

RED WEEKLY

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SOLIDARITY
with the
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WORKING CLASS
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DEMONSTRATION

Basque militants face death penalty

Save their



ANGEL OTAEGUI

The Spanish dictatorship has decided on the brutal murder of two anti-fascist militants from the Basque country — Jose Garmendia and Angel Otaegui, sentenced to death by garroting last week. The 'trial' that decided the fate was a farce typical of the repressive Franco regime. It was held before a military tribunal, because no jury would have handed down the verdict the regime wanted. It lasted only five hours, because the regime had already decided the verdict and the punishment.

No attention was paid to the testimony of four witnesses that the two had not been present at the shooting of the Civil Guard with which they were charged. The court also disregarded the argument of the defence that the 'confession' wrung from Garmendia by torture — the basis of the state's case — was invalid because he had suffered permanent brain damage as a result of being shot in the head while being arrested, and was mentally incapable of understanding the meaning of any statement he had signed.

The state was not interested in such details, because it was using the two simply as scapegoats. Its real target was the entire Basque people.

The Spanish dictatorship is fearful of its future. Franco is living out his last days, and the regime he created is in danger of coming apart at the seams when he leaves the political scene. His cronies are terrified of the prospect that the working class will take advantage of this crisis to wage the sort of militant fight for freedom and democracy that the Portuguese working class is engaged in. They therefore want to break the spirit of the most militant section of the working class — centred in the Basque country — before this crisis begins.

Bloody tip

The trial of Garmendia and Otaegui is just the very bloody tip of the iceberg. If the regime is successful in murdering them it already has its other victims lined up: five militants from the Maoist group FRAP, left wing activists Eva Forest and Antonio Duran, and eight Basque militants, including Pedro Beotegui ('Wilson'). The sweeping powers and new penalties of the repressive anti-terrorist law

lives!

will allow the regime to cast its net still wider and rope in still more victims.

Mass strike

But this repressive policy is not going unopposed. The opening of the trial was greeted by a strike of 60,000 workers in the Basque country; when the death sentence was handed down a further 100,000 came out in protest. Demonstrations have broken out in Basque cities, brutally attacked by the police who have fired on unarmed demonstrators, wounding two.

In 1970 a wave of international and domestic protest prevented the regime executing a group of Basque militants tried and sentenced to death in Burgos. Today the die-hards of the regime may be more determined to carry

through their bloodthirsty plan, but ruling class circles in Spain are deeply riddled with fear and doubt. Big sections of the Spanish capitalists and their political spokesmen believe that the policy of repression is disastrous — that it can only serve to postpone the day of reckoning a short while further, and will fuel the hatred of the Spanish masses for the fascist state, making a 'Portuguese' type explosion more, rather than less, inevitable.

The Spanish working class has shown its determination to fight the forces of fascist terror with its bare hands. If this can be backed up by the sort of mass international solidarity that greeted the Burgos sentences, Garmendia and Otaegui could be saved, and the whole rotten fascist dictatorship plunged into crisis, ushering in its downfall.

Brutal

Broad sections of the labour movement have demanded that the Spanish Government halt these executions — Jack Jones, Harold Wilson, Michael Foot, the TUC General Council, and the Labour Party Executive. This



JOSE ANTONIO GARMENDIA

demand must be taken up by everybody within the British labour movement, and we must call on the Labour Government as a whole to take an official stand against this brutal attack on the Spanish working class.

Revulsion

The regime could carry out the murder of Garmendia and Otaegui at any time within the next few weeks. If — by ruthless and rapid action — it should succeed in catching us off guard and completing this bloody deed, then we must fight to make sure that it is its very last. We must seize on the wave of revulsion and indignation that will sweep the working class movement to mobilise every force possible in solidarity with the other intended victims of the dictatorship.

In one corner of the Iberian peninsula — Portugal — the working class has already smashed the fascist order and embarked on the road to socialist revolution. If their struggle can be reinforced by the mighty power of the Spanish working class the socialist forces in the Iberian peninsula will be in an immensely favourable position. This — in the midst of the present capitalist crisis — would not only open the door to the Iberian socialist revolution, but strengthen and inspire the working class forces throughout the continent, paving the way for a socialist Europe. For the sake of our Spanish and Portuguese comrades — and for the sake of our own struggles — we must mobilise every force at our disposal to solidarise with them in the coming weeks.



The head of last Saturday's 1,000-strong solidarity demonstration in London

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

TUC
TIGHTENS
THE NOOSE
- see page 3

UNEMPLOYMENT

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



Workers fighting for their jobs at Cammell Laird shipyards have come up hard against police attacks, which have so far claimed 11 arrests. A mass picket of more than 600 on 27 August was their response.

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO WORK!

by Mick Gosling

TWO STORIES in the national press last week summed up perfectly the insanity of the capitalist system. The first, on 28 August, concerned the latest review of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research. The report noted that unemployment was at a 35-year high, and went on to predict that *seasonally adjusted* unemployment would rise to 1½ million by this winter with next year seeing a further jump to 1½ million (for you and me that's nearly 2 million unemployed). The NIESR's proposals for dealing with this catastrophic situation: *cautious* reflation – and even this met with the cautious criticism of the editorial writers of *The Times*.

STOCKPILES

The next day *The Times* reported another story. While Britain is acutely short of homes, 748 million bricks are lying stockpiled and the British brick-making industry is operating at 30 per cent below capacity. The stockpile of bricks represents over 70,000 houses and £28 million of locked up capital. Half the brick manufacturing capacity which has closed down in the last 18 months will never reopen, and 2,000 jobs have been lost. At the same time the construction industry unions quote a national figure of 160,000 men unemployed. The source of this 'red propaganda' was Mr Anthony Cadman, director general of the Brick Development Association.

You do not need to be a revolutionary to see that unemployed construction workers using stockpiled bricks can build houses. But the economic future offered by the Labour Government, backed by the trade union bureaucracy and supported by the Tories and Liberals, is one of falling living standards, declining public services, and mass unemployment. The effect of the £6 limit is to cut demand and consequently production, intensifying the jobs crisis. The smashing of the £6 limit is an essential part of the fight for jobs.

But so far the 'lefts' in Parliament and the trade union bureaucracy who oppose the £6 limit – though both Jack Jones and Michael Foot have given up pretending to be even fake lefts, while only a minority of the Tribune group of MPs even voted against the Healey measures – have failed to counter the Government's so-called 'anti-inflation' propaganda or put forward the measures desperately needed to defend the right to work.

HODGE-PODGE

Instead a hodge-podge of measures have been proposed, none of which provide a class-wide response to unemployment. In fact, the increasingly popular demand for import control to curb foreign competition, now being advanced by most sections of the TUC and the Tribune group, does exactly the opposite. This demand has the notable advantage of being at once absurd and reactionary. Unfortunately some workers facing a desperate job situation – as in the textile industry – have taken it up, so the implications of import controls need to be spelt out.

The only parts of the world from which imports could be excluded without massive retaliation would be those crushed by imperial-



The ever-growing dole queue at Kirkby—in Liverpool unemployment has reached a staggering 10 per cent

ism. It would be an attempt to export our unemployment onto the backs of the impoverished masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. If import controls on any significant scale were applied to the products of our more powerful capitalist competitors, they would do exactly the same to us. In that sort of trade war, decrepit British capitalism is strictly a loser.

BENEFICIAL

With export outlets cut off, the economic crisis would get worse and unemployment would soar; living standards would fall still further as more expensive home-produced goods were substituted for cheaper imports. The only situation in which import controls would benefit the working class would be as part of a state monopoly of foreign trade following the creation of a socialist planned economy. Import controls would then be used as one method by which the working

the capitalist state should carry out would simultaneously intensify the economic crisis whilst sowing reactionary illusions in the working class.

By comparison the most basic demand to defend the right to work is simple – the immediate reduction of the working week to 35 hours with no loss of earnings. This would benefit the entire working class, employed and unemployed. It can be taken up in local bargaining, national claims, and in demands for Government measures. It has already been adopted in a token fashion by some unions.

But the union leaders have no intention of leading a serious fight for this demand. In fact, the TUC's guidelines on the implementation of the £6 limit specifically exclude improvements in non-wage benefits as a way of 'getting round' the £6 limit. Any reduction in hours would have to count as part of a pay increase. Of course, the 35 hour week is not an instant cure-all for unemployment, but

Over the next few weeks *Red Weekly* will be running a number of features on how to defend the right to work. Although demands will vary from industry to industry, and a multitude of tactics and forms of working class organisation will be needed to implement them, we believe the following demands are the basic measures necessary to combat mass unemployment:

- * For the right to work;
- * Immediate reduction of the basic work week to 35 hours without loss of earnings;
- * No to redundancies – work-sharing with no loss of pay – nationalise without compensation all firms declaring redundancies and place them under workers' control with all jobs guaranteed
- * Stop the cuts in public spending – for a major programme of socially useful public works and the nationalisation of the major construction firms;
- * Stop employers' sabotage of jobs – open their books and prepare a workers' plan for production that defends jobs.

class sought to take advantage of, and refine and extend the world division of labour created by capitalism over centuries of development. This would help to create the most mutually beneficial division of labour and pattern of trade on a world scale, aiding the growth of living standards of all humanity, and preparing the way for a planned socialist economy on a world scale.

