do what? - to keep down wages?) and a redistribution of wealth (we'll certainly get that if wages are kept down — a redistribution away from wages, towards profits!)

The general idea seems to be that the Labour Government will give some social reforms "in return" for wage restraint. But when TASS spelled out eight social reforms to be demanded as conditions for a social contract, the TUC said no. When Alan Fisher of NUPE called for the TUC to demand a statutory national minimum wage of £30, the TUC said no.

passed, it would have killed capitalist crisis! support the Pentonville Five. the blank cheque, general vague good promises type wage restraint be demanded won by restraint — it was won

for a real social contract than Ken Gill withdrew it for the The repeal of the Industrial

of course more like a proposal social contract stone dead. before we get social reforms?

a principled opposition to sake of "unity". And what Relations Act was not won by wage curbs under capitalism. sort of unity is it that says: restraint — it was won by the Nonetheless, the fact is that if united we stand ready to be militant action of workers like that resolution had been fleeced to pay the costs of the the 250,000 who struck to

Why, in any case, should The freeze on rents was not

by the militant action of tens suffer most. of thousands of tenants on Cross.

out by restraint — but by the £5,000 or £10,000 a year, can determination of the miners very easily stand side by side to go ahead with their pay on a platform and say they are claim, despite Phase Three.

every front, to get any social reform, some day. organised workers who will industrial action.

The "social contract" will rent strike, and the cour- not even achieve the unity of ageous councillors of Clay the labour movement. Cabinet Ministers and Trade The Tories were not thrown Union officials, earning united on a programme of The fact is that under wage restraint with vague capitalism, the working class hopes of the Labour Governhas to fight tooth and nail, on ment doing ... something, for

advances. A policy of The rank and file of the "restraint" will simply mean labour movement will not be that we get elbowed aside and so impressed. They will exploited still further by the continue to save their living capitalist class. And it will be standards, by the means that the lowest paid, least well come to hand. That is,

AGAINST THE SOCIAL'CONTRACT'

"social contract" since the election of the Labour government is summed up in a few facts.

Figures published in January this year showed average earnings up 12.5% prices were up 10.3%.

In September, average earnings were 15.8% up on September 1973, prices 17.1% up.

Other calculations show that since Labour came into office, the standard of living of working people has gone down by an Martin Thomas average 21/2%.

In the coming months, unemployment is expected to rise to a level of about 900,000 and prices to continue rising at about 17 to 20% per year.

USEFUL

The Industrial Relations Act has been repealed. But with the various amendments added to it in Parliament, the new Trade Union and Labour Relations Act contains most of the parts of the Industrial Relations Act that the capitalist class still find really useful.

The charges against the The TASS resolution was Shrewsbury pickets have leaders, on every opportun-

RECORD of the not been withdrawn. The Special Patrol Groups have not been disbanded. The two whose sentences have not expired still face more rises, the practical policy is months in prison if their to nationalise the big food Appeals are rejected. The monopolies and super-Clay Cross councillors still market chains, without from January 1973. Retail have fines amounting to compensation. thousands of pounds hanging over them.

of army Britain's is still in occupation

Ireland, and Republican prisoners are still in British

In the coming election campaign, Labour leaders will once again be promising to do away with rising prices, unemployment, and poverty - if only we give them a majority and

give them time. YES, we should give Labour a big majority. We don't want the Tories back in power, or the Liberals holding the balance for the Tories. But socialists, inside and outside the Party, must Labour Labour challenge those

ity to spell out exactly what practical steps they are going to take.

To keep down price

FIXED

maintain living standards, the practical policy is a legally-binding, automatic zero threshold clause, based on a working class cost of living index worked out by committees of trade unionists.

To safeguard working people against unemployment, the practical policy is WORK OR FULL PAY, with the nationalisation, without compensation, of firms threatening redundancies.

To deal with poverty, the practical policy is a National Minimum Wage of at least £30 (rising automatically with the cost of living) to apply to everybody. Pensioners and minimum wage.

pay for women NOW.

Against the National Front FORTHEIRA

THE National Front's hatred of the IRA is part and parcel of their hatred of all the struggles by which men liberate themselves from oppression. The National Front is the upholder of the most blatant colonial and racial oppression - apartheid in South Africa, the US in Vietnam, white supremacy in Rhodesia...

