

# RED WEEKLY

21 AUGUST 1975

No. 113

Price 10p

SOLIDARITY  
with the  
PORTUGUESE  
WORKING CLASS  
Sat. 20th September  
2.30pm Charing X  
Embankment



## DEMONSTRATION

# DEFEND THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

Domestically and internationally the Portuguese revolution stands at the crossroads. It is sixteen months since the overthrow of fascist dictatorship in Portugal. Sixteen months of political turmoil during which the forces of both revolution and reaction have been in constant flux.

Now these forces are beginning to crystallise—but in a situation in which the mass movement is dangerously split. The Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares, has become the stalking horse for imperialism and the cover for every reactionary interest in Portugal. In the north of Portugal anti-communist violence is now being stirred up by the Catholic Church. One of the firmest props of the former fascist regime, the Church exploits a 60 per cent rate of illiteracy amongst the impoverished peasantry.

On the other hand the Communist Party, which has been the main victim of this anti-working class violence, has used bureaucratic manoeuvres against the Socialist Party in the trade unions and organs of local government. They have attempted to secure their position by hanging onto the coat-tails of the Armed Forces Movement, rather than basing themselves on the independent mobilisations of the working class. Now the Armed Forces Movement is itself split in all directions.

## WORKERS DEMOCRACY

To overcome the divisions in the mass movement and smash reaction, the existing organs of working class power in Portugal must be built and generalised on the basis of working class democracy in which all workers' organisations can participate. The workers' committees, the tenants' committees, the soldiers' committees and the Popular Assemblies—the unification of these organisations at a national level as the basis of a Workers' Government is the key to both the defence of the Portuguese revolution and the birth of a workers' state in Portugal.

Internationally as well, the workers' movement is split on Portugal. The traitorous leaders of 17 European social-democratic parties have banded together to aid and succour Soares, and have supported the sabotage of the Portuguese economy by international capital through the imposition of import controls on Portuguese textiles by the Common Market countries.

At the same time international stalinism has proved incapable of even defending its own sister organisation in Portugal. The Kremlin remains mute while the Italian Communist Party, keen to maintain its 'historic compromise' with capitalism, has more or less openly condemned the 'left'

attempts of Portuguese stalinism to keep control over the mass movement.

As in Portugal, the key to the international defence of the Portuguese revolution is the united action of the workers' movement. This means more than cutting through the barrage of slander, lies and distortion about events in Portugal in the capitalist press, radio and television. It also means solidarity actions which overcome the divisions in the workers' movement sown by the pro-capitalist leaders.

## UNITED RESPONSE

In Britain itself small steps have been taken that show such action is possible. A public meeting last week in Liverpool called by the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee attracted over 100 people despite the holiday season. More importantly, the meeting was supported by both the Communist Party and the Labour Party, as well as the International Marxist Group and other organisations of the revolutionary left.

Local MP Eddie Loyden, a member of the Tribune Group, gave his support to the meeting, and one of the speakers was Labour Party member Tony Mulhearn, Vice-President of Liverpool Trades Council and a supporter of *Militant*. The District Secretary of the Merseyside Communist Party, Roger O'Hare, also spoke at the meeting, which was chaired by John Wilkinson, a member of the International Marxist Group and Assistant Secretary of the local Chile Solidarity Campaign. Speaking for the PWCC was Eduardo Guedes, who explained the significance of the latest developments in northern Portugal.

Following discussion from the floor—a model of working class democracy in which representatives of all the main organisations in the local workers' movement participated—the meeting unanimously supported the establishment of a mobilising committee for the solidarity demonstration on 20 September. A CP proposal for a further public meeting before the demonstration was also agreed.

## BUILD SOLIDARITY

This display of unity in action and workers' democracy must be extended throughout the country as a model for the development of a campaign in solidarity with the Portuguese revolution. In this way we can not only give concrete assistance to our Portuguese comrades in their hour of need but also strengthen our own hand for the coming struggles against Wilson's policies.



# AUEW ELECTIONS: LEFT IN CRISIS

In October the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers will be holding another round of elections for full-time officials. Altogether 31 posts will be contested.

The Communist Party dominated 'Broad Left' must be looking forward to these elections with apprehension, to say the least. If recent trends continue, the left faces the prospect of further defeats, with the danger that the Union could fall under right-wing control for the first time in a decade.

The CP's own assessment of the recent defeats suffered by the left give little indication that any lessons have been learned. The ascendancy of the right wing is attributed to the effects of the reintroduction of the postal ballot and to insufficient campaigning in the areas. The conclusion, of course, is that more work will have to be done next time.

It is true, of course, that the postal ballot does aid the right wing, because the members of the Union are subjected only to the propaganda of the mass media before they vote. But in itself this does not explain the whole trend which has developed in the Union, beginning before the introduction of postal ballots.

## CRISIS OF POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The main problem confronting the Broad Left is one of *political perspective*. It has become increasingly clear to the majority of engineering workers that the main plank of Scanlon's 1967 election platform — to give the rank and file a free hand to take on the employers plant by plant and district by district — is bankrupt. When the working class is facing a centralised attack on all aspects of its living standards, the simple demand for 'free collective bargaining' plus a bit of muscle from the rank and file offers no solution at all. The Manchester engineers found this out to their cost in 1972 when the occupation strikes for more pay failed to yield the expected victory.

But the Scanlon leadership has nothing new to offer. Instead it vacillates on the most central political problem facing the working class — the social contract and now Healey's incomes policy. It is this kind of 'leadership' that has allowed the right wing to gain ground.

At least the latter have a clear and consistent policy of complete capitulation to the right-wing policies of the Labour Government — and perhaps something for their own members later if we all pull together now. 'What has the left got to offer', they demand. Nothing but ambiguous statements, the occasional left-wing noise and no concrete results.

The inability of Scanlon and the Broad Left leadership to give a clear alternative to the right wing on all the political issues of the day — meaning outright opposition to all the policies of the Wilson Government — has left militants confused and politically hamstrung. Consequently, Scanlon's base in the union see no way to fight the ascendancy of the right wing politically. Instead they simply come up with exhortations to campaign harder.

## IMPORTANT

The candidature of International Socialist member Willie Lee for the position of National Organiser is thus particularly important. Unfortunately the programme on which he is standing — the so-called 'Engineers Charter' — is not fundamentally different from that of the Broad Left.

Certainly it is more militant — £60 a week basic wage instead of £50; full rate for apprentices at 16; official opposition to closures and short-time working; and so on. But to offer a more militant programme than that of the Broad Left does not solve the crisis of *political perspective* facing militants in the engineering industry. Furthermore, the projection of a separate rank and file organisation to compete with the Broad Left before major left currents have broken with the whole political framework of the Communist Party is incorrect.

## UNITED FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT

Where it is possible to organise militants to the left of the CP, this should obviously be done. But this should go hand in hand with continuing work inside the framework of the Broad Left, rather than attempting to counterpose the two.

However, in spite of the inadequacy of the programme of the Engineers Charter and the confused perspectives of the IS, Willie Lee's candidature will present itself above all else as one which calls for a break with the Broad Left policy of tail-ending Scanlon. This is the

main line of divide which will be drawn in the election — either a policy of tail-ending the bureaucracy or a policy of rank and file independence from the manoeuvres of the bureaucracy.

For those who want to develop a strategy which is not subordinated to the vacillations and double dealing of the Scanlon leadership, a large vote for Willie Lee would indicate a favourable balance of forces. This is why International Marxist Group members in the AUEW will be calling for a vote for Willie Lee and campaigning for him in the forthcoming election. We will also be approaching IS nationally to discuss the possibility of joint campaigning activity in the union.



WILLIE LEE

Whether Lee succeeds in defeating the Broad Left candidate or not, it is imperative that the whole of the left unites behind the left candidate in the second ballot if there is one. The Broad Left perspectives may be bankrupt, but if the union falls into the hands of overt right wingers such as Boyd and company, it will be a major setback not only for engineering workers but for the whole of the labour movement.

Terry Crawford

## Ex-Union Leader 'Doing Same Job' For Bosses



The giant fork lift truck company, Lansing Bagnall of Basingstoke, recently appointed a new 'employee relations officer', whose job is to represent the company in any problem involving its workers. According to Mr G Bone, one of the company's public relations officers, the man taking the job 'will have the task of looking into any gripes or moans and trying to smoothe them over'.

It is unusual for trade unions to worry unduly about who is to hold such a post in the company where they work. But many of the workers at Lansing Bagnall could hardly believe their ears when they heard that a Mr Pat Farrelly had taken the job. The reason for their surprise is that until he was defeated in the AUEW elections earlier this year, Farrelly was the

Union's divisional organiser in Hampshire. He is also a member of the Communist Party.

Some workers in the area, however, will not be surprised at Farrelly's apparent about-turn. Workers at another Basingstoke factory, Eaton's (formerly Thorneycroft's), may well remember his behind-the-scenes manoeuvres during their 10-week occupation against redundancies in 1972. Committed as he is to counter-revolutionary politics, Farrelly has also fought to keep all politics out of the Chile Solidarity Campaign in Reading.

Little wonder that when he found himself out of work after 20 years as a trade union official, Farrelly said that he had no fears of prejudice from employers arising from his union attachments.

Indeed Mr Bone of Lansing Bagnall believes that 'with his union background we feel he is a first class man for this employee relations job'.

Since his appointment Farrelly has attended at least one meeting between management and union representatives, in which he played a big part in the victimisation of the ACTS clerical staff representative for an article about the company in the local Trades Council paper.

No wonder Lansing Bagnall management told the *Basingstoke Gazette*: 'Mr Farrelly is doing exactly the same job for us as he was doing for the union. There is no question of him changing sides or anything like that.'

## CAR JOBS MUST GO, SAYS COMMONS REPORT

The attack launched by the House of Commons Expenditure Committee on Ryder's plans for British Leyland will come as no surprise to readers of *Red Weekly*. When the Ryder Report first came out we warned that the only way his proposed sales and output figures could be achieved would be through a gigantic increase in productivity brought about by mass sackings. Now the Expenditure Committee has said as much with its claim that 50,000 out of 170,000 jobs must go to put Leyland on a par with Japanese productivity levels.

The Committee's report also points out that Leyland would have to increase its European sales by 95 per cent — from 200,000 to 390,000 — to reach the Ryder target, at a time when there is already surplus capacity in the European car industry. In addition Leyland would have to become 'more profitable than any large European motor manufacturer has yet been', to achieve Ryder's profit target of £400 million a year towards the end of the eight year re-organisation.

For Leyland workers — who have seen the company eliminate 30,000 jobs in the past two years — the Committee's report marks a new stage in the attack on their jobs. The acceptance of voluntary redundancies, and the recent betrayal by the national officials of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions who pushed through acceptance of the company's proposals for 'worker participation', have undoubtedly weakened the position of BL workers.

But the fight is far from decided. Despite the capitulation of the union leaderships, nowhere has Leyland yet attempted to push through redundancies on the scale proposed by the Commons' Report. With unemployment soaring, it is also unlikely that large number of car workers will now be prepared to accept 'voluntary' redundancies.

The scene is set for a show-down, and Leyland

workers along with other car workers must plan their response. A recall meeting of the convenors' conference initiated by the British Leyland Combine Committee is essential. Its last meeting collapsed because hardly anyone turned up, not least because the initial conference failed to report back to shop-floor meetings which could work out a united response to Ryder. Instead skirmishes have taken place at a plant by plant level.

What the Commons Expenditure Committee report makes clear is that this response is no longer adequate. Instead of subsidies to bankrupt car giants, workers must demand that Labour nationalise without compensation the entire car industry to defend all existing jobs.

The output of the industry should not be determined according to the state of the car market but according to the transport needs of the working class. In order to guarantee this the establishment of workers' committees in every car plant is needed to monitor output as well as jobs with full access to all company books. Only by complete nationalisation under workers' control can the jobs and living standards of car workers be defended in the present crisis.

Mick Gosling

## — Red Books News! —

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

We now have supplies of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International — a contribution to the history of the Trotskyist movement*. This is the translation of a book which appeared in France in 1969 and has a number of up-dating footnotes. Pierre Frank was long-associated with Trotsky, being his secretary for a period, and is thus well-suited to write such a work. Whilst limited in size (and for the same reason lacking documentation), this booklet is vital reading for anyone wanting to get an overview of the history of the Fourth International. Price 45p (post 10p).