This is hardly what our reformist 'lefts' have in mind. The measures which the Tribunites propose that the Wilson Government and

the fight for the 35 hour week will help develop more advanced struggles against unemployment by unifying the workers' movement in a common fight.

When faced with a specific redundancy struggle, the left reformists' usual response is to claim the firm is 'viable' or that it is 'an industry Britain cannot afford to lose'. Statements along these lines have recently been made in *Tribune* about the British motor-cycle industry, though no 'left' MPs have been stopping the country raising support

for the workers in occupation at NVT Wolverhampton, who are well aware of the dangers of their struggle becoming isolated. Where one Tribune MP, Leslie Huckfield, did actively intervene in the motor-cycle industry, he only helped lead the workers at NVT Meriden up the blind alley of reformism in the form of a workers' co-operative and in doing so isolated them from a class-wide fight against unemployment.

The Meriden occupation could have been used as a base by the workers to campaign throughout the working class for the nationalisation of the whole motor-cycle industry under workers' control – all too necessary in the light of recent events at NVT Wolverhampton. Instead the early enthusiasm of the workers was whittled away through months of wheeling and dealing between union officials, Leslie Huckfield, and the Department of Industry. The *Sunday Times* (28 July 1974) commented on the final agreement: 'So far undisclosed plans are to turn out 12,000 bikes with a workforce of 450 in the first year, stepping up employment to 750 to double output in 1975. As Meriden never turned out more than 30,000 machines with 1,750 men on the payroll under previous managements, this is a productivity boost of at least 85 per cent.' Not surprisingly the workers at NVT's Small Heath factory in Birmingham became very concerned for their jobs, and virtually shouted Benn down at a meeting later in the year.

'A TRIUMPH'

The workers' co-op at NVT Meriden was hailed uncritically as a triumph by *Tribune* and the Communist Party's *Morning Star*. In fact the intervention by the 'lefts' isolated a struggle, sowed divisions in the working class, and posed no class-wide answers to unemployment. Now *Tribune* turns round and accuses the NUV workers at Small Heath and Wolverhampton of being responsible for this poor state of affairs! 'At the time of the Meriden sit-in, there was a certain amount of feeling at Meriden that they were not getting all the support they might from Small Heath and Wolverhampton. The "we're all right Jack" attitude has certainly rebounded on some people at Wolverhampton and if little support comes from the Meriden co-operative, they have only themselves to blame for creating the ill-feeling in the first place' (*Tribune*, 15 August 1975).

With the benefit of hindsight, *Tribune* continues: 'Had the entire group fought Poore and his decision to close Meriden in the first instance and demanded nationalisation, then perhaps the current situation would not have arisen, argue some union leaders.' Which is all a little like leading a blind person half way across a road then blaming him for getting knocked down.

When the Labour lefts do raise the question of nationalisation, they do so in a totally confused way. It is never clear whether they regard it as an anti-capitalist measure or just a better way to run or salvage a 'vital' capitalist industry. Nationalisation for them is something implemented by a government measure through the capitalist state apparatus. The 'best' the workers will get out of this is a few people on the board – as in the British Steel Corporation – and a bit of 'worker participation' in productivity drives and sackings. Not surprisingly the lefts are rather quiet about the massive redundancies being carried through in the British Steel Corporation and the Post Office.

THE STATE

Red Weekly campaigns for the nationalisation of all firms declaring redundancies not because it is better for the capitalist state rather than private firms to run certain industries, but to guarantee jobs. We are against compensation to former owners, because it allows the capitalist class to increase its power by investing in more profitable sections of the economy. Such money should be spent defending jobs and wages and carrying out the necessary reorganisation of the industry to serve the needs of the working class and not the dictates of the capitalist market. That, of course, can only be guaranteed by the operation of workers' control in nationalised industries.

Nationalisation for us is part of an anti-capitalist offensive against unemployment implemented by the working class through its own organisations – factory committees, occupation committees, national action committees, and so on. As such, the school of workers' control is the working class's preparation for the management of a socialist planned economy.

NEXT WEEK: Unemployment in the building industry and the fight against the cuts in public spending.

TUC TIGHTENS £6 THE NOOSE



As we go to press this week the Trades Union Congress is opening at the Opera House in Blackpool. It will provide the final curtain raiser for the slashing attacks on living standards that the Wilson Government will carry out over coming months. With £6 limit likely to be endorsed by at least seven million votes to three, this will complete the series of tactical victories that Wilson has scored over the left in the past few months.

First there was the Common Market referendum, which prepared the ground for sacking Benn from the Department of Industry; then the announcement of the Healey measures and the TUC's acceptance of them; and finally the outcome of the miners' ballot, after Wilson's personal intervention at the NUM Conference. Even so, the NUM executive recommendation had to omit all mention of the £6 limit and the Healey measures to gain even a three to two majority.

Desperate to gain the maximum support at the TUC for Wilson's anti-working class policies, Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, has sunk to an all-time low. Realising that the argument that unemployment will grow if the £6 limit is breached may wear a bit thin as unemployment climbs to the 1½ million mark, Jones is preparing a new line of attack. He has now resorted to the plea that breaking the £6 limit will bring down the Labour Government with little prospect of it winning the next election. Yet it is precisely Wilson's policies that are leading Labour to electoral disaster.

'MILITANT'

So policies which would never be accepted under a Tory Government are now forced on the labour movement by this former 'left' who at the same time tries to put a 'militant' gloss on the £6 limit by saying it is an entitlement and not the upper limit announced by the Government.

Jones attempts to maintain his 'left' image by disclaiming to pensioners on Blackpool sands that they should receive half the national average wage on retirement. However, if his own policies are successful, half the national average wage will soon be worth next to nothing.

Even *The Times* editorial writers were forced to let the cat out of the bag: 'The six pound policy has not hurt anyone yet: it became effective only a month ago. In nine or ten months many workers will know to their cost how far six pounds will fall short of maintaining living standards' (1 September).

Five thousand outfitting and ancillary workers on strike for eight weeks at Swan Hunter ship-yards in Newcastle have already found out. Two weeks ago the Department of Employment intervened to make it clear that even Swan's paltry offer of £3.50 — the workers are demanding £8.30 plus another £2 in November — is ruled out by the pay policy rule insisting on a 12-month gap between settlements. *The Wilson Government is insisting that the strikers can only have 55p!*

BACKSTABBING

After the failure of the local bureaucrats to break the strike Len Murray pitched in last week. He said: 'I am sure everyone in the shipbuilding industry in the region wants to see this lengthy dispute settled, but it must be within the limits so far as I am concerned.'

The back-to-work lobby has also gained the support of Bro. Arnold,



Swan Hunter workers — on strike for a pay increase above the £6 limit — leave a mass meeting after voting to stay out. The Government says that under the 12-month gap rule they can only have 55p! Photo: RAY SMITH (IFL)

Secretary of the local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, and a full-time official of the AUEW. The AUEW is supposed to be opposed to the £6 limit, but it has done nothing to mobilise support for the Swan's strikers who are actually fighting it.

The same warped logic will be shown at this week's TUC by the leaders of the 550,000-strong National Union of Public Employees. A 5,000 word statement by the Union's executive says the present pay policy would mean unemployment and cuts in public expenditure, threatening real living standards, job security and working conditions, particularly for NUPE members. But Alan Fisher, General Secretary of NUPE, says that although they are opposed to the Government's pay policy they will abide by the majority decision at the end of the TUC economic debate.

It is precisely the failure of the 'lefts' in the unions and the Labour Party to campaign against the Government's wage-cut plans and for the removal of the Wilson leadership which is preparing the grounds for further attacks on the living standards and organisation of the working class.

Monday saw the start of the trial of 10 pickets arrested at the Eldon Square site in Newcastle last January. At the same time a court order has been issued against 11 pic-

ets fighting for their jobs at Cammell Laird's, Birkenhead, barring them from their picket line for six weeks.

If those unions opposing the £6 limit are serious, they should immediately organise campaigns in defence of these pickets and in support of the Swan Hunter workers who are fighting Wilson's wage-cuts, as part of a campaign to defeat the Government's capitalist policies and remove the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party.

James Drake

The Defence Committee for the Eldon Square pickets is holding daily pickets starting at 10am outside Newcastle Crown Court for the duration of the trials, which opened on 1 September. The Crown Court is at the Newcastle end of the High Level Bridge near the Bridge Hotel.

Meetings in factories in the area are being arranged by the Defence Committee including one at the massive Vickers-Elswick works. The opening of the trial of Rob Henderson, charged with assault among other offences, showed what the ten are up against. One witness called by the police was an inspector who had sat in court all day. Police also talked to the jurors in the canteen at lunchtime! An 'independent inquiry' is meant to be looking into these 'events'.

Next week *Red Weekly* will be carrying a fuller report on the Defence Committee's plans for the campaign and the significance of the new attacks on picketing. Further details of the campaign from: Eddie Brady, 86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle 15 (0632-32365).