It knows that the real nature of the struggle of the IRA is a

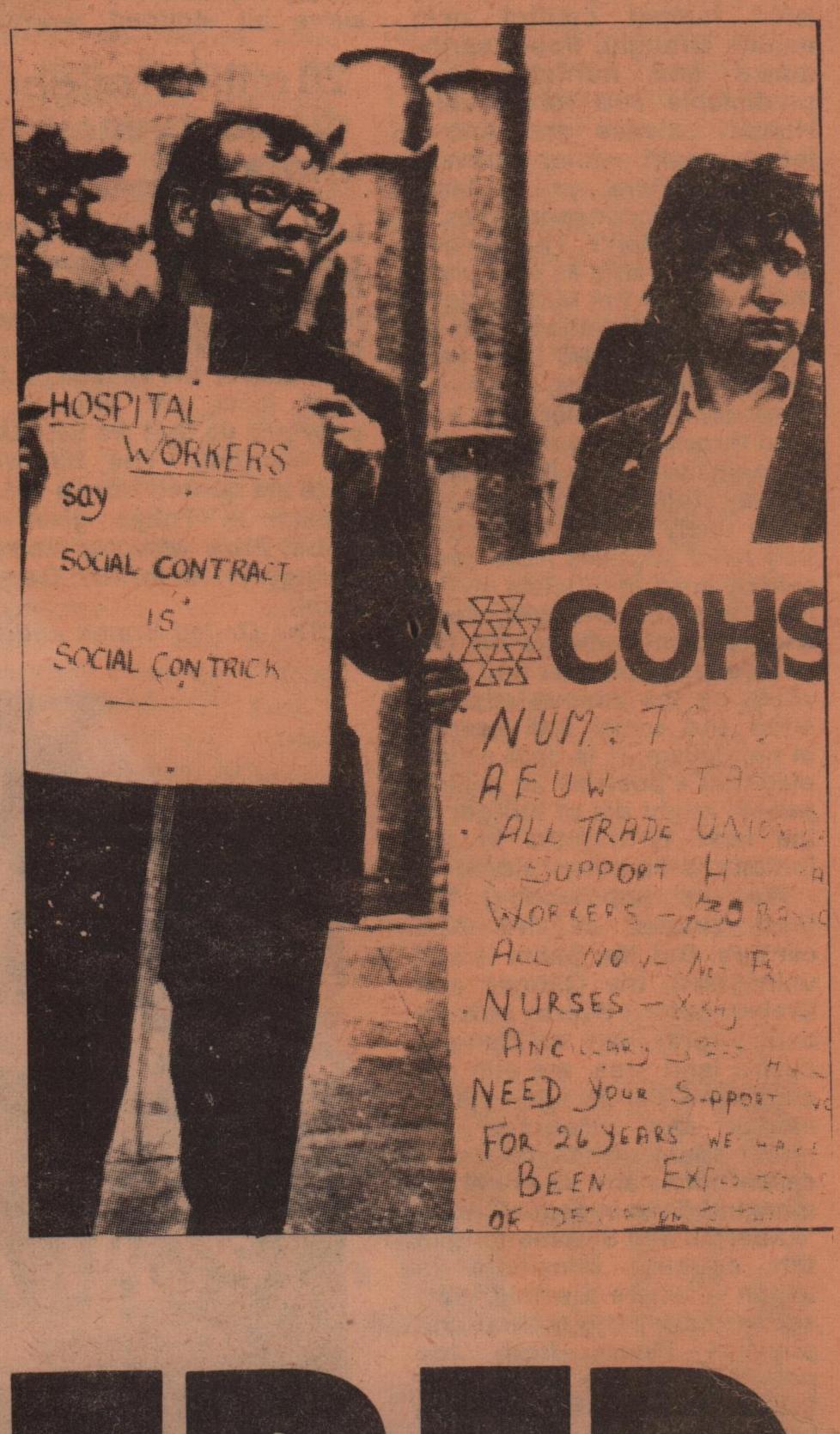
struggle for complete national liberation. We know that too. And because we recognise that, unlike the fascists of the National Front, we applaud the heroic struggle of the Irish Republican Army and urge all socialists to give it their solidarity.

March on Saturday against the National Front.

others on fixed incomes to vague promises. And let us on, to defend the interests receive no less than this also be warned by the of working people, is the And there should be equal Governments (Still more of rank and file. Tory governments!) that policies like these, not for might do. All we can RELY be supported.

record of recent Labour independent action of the

A "Social Contract" Let us press the Labour we cannot rely on hopes of which signs away that leaders for practical what the Government independence should not



SHOP stewards from the Manchester Royal Infirmary lobbied

the TUC last Wednesday. They had been sent by a mass meeting of the MRI workers, representing COHSE and NUPE

members, to get a clear answer out of Alan Fisher and Albert

policy of calling for an immediate claim of a £30 minimum

wage, to be tied to the cost of living on a zero per cent

threshold, for a 35 hour week, for equal pay for women, and for

Spanswick didn't even bother to come out), who proceeded to

pour cold water on doing anything before the election, claiming that he would put their proposals to a meeting of the 4 public sector unions to be held the next day. But the

The stewards were received by Fisher (COHSE Gen Sec

The mass meeting also affirmed, unanimously, the Branch

Spanswick about the plans for the coming wage claim.

no productivity deals.

delegation was non too convinced.

..AND TEN TONS OF T.N.T. FOR YOU

A COUPLE of planeloads of medical supplies, some tents and blankets, and about \$7m, is what Bangladesh has so far received to save its population of 75 million people from immediate starvation, long term economic disaster and a recurrance next year or the one after of floods, tidal waves and cyclones.

We live in an age of unparalleled human control over nature. Draught, flood, earthquake and hurricane are predictable and foreseeable. Human science and knowledge could either prevent such disasters, or at least mitigate their consequences.

But they don't. The victims are as vulnerable as ever were the people of the Middle Ages to plague and natural catastrophe. All they can do is pick up a few belongings, gather up their surviving children, and plod through the dust or wade through the mud to the nearest railway station or relief centre, more likely than not to find that relief supplies have been sold by corrupt officials on the black market. Draught, flood and epidemic always hit the poor, already hit over and over again by the vicious exploitation and social indifference of capitalism. It is now estimated that a possible 20 million people might die of hunger in the next 12 months in the Indian sub-continent alone.

We are approaching the third quarter of the 20th century. But the Sahel is still unirrigated, the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, whose deltas form half of Bangladesh's land area, are still not controlled. Far from it - time, money and resources are rather spent on creating new catastrophes and disasters for mankind. Even in peacetime.

Aberian and Summerland in this country; Minamata in Japan — where a whole town suffered crippling mental and physical illness from the pollution of the river they fished; Iraq's 'pink death' that wiped out hundreds of thousands and left others blinded and cripplied after mercurytreated seed had been handed out for food; thalidomide:

these are just a few of today's man-made "acts of God".