### LIFE IN CAPITALIST AMERICA

Pathfinder has published a collection of articles on aspects of the social crisis in the United States, by such authors as Coontz, Harsch, Conner, Johnson, Reosti and Beck. These cover: cities in decay, you can't afford to get sick, problems of the old, welfare scandal, failure of the education system, the prison revolt, pollution and the profiteering out of the energy crisis. This is a very handy and attractive collection on this topic. The book has relevance for discussion on the crisis of social expenditure in Britain, too. Whilst the United States may be, for historical reasons, more advanced in its urban crisis, etc., this country looks like catching up soon if Labour's cuts are anything to go by! Price £1.25 (post 17p).

### THE LABOUR PARTY

*The Labour Party and the Struggle for Socialism* is the title of a book by David (not Ken) Coates, which has been out for a month or two. However, with the post-Healey measures situation in the Labour Party it makes useful reading. The author is clearly a sympathiser of the IS, and this comes through in his Pessimistic approach to the possibilities of winning any forces at present within the Labour Party framework to a socialist position.

However, the book is a thorough examination of the Labour Party, its functioning, record of previous Labour Governments, and the role of the 'lefts', and it attempts to situate all this historically. Price £2 (post 17p).

### LENINIST THEORY OF ORGANISATION

The IMG has republished *The Leninist Theory of Organisation* by Ernest Mandel. This has not been available for a year or so. The booklet is unique in that it attempts to discuss in a non-dogmatic manner the relevance of Leninism to today's class struggles. In so doing it deals with many of the myths about Lenin's theories (not least those promoted by many unsuccessful imitators of the Bolsheviks) and answers some of the most sophisticated opponents of Leninism. Mandel relates all this to specific theories of consciousness and the nature of proletarian revolution. A must for all those who want to have a strategic grasp of what revolutionaries have to do. Price 25p (post 8p), bulk rates on application.

### THE POLITICS OF ABORTION

The above is the title of a major article in the current issue of *Radical Science Journal*. It is an extremely well-argued piece which links the attitudes to abortion by doctors, the authorities, etc., to the prevailing bourgeois ideology, with its defence of the nuclear family. The article does not deal with the current discussions (post-James White Bill, etc.) but does give a very good framework for approaching them. It is usefully documented. Other articles in the *RSJ* include a historical examination of the relationship of scientists to class struggle, a major theoretical item on 'Science as Alienated Consciousness', a savage critique of the British Association, and a series of reviews covering a number of books on science and bourgeois ideology. Good value for 60p (post 13p).

All from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Running battles with the Army. Three youths shot dead. A constant volley of indiscriminate firing by the Army into Catholic areas. These were the scenes 10 days ago in Belfast on the fourth anniversary of internment in Ireland. Catholic sources claimed that the fighting began in response to the Army's collaboration with Loyalist squads who were harassing anti-internment protests. But no matter who fired the first shot or threw the first stone, the origin of the fighting is crystal clear—it lies in the maintenance of the repressive system of internment backed up by the British army of occupation.

Internment was introduced in August 1971, supported by a Tory Government which in this country was hell-bent on attacking the living standards and democratic rights of British workers. Today, four years later, the Labour Government is following the same Tory policy on Ireland.

Long Kesh has at times been presented as the 'model' camp, and even likened to a holiday resort. The reality is quite different. Long Kesh has all the features of a concentration camp. The camp as a whole is surrounded by layers of barbed wire and watch-towers which are manned by the British Army. The troops themselves are used to harass and break the morale of the internees through various methods of brutality and deprivation.

Subject to harassment and constant intimidation, with an uncertain future and little prospect of a job if they are ever released, the internees of Long Kesh are crammed together like animals in cages.

## LONG HISTORY

Recreational time and space is limited within these compounds. The food is rotten and the medical care infrequent. The effect on the internees themselves has created a multitude of nervous disorders and breakdowns. Other known effects are suicide and premature death due to medical negligence.

Internment is not new to Ireland. Successive British governments have used it at least since the beginning of the 20th century. In 1916, for example, 2,000 Irishmen were uprooted from their country and shipped to a concentration camp at Frongoch, North Wales. Under British law enforced on the South in 1920, a further 1,300 internees were held at the Rath camp at the Curragh.

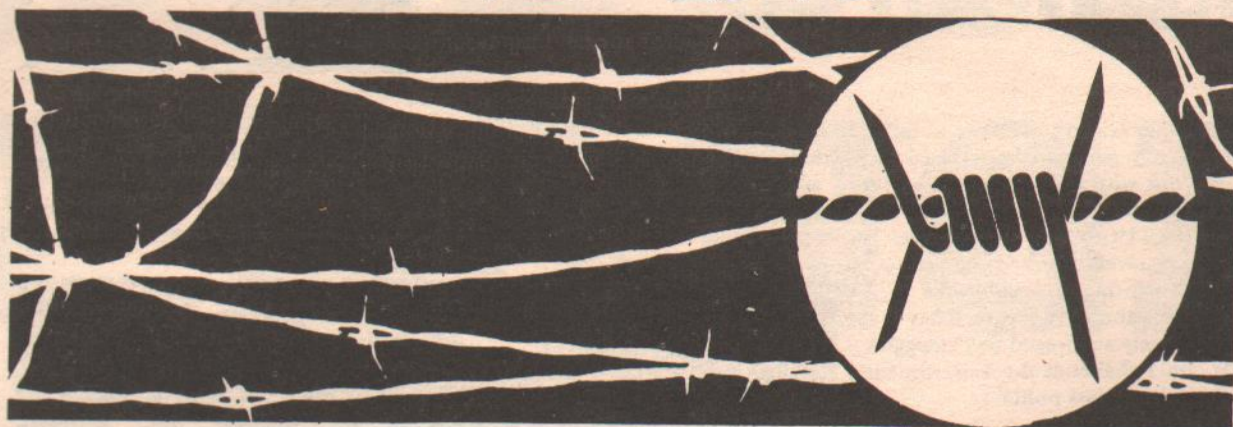
Unable to hold down the popular struggle for national freedom, the stock response from British imperialism throughout its history has been the use of the most brutal forms of intimidation, harassment and persecution.

## HYPOCRISY

The pretext used for this in 1971 and now is the alleged protection of lives and property from the IRA. It was obvious from the start, however, that the indiscriminate wave of arrests included anyone who challenged the power and privileges of the Protestant ascendancy.

The hypocrisy of the Labour Government is all the more clear today in light of the Provisional ceasefire. For if internment really is intended to 'prevent terrorism' then why is it that not one single Loyalist remains in Long Kesh? It is a well known fact that over the last few months in particular, dozens of Catholic workers have been murdered

# INTERNMENT 1971 - 1975



# END IT NOW!



and wounded by bomb and gun attacks from Loyalist terror squads. The double standard is only too evident and reveals internment for what it really is—a policy of naked repression to intimidate the minority into accepting the oppressive conditions of British rule.

Since it was introduced, however, internment has had a different effect from that intended. The minority have bravely fought back through the rent and rate strikes, mass demonstrations, and numerous other protests. Under the impact of this powerful wave of opposition to internment, Rees has been forced to make some concessions by releasing a large number of internees.

The facts show, however, that even those released are only a small percentage of the Catholics

imprisoned for political offences. In addition to the 240 still interned there are another 1,000 Catholics officially convicted through the non-jury courts.

It may be the case that in order to demobilise the minority Westminster will make some minor concessions on internment. This it did between March and October 1972. But this did not mean an end to internment. On the contrary, internment was not only retained but the number of internees eventually increased to above the pre-March 1972 level.

Likewise today, Rees has made it clear that internment will only end when it suits the Government to do so. All this talk about ending internment by Christmas is totally fraudulent. Not only is he building

## Brian Lyons looks at 4 years of imprisonment without trial

effect of a larger dose of repressive policies.

It is obvious that the Labour bureaucrats cannot afford to maintain internment at too high a level for the moment. Consequently they are trying to achieve as many 'judicial' convictions as possible, since they do not appear so grossly undemocratic as internment. For this purpose the Amendment Act has increased the number of offences which can be construed as support to a proscribed organisation or to 'terrorist' activities in general. Furthermore, the Army has been given greater powers of search and arrest.

A further addition to the repressive powers of the original Act is the extension of the period of 'Interim Custody'. In the original Act the Tories were empowered to intern for an initial period of four weeks before a full order for indefinite internment had to be issued or the internee released. The new Act extends this period up to seven weeks without appeal or trial. In addition, it is possible for Rees to issue three orders further extending this period by one week on each order. In total, therefore the Labour Government can now imprison Catholics for 2½ months even before a full internment order is issued!

## TROOPS OUT!

Like the Loyalist Convention and the para-military groups, internment would not survive but for the role of the British Army. It is the Army which collects the intelligence and conducts the house searches. It is the Army which makes the arrests. And it is the Army which suppresses the popular protests against internment such as those in October last year and in Belfast last weekend.

The role of the Army and internment are not separate issues for us in this country. They complement each other as part of the total oppression of imperialist rule in Ireland to which the Labour Government is fully committed.

The Troops Out Movement along with other organisations intends to build for a major demonstration in December for a total end to British involvement in Ireland. We appeal to all our readers to help build and participate in this demonstration as a first step in an ongoing mass campaign to end internment and get the troops out of Ireland once and for all.

a more 'modern' camp to replace the ruins of Long Kesh, but laws have just been introduced into Parliament which actually strengthen the powers of internment.

The legal framework for internment and every other abuse of civil liberties in the Six Counties is the Emergency Provisions Act passed by the Tories with Labour support in 1973. By this Act the Tories abolished trial by jury in the courts; gave a licence for torture to the army and police; suspended the right of bail to defendants; and issued a blank cheque to the army to search and arrest without trial or warrant.

## SUGAR-COATING

The new Amendment Act (passed in the last Parliamentary session) does make one or two changes from the original. But fundamentally, the concessions made are only a sugar-coating to sweeten the

## APPEAL TO DEFEND BWNIC 16

Fourteen, fifteen...now sixteen people are facing serious charges about a leaflet for British soldiers which provides information on how to leave the Army. Almost all of those accused have been charged—like the Shrewsbury pickets—with conspiracy; in this case, conspiracy to break the Incitement to Disaffection Act. They all face extremely heavy sentences. We demand that the charges be dropped immediately and we call on the Labour Movement to do all in its power to see that this is done as the trial is due to start on 29 September.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act is a threat to free speech; it infringes the right of people to communicate freely with one another—it is an attack on civil and democratic liberties; the NCCL has campaigned against the Act since 1934. In particular it denies soldiers the right to information about the conditions of their employment and how it can be terminated, as well as limiting their freedom to engage in political discussion.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Incitement to Disaffection Act has direct implications for the Labour Movement. If and when troops are used to break strikes, trade unionists who urge them to desist also run the risk of being charged under the Act.

We are living at a time of increasing anti-democratic legislation. Vital issues are at stake in the case of these anti-militarist supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign. We therefore urge all who value civil liberty, especially those in the British Labour Movement, to do all in their power to defend those charged.

We rely on your support,  
Solidarity,

Joan Maynard, MP  
Jo Richardson, MP  
John Miller, T&GWU National Secretary  
Ernie Roberts, AUEW Asst. Gen. Sec.  
Jack Dromey, NCCL Chairman  
John A. Henry, UCATT-GC  
Pat Arrowsmith, T&GWU  
Sid Easton, T&GWU-GEC  
(each in personal capacity)



South of the border as well . . . cops move in to break up anti-internment demonstration outside Portlaoise prison

# UNION LEADERS POLICE £6 LIMIT

Geoff Ryan

Shortly before the £6 limit was introduced, nearly 30,000 workers on Tyne-side were engaged in wages struggles. The management simply held out until the limit was introduced and then informed the workers that although they would dearly love to pay them more, the nasty Government wouldn't allow it. Instead of organising a fight against the £6 limit the local union bureaucrats meekly toed the line and ordered their members back to work.

The only place where these instructions were defined was the Swan Hunter ship-yards. There the fitters and labourers have been out on strike for nearly six weeks for a claim for £10.30 which the boilermakers in the yards won in June. Their determination to stick it out has totally incensed the local bureaucrats.

## ISOLATION

The Boilermakers Society officials, dominated by extreme craft sectoralism, have constantly denounced the strike, even using the local Thompson rag, the *Evening Chronicle*, to carry on their strike-breaking activities. The G&MWU, who organise the majority of the strikers, sent top bureaucrat Ken Baker to try to force the strikers back to work.

The Swan's workers have thus had to fight in total isolation. They have had to take on the company, the Government and their own officials, as well as the traditional disunity amongst workers in the yards. The failure to utilise the massive potential that existed on Tyne-side two months ago for a united struggle to smash the pay laws has led to a series of defeats for the working class, for which the trade union 'leaders' must take full responsibility.

However, the defeats have also shown the failure of any policy which relies solely on wages militancy. At the Durham Miners Gala, Wilson claimed that 'one man's wage rise is another man's dole card', and not one person challenged him.