IN FOCUS

BEHIND THE WITCH-HUNT OF 'MILITANT'

Over the last few weeks the ruling class and the media have begun to take up a campaign in defence of the right-wing MPs under attack by Labour's rank and file. This was what lay behind last week's piece of witch-hunting of the *Militant* comrades by the *Observer's* political correspondent Nora Beloff.

For such a dirty piece of work Beloff was the ideal candidate. She has close connections with the leadership of the Labour Party and is not exactly an outsider in ruling class circles. Her 'expose' journalism had one purpose only. It was written to provide 'evidence' — most of it at least 10 years old — for a kangaroo court to expel oppositionists inside the Labour Party.

This witch-hunt has to be opposed by all socialists. Its purpose is to strengthen the agents of the ruling class inside the Labour Party and to weaken the opposition to Wilson's cuts in living standards.

In Sheffield Brightside the local party members gave former MP Eddie Griffiths his marching orders and chose the more left wing Joan Maynard as their representative. Of course the process did not stop at Brightside. Heartened by the victory of their colleagues in Sheffield, and furious at the pro-capitalist policies of the extreme right, other Labour parties began to take similar action.

Extreme right-wing MPs like Reg Prentice (Newham North East) and Frank Tomney (Hammersmith North) face open revolts inside their own parties. Both look destined to be removed as parliamentary candidates unless the Transport House bureaucracy makes one of its not unusual interventions against the party rank and file. The Griffiths, Prentice, and Tomney affairs have done more than send a shudder down the backs of the Labour right wing. They have also caused consternation within the ruling class itself. British capitalism is relying on the right-wing leaders to savage working class living standards and desperately needs the right wing to carry out Wilson's pro-capitalist policies.

SUBORDINATION TO CAPITALIST STATE

What is more, they have to defend the Labour leaders from the attempts of the working class to control their own representatives. Their position that Labour Party activists represent nothing more than a 'small cabal' or an 'unrepresentative grouping' is designed to present the alliance of the right-wing Labour clique and the ruling class as being the majority opinion and consensus. This is intended to put a non-partisan gloss on Healey's pay laws and all the other anti-working class measures of this Government.

The Beloff denunciation of party activists seeking to control their MPs aims to defend the capitalist idea that Labour MPs are only responsible to Parliament and their own 'consciences' as opposed to the workers' movement. This means nothing more than subordinating that movement to the capitalist state.

This deliberately orchestrated attack has to be fought. But such a fight cannot be conducted simply by issuing writs as the *Militant* leaders have threatened. A successful fight against the witch-hunt is dependent on the working class's involvement in the fight to change the Labour leadership. *That fight has to be extended into the mass organisations of the working class.* It has nothing to do with trying to persuade the Labour leaders to take up more 'left' policies. Wilson and his group are openly acting against the interests of the working class. They have to be removed from their positions of leadership.

Prentice has never been shy about his right to organise, nor have his supporters in the capitalist press lacked enthusiasm for defending and actually encouraging the organisation of the right wing. The Social Democratic Alliance — of which Prentice is a supporter — is organising the right wing fight to carry out the policies of the ruling class.

The fight is about policy and leadership. Prentice supported the jailing of the Pentonville Five and then of the Shrewsbury pickets. He supports to the hilt the anti-working class Healey pay laws. What rights should he have in a party that the trade unions formed to represent the interests of the working class?

The *Militant* comrades have talked about using writs and denied that there is such a thing as the Revolutionary Socialist League. Whether the RSL exists or not is irrelevant. There can be no democracy inside a party of the working class unless the members of that party have the right to organise to fight for their views. That means the right to come together to discuss a common programme. It means the right to circulate that programme and speak to other members of that party to attempt to win them to that programme.

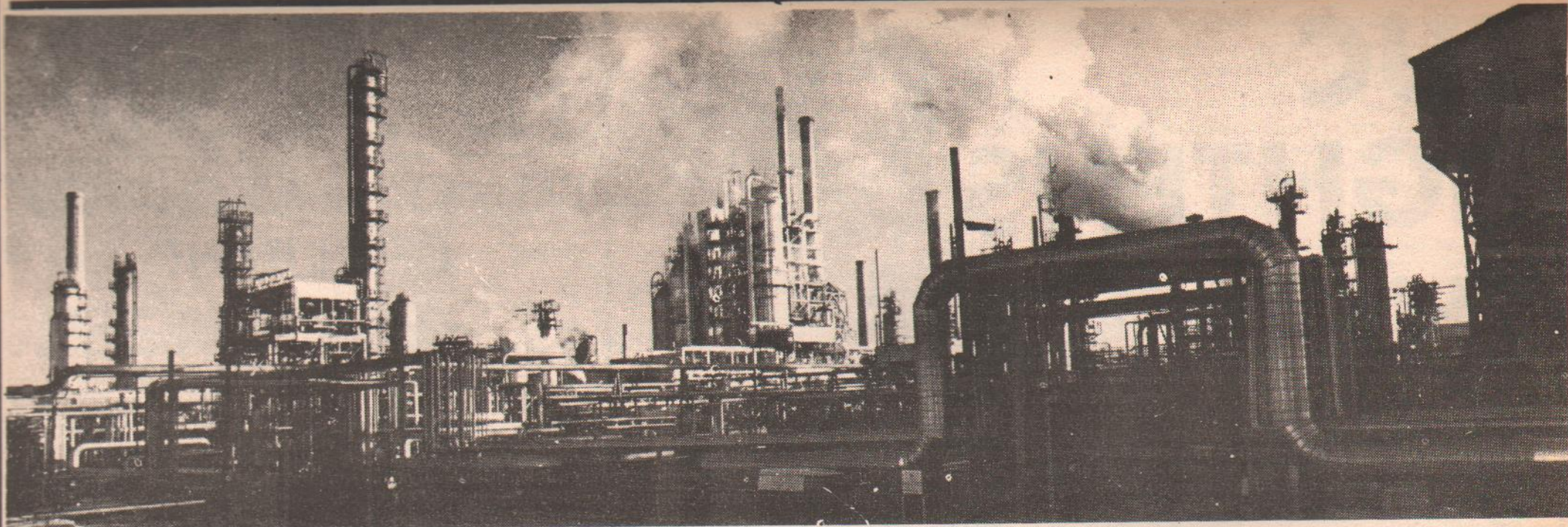
It must also involve the right to finance activities and to organise themselves as a tendency. If these rights do not exist — and they certainly do not at the moment inside the Labour Party — then they have to be fought for.

ALL LEFT MUST BE MOBILISED

Furthermore, this means mobilising the entire left against the witch-hunt. In a recent interview in *Red Weekly* the chairperson of the Tribune Group, Sid Bidwell, said that: 'Trotskyists should join the Labour Party...' Nowhe and his colleagues must come to the defence of the *Militant*. That means they have to support the right of working class tendencies to both join and organise inside the Labour Party. It also means calling for the removal of the right-wing leadership.

There is one certainty facing Tribune. If the right-wing and the ruling class witch-hunt *Militant* out of the Labour Party, then the squeeze will go on Tribune next. Tribune have already tasted the accusation of being a 'party within a party' when Mellish attacked them for organising to vote against the Healey pay laws.

The International Marxist Group calls for the unequivocal defence of *Militant* and its supporters. It is prepared to work in any joint campaign to defend *Militant*. It calls on the readers of *Red Weekly* to oppose inside the trade unions and the Labour Party any attempts to victimise *Militant* activists. Such a campaign must in our opinion be based on the fight to remove the Wilson leadership, and the right of all organisations which serve the interests of the working class to organise inside the Labour Party and to be allowed to affiliate to the Labour Party.



'More like Switzerland than Detroit'

— SNP's vision of the future

'Our first inclination is to visualise a future economic structure for Scotland as more like Switzerland's than Detroit's'

This is the conception of an independent Scotland to be discussed by the National Committee of the Scottish National Party this weekend. It is contained in two special documents commissioned by a secret committee headed by Douglas Crawford MP. The documents would probably never have come to light in their present form if they had not been leaked by incensed SNP members to a London journalist and circulated to the socialist press.

These documents confirm in striking form the analysis previously made of the evolution of the SNP by the IMG and *Red Weekly*. We think it is of the utmost importance that the machinations of the clique who put these documents together are exposed, and that the campaign against the SNP's diversionary tactics is vigorously taken up in the labour movement. As a first step, we print below key extracts from these documents together with our comments.

The two documents — entitled 'Scottish Economic Development after Self-Government', and 'Financial Management after Self-Government' — were produced by a committee of leading financiers and financial advisers. Its members included John Donachy (PolEcon Ltd), Alistair McKenzie (PolEcon Ltd), Grant Baird (Royal Bank of Scotland), David Stobie (investment adviser to merchant bankers Grosart Ltd), Ronald McNeil (DalScot, merchant bankers), Prof. David Simpson (Director, Fraser of Alexander Institute of Research into the Scottish Economy — funded by Sir Hugh Fraser), Chris Bauer (Scottish Correspondent, the *Financial Times*), and Alexander Scott (PolEcon Ltd).

The committee at no time consulted trade union or working class opinion during its deliberations — and the reason becomes obvious when we look at the documents. The first starts off:

'Scotland will inherit a mixed economy. It is not for us to speculate here upon the respective theoretical and practical merits/demerits of public/private sectors of entrepreneurial ownership and organisation in a self governing Scotland. What is certain is that a Scottish Government, inheriting a mixed economy and accepting the broad goal of economic policy stated above, must accept a continuing responsibility towards the private sector to strive for the maintenance of conditions in which that sector can play a full part.'