Indeed, man is today 'godlike' in the ability to create or destroy worlds: perhaps we should, then, think again of natural disasters as "acts of God"...

Most potentially disastrous, and most expensive, are of course nuclear weapons hardly mentionable now that we've all stopped worrying

20 million might die next year in India, but...

and learnt to take them tor granted. Or is it just that they've grown to such proportions that they've overtaken our imaginations?

Whatever the reason, a few hard facts are enough to convince us that we SHOULD be worrying. The following facts are quoted from a recent speech in Tokyo given by Nobel Prize winning Harvard biology professor, Dr. George Wald:

"The United States and the

BOY AWAITING FOOD



Soviet Union together have already stockpiled nuclear weapons with the explosive force of ten tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on the earth. You might think that enough, but we are now in the midst of a further escalation on both sides, replacing every single nuclear warhead with multiple warheads and devising new and more

The US spends \$22

Union keeps pace with us. ... The bomb tht destroyed Hiroshima, and ended by killing about 100,000 persons, was a small one by present standards, with the explosive power

One of my friends was in a position about ten years ago to look up what we then had targeted upon a Russian city about the size of Hiroshima. It

business will go on. Our arms sales abroad doubled in 1973-74 over the year before - \$8.5 billion, about \$7 billion going to the Middle East. When early in 1971 the Joint Economic Committee of Congress asked a general from our Department ofdefence how much . military hardware the department then held that had been declared surplus, mainly to be

was in the megaton range,

several hundred times as

large. Why? What for? One

can only DESTROY a city; one

can only KILL a person... It is

insane - unless one holds an

arms contract. Then it is

business, and the bigger the

budgets about \$22 billion

(that's a thoand million) a year

on new arms. A rapid rate of

turnover assures that this

The United States now

sold as scrap, he replied \$17 billion worth.

better.

'Sell off \$17 billion worth of nuclear scrap...'

The nuclear arms contracts alone are worth about \$7 billion a year; \$7 billion talks more loudly than any number of humanitarian declarations, or terrified people, or children facing extinction."

Dr. Wald's conclusion is that "It is too late for declarations, for popular appeals, here or anywhere. All tht matters now is political power.

We call for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Even in the remote chance that that would happen, it would not protect us from nuclear war. Those nations that have already learned how to make nuclear weapons would produce them in quantity within a few months of the outbreak of a new war.

The only thing that can save us now is political power - for the peoples of this world to take it away from their present masters, who are leading our world to destruction."

Can any sane person disagree?

WIGHTORIES UNGERTAINTY

BY BAS HARDY & MARTIN THOMAS

EVER SINCE last April, the white inhabitants of South Africa have been sleeping uneasily in their beds at night. Aware that an attack on their racist police state is pending, they are strengthening the inner ring of defences, now that the 'buffer zone' between South Africa and the north has been wrenched from the hands of Portuguese colonialism.

The coup in Portugal five months ago which put General Spinola in power marked the beginning of the end for white supremacy in Southern Africa. It was an admission on the part of the Portuguese army that it could no longer contain, let alone defeat, the guerilla movements they have been fighting, on their own and South

Africa's behalf, for more than a decade.

Last week, Spinola's government reluctantly conceded independence to Guine-Bissau, announced a few days later its intention to withdraw from Mozambique by this time next year.

The steady Portuguese from Africa has coincided with firm hints from the Vorster regime that it does not intend to defend Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) if the latter encounters, as it will, a strong attack from the guerilla forces. Vorster is in effect abandoning Smith's regime so as not to overstretch the South African military machine, which must, in the final analysis, be spared for the defence of Apartheid's heartland.

Militant black nationalist regimes on South Africa's doorstep will certainly make the problems facing the white racialists acute, when added to the upsurges of black working class struggles over the past year or so. Yet with the probable coming of independence in Angola, Guine-Bissau and Mozambique, the question many socialists will be asking is precisely what character these three new African nations will take on. How this question is answered will have a great bearing on the future course of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

Clearly, the new regimes are likely to have a much 'redder' colouration than the so-called independent African nations which exist today. The manner in which independence is being won by a successful armed struggle — is unique in the history of

black Africa. But between the military defeat of the Portuguese army and the setting up of new independent states, there are a few twists and turns in the road. We must look at each of

the ex-colonies separately.

Spinola's original plan for Africa, on his assumption of power, was an 'equal' federation of the three African colonies with Portugal. This involved an 'Africanisation' of the colonial administration, meaning in effect the creation of a 'native' puppet government in each of the 'territories'.

To achieve this end, the Portuguese have attempted to raise a "third force" (i.e. a political grouping occupying middle ground between the

politics of the white settler population and the liberation movements) based primarily in the towns and supported principally by the black and mulatto business community large and small. Where possible, the Portuguese have also wooed small guerilla organisations to its side to fulfill such a role.

In Guine-Bissau, for example, the Portuguese have gained the services of FLING (Liberation Group for the National Independence of Guine), a reactionary 'liberation' group based in Dakar and supported by the CIA and Senghor, the archconservative ruler of Senegal. Last June it was reported that Guinean exiles were recruited as mercenaries by FLING in Senegal, and two shiploads were sent to Guine-Bissau to do Portugal's dirty work in the wake of Portuguese troop withdrawals.

However, this scheme is unlikely to succeed in Guine-Bissau. The liberation organisation, the PAIGC (Independent African Party of Guine-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) commands a mass following and controls 80% of the country's mainland. Guine-Bissau also lacks a sizeable settler population and a numerous African middle class, two very important props (potentially at least) for the maintenance of colonial rule.