The lesson of the defeats in the North East is clear: no workers must be allowed to fight in isolation. Massive support must be built for all workers who challenge the Labour wage freeze. But the labour movement also has to develop an overall strategy to fight unemployment, and inflation otherwise the TUC will be able to continue to provide a cover for anti-working class policies.

# NHS pays for anti-abortion jamboree

The Labour Government has so far been able to get away with its £6 wage limit with the connivance of the so-called 'leaders' of the working class, the TUC. These bureaucrats, however, haven't limited themselves simply to voting for resolutions supporting the wage-freeze. They have actively sabotaged any struggles that could challenge the Government's anti-working class policies.

On 20 September, hundreds of doctors will be attending a conference in Birmingham to discuss abortion. This meeting has been organised by the British section of an international federation of 'Doctors who respect human life'.

A close look at the leaders of this organisation shows that they obviously don't include a woman's life as worthy of respect—all of them are active campaigners against abortion, and are prominent figures in SPUC (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child).

Speakers include Professor Hugh McClaren, who is responsible for Birmingham having the lowest NHS

abortion rate in the country. He so hates abortionists that he managed to get a rates rebate on his luxury home because it was near an abortion clinic!



SPUC — a motley crowd of religious bigots join Tory MPs Norman St John Stevas and Jill Knight. ABOVE: McLaren, arch-priest of fight against women's rights, displays two foetuses.

Birmingham NAC is organising a national picket of this conference, and is calling for support from all activists throughout the country who are prepared to join the fight against

these reactionary doctors organising against the interests of women.

To add to the insult, it appears that all doctors attending the conference will get their expenses paid by the NHS to the tune of £15 a head—almost enough to set up an out-patient abortion clinic if it wasn't going into the coffers of SPUC. This payment has been authorised by the Postgraduate Medical Federation, whose headquarters in London will be picketed at lunch time on 11 September in protest.

## SACKING

IMG militants in the NAC proposed these actions, which were unanimously endorsed at the NAC national meeting last Saturday, as a way of bringing home the importance of sacking these doctors, and financing the NHS in the interests of the working class, if we are to win free abortion on demand.

Berry Beaumont

# French Printers Seize Plant To Fight Sackings

Throughout France a wave of struggles is continuing through the summer holiday period, which in previous years has often been observed as a truce in the class struggle. This time the workers are fighting back against the attacks often provocatively launched just before the holidays.

One of the most significant of these struggles is taking place at the print-works of Caron-Ozanne in the town of

Caen in Normandy. Following a recent merger, supervised by the printer's main customer, the regional daily *Ouest France* (Western France), the management invested in the most modern plant and issued glib statements about the rosy future for the works.

The merger was planned so that the company could get their hands on a £280,000 grant from the regional development fund. The fund is intended to promote new employment, and the grant was supposed to be for the creation of 30 new jobs. But no sooner had the merger been carried out than the management decided that the axe of rationalisation had to fall on the 'inefficient' structure they had just created, and on 5 June they sacked 48 workers.

The workforce immediately occupied the factory, expelling the management. On going through the management files, they found plans for the sacking of a further 61 workers—the company had decided to carry out the sackings in two stages in the hope of dividing the workforce and preventing union reaction.

The discovery hardened the workers' determination, and they took over the presses 'to serve the struggles of the working class'. At one of the regular mass meetings they decided to produce their own paper, mocking called *Ouest Licenciements* (Western sackings), and invited contributions from all the factories in the region struggling against sackings and rising unemployment. So far three very successful editions have been printed.

Some private companies, caught by tight deadlines, have been forced to maintain their orders with the occupied works—on a cash-only basis, of course! In addition the printers are producing material for other workers in struggle, notably the striking printers at the Paris newspaper, *Parisien Libre*. Revolutionary organisations are also placing orders.

But the struggle does not rest there. The workers realised that they could not hope to win if they confined their fight to the one works. Their strike is viewed sympathetically by Caen workers, and donations have flooded in. But this traditional response was not enough.

Fearing an attack by the heavily armed riot police, as has occurred in several recent occupations in the area, the printers approached the Caen

electricity workers, who agreed that if any attack was launched, they would cut off the electricity supply to every factory in the town—an excellent example of workers control in action.

The Caron-Ozanne printers also realise the need to spread their struggle widely—to bring in all the many similar disputes throughout the area, and to coordinate these fragmented struggles into a general counter-attack against the employers. They have there-

fore issued a call for an open general meeting in September of all workers involved in struggle against the rising wave of unemployment.

This mass meeting has already been prepared by a preliminary meeting of delegates from some of the factories concerned. One of the strike leaders was insistent that a general strike throughout the area would be needed to defeat the bosses' attacks.

John Haine

## AN APPEAL TO THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Russell Press, which is a workers' co-operative established by the Russell Foundation, has done invaluable work for the labour movement. It has not only published a flow of controversial books and pamphlets which have greatly added to the level of debate and information within the movement, but it has also furnished vital assistance to a very large number of organisations involved in civil liberties, in the struggle for colonial independence, in environmental pressure groups and in trade union affairs.

Unfortunately, the future of the Russell Press is in some peril, as a result of two serious threats. Firstly, there is a problem of complex tax litigation. Gifts made by Bertrand Russell before he died enabled the press to be established; the rates of taxation which apply to these gifts have become a matter of dispute since the Inland Revenue wish to over-rule the independent special commissioners who normally decide these questions. The Revenue have said that they will appeal this decision through the high courts to the House of Lords if necessary. At the same time, the local authority have placed a compulsory purchase order on the building which houses the press, which, if upheld, will compel it to move to new premises which will be greatly more expensive than its present ones.

We think that the continued survival and development of the Russell Press is a matter of concern to the whole labour movement, and we have no hesitation in supporting the financial appeal which is being launched in order to allow it to overcome these difficulties.

Anthony Wynne Benn

Tony Benn

Clive Jenkins

Clive Jenkins

Hugh Scanlon

Hugh Scanlon

Lawrence Daly

Lawrence Daly

Jack Jones

Jack Jones

Bob Wright

Bob Wright

Michael Foot

Michael Foot

Ernie Roberts

Ernie Roberts

# ouest licenciements

## A BLAUPUNKT :

- Les travailleurs revendiquent
- Les patrons licencient
- Les pouvoirs publics cognent



EST-CE LA SEULE RÉPONSE QU'ILS CONNAISSENT ?

# NON aux LICENCIEMENTS

Ouest Licenciements (Western sackings), the paper put out by the striking printers

Please rush your donations to Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham

Tel: 0602 74504

# RED ALERT! REVOLUTION IN DANGER

Late on Saturday night in Alcobaca, a small market town 60 miles north of Lisbon, an event which threatens to become the harbinger of the future of northern Portugal took place. In response to the burning down of their local headquarters on 21 July, the Portuguese Communist Party attempted to hold a come-back rally addressed by their leader, Alvaro Cunhal.

★

As the meeting got underway in the local stadium, reactionary mobs—some waving Socialist flags—massed outside. Between 11pm and 3am the mob unleashed a hail of stones and then bullets against the stadium. Eventually troops were called in to evacuate the Communists from the stadium and disperse the mob—another round of right-wing violence completed.

★

A demagogic campaign launched by the Socialist Party leaders to defend 'democracy' has had the most reactionary consequences. In exploiting what were often genuine grievances of their own rank and file against the bureaucratic manoeuvrings of the Communist Party in the trade unions, local government and the national political arena, they have provided the cover for the reactionaries to crawl out from the corners into which they were driven after the fall of the Caetano dictatorship. The wave of violence which these forces have unleashed is a threat to the democratic rights of the entire workers' movement in Portugal.

★

It is not even the traitorous Socialist Party leadership but the most reactionary forces in Portugal which will reap the 'benefits' of this violence. In the north of Portugal it was the Archbishop of Braga—an ardent supporter of former Portuguese dictators Salazar and Caetano—who whipped up the mob which burned the offices of the local 'Communist devils'.

★

In an area of grinding poverty and illiteracy—60 per cent of the people can neither read nor write—the Catholic Church holds the peasantry in the grip of terror and superstition. Because the central government has not written off their debts to the landlords—and neither has the Communist Party put forward a radical



agrarian reform programme for fear of upsetting elements of the Armed Forces Movement—the peasants attribute their present complete impoverishment to the revolution.

★

But it is the world economic crisis, and the measures to protect Common Market producers, which has wiped out the market for their grapes and wines. The imposition of Common Market tariffs on certain textile imports from Portugal will similarly impoverish—the workers in the towns in the north where textiles are a major product.

★

It was the petty traders of the coastal region and the small farmers of the north—hand in hand with the Catholic Church—who were the social base of Portuguese fascism. Both Salazar's Portuguese National Association and the Portuguese Legion flourished there. In new guises and with different names these forces now threaten to re-emerge.

★

However, there is nothing inevitable about this process. In fact the Portuguese Communist Party—the major victim of the wave of reactionary violence—has been the major contributor to its own nemesis.

★

In this dossier we explain how the PCP—which emerged as the biggest workers' party after the overthrow of the dictatorship—now finds itself beleaguered and increasingly isolated. Its calls for the 'democratic and national revolution' and its determined opposition to joining the fight for socialism have flown in the face of the immediate needs of the masses. Now it is reaping the reactionary whirlwind that stalinist policies of class collaboration sow.

★

For the Portuguese revolutionary left the message is sounding loud and clear. Unless it can take these lessons into the very heart of the vanguard and link them with the socialist aspirations and organisational creativity of the masses, the dark shadow of reaction now looming over the Portuguese revolution will continue to grow.



For the past few weeks a wave of reactionary violence has been sweeping across Portugal. Touched off by the anti-communist campaign of the Portuguese Socialist Party and their capitalist allies the Popular Democrats, it has been boosted by the Catholic Church and exploited by all sorts of reactionary forces that have been lying low since the downfall of the fascist regime. While trade unions and various left-wing groups have been attacked, the brunt of this counter-revolutionary violence has been borne by the Communist Party, which has faced violent attacks in 12 of Portugal's 18 districts and seen its headquarters in 25 centres completely destroyed, with another 12 physically damaged.

In various towns in the north of Portugal local Communist militants have found themselves besieged by crowds, and have been forced to resort to the desperate measure of opening fire on their attackers in order to hold them at bay. This has created a vicious climate of hatred in which many working class militants have been forced to flee their homes and jobs.

This anti-communist campaign has, for the first time since the downfall of the old regime, given reactionaries the chance to appear openly and gain a mass hearing. It has created a very dangerous situation by opening up splits among the Portuguese masses, and strengthening the hand of pro-capitalist politicians and their co-thinkers in the armed forces.

In the face of this crisis—the most serious since the downfall of fascism—the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and its supporters in the Government have proved to be powerless. As the situation continues to get worse and the dangers grow, all they can do is issue vague calls for the 'unity of democratic forces' and appeals for 'order'.

## UNDERLINED

This was underlined by the most recent meeting of the PCP's Central Committee on 10 August, held to discuss how to meet the present danger. After deliberating for an entire day the Central Committee of this—the most powerful workers' organisation in the country—could come up with nothing but yet another appeal for order and unity, coupled with a few flimsy proposals to try and tackle the problems of the economy and decolonisation, and . . . set up a fund to rebuild its headquarters that had been destroyed!

The dangerous paralysis of the Communist Party is no accident. It is a direct product of



Friends in need . . . ?  
The Archbishop of Braga and Socialist Party leader Mario Soares.

its basic ideas about the character of the struggle in Portugal, the tasks facing the working class, and the strategy it has pursued since 25 April 1974.

When the Caetano regime collapsed, the Portuguese Communist Party was the only organised force in the country with deep roots in the workers' movement. But its political ideas were set firmly in the stalinist mould of Communist Parties around the world. It argued that the task facing the Portuguese masses was simply the construction of a 'democratic' order in place of the discredited fascist regime, that socialism was not on the agenda for some time to come, and that it was therefore necessary to unite with and support those 'progressive'

## by Chris Balfour

capitalist groups who were prepared to go along with such a 'democratic and national revolution'.

At this time the PCP (again in line with stalinist theory) identified its capitalist allies as small and middle-sized businessmen, whom they saw as in conflict with the handful of great monopolies that dominated the Portuguese economy and served as the pillar of the fascist regime, which in turn fostered their interests.

But after 25 April the PCP found themselves in a very difficult position, for an important factor in ensuring the success of the coup was that it was supported by some of the most important monopolies, whose interests were no longer adequately served by the old regime. Thus the regime which followed the coup was headed by the foremost political spokesman of these groups, General Spínola, who was on the board of directors of a company belonging to one monopoly, Chama-limau, and had his famous book *Portugal and the Future* published by a firm belonging to another, CUF.