Problems

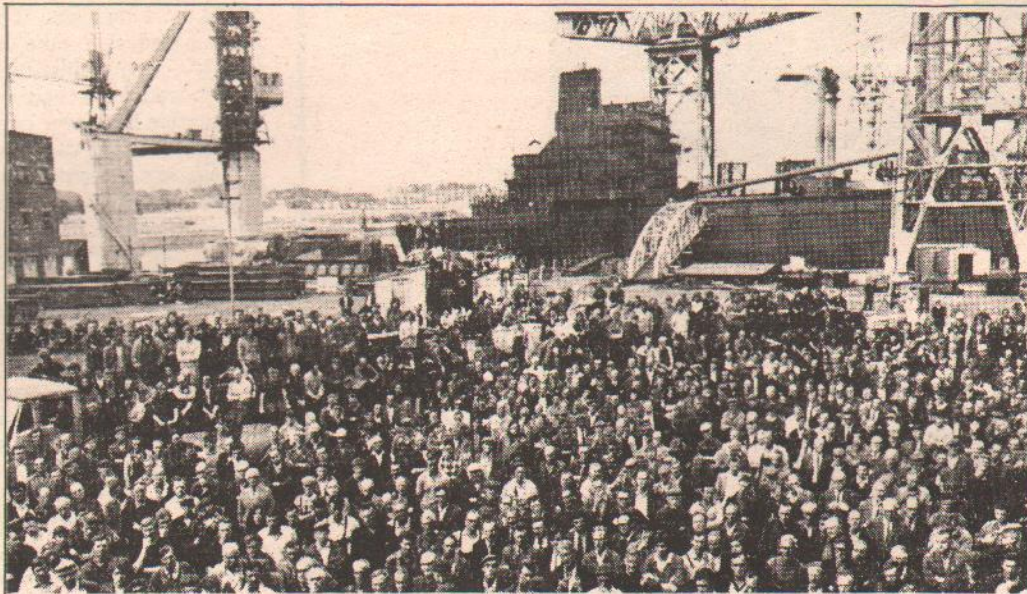
This, of course, leaves certain problems. Because if you accept 'a continuing responsibility to the private sector' — i.e. for capitalism — you accept declining basic industry, mass housing and unemployment problems, inflation, and the power of a capitalist class which is totally incapable of changing this structure. You accept that you cannot embark on the large scale *planning* needed to deal with these problems. Nor can you release the necessary resources, since that would involve massive attacks on the Scottish banks (which control £1,218 million in deposits and £71 million in reserves), the insurance companies (whose funds total £1,825 million), and the Scottish investment trusts (whose funds total £1,105 million — one third of total British holdings).¹

Therefore an alternative has to be put forward — the *workers* must pay. And here we find that the diplomatic double-talk so characteristic of the SNP begins to wear a bit transparent:

'A Scottish Government is likely also to inherit long-established serious problems in respect of the maintenance of output and employment in parts of Scotland, particularly in West Central Scotland. Its success in coping with these legacies... will particularly hinge

upon mobility of manpower *occupationally*, and to some extent *geographically*. Some of the requirements for achieving this are likely to be highly controversial. There is a widespread and strong tendency in Scotland (though it is by no means exclusive to Scotland) to believe that because a particular activity has provided a particular number of jobs in a particular area for many years it must be expected and if necessary subsidised to go on doing so forever.'

What does this mean? It means a *continuation* of the trends which, as we pointed out in the IMG pamphlet *Scotland, Labour, and Workers' Power*, are already taking place:



Heath was called a butcher when he tried to close UCS; but SNP prefers to call such measures 'doctoring'

where workers are being forced out of the West of Scotland in droves to work in virtual labour camps building the oil rigs; where the number of shipyards on the Clyde has declined from 17 to three; where the British Steel Corporation is busy trying to write off steel production in Scotland outside the Ravenscraig plant — and where the total absence of alternative employment is forcing massive migration on the working class, together with the break-up of communities and union organisation.

The next paragraph spells it out:

'The successful management of the long-drawn-out rundown of much of our traditional structure, and of its replacement by one which changes quickly and flexibly as necessary, implies that most Scots would experience in their working lifetimes what has been, hitherto, a minority phenomenon — a change of job, and possibly of type and place of work — several times in forty years.'

And on page 4 of the document we see how it should be done:

'The Government would necessarily have to fulfil a "help for lame ducks" role, probably

for some years, in certain industries, but should operate like a "company doctor", seeking either eventual re-invigoration or the least painful form of euthanasia for its patients. A Scottish Government should not be expected or prepared to suffer lame ducks indefinitely.'

When Heath did this to Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, he wasn't called a 'doctor' but a butcher. But in case of any doubt, the document lays down where development effort will be concentrated:

'Nevertheless, among the existing Scottish industries on which a Scottish Government might with advantage concentrate its development encouragement are:

- oil related (engineering and downstream)
- engineering (particularly specialist) and certain capital equipment goods
- food processing
- luxury consumer goods, especially textiles, liquor and craft products
- tourism
- process plant
- specialised shipbuilding and marine engineering
- aerospace, including electronics
- financial services
- defence equipment'

Unfortunately this omits such industries as steel (on which the SNP has run a major campaign under the banner 'Save Scottish Steel!'),

The basis on which this is proposed is very simple. The tendency after separation would be (and is now) for Scotland to become a 'clearing house' for world finance and a place where, because of oil expertise and capital, a great deal of *financial* capital would be located. This does not at all mean *investment* capital: the money would be used for imperialist investment *abroad* — for instance, in Venezuela, Central Africa, and the South Asia Seas, all places where oil investment is booming. Already Scottish banks and merchant banks (banks which organise large-scale loans to capitalists for investment) are mushrooming.

Currency

If the financiers are to succeed in their goal, however, a 'Scottish' currency would have to be stable and not devalue alongside the English pound. But if this happened, the document acknowledges that it would smash up Scottish heavy industry by making it even *less* competitive than it is now. So the problem for this section of capitalists is how to keep the enraged working class off their backs — how to use the plea of 'protecting our currency' to make sure that Scottish political institutions could not be used to affect their policy decisions.

This is also a real problem for the workers' movement, because unlike Sir Keith Joseph the SNP has won real mass support in the working class and *will continue to do so in the face of Wilson's treacherous attacks and the failure of the left to organise any fight against them.*

This is why the evolution of the SNP and its shackling to the financial sharks must be vigorously exposed in the labour movement.

What they are actually aiming at is *financial independence from the British State*: and they will be prepared to make every conceivable deal with the British capitalists to increase this independence *short* of Scottish separation.

Assembly

The policies of the Labour and trade union leaderships simply play into their hands. By advocating an Assembly which can in no way satisfy the aspirations of the working class for *real* democratic control of the economy and a degree of national autonomy, they only provide a *bargaining* counter between the Scottish financiers and the Labour Government in the fight for control over Scottish capital investment and oil revenues — with the working class as the pawn.

Already Crawford is ringing the alarm bells over the Scottish Development Agency. 'It must not', he says, 'become a tool of doctrinaire socialism.' In other words, the *state* and the *workers' movement* must have no say in the development of industry and the management of money in Scotland.

The IMG and *Red Weekly* will be fighting for the widest possible exposure and repudiation of these policies. In future issues of *Red Weekly*, and in our pamphlets in the 'Scotland, Labour and Workers' Power' series, we will also be explaining *our* alternative.

¹All figures from 'Finance Capital and the Upper Classes' (Scott and Hughes) in *The Red Paper on Scotland* (ed. Gordon Brown, EU 5PB, 1 Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh).

Independence

But in their second document, 'Financial Management after Self-Government', the committee proceed to proposals which do not even make sense for the bourgeoisie. They want to place finance after independence in the hands of an *independent* central bank, under the sole control of the financiers — abandoning even 'normal' capitalist state control of the economy!

SPAIN & PORTUGAL

The European Revolution

Unfolds



The countries of the Iberian peninsula — Portugal and Spain — are today the scene of the most monumental class struggles on the European continent.

In Portugal the working class, following the collapse of the brutal fascist regime that kept it down for so long, is shaking the capitalist system in this corner of the continent to its very foundations. In Spain the fascist dictatorship still survives, but the Spanish working class has placed itself at the head of a vast popular movement which is growing in strength from day to day as both the dictatorship and those capitalist groups who seek simply a liberal facelift prove unable to meet its challenge either through brutal repression or liberal blandishments.

If the great battles of the international class war during the past three decades have been centred in that part of the globe ruthlessly plundered by imperialism — Asia, Africa and Latin America — today they are erupting in the very heartland of world capitalism. In 1917 Lenin tried to explain the apparently ironic fact that socialist revolution should have broken out in Russia, the country least suited for it in terms of its economic development, by saying that 'the imperialist chain broke at its weakest link'. Today the weak links are again starting to buckle, and they are to be found on the Iberian peninsula.