But what has really decided Spinola to withdraw is the comparative poverty of the Guine-Bissau economy, which lacks both industry and mineral resources. The loss of this colony is very marginal to Portugal, and Spinola hopes that by granting independence he will show that he is,

after all, an 'honest and sincere' negotiator. (It should be noted, though, that the fate of the Cape Verde Islands, strategically important to NATO and where the PAIGC has no military hold, remains undecided. Despite Portuguese promises to the contrary, Guine-Bissau may well be partitioned, with these islands remaining in Portuguese hands.)

For the same reason as makes Portugal willing to withdraw from Guine-Bissau - lack of economic development — the chance of really radical political and social developments after independence is small. The possibility of the nationalist struggle going forward to



socialist measures, as in Cuba, is remote.

The class character of the PAIGC is that of a grouping of petty-bourgeois and declassed people, basing themselves on the peasantry. The peasantry in Guine is only just beginning to be drawn into national political life. At present it is dominated by its local conditions which vary widely from semifeudal forms to communal forms — and local concerns. They have no previous experience of organisation and struggle on a national scale, such as the Cuban peasantry gained from the wars of independence in the 19th century. The peasant movement does not have a radical social

dynamic, which would push its leadership to far-reaching measures.

The probable development is along the lines of Tanzania or South Yemen — considerable reforms for the peasantry (beginnings of education etc), and a limited state capitalist development, under a petty bourgeois leadership.

LEADERS

It is doubtful whether it makes sense at all to talk about the possibility of a workers' state developing in Guine. There are some wage earners, dockers and so on, but not really a formed working class. A revolutionary Marxist leadership in Guine would have to look outwards, towards links with the working class in other parts of West Africa (the present national boundaries are almost entirely artificial creations of British and French colonialism).

PAIGC, however, has looked towards links with the governments of Guine-Conakry and Senegal and with the Organisation of African Unity. For the sake of those links, PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral was willing to sacrifice political integrity. Just months before his assassination — in which President Senghor of Senegal was strongly implicated as an accomplice - Cabral proclaimed a "similarity of views" with Senghor. And he described Haile Selassie's Ethiopia (a strong voice in the OAU) as "the new flower of the bastion of African independence", and went on to praise the Emperor for "his splendid work for the liberation and preservation of the independence of his people".

In Angola, even the

VERY LITTLE infuriates National Front "Activities Organiser" Martin Webster so much as public reminders of his openly Nazi past. In May, he was fulminating in Spearhead (NF monthly magazine) about the NUS's "disreputable propaganda trick": they had apparently quoted statements of Webster and Tyndall (NF Chairman) referring to their aim of "setting up a well-oiled Nazi machine" and to "Jewish maggots", giving as their source a newspaper article of 5 years ago. Whereas, Webster insists, "the statements made by us were at least 12 YEARS OLD".

In the following issue, Webster is quite beside himself. If the Police don't catch and prosecute those responsible for "criminally libellous 'smear' leaflets". given out during the General election, well, then our society must be "presided over by cowardly or corrupt men".

The leaflet in question is presumably the one showing photos of Webster and Tyndall adorned with swastikas, with a text giving details of their criminal convictions. After all, a string of convictions is hardly the best testimonial for the leaders of an aspiring Law n'Order party!

Excesses

The Front get round these problems by dismissing it all as 'youthful excesses'.

But in fact, it isn't really necessary to go back 5 years, or 12 years, to see the political character of Webster and Tyndall. That they haven't changed their spots will surprise few. What is remarkable is how clearly the spots still show, despite strenuous efforts at camouflage.

In the very same issue that Webster shrugs off the early about "Jewish quote maggots", Spearhead sports a lurid description (under the incredible headline "Alien cruelty to British animals"!) of Jewish and Muslim methods of animal slaughter that could have come straight out of the anti-semitic ravings of Third Reich propagandist Julius Streicher. In fact, in the very same article in which Webster is at such pains to show that his Nazi past is far behind, he manages to throw off some stomach-turning "jokes" about "swastika motifs made out of real human skin."

No it isn't really necessary

Nailing the NAZIonal Front

to show the old pictures of Martin Webster. The new one is just as clear.

The camouflage is in places just about as subtle as a circus clown's make-up. Writing an obituary to Frank Clifford, Deputy Chairman of the NF who died a couple of months ago at the age of 84, John Tyndall finds it difficult to dismiss his old comrade's activity of even the 1930s as "youthful excesses", unless Clifford was a particularly youthful 40s! He became Tyndall, then, says "connected with some new political groups of the radical right". Perhaps in his grief for the passing of an old comrade, the name British Union of Fascists momentarily eluded John Tyndall.

In the same issue of Spearhead, another comrade has to be camouflaged. Eric Butler, notorious Australian arch-Nazi, is described as "the well known Australian political commentator." But there's little chance of camouflaging his ideas on "The Plotters behind the World Crisis" as he raves on about international financiers (Jews to a man, of course) being behind everything from the Bolshevik Revolution on...

Methods

Moreover, there is a strong suspicion that a recent pamphlet attempting to whitewash Hitler by claiming that he only killed a few hundred thousand Jews, not six million, was in fact clandestinely printed on the NF's

So much for all the Hitler adulation being past and gone. But even without it, the Front is quite disgusting enough.

One of their proudest campaigns, for instance, was the harassment of a family in Potters Bar who, living in a mainly white area, took in black foster children.

Another 'campaign' which smacks of the Front's methods but which they repudiate, was when official-

looking letters were sent to people in one locality where the Front was up in arms about the entry into Britain of Ugandan Asian refugees. The letters told people that Ugandan refugees were to be billeted on them, and could they please make space in their houses.