Despite the reactionary background of Spínola and the strongly pro-monopolist colour of his regime, the PCP joined the Government at his invitation and loyally supported it. This led them into quietly swallowing a whole series of anti-working class measures, like the anti-strike laws and curbs on press freedom. In order to woo their potential allies among the ranks of small and middle capitalists, and ensure the monopolist Government of their 'responsibility', they went further and openly backed strike-breaking (as, for example, with the postal workers) and opposed militant measures to purge reactionaries from positions of influence (for example, the newspaper workers' struggle against the reactionary editor of *Jornal do Comercio*.)

## MONOPOLISTS

Only when the monopolists and their backers made an aggressive bid to take a tighter grip on the political reins through strengthening the power of Spínola as President did the PCP turn towards putting up a fight against the schemes of the monopoly capitalists. In the period leading up to the showdown on 28 September 1974 the PCP had worked to demobilise the masses and lull them into a false sense of security (they told the Lisbon newspaper workers, for example, that their struggle against reaction was 'only secondary').

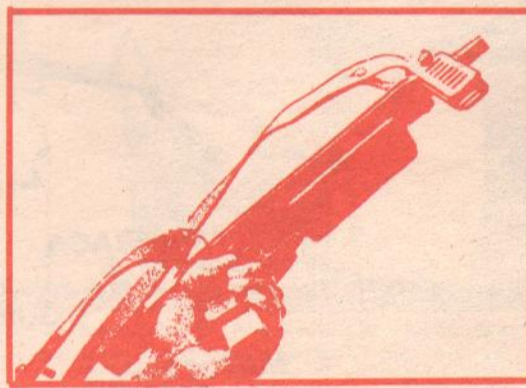
The victory of the working class and left forces in this struggle was due only to their powerful position arising from the collapse of the fascist state and the political ferment in the army after 25 April, and to the important preparatory struggles carried on by the more far-sighted sections of the working class against the opposition of the Communist Party. (What this victory proves, incidentally, is that the working class had sufficient power in this period to impose its will on Portuguese society if there had been a force with mass influence prepared to lead it in that direction.)

After the victory of 28 September there was a massive upsurge in the confidence and combativity of the working class. The anti-working class laws became a dead letter as militant workers brushed them aside with the contempt they deserved. Efforts by the capitalists—both national and international—to sabotage the economy were met by occupations, the establishment of workers' control over production in individual factories and firms, and widespread demands for nationalisation. In all this process the PCP played a strictly back-seat role—following behind the masses, rather than trying to propel them forward.

## DILEMMA

Nonetheless the Communist Party leaders faced a serious dilemma. The working class was on the move and would not tolerate anyone who tried to stand in the way. The PCP's old strike-breaking tactics would be a recipe for disaster. At the same time the monopolists and their supporters had clearly gone into the camp of reaction, and the road was open to the implementation of the PCP's programme for the 'democratic and national revolution'. The PCP had no intention of breaking with the class-collaborationism that was carved into the

# CP POWER OF RIGHT WING



heart of that programme, but it now had a choice of how to organise this class-collaborationism.

On the one hand, it could base itself on continuing the present coalition Government which included outright capitalist representatives (the Popular Democrats) and the pro-capitalist leaders of the Socialist Party. Alternatively, it could base itself on building up an exclusive alliance with the Armed Forces Movement (AFM), which had made the coup, was now in control of the state, and had immense prestige in the country.

The AFM had begun as a movement of professional officers concerned to develop their privileges against the influx of conscript officers during the colonial wars. But under the impact of the defeats of Portuguese colonialism in Africa they rapidly became concerned with broader political questions, and were radicalised both by the developing mass struggles before 25 April and, in particular, by the

mass upsurge following the downfall of the regime, which had a big effect on the ranks of the armed forces.

The AFM contains a broad spectrum of political views, ranging from right-wing supporters of Spínola who are lying low and waiting for brighter days, through reformist supporters of the Socialist and Communist Parties, to elements who are genuinely prepared to stand alongside the working class in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. But all these conflicting groups can only be kept together on the basis of a programme that, while carrying out major reforms, stops short of a clear break with the capitalist system and the political power of capitalism enshrined in the capitalist state machine.

Thus a Government built around the AFM offers important assurances to the Portuguese capitalists and international imperialism that the defeats they have suffered in Portugal are not irreversible. Moreover the background of a number of figures in the AFM who occupy political posts offers further guarantees that the revolution will not be carried 'too far'. General Costa Gomes, for example, who has been the President since the ousting of Spínola, was head of the army under the fascist regime, comes from the ruling class circles who staffed the top echelons of the army, and cut his teeth as chief of military operations against the FRELIMO freedom fighters in Mozambique.

For the leaders of the PCP there were important advantages in channelling their class collaborationism along the road of the 'People-

## Labour s



# ESS IN FACE NG ATTACKS



More peaceful, but the message is the same... Angolan refugees march through Lisbon shouting anti-Communist slogans, and the Socialist Party is at the head!

'FA' alliance' (in which the PCP would act as chief representative of the mass of Portuguese working people). For one thing, the policies of the Socialist Party and the Popular Democrats aimed to solve Portugal's problems by making a deal with imperialism: through imperialist economic aid, encouraging foreign investment, and integrating Portugal more closely with the capitalist Common Market.

As Socialist Party leader Mario Soares frankly admitted, this would mean offering 'guarantees' to foreign capital: that would require serving up the heads of the most militant sections of the Portuguese working class to imperialism and tying Portugal firmly back into the imperialist political system. If the Communist Party were to adopt such a course, its previous experience had shown, it would be threatened with a major loss of political influence among the most class-conscious

workers in the key industrial regions.

At the same time the PCP was becoming increasingly aware that the legacies of a half-century of fascist rule and the continued domination of reactionary forces in important parts of the country guaranteed the victory of pro-capitalist spokesmen in the forthcoming elections. Under such circumstances the elections might well be followed by the squeezing of the PCP right out of the Government and the setting up of a coalition between the Socialist Party and the openly capitalist parties.

By basing itself on the alliance with the AFM the CP hoped to get round these difficulties. The differences between the different currents in the AFM gave it more room for manoeuvre, and allowed it to take a 'left turn', avoiding a political collision course with the demands and actions of the more militant workers. At the same time it hoped that by establishing itself as the 'favourite' of the AFM, some of the latter's prestige would rub off and boost its chances in the elections.

In order to carry this tactic through it had to consolidate its position in the mass movement and begin a drive, often sectarian and manipulative, to ensure that PCP members held key offices in the union leaderships, local councils, and the state machine. Having opposed only a few months before the purging of reactionaries as a 'secondary' problem, they now began to advocate such measures where

cont. page 8



## abs on Portuguese working class

One group of 'comrades' who will not be supporting the London demonstration in solidarity with the Portuguese working class on 20 September will be Harold Wilson and his cronies in the leadership of the Labour Party.

workers' democracy is alien to the Labour leaders, blinded as they are by capitalist parliamentary democracy which has failed to advance the working class in this country one step towards socialism.

### CHILE

Harold Wilson had even harsher words for Portugal. 'We are not in the business of financing dictatorships in Europe', declared Wilson, although it would seem to be perfectly all right for the Labour Government to sell arms to the ferocious military dictatorship in Chile, responsible for the death of 40,000 socialists. After all, it's outside Europe.

But Wilson's geography is as bad as his politics. Labour Governments have happily traded with fascist Spain for decades. And one of Wilson's party colleagues, the Labour MP for Normanton, Albert Roberts (sponsored by the Mineworkers) is a life-long supporter of Franco and Chairman of the Anglo-Spanish Parliamentary Association.

### PRESS FREEDOM

Nor is Wilson's concern for the 'freedom of the press'—central in what one British spokesman termed Wilson's 'brutally frank' questioning of Portuguese President Costa Gomes at the Helsinki summit—that universal. One of his

'comrades' in the 'Socialist International' is Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore. Journalists who dare to criticise Mr. Lee's government are arrested at four in the morning and held without charge or trial. But for Wilson that's quite acceptable compared with the spectre of workers in Portugal taking over the press to run it in the interests of the working class.

### INTERVENTION

In one thing, however, the right-wing social democrats are consistent—and that is in their support for capitalism. Wilson belongs to the same wing of the Labour Party that supported 'non-intervention' in the Spanish Civil War, while Hitler and Mussolini armed the fascists. In Portugal today, where the possibility again exists of the workers getting the upper hand, intervention is required from the start.

In an impressive display of social democratic 'internationalism', leaders of 17 European social democratic parties met with Portuguese Socialist Party leader Mario Soares in the wake of the Helsinki summit to work out how to defeat the revolution in Portugal. With direct intervention ruled out, these traitors intend to concentrate their efforts on two fronts: international support for the SP, which is being used as a cover by every reactionary inside

and outside Portugal; and on further sabotage of the Portuguese economy which is already close to collapse under the hammer blows of capitalist sabotage.

### CONTROLS

Thus the Labour Government—which has long proclaimed its hostility to import controls—has had no hesitation about securing the re-imposition of import controls by Common Market countries on textile products from Portugal. Textiles are one of Portugal's major industries.

At the Common Market summit in July, Wilson declared in a comment which twisted the meaning of words by even his own low standards: 'We are not interfering. What we are saying is: "Don't come around here looking for economic assistance if you haven't got a democratic form of government".'

### SOLIDARITY

The attempts of the leaders of international social democracy to strangle the Portuguese revolution can and must be smashed. In Britain one way we can contribute to this is by getting every militant we can—especially from the Labour Party—out on to the streets on 20 September to demonstrate in solidarity with the Portuguese revolution.

James Drake

Evening Standard  
 THE TIMES  
 THE GUARDIAN  
 THE Sun  
 The Daily Telegraph  
 DAILY EXPRESS

## REDS IN PORTUGUESE MURDER PILLAGE HORROR SHOCK

It is well known that the British press is one of the strongest upholders of 'law and order' and 'moderation'. It abhors 'violence' on the streets—particularly any show of force by the 'terrorists' of the Catholic minority in the Six Counties of Ireland. Yet something seems to have gone sadly amiss in the pursuit of these worthy pacifist principles with regard to coverage of Portugal.

Strangely enough, the wave of reactionary violence sweeping the north of Portugal and directed mainly against Communist Party buildings has not been greeted in the British press by calls for 'moderation' or 'order' in blazing, righteous editorials. On the contrary, much of the press almost seems to relish the idea of young communist workers being beaten up and bombed, and their property destroyed. The *Daily Telegraph* has gone so far as to describe it as 'the most heartening thing to have happened in Europe for years' (14 August).

The reason, of course, is that anything goes in 'the battle to salvage democracy and prevent a Communist dictatorship'. After all, aren't these Catholic mobsters the 'moderates' who wish to establish 'democracy'? No doubt they are in the same mould as those greeted by the London *Evening Standard* after the abortive March 11 Spínola coup with the headline 'Moderates attempt uprising in Portugal—planes strafe Lisbon troops'.

### BRAGA ATTACK

The coverage of the attacks on the Braga headquarters of the Communist Party on 10 August provided one of the most vivid examples of British press reporting in Portugal. The headlines in several papers summed up the approach—'Communists fire on crowd'

(*Guardian*), 'Communists open fire on demonstrating Portuguese Catholics' (*Times*), 'Communists in Portugal open fire on rioters' (*Financial Times*). 'Women and children' were of course among the injured.

The several unarmed victims of the frenzied mob, who were badly beaten up for alleged Communist sympathies, hardly featured in the reports. The fact that the Communists had no other defence but their arms against vastly superior odds was hardly touched upon. The fact that some of the more right-wing sections of the army allowed the attacks to take place was not condemned but implicitly commended.

### LIBERAL FRINGE

The role of the British press, even its more 'liberal' fringe, has been quite clear—to back all those forces opposing the further development and consolidation of the gains made by the working class in Portugal, under the guise of supporting the fight for democracy and freedom from Soviet domination. If these forces include frenzied right-wing mobs, probably led by remnants of the old fascist administration, who wish to burn and murder the dreaded reds, then that is perhaps unfortunate. But as the *Daily Express* on 8 August put it, such protests of 'courage and integrity' are all for the best.

The right wing in the AFM too, according to the *Guardian* on 9 August, is all set to 'vigorously defend democracy'. We've seen right-wing sections of bourgeois armies 'vigorously defending democracy' before—Chile, Brazil and Greece are just some of the more vigorous examples. But you can't expect a little thing like that to worry the highly paid hacks of Fleet St.