During the 1920s and '30s Spain and Portugal were among a number of capitalist countries whose ruling classes responded to the social and economic crisis by imposing brutal fascist regimes in order to shatter the resistance of the working class movement. Both were among the most underdeveloped of European capitalist nations, and both had known brief and unsuccessful attempts by the capitalist class to rule through the

institutions of capitalist democracy (Portugal from 1910—1926 and Spain from 1931—1936).

In each case this period was brought to a sharp end by the only force capable of uniting all the quarrelling factions of the ruling class and taking the decisive action necessary to deal with the working class; the army. In Portugal, where industrial development was very limited and the working class small and inexperienced in political struggle, this was achieved with little resistance. But in Spain, where the workers' movement had decades of experience of political struggle under both military dictatorship and capitalist 'democracy', the reactionary military plot met with an iron ring of proletarian resistance which was only broken after three years of bloody civil war.

COMBINED

The histories of Spain and Portugal have always been closely intertwined — in part because of the similarities of the two countries, and in part through conscious co-ordination. When, 10 years after their Portuguese counterparts had taken the road to dictatorship, the Spanish ruling class plunged into civil war, the conflagration immediately spilled over the border. The opposition to Salazar's dictatorship, who had for five years depended upon the territory of the Spanish Republic as a base for their political work, saw their fate inextricably linked with the anti-fascist struggle in Spain. Portuguese volunteers were recruited to join the international brigades and the Spanish republican army, often using arms which they had been accumulating for use against Salazar. In September of 1936, the crews of three Portuguese warships moored in the River Tagus mutinied and tried to take their ships to join the anti-fascist Spanish fleet.

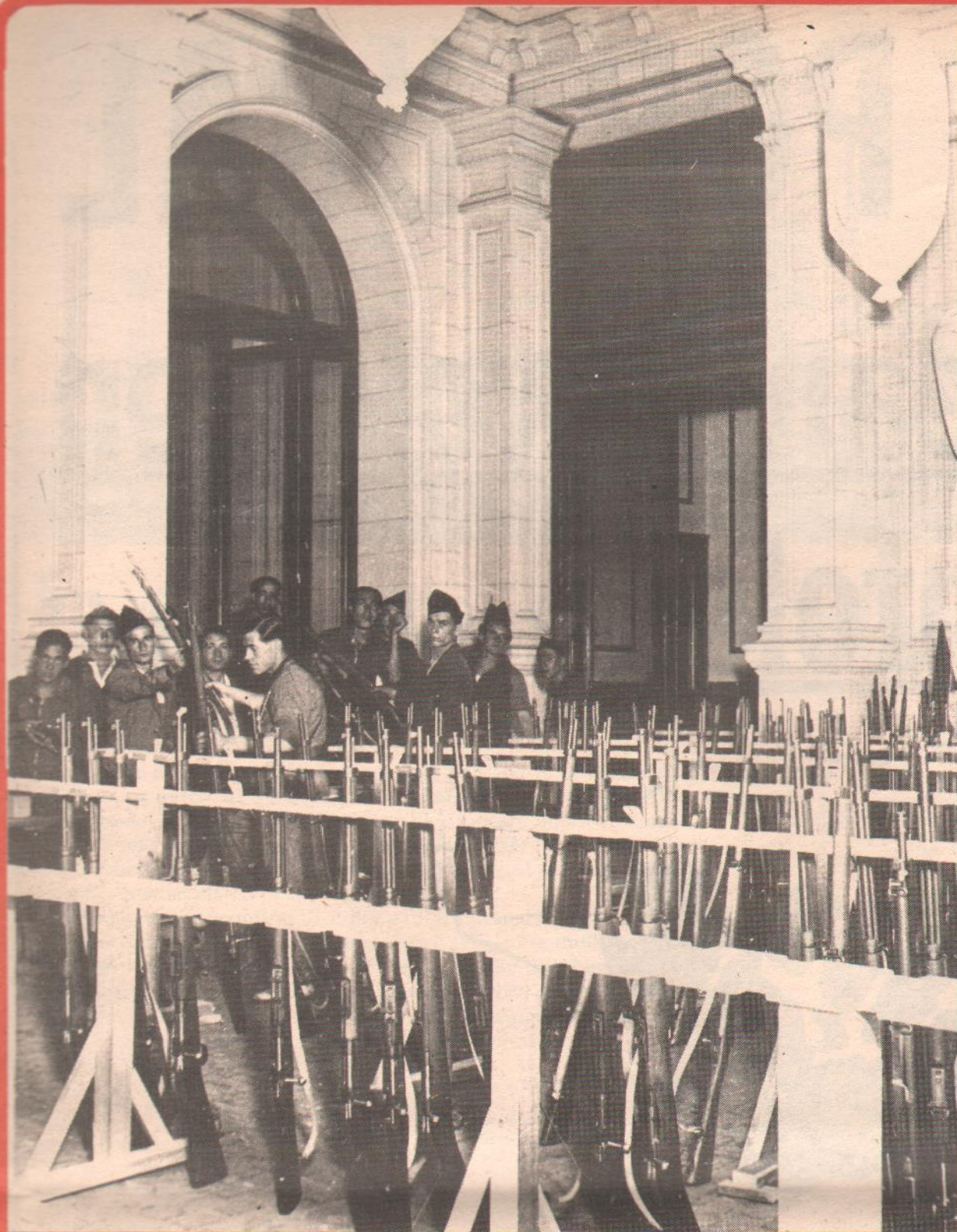
They were only stopped by shelling from Lisbon's shore batteries.

On the other side the Portuguese regime welcomed the fascist rising, which had originally been hatched in the Portuguese seaside resort of Estoril. From the beginning the Franco forces were accorded every facility on Portuguese soil, including the transmission of military supplies from Germany. As soon as it was practical — in early 1938 — Salazar recognised Franco's government as the official ruler of Spain, and as the war drew to an end his police rounded up Spanish republican refugees and dutifully passed them on to Franco's butchers. A special unit of reactionary Portuguese was formed to fight alongside Franco's army — including in its ranks a later faithful spokesman of the Portuguese capitalists, Antonio Spínola.

On the home front Salazar — who for long had tried to avoid the trappings of the fascist states, stressing his regime's 'Catholic' inspiration — felt compelled to create his own storm troopers (the Portuguese Legion) and a fascist-style youth corps (Portuguese Youth) in order to combat the danger of subversion from insurgent Spain.

In March 1939, the fraternity of the two dictatorships was sealed in the infamous 'Iberian Pact' of mutual assistance. During the war they drew even closer, trying to maintain a two-man balancing act between the fascist Axis powers and the 'democratic' Allies. While their sympathy — often expressed in material assistance (provision of facilities for espionage and communications, supply of essential war material) — was unashamedly with the former, the two dictators were too skilful opportunists, and felt too weak in such a clash of giants, to cast their lot with either side until the eventual outcome was clear.

This prudence saved their skins. After the war both regimes gradually made their peace with the 'democratic' powers of Western capitalism, despite the idle



Guns being distributed from the arsenal of the workers' militia in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War — the lesson of armed self-defence has not been forgotten by the Spanish working class.

PORTUGAL 16 MONTHS ON

The following greeting and political statement was sent to the recent National Convention of the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA, by the LCI, Portuguese sympathising group of the Fourth International.

I bring you the greetings and solidarity of the Internationalist Communist League (LCI), the sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in Portugal.

The Armed Forces Movement (AFM) appeared as a movement of captains several months before 25 April. Its goal was to defend the prestige of the army and to gain salary increases — all on a petty-bourgeois basis. In the course of the struggle and after linking up with Spínola, the AFM saw the need for establishing a bourgeois democracy and the need to end the colonial war, although still on the basis of ill-defined positions. This later allowed for the development of neo-colonialist positions.

BONAPARTIST

The bourgeoisie, lacking any mass bourgeois party, could only choose a bonapartist solution by means of the AFM. But this could not be realised because of the extension of the mass movement in the factories and the barracks, and because of the penetration of the AFM by the working class parties. The coup of 25 April thus gave the masses the opportunity to struggle for an improvement of their economic situation. Hence we witnessed different struggles, some of them already on a national scale — for example, those among textile workers and post office workers in June 1974.

In that period there was no organised trade union apparatus, and the Stalinists of the Communist Party were firmly intent on demonstrating to the bourgeoisie their ability to control the workers' movement and strengthening their position in the state apparatus. They had a sys-

tematic practice of denouncing all struggles, and accusing them of being tools of reaction. Given these facts, there appeared in this period — almost spontaneously — workers' commissions whose purpose was to co-ordinate the conduct of the strikes and other struggles. Several of these workers' commissions were already democratically elected by the workers, assembled in mass meetings or general assemblies of the factories.

Side by side with this, and without taking a position on the workers' commissions, the Stalinists began structuring trade unions by electing trade union leaderships without the participation of most workers. They hoped to channel struggles into them, and to control them better.

BROADENING

On the other hand the Socialist Party had to broaden its working class base, because when it was founded the SP was composed of intellectuals of the republican tradition. So in this period the SP supported some of the struggles, although it never actually organised the mobilisations or extended them.

After 11 March — after the defeat of the Spínolista sector of the army, and of the sectors of the bourgeoisie who supported Spínola — we witnessed an enormous surge of the mass movement on an already anti-capitalist basis.