Then a few months ago the NF started giving out leaflets to white schoolkids, inciting them to resentment and bitterness towards black fellowpupils, with accusations that their presence was responsible for poor school standards.

Gesture

In July a hapless NF local organiser in Walthamstow stepped out of line and got a sharp rebuke from his members and then from Webster himself in the pages of Spearhead. He had tried to make a non-racist gesture by offering to find a flat for a homeless local black woman and her baby. After ranting on about "outside predators" and "teeming millions of

black aliens", Webster concluded "We do not expect ... to see NF officials winning publicity by means of helping the invaders to take over our birthright."

to fight?" Webster concludes his column for July.

Parallel with the growth of the National Front, has come a growth in incidents of backstreets violence and thuggery. They always deny involvement. Sometimes the denials have to be pretty tortuous, as when an anti-fascist worker on the London underground was badly beaten by four men wearing NF badges. 'They must have been other left wingers who'd bought badges to discredit the Front', they claim. But in fact NF badge sales are carefully vetted by

We reported (WF 66) that at a meeting in Camden called to mobilise for the Leicester anti-NF march, men sat in cars outside the building

"White man! Are you ready

the central office.

photographing those going into the meeting. When challenged, they didn't deny they were members of the NF, and threatened the occupants of the building, saying they'd be back to 'get you, you and

On four separate occasions since, the occupants of the building have been harassed. There have been prowlers on the roof, a man breaking into the building, and two men forcing their way past the front door.

Finally, on August 28th, shots were fired at the building just after midnight, making holes in the plate glass on the front. The occupants came out to investigate, and as they were standing there a Bedford van roared up the street and more shots were aimed at the building, narrowly missing the people gathered on the pavement.

The denials of specific acts of thuggery are never allowed, though, to lessen the impact of the menacing aura which, now respectability has been achieved with all the paraphernalia of party political broadcasts etc, is deliberately built up around the NF in order to give a feeling of power and attract thugs and bully boys to it.

Force

They boast in press interviews that stewards on their marches "are young men who know how to handle themselves". They like to describe their marches as "virile". And

there are many hints that they are people to be reckoned with — in a physical sense.

Concluding an article entitled "Red Violence: will we have to meet force with force?" Webster says that unless the Police repress the left "the NF will make such arrangements as circumstances indicate are necessary to secure it survival..."

Glint

But for the best picture of the savagery behind the gentility, we can read the rest of Tyndall's obituary to his old fascist friend Frank Clifford, as he mourns the passing of the good old days: "Some of my pleasantest memories of our friendship are of afternoon tea at his well kept bungalow in Sussex, at which, as he passed the delicate china sugar bowl with his familiar old world grace, he would recall with a glint and a chuckle some particularly lively political encounters of the 1930s in which Communists who had come to smash up patriotic meetings (i.e. pro-Hitler Mosley parades) were repaid ... by being hurled from a balcony or efficiently dispatched from the scene at the end of a well aimed British fist or boot."

Get those defence squads organised — and make sure the good old days stay buried with old Nazis like Frank Clifford.

M. LANDIS

ENOCH POWELL GETS UNIONIST SAFE SEAT

THERE are still people on the left in Britain who believe that the struggle in Ireland is something really quite separate from British politics.

Enoch Powell, unfortunately, sees more clearly

on that point. Northern Ireland as it exists today, an artificial state chopped out of the body of Ireland by the British government in 1921-22, and maintained by force, is a strong base for the Right. The Orangemen hold tast to the small privileges they have got through their alliance with British imperialism. For the sake of keeping up their ascendancy over the

Catholics, they will vote for a right wing Tory racialist like Powell.

The position of Loyalist leader at Westminster can serve as a stepping stone for Powell. Certainly he hopes that, if there are politica crises in months to come, he will rally wider and wider support on the right — starting with the Harold Gurdens and the Jill Knights, and reaching out to many more. And the Loyalist armed bands — if Powell manages to bring them in behind him - will be a force behind the British Right that really will make the armies of Colonel Stirling and General Walker look laughable.

For socialists in Britain, there are two things we must do urgently to counter Powell's move.

Firstly, step up our active support for the struggle of the IRA and other Republicans to smash the sectarian cess-pit of Northern Ireland, to drive out British imperialism, and to form a independent united, Ireland. Secondly, to make sure we smash the growing links between the 'Ulster' Loyalist forces and the National Front fascists, expressed in their "smash the IRA" demonstration this Saturday, September

T. GARY



prospects for a swift move towards independence seem remote. Portugal wants to hold onto the profits it makes from Angola, mainly from textiles, and — what is more important — imperialist capital, British, America, German etc., wants to hold onto its important interests in Angolan diamonds, iron and oil. Moreover, there is a more substantial white population -350,000 out of 5,300,000.

The liberation movement in Angola is divided. Besides the major group, MPLA, there is the ANLF and UNITA.

The ANLF (Angolan National Liberation Front), led by Holden Roberto, has carried out practically no military operations inside Angola since 1963, when its guerilla forces were crushed in

North East Angola. The reasons for this aren't difficult to find, since most of the ANLF's funds come from he Americans. Based among Angolan exile community Zaire, Holden's organsation is the political puppet of General Mobutu, the anti-Communist Zairian president who lives in the pockets of the foreign monopolies which he been encouraging to est in the 'new, dynamic,

industrialising Zaire' ever since he came to power. Mobutu encouraged Holden to set up an Angolan movement in exile in the early 1960s, and it was recognised by the Organisation for African Unity (the organisation of African capitalist states) until MPLA successes forced the OAU to drop this recognition in 1968 in favour of MPLA.