# CP BACK AGAINST THE WALL

cont. from p. 7

assemblies and, most important of all, a national assembly of workers. Such bodies would have the power to unite the entire working class in the struggle to meet the economic crisis through workers' control of production, to block reactionary manoeuvres in the army by welding the mass of soldiers and sailors to their class-brothers through their own elected bodies, to forestall the mobilisation and provocations of reactionaries by armed pickets and a workers' militia, and to prevent the sowing of divisions among working people by reactionaries and reformist mis-leaders through the creation of democratic forums in which all working people can participate irrespective of party affiliation and thrash out their differences democratically.

A Government based on such organs of workers' power would have the power to deal with all the manoeuvres of counter-

Portuguese masses. But that is a fight the PCP will not lead, for it would involve not only a break with its whole stalinist past and political ideas, but also a break with its present system of political alliances. Instead of pleading plaintively for the need to restore 'unity' within the AFM, as it does in the latest statement of its Central Committee, it would have to urge genuinely revolutionary elements in the AFM to break with their reactionary and pro-capitalist colleagues and join the most advanced elements of the rank-and-file soldiers and the working class in the struggle for workers' power.

Even more important, it would mean a complete break with the Soviet Union. The bureaucrats in the Kremlin have thus far backed the PCP 'hard line' against its critics in the Spanish and Italian CPs—but only because they want the PCP leaders to retain



their influence over the Government and try to steer Portugal onto a mythical 'middle road' between imperialism and revolution. They realise that Portugal must not break completely with capitalism and imperialism (the PCP's 'hard line' does not extend to the question of Portugal's membership in the imperialist NATO alliance, for example) lest it provoke a major row with the capitalist powers and threaten the whole cosy set up of 'detente'.

## CRAZY SITUATION

That is why we have the crazy situation of the crisis-ridden capitalist system acting as a force *strengthening* the hands of the reformists and reactionaries in Portugal with offers of economic ties and aid. A clear pledge by the Soviet Union and the other workers states of Eastern Europe to aid an imperialist-besieged Portugal would stop all this nonsense at the drop of a hat, demonstrate to the wavering elements in Portugal the superiority of planned, socialist economy, and constitute a major blow against the political influence of reaction. But the PCP doesn't call for such a move. Nor has the Soviet Union been falling over itself to offer such assistance.

In the difficult months that lie ahead it is the still relatively small forces of the revolutionary left in Portugal who will have to lead the fight for a revolutionary strategy to defeat reaction and ensure the gains of the past 16 months of working class struggle. They will be aided in this by the militancy and creativity of the Portuguese working class, the class-consciousness of an important mass of workers in the main industrial areas, and the fact that the embryonic, grass-roots organisations which are the first step to workers' power already exist in many parts of the country.

But there are many more, difficult steps to take, and the capitalist enemy is working furiously to prevent them from being taken. Imperialism has little difficulty in coordinating its operations and bringing its full international power to bear in Portugal. The task facing militants around the world is to ensure that the international weight of the world working class is now brought to bear on the side of the Portuguese workers.

revolution and take the sort of forthright measures that could offer the impoverished small farmers of the north and the dispossessed refugees from the colonies an alternative to that now provided by the Catholic Church and the fascists.

Everything that has taken place in Portugal since 25 April screams out in favour of such a solution. But it finds no place in the schemes of the PCP leaders. Nowhere in their programme will you find any mention

current violence and make it relatively simple for the united body of CP and SP workers to crush them. On the other hand, if the SP leaders rejected such an appeal it would be a clear statement on their part that they were siding with the violence of counter-revolution. In the face of this, large numbers of SP working class militants would lose their last hesitations and break with the SP leadership to take part in a united front defence movement.

The difficulty for the PCP leaders is that to issue such an appeal would be to admit what they have been busy trying to deny—that the Socialist Party is actually representative of a section of the Portuguese masses. Moreover such an appeal would have to mean an end to sectarian attempts to squeeze the SP out of the mass movement and offer their militants means of discussing and solving differences through the methods of workers' democracy. Worst of all, from the standpoint of the leaders of both the SP and the CP, such a course would prove the capacity of the Portuguese working class to solve the political problems of the country, and cast into the shade both the class collaborationist alliance of the Socialist Party with imperialism and its Portuguese allies, and that of the PCP with the contradiction-ridden AFM.

What is wrong with the whole political strategy of the PCP is its belief that it is possible to create and guarantee the democratic rights of the Portuguese people and



sever Portugal's ties with imperialism within the framework of capitalism and on the basis of an alliance with forces that are not prepared to break with capitalism.

As the experience of Portugal shows quite clearly, the only force that has both the will and the capacity to deal with these problems is the Portuguese *working class*. In the coming months, as the divisions inside the armed forces grow, as the imperialist economic boycott and the capitalist crisis begin to

## ... & poor old Ford can't 'help'!

Many people may have missed a small news item that appeared in the press earlier this month. An agonised President Ford was reported as bemoaning the tragedy that the United States was unable to intervene in events in Portugal 'to help the situation'. West European countries were helping Portugal's socialists, he told the magazine *US News and World Report*, but because of Congressional inquiries into the Central Intelligence Agency, the US was unable to participate.

Leaving aside the question of what sort of 'socialist' leaders need support from President Ford and the CIA, Ford's claim doesn't square with the recent revelations of former CIA operative Philip Agee, who has revealed the names and addresses of nine CIA operatives in Lisbon. Their task? Along with routine rumour campaigns to foment strife and conflict, as well as massive financial backing for reactionaries in the Catholic Church who have been responsible for mob violence against communists in the north, the CIA in Portugal is attempting to infiltrate the Armed Forces Movement to find out those favourable to Western strategic interests. Of course, if all else fails, there's nothing like an assassination or two which can be pinned on the revolutionary left.

It's nice to know the sort of democracy Ford and that 'brutally frank' social democrat Wilson want to preserve in Portugal.

hit the Portuguese economy even harder, as tens of thousands of refugees—often reactionary in outlook—return from Angola, the only hope for preserving even the most elementary democratic rights of the Portuguese people will be for the *working class* to take political power.

But in order to do this the working class must be organised through its own democratic organisations of class power: workers, soldiers and tenants committees, regional

of workers' committees, workers' control of production, or workers' militias—much less a national workers' assembly or a workers' Government. This is because such institutions have nothing to do with the bankrupt plan of a 'democratic and national revolution'—they are the machinery of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, which the PCP decided to delete from its programme at their last Congress.

The fight to forge the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way forward for the

it allowed them to fill vacant posts thus created.

A good example of how this tactic was applied was the fight for 'trade union unity'. Here the Communist Party based themselves on the healthy class instinct of the mass of Portuguese workers for a united trade union movement that could best fight for their interests. They were opposed by the Socialists and Popular Democrats who, in the name of 'freedom', played the capitalists' game of division. But instead of fighting democratically inside the unions for unity the PCP tried to get the AFM to create a single trade union federation *by law* based on the existing Inter-sindical trade union federation which they controlled from before 25 April 1974.

Just how sincere was the PCP's desire for a united or fighting trade union movement can be judged not only by its strike-breaking activity of six months earlier, but also by the fact that at the same time as it was fighting for 'unity', it opposed the fusion of the chemical and plastic workers' unions because the chemical workers' union was controlled by a Maoist organisation.

## FRICTION

The upshot of all this was increasing friction in the PCP's relations with its partners in the coalition Government. After the elections to the Constituent Assembly on 25 April of this year, this grew even sharper. The poor performance of the PCP and its ally the MDP (Popular Democratic Movement) increased both its desire to cuddle up to the AFM and its need to tighten its grip on the mass movement to offset the claim of the Socialist Party to speak for the 'people' on the basis of the election results.

A party genuinely dedicated to advancing the interests of the Portuguese working class would have drawn inspiration from the fact that almost 60% of the votes in the election were cast for parties of the working class. It would have called for a Government based on the working class organisations, and launched a drive for a united front with the Socialist Party, not in order to allow it to carry out its pro-capitalist programme, but in order to expose to the Portuguese masses the contradiction between the programme of the Socialist Party leaders and the possibilities that united working class action opened up.

But the PCP was not this sort of party. It was simply peddling a different brand of class-collaborationism from that of the Socialist Party, and treated the SP like a travelling salesman who finds someone else flogging the same product in his territory.

Instead of proposing a united front to the Socialist Party leaders to carry the workers' struggle forward, the PCP leaders tried to use their special position as the closest allies of the dominant main current in the AFM to squeeze the Socialist Party out of the mainstream of political life. Thus the PCP leaders adopted a thoroughly sectarian policy towards the Socialist Party and its leaders, which had the effect of confusing and angering the rank-and-file of the Socialist Party, who felt that their party was as much a part of the workers' movement as the PCP. This made it easier for Soares and his gang to maintain their influence over their party members, and created all sorts of grievances which the SP leaders were able to exploit in a demagogic campaign against 'dictatorship'.

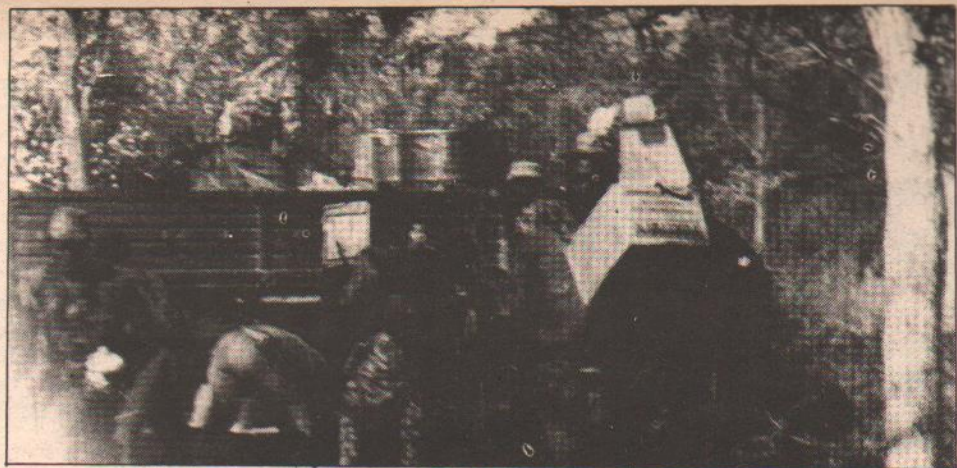
## DIG THE PIT

In this way the policy of the PCP helped to dig the pit into which it then fell. It continues to cling to this policy. For example, at the present moment the reactionary offensive is being directly fed by the leaders of the Socialist Party. While not actually calling for violence, they provide the political excuses for it.

Undoubtedly many Socialist Party militants are worried about the reactionary climate that is being generated. But they are torn between their loyalty to their leaders and their class instincts. Already in some areas it has been possible to develop united actions between local SP and CP militants to block attempts at violence. If the PCP were to direct a clear appeal to the Socialist Party leaders calling for unity to stop the violence and prevent the growth of reaction it would make it very difficult for Soares and Co. to play their current two-faced game. If the SP leaders agreed to such an appeal it would isolate the reactionary forces involved in the



# MPLA SCORES BIG VICTORIES



Big victories are also being won by the SWAPO liberation forces in Namibia, immediately to the south of Angola—picture shows a South African supply truck seized on 9 July. But SWAPO supports UNITA in Angola, which could put it in a sticky position if the latter takes an ambiguous attitude to the South African troops which have crossed into Angola and occupied a hydro-electric site on the Cunene river.

Yet another cornerstone of imperialist strategy for Angola has been swept away by the upsurge of the masses behind the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) against the forces of reaction. The 'Transitional Government' has met with the same fate as the host of previous 'agreements' and 'accords' that have sought to impose the neo-colonial solution in Angola. And in the light of events both in Angola and Lisbon, the attempt by Portugal's Acting High Commissioner to re-assert direct colonial authority over the area seems doomed to failure. It is a dramatic comment on the reactionary role of the Portuguese presence that this step was taken in response to MPLA moves to nationalise the banks.

With the ousting of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) from Luanda, and the scattering of the troops of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to the south, the MPLA has been scoring significant military and political victories that put it well on the way to crushing the forces of the right and altering the balance of forces on the southern African continent.

## COMBATIVITY

The continuous onslaught launched on workers' organisations and MPLA militants in Luanda by the FNLA was met by an increasing combativity among workers with a near complete stoppage at the factories and ports, forcing the FNLA to withdraw completely from Luanda. Although their exodus was carried out under the auspices of Portuguese troops, they suffered an open military defeat at the hands of the MPLA at the fort of Sao Pedro Da Barre which commands the Luanda port.

As it withdrew to the north, the FNLA issued a statement announcing its withdrawal from the Transitional Government. UNITA, headed by Jonas Savimbi ('I will not tolerate MPLA's street soviets'), also scampered southward in the direction of Nova Lisboa—where also are headed several thousand white Portuguese 'refugees'.