In this period, the Communist Party took advantage of the role it had played on 11 March in stopping reaction to improve its positions in the state apparatus and in the AFM. In this period, after the nationalisation of the banks, the workers began to demand the nationalisation of a very large number of companies which were closing down or whose bosses were carrying out an economic boycott.

Also in this period we saw the extension of the organisation of workers in their neighbourhoods around the right to decent housing. This led to the formation of the neighbourhood commissions — the *comissoes de moradores*. In several parts of Lisbon, Porto, Setúbal, and some nearby towns, these neighbourhood commissions sprang up everywhere. Workers who lived in slums took over empty houses and those abandoned by the bourgeoisie. They then formed neighbourhood commissions to organise the

...the revolution

(continued)

hopes of opposition forces that the victorious allies would reject these offspring of defeated fascism. Portugal was admitted to NATO in 1949. Spain, symbol of anti-fascist struggle, whose ties with the Axis had been quite open and direct, had a longer and more difficult haul. But within a few years she too was admitted to the community of the 'free world', the door opened by a military and economic assistance pact with the United States.

Portugal and Spain were both anachronisms in the world of post-war, booming Europe. While economic 'miracles' were being worked in Italy and Germany, and the somewhat less miraculous British economy managed to take some comfort from the growth of world trade and the international capitalist economy, Portugal and Spain remained impoverished backwaters, locked in their isolated cells of fascist 'national self-sufficiency' — much to the chagrin of their respective capitalists.

COLONIES

Portugal was partly insulated from these difficulties by her colonial empire, towards which the growing Portuguese monopolies had directed their energies with good prospects of turning a fast escudo. So it was Spain which was the first to break: in the late 1950s the Spanish economy had to be bailed out of an acute economic crisis by the agencies of international capitalism — the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. But she had to pay a price: the abandoning of her isolationist economic policy, and the opening of her doors to foreign investment and freer foreign trade (a policy opposed by the die-hards of the fascist regime, but supported by the main groups of Spanish capitalists).

With Spain embarking on this new road Portugal could not remain an isolated exception for ever, and by the early 1960s her capitalist class had compelled Salazar to tread the same path. Portugal took part in the formation of the European Free Trade Association in 1960, and other Spanish-style economic policies were adopted by the Portuguese regime shortly afterwards.

Both Spain and Portugal underwent a similar economic growth in the ensuing decade, with the big monopolies and finance capitalists of the two countries eagerly entering into partnership with European and North American capital to launch select industrialisation projects. At the same time the two countries became drawn more powerfully towards the centre of European capitalism — the emerging Common Market.

LIFE & DEATH

The political problems facing the ruling classes of the two countries thus moved in step. For both, the extension of the present ties with European capital was a life-and-death matter. In an era of growing crisis, when each capitalist class is turning more and more to tend its own garden, membership of the Common Market is required by both the Portuguese and Spanish capitalists as a guarantee against their industries being frozen out of the European market by new protectionist measures.

struggle for recognition of their occupation.

This struggle was even co-ordinated in Lisbon and Porto. The neighbourhood commissions of both cities organised demonstrations for decent housing on the same day, with 4,000 in Lisbon and 3,000 in Porto. Furthermore the neighbourhood commissions developed a campaign of agitation and propaganda to explain to their neighbourhoods the need to form commissions. They called on everyone to come to an assembly to democratically elect the commission and discuss problems of housing, health, day-care centres, price control over stores, and the need for vigilance against reaction, etc.

The Communist Party itself has initiated many neighbourhood commissions so as to better control them.

In several neighbourhoods of Lisbon, Setúbal, and the Alentejo, the neighbourhood commissions are more advanced. They have already formed popular assemblies in which, as in Olivaes, Pontinha, and other places, the workers' commissions of the neighbourhood participate, as well as the delegates of soldiers elected in their barracks for this purpose.

ASSEMBLIES

The function of the popular assembly is to co-ordinate the struggle of neighbourhood commissions, workers' commissions and soldiers' commissions against reaction and capitalist exploitation. Some popular assemblies have even demanded the arming of the workers, and in the Alentejo, they have formed committees to carry out the land reform. In Setúbal there is a permanent secretariat of the popular assemblies which was democratically elected, which is in charge of co-ordinating struggles and calling mass assemblies when the situation requires it.

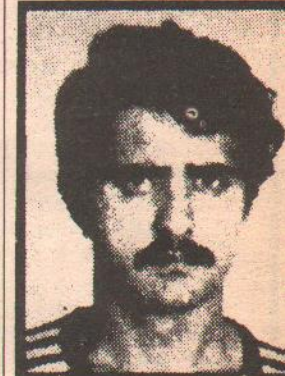
Because of this development of neighbourhood commissions and popular assemblies between May and July, the AFM was forced to recognise their existence in order to try to tie them to the state apparatus and to prevent them from going beyond the limits within which the AFM wants to keep them.

The situation following 11 March which I have described

But there is a problem is seen by the European economic measure, but a creation of a new political framework that can better each member country. But uniformity in the political fascist-style regimes of Spain the common European m

This might have been the fact that regimes such hatred among the masses. power may drive this under struggles emerging. But a of the masses becomes un to struggle exceeds their f tivity outwits the most ef and their struggles erupt i ever more uncontrollable of the 1970s, both Portug the latter — were moving

The inclusion of such n out of the question. The be quite willing to embrace insurgent working class th was totally unacceptable. other European workers,



Above and right. Beotegui ('Wilson') and Ichaurraga ('Txiki') — Franco's next victims if Gramendia and Otaegui are executed.

memory of the Spanish ci immigrant workers already threaten to infect the wor tinent with their spirit of and shake the foundations order.

Thus both the Spanish had to seek some way by their regimes a democratic sort of institutions of capi absorb and redirect the en

Half a century ago the capitalism forced its ruling leap to dictatorship that s its own future. On 25 Ap forced the Portuguese capi ate leap — this time to cap

Under the hammer blo fighters, the colonies had lief for the Portuguese cap

can be characterised as a pro nationalised companies - f panies — the workers in eac mission which is in charge o on the industry in collabora commissions of the industry (a massive conglomerate), of tiles in the North, elected w and the nationalisation of

In this same period when the SP made alliances with (PPD) and Centre Democrate ent Assembly to criticise the ernment and the lack of der bourgeois PPD and CDS.

The SP left the Governm tal reason was the Republic was the AFM's refusal to str people's power and its dec assemblies.

Here is how Antonio Rei of the Socialist Party, expla ernment. The quotation is azine *Vida Mundial*: 'To all tion of the workers to devel ment from governing, becau tion of its power and the pa thinks the only guarantee o Government including the P the authority of the Consti

'POPULIS

By refusing to link up w of the struggles which were its campaign against the CP in the factories and barrack possible for what happened the daily newspapers from because the SP had told the alitarian communist party

tion unfolds

(from page 5)

The Common Market class not simply as an first step towards the up; a multi-national the working class of s in turn requires some ups of each state. The and Portugal did not fit

ome, were it not for ese inspire an intense a while their repressive and prevent mass certain point the oppression ble, their determination repression, their creat repressive machine, he light of day — in an . From the beginning d Spain — particularly rds just such a situation. es in the EEC was thus ean capitalists might rist dictators, but the y would bring with them ample they would set to rced by the still living



ar and the millions of d in the EEC, would lass of the entire consi- gient class struggle european capitalist

Portuguese capitalists a they could give lift and create the democracy that could s of the working class. wardness of Portuguese s to take a desperate d Spain the image of s same backwardness to try another desper- t democracy.

the heroic liberation d from a source of ets into a millstone

lutionary situation. In mple, the insurance com- k unit have elected a com- cising workers' control with the other workers' companies of the CUF lass industry, and of tex- s' commissions to dem- ompanies.

ers control was spreading, urgeois Popular Democrats (S) and used the Constitu- of authority of the Gov- cy. This strengthened the

July, saying the fundamen- r. However, the real reason against the organs of stitutionalising popular

of the three main leaders why the SP left the Gov- the July issue of the mag- e bodies of self-organisa- ll prevent the Govern- will lead to the disintegra- s of the country.' He cracy is a multi-party and CDS, and establishing Assembly.

ANARCHY'

e anti-capitalist dynamic ding and by escalating against 'populist anarchy' Socialist Party was res- o Maior. In this town, all were burned by the mob se newspapers were tot-

around their necks. Faced with a deep and deteriorating social crisis, they turned to their old ally the army (which had ushered in the era of dictatorship on their behalf 48 years earlier) to try to launch a new course.

But this was a gamble based on unsound assumptions. The Portuguese capitalists had overlooked the fact that capitalist democracy can only work to defuse the working class struggle for a new social order under certain circumstance: the capitalists must have some leeway so that they can make material concessions to the demands being raised by the working masses, there must be a privileged layer of the population prepared to underwrite the capitalist regime despite its class character, and there must be a bureaucratic leadership over the workers' movement prepared to sell out the interests of their class in exchange for the maintenance of special privileges.

GAMBLE

But none of these things existed in sufficient quantity in the societies of the Iberian peninsula to make capitalist democracy work. The Portuguese capitalists' gamble thus had a totally different effect — instead of allowing them to head off the emergence of a powerful workers' movement, it produced an immense explosion that threatens their class rule altogether.