Holden's organisation does have a sizeable following, although not as big as MPLA's. The Portuguese are no doubt planning to use him if necessary because his 'safe' anti-communist credentials make him bendable.

Spinola has already drawn UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) into the role of a "third force" to counteract the MPLA. UNITA, a split-off from Holden in 1966, is led by 'ex'-reactionaries who, after seeing the light, are now followers of "the guiding thoughts of Chairman Mao Tse Tung". It operates on a small scale inside Angola and has no outside connections. To show "goodwill" to the Portuguese it has called off its military activities, and the Portuguese governor has recognised it as the only organisation with which to

negotiate so far. Holden is waiting in the

wings for the outcome of a faction fight within the MPLA between three rival groups. If the MPLA split, his position will be strengthened. But if he steps in now, he will probably show his hand too

The MPLA is certainly the most radical of the Angola movements. It has worked to create a national, not tribal consciousness among the peasantry. But, as Basil

Neither the MPLA, nor the Mozambi qean movement Frelimo, has made any serious attempt, or even shown any particular wish, to mobilise the urban working class.

In Mozambique, where independence has only been promised at this stage, the 'third force' strategy has fared a little better, owing to the numerical strength of the commercial classes there.



Davidson reported in 1970, "very plainly this movement is not Communist. 'We are a nationalist movement with people of many opinions', Neto (MPLA leader) affirmed. 'We mean to build a nation, but an independent one... We are glad of Soviet aid, tht is obvious. But we remain non-aligned. We hope for aid and friendship from the West as well."".

Mozambique's largest legal native organisation, which came into being after the April coup, is GUMO (United Group of Mozambique), which gives the appearance of having a large following in the cities. This apparent support is probably due to the reluctance of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) to 'come out' from the liberated measures. But "planning" is a

areas and participate in political 'democratic activities' as the Portuguese had hoped for.

However, many of those present at GUMO rallies are in reality Frelimo supporters, as is evidenced by the pro-Frelimo slogans which crowds in Lourenco Marques drown the speeches of the aspiring 'professional politicians' in GUMO.

The possibility of GUMO having much success in Mozambique is small, due to the strong military position of Frelimo. With half the country under its control Frelimo is less tempted to adopt any position other than intransigence towards Portuguese compromise solutions, insisting all the time that independence is not 'negotiable'.

However, Frelimo was founded under the auspices of the Ghanaian and Tanzanian governments; it is under strong Stalinist influence at present; and its social programme is unclear.

Mondlane, leader of Frelimo until his assassination by Portuguese agents, said that he would like to see, and it was his personal view, "the achievement of broadly based economic and social progress", to be gained by "strong central planning" concept few in the modern world, capitalist or socialist,

will disagree with. With such vague ideas, Frelimo's good intentions will be little avail against the plans of imperialist powers anxious to keep their interests in Mozambique (including British financial interests in the gigantic Cabora Bassa dam project). The imperialist powers will not object much to the abolition of the worst backward features of Portuguese colonialism — the effective apartheid, the forced labour, the total lack of social welfare facilities. But they will draw the line at really radical socialist measures which would drag Mozambique out of "underdevelopment" on the model of Cuba or China.

Whatever the inadequacies of the liberation movements' leaderships from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, there can be no doubt that substantial reforms will follow independence. And every one of those reforms — reforms won by the African people taking their own future into their own hands through armed struggle — will echo loudly in the sounding box of South Africa itself. MOVES are afoot to undermine the most successful action so far in the campaign to black work for the Chilean junta.

For six months now, eight Rolls Royce Avon engines have been sitting untouched at East Kilbride, where the Chilean government sent them for maintenance. The engines are from Chilean Air Force fighter planes, and engineering workers at East Kilbride have refused to touch them.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CHILEMA JUNTA

Scots engineers continue to black Chilean aero parts

official support for this action from the AUEW Executive.

But now the Executive is reported to be trying to "settle" Since May, they have had the "dispute" - in other words,

get the men to change their minds and do the work for the Chilean murderers.

done is the British Labour

be seen to oblige a regime of which has set a marvellous butchers than for "British example of internationalism to Also keen to get the work industry" to get a reputation other British workers. for breaking contracts.

the work done. They have September 15th all the more apparently been promised that important. It has been called the Chilean government will by the Chile Solidarity drop its other claims nd kindly Campaign, and with the refrain from suing them if only slogans "No aid - No trade - No they get these engines back to links with the fascist military them and keep up a supply of junta - Support the Chilean spares. If not, Rolls Royce Resistance" a good turnout might be stung for millions for should give a boost to that breach of contract.

want the work done. In a practical aid such as that of the country thousands of miles East Kilbride engineers. rebellion.

work. And they have no inter- House, Regent Road, L'pool 5). est whatsoever in taking

helping the Chilean generals to put down working class resistance.

But they are going to come under more and more pressure now to give up the action they have taken. This action is not only extremely valuable in itself, giving both real aid to the Chilean resistance and also a tremendous morale boost to their government, which prefers to struggle. It is also an action

All of which makes the mass Rolls Royce, of course, want demonstration in London on resistance, and vital support Most of all, the Chilean junta for concrete actions of

long, air and sea power can be C.S.C. are also calling for an irreplaceable factor in the half hour stoppages in places survival of a government and of work on September 11th (or its ability to put down local other tokens of support in workplaces) accompanied if But with all these powerful possible by a collection for bodies itching to get the C.S.C. On the same day, from engines delivered, the workers 12 to 2pm, there will be a at East Kilbride are still the picket of the Chilean Consulonly people who can do the ate in Liverpool (Wheelright

The demonstration itself responsibility for the reput- assembles at Speakers Corner ation abroad of the British at 1.00pm Sunday September ruling class or the legal prob- 15th. (From Liverpool, there is lems of Rolls Royce. Least of a special train, cost £2.20;

3 3 3

THE SUGAR boycott by Hull dockers continues. This and other isolated actions, like those of Glasgow workers who impounded lentils in a warehouse to stop their boss buying cheap and selling dear, provide the starkest contrast to the mealy mouthed recipes we've heard from the TUC Conference.