The MPLA now appears to be in control of the north-central and eastern regions, and the ports of Angola from Luanda to Benguela. They are also heading for control of the strategic economic strongholds in the country: in the north-east, the diamond-rich Portugalia and the coffee regions close to Zaire; in the south Benguela—the export route for Zambia and southern Zaire; and the Ruacana falls hydro-electric project on the southern border.

## INVASION?

In the north, the FNLA still remain in control, backed by a major build-up of troops and heavy arms from Zaire. Mobutu (President of Zaire) is attempting to plead with the FNLA to change its policy on the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, arguing for its separation from Angola. Though MPLA have a large base there, this policy would set the scene for a military invasion by Zaire, on the pretext that it was defending the so-called declaration of independence by the FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave). This possibility becomes increasingly more likely as Mobutu attempts to extricate himself from political and economic problems of his own.

However, in spite of these successes, significant dangers exist to the revolution from north and south. The danger that Mobutu might decide to put 'teeth and backbone' into a FNLA counter-offensive can-

## Appeal by the Angola Solidarity Committee

At a meeting on Friday 8 August the Angola Solidarity Committee was launched with the aim of spreading information and organising support for MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Angola's only legitimate liberation movement.

Twenty-five interested individuals and representatives of organisations attended the meeting to discuss plans for solidarity action. The meeting decided to organise support for the planned demonstration on 20 September 1975 which is mobilising in 'Solidarity with the Portuguese Working Class' and 'Victory to the MPLA'. A leaflet will be produced emphasising the connection between reaction in Angola and reaction in Portugal.

A comrade from MPLA is to be invited to speak at the demonstration

and hopefully do a speaking tour around Britain.

Other activities agreed included the organising of a picket outside the Zaire embassy in London to draw attention to Zaire's huge military and political backing of the right-wing National Front of Angola (FNLA). More information is to be distributed, a collection of important documents and a regular news bulletin. A second edition of the background pamphlet 'Angola' is also being prepared.

Affiliation to the committee (including subscription to news bulletin) costs £1.00 for six months. More information, copies of the pamphlet (10p), speakers etc. are available from: Angola Solidarity Committee, c/o Tony Gifford, 6 Bowden Street, London S.E.11.

not yet be ruled out.

In the south, though UNITA forces are at present small, its base among the Ovimbundus (who form about 40 per cent of the population of Angola) could cause extreme dif-

iculties, unless the MPLA understands how to win over this base by means of radical land reforms, and the transformation of the political and economic structures within the liberated zones in the interest of

the workers and peasants. Such a move would isolate and expose the reactionary forces inside UNITA and prepare the grounds for its defeat.

Another danger exists from South Africa: South African troops based in Namibia (South West Africa) have crossed into Angola and have occupied the dam on the Cunene river near the border—the site of a hydro-electric project involving South African interests. To confuse matters more, the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), while scoring significant military victories against South Africa in Namibia, have stated clearly their 'close links' with UNITA.

As fighting between the latter and MPLA intensifies along the border, with the growing likelihood of direct South African involvement, this contradiction will come to the fore. If SWAPO is seen collaborating with UNITA and South African troops, it could severely damage its own credibility in Namibia.

A further danger exists within the 'liberated zones' of MPLA: food shortages that could demoralise the masses. Enormous stocks of food have been held up at the docks during the recent urban mobilisations, and it is now imperative that the 'street

soviets'—the workers' and neighbourhood committees—should organise the emergency distribution of these stocks to the masses. Medical aid centres, similar to those set up outside Luanda, are also needed in the liberated zones.

As the *Financial Times* recognises, none of the other Portuguese colonies 'were anything like the prize that Angola is', and the danger of imperialist intervention is imminent. It is thus vital that MPLA should create self-defence militias throughout the liberated zones to counter the coming onslaught from the north, the dangers of Zairois and South African intervention, and against reaction in Nova Lisboa—the home of UNITA and some 20,000 Portuguese whites, protected by Portuguese troops.

The MPLA over the last few months has been calling for the withdrawal of all Portuguese troops. Now more than ever must come a resounding cry from the international workers' movement: **Troops Out Now! No to Imperialist and Pro-Imperialist Intervention! Solidarity with the MPLA! Solidarity with the Portuguese Workers' Revolution!**

**Julius Karanja**

# New sell-out scheme in Zimbabwe

While the Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is arming the white population in preparation for a confrontation with the black liberation movements, Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the African National Council is attempting to set up yet another constitutional conference, this time chaired by Britain and South Africa.

Smith has been escalating attacks against the liberation movements. Many African militants have been arrested for allegedly aiding youth to escape across the Mozambique border to join the movements. If found guilty, they will be shot.

At a recent picket at Rhodesia House militants mounted an all night vigil against the arrests and in support of the liberation movements. Didymus Mutasa, once a detainee of the Smith regime and a ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) militant, whose brother is among those arrested, told *Red Weekly*:

'The peaceful road which Muzorewa speaks of is no longer peaceful; there is already a war in Rhodesia. The purpose of this conference is to clear the consciences of the British Government. We can predict that it will not bring dignity to the oppressed people of Zimbabwe—that is only possible through armed struggle.'

'We must learn from the lessons of Angola, where they have had difficulties of leadership, aid and ideology. The wishes of our people are that Muzorewa should be given a chance. Even ZANU is prepared to give him a chance; but I think he knows that if the conference fails, then we must go to armed struggle.'

'ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) will not accept this—it is this leadership contest that has always caused the splits in the organisations. But whoever the leader, we must choose him. We hope there will not be an

'Angola' in Zimbabwe, but the grounds for such a situation have already been laid.

'Our responsibilities today are large ones. Our struggle in Rhodesia is the struggle for mankind against international capitalism, and not just for Zimbabwe.'

It is clear that any anti-imperialist mobilisation in the southern African continent directly threatens imperialist vested interests in the region, and every attempt has been made to confuse and decimate the forces rallying behind the liberation movements. Thus in Angola the MPLA is set against the pro-imperialist UNITA and FNLA, while in Zimbabwe imperialism continues to play off one move-

ment against the other, laying the grounds for Muzorewa to emerge as the leader of a neo-colonial government.

As Mutasa says, there are lessons to be learnt from Angola: the MPLA leadership has used its militant base to strengthen its own position at the top, capitulating to the right by agreeing to disarm the masses, and giving credence to the neo-colonial solution. Clearly Muzorewa, too, is using his support to strengthen his position at the conference table, posing the question of armed struggle as a 'threat' if a neo-colonial solution is not arrived at.

While agreeing that the way

forward is through armed struggle, the latter is insufficient without an overall political strategy. This poses the question of workers' and peasants' self-defence units, organisation of land reforms, and liberated zones—the means by which the liberation of Zimbabwe in the interest of the labouring masses is possible by the masses themselves, combined with the military struggle that Mutasa speaks of.

Zimbabwe should look to the exemplary struggles and organisations of the labouring masses of Angola under the leadership of MPLA militants, which have so far frustrated neo-colonial plans for the region.



The picket of Rhodesia House on 8 August. INSET: Didymus Mutasa, whose brother is one of those currently held

Photos: ANDREW WILKARD (Report)

# FRANCO'S POLICE TORTURE 'WILSON'

An interview with a Spanish lawyer who has been involved in defence work for political prisoners in Spain.

About how many political prisoners are there in Spain today?

I can't say exactly, but approximately 10-12,000 go through the courts each year.

What sort of 'justice' do those charged with political offences receive at the hands of the Spanish state?

It comes under a special jurisdiction which they call 'ordinary', but is in fact very special. This deals with all questions of public order. Many people are charged only for their ideas, their opinions—for holding meetings, or distributing propaganda. Otherwise the most important cases usually go to the military courts.

People are brought before military courts if people are killed, where it's alleged terrorism has been used. This means people are supposed to have used guns. I should also mention the Carrero Blanco case, where the evidence against a list of people was drawn up by the police alleging their responsibility for the execution was so flimsy that the first judge said he would not take the responsibility of issuing an indictment against them and a 'special' judge had to be found to take the necessary responsibility. After the failure of the prosecution to obtain extradition from France of various people, the case was handed over to the military courts.

Is the torture of suspects very common?

Yes it is very common. The prisoners are also frequently submitted to drugs. Usually they are tortured in some way, and sometimes they are held incommunicado in police hands for more than a week. Afterwards, if they are handed over to military justice they can be held incommunicado from anybody—lawyers, family, even from other prisoners—for nearly 100 days. One woman said to be involved in the Correo affair was held incommunicado for 110 days.

The case we've heard about most in this country is that of Eva Forest and Antonio Duran. Can you say something about their situation at present?

They were accused of being involved in the Correo affair along with 16 other people. Now there are only two of them, Eva Forest who is held in Yeserias prison and Antonio Duran who is in Carabanchel. Duran has been in the prison hospital several times and in the infirmary because of a mental disorder and also for an eye infection.

Eva Forest was in the hands of the police for nine days, and Duran was in their hands for two periods of five days separated by some time in prison. They are still awaiting trial. The prosecution's case is almost finished but no one knows exactly what is going to happen next.

Are there other important trials coming up that international opponents of the Franco regime should be concerned about?

There is also the forthcoming trial of Garmendia and Otaegui. They are under military jurisdiction, in the 6th military region—it could be Burgos, we don't know but we hope so. Now they are collecting all the evidence presented by the lawyers in preparation for the trial.

It's important to know that Garmendia's lawyer has already asked for the suspension *sine die* of this trial. Garmendia is more or less mentally deficient as a result of the injury he suffered at the time of his arrest and is unlikely to recover.

There's recently been a lot in the British press about the arrest of a number of militants of the Basque liberation organisation ETA, including the leading militant known as 'Wilson'. Can you say something about this case?

He was arrested in Barcelona on the morning of 30 July, along with another ETA<sup>1</sup> militant. Later two people were also subsequently arrested in Madrid as part of this operation. Three people were actually arrested, but one of them was killed by the police. There were quite a lot of people involved in subsequent arrests since all those living with the original three were detained and anyone who gave them assistance (like taking them in) now have also

taking them in) has also been rounded up.

They were also involved in an escape plan for the political prisoners in Segovia—this is one of the most important political prisons in Spain, where most of the people are Basque and militants from ETA.

In this case we can say that Wilson is considered by the police to be a leader of the political-military wing of ETA, and is suspected to have a great deal of knowledge about the whole organisation. He is being held incommunicado and it is also suspected that drugs have been administered to him.

What impact has the issue of political prisoners had on the Spanish and Basque working class, and how do you think they will respond to the forthcoming trials?

We can say that the level of consciousness in the Basque country with regard to this issue is one of the

highest in the Spanish State. Usually it has taken the form of a general strike, as last December. The Basque working class is waiting for these trials and everyone is talking about them. There is an amusing example of this from the festival of Pamplona when all the small boys were shouting that the life of 'Topa'—that is the alias of Garmendia—is going to be saved by the people all together.

What possibility is there that the trial of Otaegui and Garmendia will turn into another Burgos, with all political consequences?

I think it is quite possible because people are saying that this is going to be bigger than Burgos, but we have to wait and see because as yet we don't know exactly when the trial is going to be held.

<sup>1</sup>ETA-V Basque liberation movement supports the idea that terrorist actions can bring down the regime and solve problems of Basque nationalism.



A picket outside Queensland House in the Strand was held on Thursday 14 August in support of three Australian militants—two black and one white—who are on trial for 'attempting and conspiring to attempt to obtain goods with threats and menaces'. They are being framed because of their involvement in a campaign to smash the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Acts, which give the authorities the power to strip aborigines of all rights. To quote just one example: an aborigine on a reserve can be ordered to perform any work deemed suitable. There are no provisions for wages to be paid on the reserve—this is left to the discretion of the manager, and refusal to work is punishable by fines and/or imprisonment. The aborigines outside the reserves are equally discriminated against, as they are classified as aged, infirm, or slow workers, and thereby paid less than the basic or minimum wage. The demands of the picket were: that the Queensland Government drop the charges against the three, and repeal the Acts; self-determination for the Australian aborigines; immediate and unconditional land rights.

## Bangladesh coup - Ahmed, creature of CIA

The fall of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman writes still one more epitaph on the hopes of those who see a future for capitalist democracy in the neo-colonial countries.

A protege of Mrs Gandhi, his regime was no more than a brutal caricature of India's own corruption and incompetence. The heroic struggles of the Bangladesh masses were repaid by a regime that relied on increasing repression to stay in power as the ailing economy proved completely incapable of fulfilling Mujib's demagogic promises.

At the top, the Mujib clique waxed fat, nepotism was rife and the regime became ever more dictatorial. In the country poverty was endemic, inflation swelled, the harvests grew worse and starvation swept through the masses leading to famines in which millions died.