Once again, Portugal has revealed to Spain its future. There is no more a basis for the creation of a stable capitalist democracy in Spain than there is in Portugal. While the situation of the Spanish capitalists is not yet quite as desperate as that of their Portuguese counterparts and they have greater reserves at their disposal (in particular the army is not nearly as affected by the political crisis), the development of a real mass upheaval could quickly sweep away these advantages. What is more, the Spanish working class has a much longer tradition, a much higher degree of organisation, and is a more powerful force throughout society, than was the Portuguese working class before 25 April. Things which the Portuguese working class had to spend precious months learning and developing — like regional co-ordination of their own organs of struggle — the Spanish workers already possess.

What is more, the Spanish working class now have the crucial lessons of the Portuguese class struggle at their disposal. The bankruptcy of class collaborationism, the impossibility of defending democratic conquests through the capitalist state, the necessity for the working class to take power through its own class organisations to solve the problems produced by the capitalist crisis, have all been hammered home to the most class-conscious Spanish workers by the living experience of their Portuguese brothers and sisters.

Twist and turn as they may in the coming months, there is no way that the Spanish capitalists can forestall the coming explosion. At the moment the Portuguese working class is running into heavy water in its own fight, but if it can prevent the ruling class from regaining the initiative it will soon find the Spanish proletariat marching shoulder-to-shoulder beside it. And if the upsurge in Spain can be set into motion



Portuguese soldiers — with the MFA or the workers?

In Braga, Mario Soares called for more experiences like Rio Maior at a public meeting. This allowed the fascist parties, under the cover of the SP, to mobilise and take advantage of the discontent of the masses in the North to attack a series of headquarters of the CP and far left organisations. The headquarters of the LCI in Oliveira De Azeméis were also burned. Union headquarters and libraries were attacked, militants were persecuted.

Now the Socialist Party wants to deny its responsibility for these events. It is responsible, but so also is the CP,



The wave of struggles which swept Europe in 1968 hit Spain as well. Here students batter down the doors of the Faculty of Medicine at Barcelona University during an anti-Franco demonstration.

while the Portuguese proletariat is still marching ahead, the strength of the working class on the Iberian peninsula will be invincible. The birth of a Socialist Iberia will be on the order of the day — and such a struggle cannot but herald the birth of a Socialist Europe.

OFFENSIVE

This is what European capitalism fears the most. It will do everything in its power to ensure as rapidly as possible the defeat of the Portuguese workers, and to hold back as long as possible the offensive of the Spanish working class.

because of its sectarianism, which culminated with the 18 July barricades against the SP.

A group of six members of the Socialist Party, two of whom were members of the national committee, published an open letter to the membership of the SP in which they held the SP responsible for the events. But this letter did not get much of a hearing in the SP because the leadership immediately announced that these six members were suspended, which prevented any real discussion.

BEATEN UP

Also on the day of the Socialist Party meeting in Lisbon on 19 July, the LCI went to hand out a leaflet to the SP calling for a workers' united front. But our comrades were beaten by the SP marshalls and some members threw us out saying, 'Communists — go back to Moscow!'

In the face of the present crisis, the fifth Provisional Government is a transitional one. A group of officers led by Melo Antunes, and linked to the SP, has published a document calling for democratic rights and a multi-party Government with all parties, bourgeois and workers'. This document has received support from 80 per cent of the AFM. This could change the situation in the AFM and the Government.

TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

I want to finish with the tasks of revolutionary Marxists in Portugal.

We believe that the main task is to develop, extend, and centralise the autonomous organs of the working class and defend their independence from the AFM and the bourgeois state. Only these organs can fight back the reactionary threat and can conduct a clearly anti-capitalist struggle. In the North and the Centre of Portugal a broad campaign to clarify the situation for the masses is needed. But there cannot be a change without agrarian reform.

It is this which makes international solidarity so crucial. Just as the fate of the Portuguese revolution is tied up with the development of the class struggle in Spain, so the struggles of the working class in every European country would receive an unprecedented boost from the eruption of a socialist revolution on European soil. At the present moment this makes it essential that we do everything in our power to solidarise with the Portuguese and Spanish working class. We must mobilise the full might of the international workers' movement to block the imperialist and reactionary plots in Portugal, and prevent the unleashing of a brutal repressive drive against the Spanish working class and its vanguard.

Inside the workers' and neighbourhood commissions we must fight for their democratic functioning, through the right to form tendencies, and for united action of the SP, CP, and far left militants. The development of workers control in the factories and neighbourhoods, and in the trade unions, must be reflected in the right of tendencies in the Intersindicale (trade union federation).

With relation to social democracy we need a special approach. We have stated before and will state again that we defend the Socialist Party's right to free speech and to demonstrate. But at the same time we must denounce the SP because it creates a diversionary discussion — bureaucratic socialism versus democratic socialism — when the real struggle is between capitalism and socialist revolution.

We also oppose the SP leadership's attacks on 'anarcho-populism', and their attacks on the autonomous bodies of the workers. We must show the SP militants that these bodies are the only ones where they will find proletarian democracy. We must also fight the plans of the Melo Antunes group to reorganise the AFM into an effective bourgeois bonapartist instrument.

WORKERS' UNITY

We know that in Portugal today, only the revolutionary Marxists, basing themselves on the method of the transitional programme, and on a correct interpretation of the political situation, can give the answers that can restore proletarian unity. By using the united front tactic, they can turn all their efforts to building a mass workers revolutionary party, a Portuguese section of the Fourth International.

This is why we consider our fusion with the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) extremely important, and hope to achieve it as soon as possible after a political debate and democratic congress. The LCI began with 22 people in April 1974. Today we have hundreds of members and thirteen headquarters. We are sure that we will have the solidarity of the SWP, and that the revolutionaries and working class of North America will launch a massive campaign against American imperialism's economic blockade and slan-

PORTUGAL - WHAT BASIS FOR A UNITED FRONT

At the beginning of last week the Portuguese Communist Party and its petty-bourgeois ally, the MDP, established a 'Revolutionary United Front' with various organisations of the revolutionary left, including the Internationalist Communist League (LCI - Portuguese sympathising section of the Fourth International).

While revolutionaries should be the most active in promoting united workers' action against the reactionary offensive, it is clear that the project of the 'Front' was a sectarian manoeuvre by the Communist Party, and that a serious tactical error was made by those revolutionary groups which signed its common platform,

the 'unitary agreement'. This very rapidly became clear when the CP turned a demonstration in Lisbon called by the 'Front' on 27 August into a rally whose sole theme was the defence of the Goncalves Government - resulting in a decision by the LCI and other groups to withdraw their contingents from the march before it reached the presidential palace.

Below we print the text of the 'unitary agreement' together with comments by Ernest Mandel, one of the leaders of the Fourth International.

TEXT OF THE 'UNITARY AGREEMENT'

In the presence of representatives of the Armed Forces Movement, who simply convened the meeting, representatives of the following parties and organisations met together: Popular Socialist Front (FSP), Internationalist Communist League (LCI), League for Unity and Revolutionary Action (LUAR), Movement of the Socialist Left (MES), Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), Portuguese Communist Party, Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP-BR), Group of 1st May. This meeting approved the following points:

1. The Copcon document and the document entitled 'The line of programmatic action and tasks of the transition' constitute a valid basis of work for the elaboration of a revolutionary political programme.
2. Such a programme represents the indispensable instrument for uniting and elaborating the actions of the political forces engaged in the revolutionary process, and of the popular masses.
3. The document 'Line of programmatic action and tasks of the transition' constitutes the basic guiding document for the activity of the Government until the necessary conditions for the formation of a government of revolutionary unity are met.
4. The creation of a front which groups together the parties and other revolutionary political organisations, revolutionary militants, the MFA and the autonomous organs of popular power referred to in the guiding document of the People-MFA alliance constitutes a way forward for the revolutionary process.
5. The undersigned hereby decide to establish a provisional secretariat charged with elaborating actions which allow a joint offensive against reaction and which take forward the revolutionary process. The undersigned declare that this platform is open to all organisations and all revolutionary militants and organs of popular power who wish to join it.



The MFA assembly and Prime Minister Goncalves - both wish to subordinate workers' organisations to the institutions of the state.

ON THE 'UNITARY AGREEMENT' 4 by Ernest Mandel

1 In the present phase of the Portuguese revolution, an agreement between workers' organisations should clearly be sought, but in the following perspective:
- of organising a response to the reactionary offensive, in stimulating all forms of self-defence, and establishing links between the autonomous organs of workers and soldiers; in this sense an agreement between workers' organisations can constitute an important point of departure.
- of ensuring the defence of the economic, social and political gains of the working class;
- of promoting the development, extension and centralisation of the structures of self-organisation (workers' commissions, neighbourhood commissions, popular assemblies),

and thus responding to the divisions within the workers' ranks.
But the communique of 25 August does not mention the organisation of a single concrete initiative corresponding to these objectives.