Here, workers are taking the decisions into their own hands. On Monday 2nd September, 80 tons of sugar were impounded on the quayside. The new consignment is for 240 tons bound for Saudi Arabia.

The dockers have been quite clear on their motives: there is a shortage of sugar here, with profiteers making a killing; they don't mind the sugar being exported if it is needed urgently elsewhere, but they are not satisfied this is the case.

They are absolutely right to use their organised strength to impose their solution to the sugar 'shortage'. If this were done on a wider scale in industry and in the transport and distribution sectors - if real workers' control were established — the real nature of the system could be exposed and a start made in changing it.

THE Scarman Inquiry into what happened in Red Lion Square on 15th June has opened with a silent bombshell. The inquiry centres around the events which led to the death of Kevin Gately, an anti-fascist demonstrator, during a police charge. And yet ... the Inquiry has opened with the announcement tht the police Operations Order — the key to the whole affair - will not be made publicly available.

The bombshell announcement is silent in two senses: it imposes a blanket of silence over the most crucial part of the Inquiry, and it is an announcement that has been greeted with complete silence on the part of the capitalist

press.

BUT IF the Scarman cover-up got no press coverage, topcop Robert Mark's speech in Guernsey did. And in the leadup period to Saturday's big anti-NF demonstration it is quite significant.

Mark said: "Of much greater impact on society as a whole, is the modern tendency for industrial disputes to be settled by strength rather thn by reason and the threat or use of force in expressing dissent at political demonstrations. The police are not involved in the former, but are very much concerned with the latter."

At a time when private vigilante groups are springing up all around run by exmilitary brass, when the Army's political role is becoming more and more obvious and when the police themselves are using strongarm squads like the Special Patrol Groups and flying antipicket squads in industrial disputes, this dirty lie of Mark's must ring more hollow than usual.

THIS year's TUC, like many others, offers a case-study in hypocrisy. The most blatant must be George Smith's protest about the Shrewsbury trials at which 24 building R.L. workers were tried for picketing in the 1972 strike.

Smith, right wing UCATT leader, did his level best before and during the trials to scotch any chance of a mass solidarity movement with his members who were being railroaded to jail. Even before the trial started, and in defiance of his General Council, he sent out circulars branding the accused as criminals. And he came down hard on branches contributing from their funds to the defence campaign.

Smith sounding off about this "injustice to my members" is sickening enough. What's worse is that not a man got up to protest. Instead they passed a pious mustion — in 1974 knowing that in 1973 they'd done not a thing to give official backing to the rank and file's solidarity movement.

PRESSURE MOUNTS TO THROW TEACHER OUT OF SCHOOL AND

A TEACHER at Tulse Hill Comprehensive School in South London was spotted in Leicester on August 24th carrying a racist march.

Lambeth has made a united call for the sacking of this man, Richard Edmonds. This call has been supported by the two black Governors on the school's board, Paul Stephenson and Headley Johnson.

Edmonds, in his first teaching job, is expecting to get time off to go electioneering to support his own fascist candidature in the forthcoming elections!

Teachers at the school — and no doubt elsewhere — are torn between their idea of "profes- scab and self-exposed racist. sionalism' and a 'non-political union' on the one hand, and chucking this fascist out of the school and the Union, the NUT.

As a matter of fact, even on the first score they can set their minds at rest. Leaflets distributed to schoolkids by the National Front ask "Are you tired of lessons that drag on at a snail's pace while the sent to Tulse Hill, where there are pupils to catch up? Are you fed up by the National Front). with History lessons that continually run down Britain while Black Studies get every support?"

squared with the concept of Hill, as some people are

teachers!

real issue is that we need to fight NUT, and any other union he National Front banner on their the presence of fascism and tries to join. Fascists ought to be racism — even at their most treated as untouchables in the The black community in 'respectable' - both within the trade union movement. teaching situation and within the As a first step, North London

union. the words of an ILEA official, she To add insult to injury was "too trade union conscious"! The fact is that the ILEA, as an employing body, is very interested in trade union activity. We NUT. should be demanding that it ceases its victimisation of active, militant trade unionists, and stop covering up for the professing but, for teachers, first and

Dick North, NUT Executive member for the area and a leading member of the militant teachers' movement Rank and File, is quite right in saying that he personally thought that "teachers should refuse to work" with the fascist Edmonds. (He added that he thought that Edmonds had been teacher waits for immigrant a lot of black pupils, deliberately

Edmonds must be thrown out of teaching like his more notorious Nazi colleague Colin This sort of this is hardly to be Jordan (and not just out of Tulse

"professionalism" held by most demanding because of the number of black kids there). And But that isn't the real issue. The he should be thrown out of the

NUT is debating a motion that Those who see it as a "free points out tht the National Front speech" issue should remember is a fascist organisation, and the case of Dorothy McColgan, which calls for a resolution to be who was victimised because, in sent to the 1975 NUT Conference demanding that the Union leadership make membership of the National Front cause for automatic expulsion from the

This must become a real campaigning issue in trade union branches and trades councils, foremost within Rank and File.

all have they an interest in details from 051-236-2015.) Ian Hollingworth IT MADE the average Saturday afternoon football

Roundabout. 600 of them came at dawn, vandalising tents and belongings, terrifying little children, scrunching up sleeping people in their bully-boy progress through the park. A woman lost fistfulls of hair. Another, 7 months pregnant, nearly lost her baby.

riot look like a

scene from Magic

"Breaking by-laws, they were", say the cops and their friends — any more than most picnickers or beach crowds?