As disillusionment grew amongst the masses the extreme right wing nationalists saw the urgent need to get rid of Mujib. The crisis of the Indira Gandhi regime and Mrs Gandhi's autocratic measures strengthened the hand of Khondakar Mushtaque Ahmed,

who represented the alliance of the military and the rich capitalists.

Ahmed is a creature of the CIA—who certainly backed the coup and probably helped to organise it.

In some areas there had been isolated outbreaks of guerrilla warfare against Mujib. Ahmed obviously decided to take over before the disillusionment turned into a political opposition to neo-colonial rule.

The instant recognition by Pakistan of the new regime—which has dissolved the secular state and converted it into the Islamic Republic of Bangladesh—shows clearly where the regime considers its interests lie. The Chinese Peoples Republic, which prefers the shady games of diplomatic manoeuvres to reliance on the struggle of the masses, has likewise recognised the new Islamic Bangladesh.

One of the first acts of the new regime was to abolish the Mujib-backed guerrilla organisations and replace them with a para-military organisation firmly under the control of the new



leaders.

Once again the events in Bangladesh show that the road to bourgeois democracy is closed. The choice facing the masses on the Indian sub-continent is either that of military style dictatorships and grinding poverty or the road of the proletarian revolution.

Cyprus pamphlet AVAILABLE IN  
ENGLISH TURKISH GREEK



ORDERS TO:

E.M.C.  
97 Caledonian Rd.  
London N.1.

## WHAT'S ON

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Ireland—will the truce last?' Tues 26 Aug, 7.30pm in Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Srani-Dal-Biplab' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o International-en, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

NEW WORKERS FIGHT PAMPHLET — For A Rank And File Movement — articles include 'Why a Rank and File Movement', 'A Programme for the Rank and File', and 'Lessons we have to learn'. Available from C. Whythead, 2 Saville Place, Bristol 8. Price 10p + 5p p&p.

MANCHESTER PWCC public meeting at the Hulme Labour Club, 12 Sept, 7.30pm. Speakers from Portugal and trade union movement. Organised by Manchester steering committee.

FOR CHEAP reliable IBM typesetting with fast turn-around phone Carl or Martin on 01-837 9987.

DROP THE CHARGES Against the BWNIC 16! Public meeting Monday 15 September, 7.30pm, in Conway Hall—speakers include: John Miller (T&G),

Joan Maynard MP, Eric Tomlinson, Paul Foot, Alistair Renwick (TOM), Jack Dromey (NCCL), George Anthony (AUEW), Laurence Daly (NUM), Wendy Butlin (defendant).

'WOMEN AND FASCISM': public meeting of Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee with main speaker Margaret Coulson, Thurs 21 Aug, 7.30pm in Manchester Town Hall (Basement Extension Theatre).

AFRICAN REVOLUTION—first issue of this journal by IMG Africa Commission due out in late September. Further information, contributions, orders, contact African Revolution, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

INSTITUTE OF WORKERS CONTROL—meeting to organise conference on crisis in Motor Industry: Sat 30 August, 2-5pm, in Sidney Stringer School, Cook Street, Hillfields, Coventry.

'THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION': Birmingham IMG public meeting, Digbeth Civic Hall, Tues 9 September at 7.30pm.

MCAPP PUBLIC MEETING: 'The Eye Hospital and the Crisis in Birmingham NHS'. Digbeth Civic Hall, Thurs 18 Sept, 7.30pm.

# CASTLE SANCTIONS PRIVATE HOSPITALS

After two years of solid struggle by trade union militants in the National Health Service to ban the parasite of private practice, Barbara Castle finally unveiled her proposals last week. These plans fit exactly into the other betrayals around the National Health Service being foisted on the working class by the Wilson-Healey leadership of the Labour Government.

Having done nothing about even the minor proposals on private patients she was forced to introduce last year—common waiting lists, closing 10 per cent of pay beds at a stroke, etc—she has now told the consultants that they have her full backing to go ahead and build some 50 new private hospitals. These are to make up for the private beds they are supposed to be losing from the NHS sometime in the distant future. The British Medical Association are still complaining of course, because they wanted more. But by giving Labour's blessing to a two-tier service, Castle has laid the ground for them to launch the system of a national private health service they so dearly want.

## BACK & FRONT

As Wilson's capitalist measures stab the working class in the front with the wage freeze, and in the back with the cuts in social services, the struggle to defend the NHS from Labour's attacks will become increasingly central for all militants. All over the country cut-backs in the sadly depleted NHS are being pushed through by regional health authorities.

In fighting back against the cuts no reliance can be placed on the Labour Government, whose policies include the avowed aim of slashing

public expenditure. Unless health workers—supported by all other sections of the working class—take up a campaign to defend the NHS against the Labour Government's cuts, and to ban all private prac-

## MCAPP

Sponsors for the Conference called by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice against cuts in the National Health Service continue to roll in, says MCAPP secretary Dr. Paul Stern.

Among the latest sponsors are the East London Committee Against the Cuts; ASTMS Firth Brown, Sheffield; AUEW Marylebone, London; South London National Abortion Campaign; NUPE branch, North Middlesex Hospital; Ken Coates and Ken Fleet of the Institute of Workers-Control; TGWU Shell Chemicals, near Manchester; and TGWU 5/293 Assembly branch BLMC, Cowley.

...tice, then the spectre of a two-tier health service with workhouse hospitals as in the 1920s will become a reality.

In two areas in London workers have given their answer to Labour's proposals. In West London, at the Hammersmith Hospital, workers have told management that unless all private patients are removed then services will be cut off from those

wards that have the largest number of pay-beds. In reply to the administrators' statement that they were breaking Castle's rule of overseas patients being exempt, the workers simply stated that they had waited two years for Castle to agree about pay beds, and it might take another year of fighting before she was convinced. To them, whether a private patient came from India or Inverness, Saudi Arabia or Southampton, made no difference whatsoever.

In East London, hospital workers in St. Andrews Hospital took strike action against the threatened closure of two of their local hospitals. This area is already one of the least well supplied in Britain for hospital beds. This action was taken as part of a campaign being waged in the area through the East London Action Committee Against the Cuts, a rank and file body of health workers and other trade unionists in East London.

## COMPENSATION

This local united front action committee was formed three months ago to fight against all closures of health facilities. It calls for all plans for cuts to be disclosed, and for automatic increases in public expenditure to compensate for the increase in inflation. At its last meeting on 11 August, it decided to produce a draft of a workers' plan for the NHS and for this to be circulated to the labour movement; and to campaign in the workers' movement for a Day of Action in East London on 9 October, centred around a demonstration to the meeting of the Local Area Health Authority insisting its demands be met in full. The meeting also unanimously voted to sponsor and send delegates to the conference on 11 October called by MCAPP on the fight against all Labour's cut-backs in the NHS.

## ROLL-BACK

Only if this kind of direct action taken by bodies of the working class movement can be spread up and down the country will there be a successful roll-back of capitalism's attacks on the health service, schools, etc. Such a movement can also help to lay the basis for a united struggle against all Labour's capitalist pay freezes and cuts in the social services.

Dominic Costa

body and finally gave the requested assurances.

On the one hand they were only verbal, so everyone is prepared to take up the issue again if nothing really happens. But on the other hand, it is a clear victory because the concession was made in response to the militancy of the strikers rather than through negotiations with the official union bodies.

## DEMOCRATIC

Instead social workers have learnt to take the fight in their own hands through democratically run open meetings or all the staff involved. In these meetings positions have been taken in relation to officials of NALGO attitudes to the press, picketing, etc. So social service workers have not simply won a few demands but also the consciousness of their power to influence appointment of staff—which could have great consequences in the future.

The contacts made during the one-day strike provide a basis for a larger action committee to be built upon, involving other trade unionists (hospital workers, etc) and sections of the working class (tenants, housewives, claimants, etc). This will be an effective means of forcing the Council to oppose the Labour Government's cut-backs. Finally, as it is only a matter of time before some similar crisis occurs elsewhere, militants in Tower Hamlets are taking steps to ensure that the lessons of this particular struggle are publicised through other social service committees and local action committees, to help lay the basis for a still wider fight against Labour's cutbacks.

## PATHETIC

However, no move had been made by the Director or Council by Monday 11 August except to issue a pathetic press statement to say that they would agree to be 'more flexible'. It was therefore decided to repeat and extend the strike action in two days time if a satisfactory reply hadn't been made. Two hours before the deadline Councillor Riley spoke to an 'unofficial' (i.e. not one of the recognised negotiating bodies, but direct representatives of the strikers)



## Social workers fight Labour cuts

A small but significant battle has been won by social service workers in Tower Hamlets, London. Using the strength of a united and determined strike on 8 August, they have not only won assurances on most of the demands put forward, but have also made the first real links with trade unionists and the working class in the area to prepare for the even tougher battles ahead against social expenditure cuts.

By 1 August things had got so bad—with chronic under-staffing and threats of victimisation against Area 2 workers, who had shut the office doors telling callers to go to their councillors instead—that everyone in social services wanted immediate action.

Social workers—who are normally too guilt-ridden or inexperienced to take strike action—have begun to



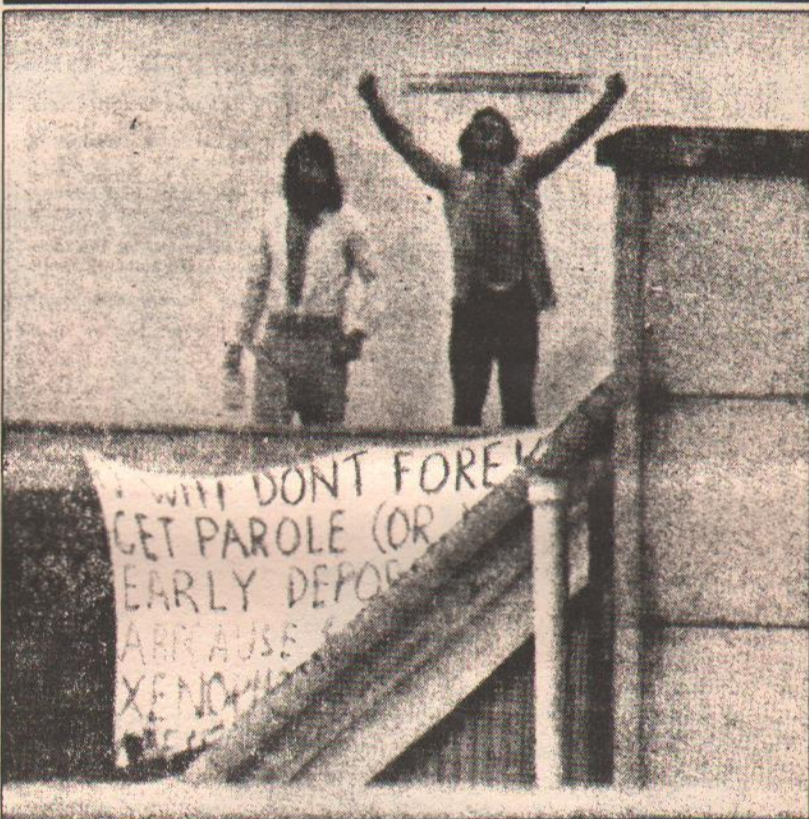
## BIRMINGHAM LOCK-OUT ESCALATES

The dispute involving more than 200 members of the National Union of Journalists locked out at the Birmingham Post and Evening Mail has escalated sharply with the decision by the Labour Party press office to refuse conference credentials to scab members of the Institute of Journalists, who are continuing to keep the papers coming out. The Party's publicity director, Percy Clark—with the full backing of the Transport House NUJ chapel—has also ordered that 'no copies of Ministers' or Labour MPs' speeches or other material from Transport House should go to the Post and Mail offices', and has asked the Press Association to respect the embargo.

The response of Fleet Street has been predictable. 'Frankly shocking....bigoted and bullying approach....mockery of freedom', stormed the Sunday Telegraph, on 17 August. The Sunday Times was more subtle: 'NUJ members should bear this sad story in mind when they fill in the ballot papers with which they are now being circulated... If they choose [the closed shop] they will be encouraging that mixing of industrial and political matters which has had such an odious result in the Labour Party ban'.

The Birmingham journalists were locked out after protesting against a management pay offer of just 1.1 per cent—less than £1 per week. Since then concerted efforts have been made to break the strike, including the arrest of ten pickets earlier this month. But it still remains solid. Certainly it is unlikely to be affected by the rantings of hacks whose sole concern is their 'freedom' to attack the organisations of the working class.

## ALBANY PRISONERS FIGHT THE PAROLE SYSTEM



The outrage expressed in the Labour movement over the Home Secretary's manoeuvres with regard to parole for the Shrewsbury 2—while Ricky Tomlinson has been released, Des Warren faces the whole process again—will hopefully focus working class attention more firmly on the barbarity of the whole parole system. A helping hand in this direction was given earlier this month by prisoners who demonstrated at Albany and Parkhurst jails on the Isle of Wight.

At Albany the prisoners spent nearly a fortnight up on the main roof, while at Parkhurst 16 men were put in solitary confinement with loss of privileges and one month's remission for taking action in solidarity with the Albany prisoners. The system they were protesting against is designed to produce subservient, quivering wrecks: to be seriously considered for parole means getting consistently good reports from generally unsympathetic officers, and this is followed by a long waiting period during which the fate of the prisoner (not to mention his wife and children) is at the mercy of the Parole Board and finally the Home Secretary.

At the end of this process prisoners are supposed to take their place passively in capitalism's labour force. They are certainly trained to accept low wages—the average wage for the 50,000 working prisoners in Britain is 60p a week! One reason that these conditions continue to exist is the isolation of prisoners from the labour movement outside. But a small chink of light was opened up when a group of supporters demonstrated outside Albany on 9 August.

## GAYS FACE IMPORTANT CHOICE

This weekend the national conference of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) meets in Sheffield. CHE is the largest gay organisation in Britain and has in the past been able to exert a great deal of pressure on behalf of homosexuals. It is currently launching a parliamentary bill to liberalise the laws on male homosexuality. In 1967 Parliament removed some of the more medieval provisions from the law, but with little real effect since the number of prosecutions for 'homosexual offences' has steadily increased since then.

CHE's approach (diplomatically influencing MPs and other high-ups to support them) and emphasis (the law) may look good on paper. However an emphasis on the law means an emphasis purely on the problems of male homosexuals since there are no laws against lesbianism. More importantly, it also means ignoring the causes of the oppression of gay people—the need for the ruling class to keep sexuality in the pattern of child-rearing for women and wife-beating for men.

Another snag, perhaps the biggest one, is that the ruling class is in the grip of a crisis. It won't turn liberal if it can help it. The only way change will come about on the gay question now is if the organised working class throws its weight into the fight and forces change. The question facing gay militants at the CHE conference is whether they are prepared to get stuck into the difficult job of fighting to get the workers' movement to take up this question, or whether they are going to wander further up the blind alley of reformism.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

# LOYALISTS STEP UP SECTARIAN ATTACKS

The Loyalist offensive against the anti-Unionist population of the North of Ireland reached new heights last week when 48 people were injured by a car bomb on the Falls Road.

\*In the last week 25 Catholic families have been petrol bombed out of their homes in the Green Island housing estate near the town of CARRICKFERGUS.

\*Shots have been fired and petrol bombs thrown at Catholic homes in LARNE, the old constituency of Vanguard Unionist leader William Craig.

\*Mobs of Loyalist youths invaded the nationalist area of LURGAN, County Armagh, on three consecutive nights causing considerable damage and injury.

\*And last Saturday night three people were injured and a family left homeless when Loyalists planted a bomb in the anti-Unionist Bone area of BELFAST.

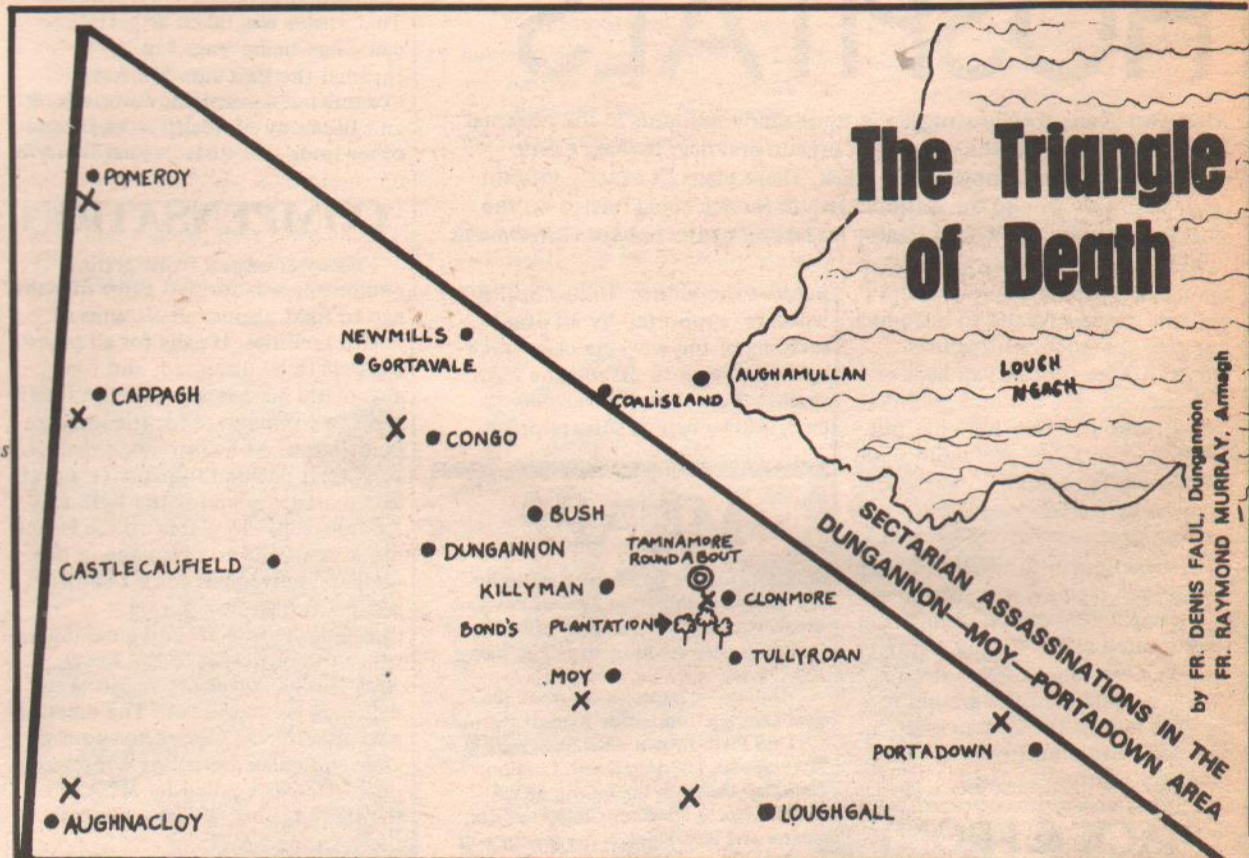
Both Protestants and Catholics have presented evidence about British Army collusion in Loyalist attacks. On Sunday 10 August a major gun-battle was fought around the British-built 'peace-line' in Belfast between Republican volunteers on one side and British army and Loyalist snipers on the other. The shooting followed two

days of street fighting in nationalist areas throughout the Six Counties, sparked off by British Army harassment and attacks on protesters commemorating the fourth anniversary of internment.

Television coverage of the shooting showed Loyalist civilians mingling with soldiers and pointing at areas at which the soldiers then let fly with a barrage of bullets. Loyalist residents of Baden-Powell Street (off the Shankill Road) revealed to a local paper, the *Sunday News*, that members of the Parachute Regiment had urged them on the Sunday afternoon to go on the street and 'get the Taigs going'. When they refused they claim the troops attacked them.

## SUCCESS

The British exercise appears to have been prompted by the success of the anti-internment mobilisation. In an obvious attempt to sabotage the protests, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Merlyn Rees, had hinted in early August that all internees



The notorious 'death triangle' where so many sectarian killings and attempted killings have taken place, as recently documented by two priests. Not marked are the Miami Showband ambush and the attack on a minibus of Catholic OAPs which also took place in this area a fortnight ago.

would be released by Christmas. But tens of thousands of demonstrators all over the North demanded an end to internment now and the release of all sentenced political prisoners. Eight thousand people at a rally in Belfast's Dunville Park applauded Maire Drumm, Provisional Sinn Fein vice-president, when she said: 'We don't give a damn about Christmas, we want them home now, today.'

Unfortunately, the militant resistance of the anti-Unionist population has not been matched by the major anti-imperialist organisations. Despite the fact that there are still 230 internees cooped up in the wire cages of Long Kesh, and some 2,000 political prisoners are held in prison camps, efforts to achieve a united protest failed. Both Sinn Fein and the Official-backed Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association held their own exclusive protests.

## ATTACKS

Such a failure is doubly inexcusable at a time when the anti-Unionist population is the victim of a ferocious two-pronged attack from the British military and its Loyalist allies. Recruitment campaigns have been launched to strengthen the sectarian Ulster Defence Regiment and Royal Ulster Constabulary from the ranks of the Protestant para-military organisations, and a new top security prison is near completion at Meghaberry.

And after the Bayardo pub explosion, the Ulster Volunteer Force—which was responsible for the Miami showband massacre in which three people died—threatened they would launch a new wave of assassinations against the anti-Unionist population if any of their armed patrols were arrested by the 'security forces'.

Combined with the threat of civil war, the Loyalists are now offering promises of 'rights' for Catholics within a revamped Orange State. There is no doubt that the Social Democratic and Labour Party

betrayers are toying with this idea in their current talks with the United Ulster Unionist Council.

Speaking on Southern Irish radio a few months ago, SDLP leader Gerry Fitt agreed with Ian Paisley that an 'Ulster identity' was emerging. 'It is much too early to attempt to negotiate an independent state or UDI, but certainly the trend is there', said Fitt. And in order to give the Convention parties more time to cook up a deal, the Assembly—which was due to re-convene on 19 August—has been put off till next month.

Whatever deal emerges, one thing is sure. The aim of any new structures for the Loyalists will be the smashing of all political opposition along

with stepped-up repression against the anti-Unionists.

The only effective way in which such a development can be resisted is through the united action of all anti-imperialist groups, and the preparation of the anti-Unionist working class for the defence of their areas against Loyalist attacks through the creation of local united front defence committees. Militants in Britain can make their contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle by building a mass movement for the immediate withdrawal from Ireland of all British troops—the shelter behind which the Loyalists are preparing their offensive.

From JOHN MAGEE in Belfast

## LANCASTER-UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

The tragi-comic proceedings at Lancaster Crown Court, where nine Irishmen were accused of taking part in the Birmingham pub bombings, reached their inevitable conclusion last week. Six of the accused were jailed for life and two for nine years.

However, one defendant, James Kelly, only got nine months. From an extreme Protestant background, he claimed he was 'infiltrating' the IRA to gain information about its activities for the police. He had then been 'too scared' to get out of the bombings. Although not allowed to turn 'Queen's evidence', the acceptance of Kelly's role as a provocateur clearly indicated the British state's acceptance of such methods.

But Kelly wasn't the only provocateur around. On the night of the bombings Kenneth Littlejohn, on the run from Dublin's Mountjoy Prison and a self-confessed infiltrator of the IRA, arrived at the home of the prosecution's star witness in Birmingham, a certain Thomas Watt. Watt wasn't only a workmate of two of the accused, Walker and McKenny—he is also a supporter of the National Front.

Watt gave some startling evidence. Walker had sketched him a bomb to prove he was a member of the IRA; admitted going to Ireland for 'IRA training'; asked him where to buy alarm clocks for the November bombs; and told him when bombs were going to go off in the Midlands. And the police knew all this because Watt had kept them constantly informed!

A third fact that emerged—which even the judge had to admit—was that the accused had been severely beaten up. The judge blamed 'the cronies in the prison service'—Winson Green prison has seen the death of six inmates in the past few months—but on Dr Harwood's evidence that the wounds were already twelve hours old when he examined the men, the police would have been responsible. In all likelihood the men were beaten up twice; but Harwood's evidence would be consistent with the defendants' claim that their confessions were beaten out of them.

The Lancaster trial has proved once again that in cases connected with Ireland the British Courts cover up more than they reveal—about police brutality, the use of agent provocateurs, and the involvement of the British State's dirty tricks department.

# RED WEEKLY

10 DAYS LEFT - £400 NEEDED

As the calendar gets ominously near the end of the month the Fund Drive stands at an all-time low of £100.17p. Apart from a North London health worker who sent us a ten pound cheque, most of our readers seem content to be cheering from the side-lines.

The firm who supply our equipment and print our paper are just as interested in getting their money in August as any other time. So we ask our readers for a really big effort—we need another £400 by the end of the month. Just make sure we get it.

All donations to 182 Pentonville Road, London N1.



NAME..... SUBSCRIPTION RATES  
ADDRESS..... DOMESTIC: £6 per year  
£3 for six months  
FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail  
£12 per year airmail

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1