'Junkies, every one. And the organisers.

Must have been Sue Arnall criminally mad. Comp-



pletely irresponsible. So cut off the water supplies, bar them from pubs and

shops, then wait til they're settled down, asleep and off their guard and ...

smash - wreck - beat destroy - arrest. That's law and order, that is.

Blacking strengthens W&R strike

THE women on strike at Wingrove & Rogers in Liverpool are still out manning the picket line morning and evening after three months.

The blacking of materials for the factory hos now intensified, extending to Liverpool docks, Liverpool airport Manchester Airport.

A meeting has also been called to support the strike. The meeting will be on Mondy 9th September at the NUR Club, Deane Road-L'pool 7. There will be a speaker from the strike committee, and also Eddie Loyden, MP.

Hopefulle, the meeting will generate more positive support, and more concrete ideas for the winning of a strike which has lasted over the whole summer. Particularly valuable will be help on the picket lines — 70 or so scabs are still keeping production going.

Barbara Wojciechowska

MEETINGS

LIVERPOOL, WF Forum: Imperialism. Wed.11th September, 8pm, Stanley House, Upper Parliament Street.

LONDON, WF Socialist Forum: "Trade Unions, Red Unions and Rank & File Movements". Stephen Corbishley. Sunday September 8th at 8pm at The George, Liverpool Road N.1 (Angel Tube, buses 19, 30, 38,

PHOENIX CLUB SOCIAL. Saturday September 7th at the Picton General Cross, London N.1. Starting 7.30. Tom Presho, Andy Higgins and other folk singers. Entrance 25p. Proceeds to WF fighting fund.

SECOND NATIONAL RANK AND FILE DELEGATE CONFERENCE

Birmingham, 30th November. Credentials (50p) from R&F Organising Cttee., 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

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confident

THE strikers at SEI Heywood, near Manchester, thought our Well, they must report last week a bit too have been.' Of pessimistic. Although the men course. Free music, aren't out, they are giving them free food, democratic support, and have been out on a discussion on how token picket. They are now to run the festival. getting union strike pay, and the The place must have Company is being blacked by been riddled with various other local workers. drugs. And if it Mainly they stress they feel very wasn't, it certainly confidant and enthusiastic, they was after the squads man a very solid picket and are of police provocateurs stopping any lorries going had been around. through. They feel that they will certainly win this struggle — and They weren't trying that when they do, they won't be to make a profit. working with the scabs.

People of Newry back Provos

NEWRY, the Provisional IRA has just scored a victory which in many ways is far more significant and important than the more widely Speaker: publicised escape of the "wonderful 19" from Portlaoise jail.

Some time ago, a regiment of the Royal Commandoes arrived in the town, and straight away seized control of the town's power supply. After that, they would habitually pub, plunge the republican areas of Caledonian Road, near Kings | the town into near darkness. Residents claimed tht as a result there were several fatal road accidents, and that the troops used the cover of darkness to terrify and intimidate the people.

> At this point the Provisionals stepped in, saying that if the power supplies were not handed back to the civilian Electricity Service, there would be no light at all. T ley said "The street lighting belongs to the people of Newry by right, and should not have to be begged and bargained for as some sort of

concession from England." The Northern Ireland Office,

the British Army and the SDLP politicians, who supposedly represent the Catholics in the area, were all happy to leave the power off, in the hope that the inconvenience suffered by the people would turn them against the Provisionals. Instead, it backfired on them, and after three weeks without

without any electricity, the people of the area were still solidly supporting the IRA.

When this became apparent, the Northern Ireland Office finally announced, September 5th, that control of Newry's electricity would be handed back to the civilian authorities.

In this struggle for the allegiance and support of the ordinary people of Newry, the Provisional IRA came out a clear winner. So much for all the nonsense we hear, even on the left in Britain, about "individual terrorists" with no connection with the masses!

'Disaffection' campaign starts

released from jail, and in part to knowing their rights. bring about the repeal of the Act Pat Arrowsmith's case highunder which she was given an 18 lights this. She was given her 18 month jail sentence -- the Incite- month sentence for handing out

ment to Disaffection Act, 1934. is already redundant. We are soldiers on what to do if they did before the campaign could really posted to the north of Ireland.

get off the ground.

AT THE end of August, the much harder job. The Act, also National Council for Civil known as the Sedition Bill, not Liberties (NCCL) opened an only prevents 'incitement to important campaign. In part it mutiny' (the name in fact, of the was to get pacifist civil liberties 1797 law that the Act replaced) campaigner Pat Arrowsmith but it also prevents soldiers from

leaflets at Warminster barracks The first part of the campaign married quarters which advised been arrested under this act.

The second part is going to be a refused requests to introduce and political rights of soldiers.

legislation to repeal this Act, which can be used as a dangerous catch-all to arrest anyone trying to influence the action of the troops or make them aware of their rights.

For instance, when miners' leader Mick McGahey was reported as having called on troops not to strike-break during the miners' strike, he could have

This campaign is one which happy to report that Pat Arrow- want to desert - particularly if should be fully supported by smith had escaped from jail they had misgivings about being trade unionists - both for their own good and for the sake of So far, the Home Secretary has supporting the full democratic