2 One of the major obstacles to the advances of the revolutionary process lies in the divisions introduced within the working class by the policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party and the social democratic leadership of the Socialist Party. The absence of concrete objectives, and the lack of initiatives directed towards the SP in order to promote a common struggle for understandable objectives whose need is felt by the workers of the SP, implies an endorse-

ment of the sectarian policies of the CP and rules out a bold offensive around the question of the united front, which is both vital and possible today in Portugal.

3 The 'unitary agreement' moreover implies support for the actions of the Fifth Provisional Government which proposes in its document ('Line of programmatic action and tasks of the transition') a 'policy of austerity' (point 1-b) - at the very time when the workers in the streets and in the factories have put on the order of the day demands for expropriation under workers' control, etc, demands with which the Government will be faced tomorrow.

4 At the moment when the MFA is being torn apart by the effects of the class polarisation, the 'unitary agreement' appeals to the MFA under the same heading as it does to the workers' commissions, neighbourhood commissions, popular assemblies, etc...and to the parties and revolutionary organisations of the workers' movement, for the creation of a 'Front'!

Here again, it can only be a question of endorsing the reformist project of the CP for the creation of a 'popular, democratic and socialist front'. Moreover, with the guiding document's appeal to the alliance of the People-MFA, the agreement poses the integration of the workers' commissions, the neighbourhood commissions and the popular assemblies rather than asserting the real independence of the mass movement from the institutions of the bourgeois state.

5 To be sure, the agreement reveals the change in the relation of forces which makes the CP seek the support of the revolutionary left. In such a context, it is both possible and necessary to force the CP to take a position on the central objectives mentioned above. But the 'unitary agreement' on the contrary allows the CP to use this force to negotiate a compromise on the governmental level within the bourgeois state apparatus and within the MFA. In this sense, the lack of concrete objectives along with all references made to the document of the Fifth Provisional Government represent concessions to the orientation of the leadership of the CP.

6 The revolutionary left and the workers' vanguard must firmly base themselves on the dynamic of the mass response to the reactionary offensive, as shown by the demonstration of 20 August, in order to impose the objectives cited in point 1.

ANGOLA - MPLA SEEKS NEW COMPROMISE

In spite of the immense military successes scored by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the last few weeks, the road to victory still seems to lie beyond its grasp.

In the past year the MPLA leadership has signed a host of 'agreements' with Portuguese colonialism, the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which were designed to open the Angolan road to neo-colonialism. Such an outcome, however, was denied them by the highly combative actions of the urban masses behind MPLA who - refusing to be 'treated as objects of enrichment' - brushed aside such collaborationist policies and finally brought down the 'transitional government'. And with the recent attempt by the Portuguese to re-establish control, the MPLA leadership was forced to nationalise the banks following demonstrations in Luanda calling for a 'peoples' government'.

The MPLA's victory in Lobito against the combined forces of the FNLA and UNITA further frustrated imperialist plans for southern Africa, heightening the political and economic crisis of the countries in the region. The united action of UNITA with FNLA around Lobito has shown how both these forces are acting as front-runners for imperialism. UNITA is certainly far from the 'alternative' that it has claimed to be. Moreover, in the south the MPLA is at present confronted by both UNITA and South African troops who are attempting to prevent the MPLA from approaching the hydro-electric dam in the Cunene basin - already occupied by the South Africans.

Faced with this situation, the MPLA leadership is once again seeking a compromise around the formation of another 'transitional government', this time just with UNITA. However the exclusion of the FNLA does not, as the *Financial Times* correctly points out, 'exclude the possibility subsequently of UNITA meeting FNLA to incorporate it into a common front'. The 'peace agreement' with UNITA

would thus pave the way for a grave setback for the Angolan revolution, involving further assaults on the organisations of the labouring masses, including MPLA, and a total loss of the gains already made in the fight against imperialism.

At best, such a policy would result in the balkanisation of Angola with Zaire engulfing the oil-rich Cabinda enclave, FNLA dominating the north-west, and UNITA in partnership with South Africa commanding the wealth of the south. 'Since the MPLA hold all the major ports of Angola, it would not be long before the now isolated MPLA would be smashed, allowing imperialism to establish complete domination of the region. Clearly such an occurrence would alter the balance of forces in southern Africa in a way that could lead to further defeats being inflicted on the unfolding African revolution.'

The way to advance the Angolan struggle, therefore, is not by collaboration with reaction, but by formulating policies that are capable of undermining the intentions of reaction. The establishment of workers' and peasants' councils would lay the basis

by which this could be done.

The present civil war has caused famine throughout Angola, in spite of the vast accumulation of food in the ports; the cities are crowded by the homeless; the vast farms deserted by the Portuguese are standing idle, while peasants remain landless and hungry; industries lie idle and deprived of technical skills provided in the past by the Portuguese. These are the problems which the councils could solve in the interests of the workers and peasants of Angola. By these means, large sections of the masses influenced by FNLA and UNITA could be won to the side of revolution.

The collaborationist policies advanced by the MPLA leadership only serve to place victory further out of the reach of the Angolan masses, and expose them to further danger from imperialism. As the South African troops advance from the south, and Zaire prepares from the north, time wasted on 'peace treaties' can only bring disaster to the Angolan revolution.

Julius Karanja



Middle East settlement - A PEACE FOR A PIECE

It has taken Henry Kissinger two years of frenzied diplomatic activity to negotiate a 13-26 mile pull-back of Israeli troops from the Sinai peninsula and a 1-5 mile eastward advance of the Egyptian army. At this rate an optimist could expect the Arab regimes to spend another 50 years recovering all the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

But that is not all. It is estimated that around half of the 40-odd clauses in the interim agreement are to be kept secret. These secret items concern for the most part Egyptian promises made to the US on 'non-use of force', regular renewals of the UN mandate, the Arab trade boycott on US firms aspiring to operate in the Middle East, and the propaganda war on Israel. On the other hand there are also rumours of secret agreements between the US and Israel involving substantial American commitments on arms purchases, financial assistance, and possibly even a pact of some sort guaranteeing Israel's security in case of an attack by a 'third' party.

Such is the outward shape of the complex web of public secret agreements that are being woven all over the Middle Eastern scene today. The question is: does this territorial exchange actually signify a tentative but real step towards a final and peaceful settlement?

In the first place, such an outlook on the situation grossly underestimates the continuing obstacles to a settlement:

1. The Zionist State has publicly and repeatedly declared that it cannot afford to give up the Golan Heights or anything of strategic importance on the West Bank:

2. The agreement does not change the situation of the Palestinians and the plight of the refugees one iota;

3. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that an interim agreement will do away with all the other, non-political problems surrounding Sadat's 'economic opening' to the imperialist West - the sole result of which so far has been to throw into sharp relief the fact that the Egyptian economy is going through its worst economic crisis since the 1950s.

In the second place, Egypt and



Israeli leader Rabin—won secret concessions?

Israel are not negotiating over either populated areas or economic resources (to say nothing of 'peace'). They are negotiating over the conditions under which, if necessary, the next war will have to take place. The barren Sinai desert peninsula is a major arena of war, a natural buffer

zone between the populated centres of Israel and Egypt. The successful conclusion of an interim agreement provides Sadat with a breathing space - time to tighten up the 'internal front', patch up a virtually bankrupt economy, and begin the process of suppressing the wave of militancy steadily growing in the Egyptian working class.

INTERIM

Meanwhile the Zionists' territorial concessions bind the Egyptian regime that much more closely to American imperialism, thereby decreasing its military independence and in the long run making it harder for Egypt to coordinate and jointly plan an attack on Israel with the help of the other Arab regimes (Syria and Jordan) and without the knowledge of imperialism. The long haggling sessions over the two observation posts on the strategic Gidi and Mitla passes, and finally Egypt's concessions to the Israelis on who is to man them and the number of Americans involved is a beginning of such a diminution of Egypt's military independence.

HAGGLING

For the time being, 'peace' in the Middle East remains purely an interim affair. It is the distance separating the prospect of another war. The conditions for the conclusion of a 'final' settlement remain as far away as they have ever been, because they necessitate a fundamental transformation in the nature and reason for existence of the Zionist State.

Another war might be several years or several months away in the future. All that Sadat, Kissinger

In July twenty Egyptian revolutionaries were arrested on charges of belonging to the 'Mustapha Khamis' Revolutionary Communist Group and wanting to 'overthrow the economic and political system in Egypt and install a communist "trotskyist" extremist regime'. The Egyptian daily *Al Akhbar* commented: 'This communist organisation was in contact with the Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon and the Fourth International of France.'

The prosecutor, Abdel Magid Mahmood, indicated the nature of the case the regime is trying to whip up against these revolutionaries when he said: 'At a time when it is necessary to reinforce the internal front, this League has come along to destroy any progress in the reinforcement of this front.'

... & THE OTHER SIDE OF 'THE PEACE'

The context of this latest wave of arrests can be briefly summarised as follows:

* The October 1973 war did not resolve the post-1967 'no war, no peace' impasse with Zionism. Rather it created limited conditions for movement towards an interim and non-final settlement. However, this was not the way in which the Egyptian regime - for internal reasons - could present its meaning to the Egyptian masses. Either the Egyptian army had inflicted a great defeat on Zionism, which was now rolling down a historical cul-de-sac - as official propaganda claimed - or else the masses would begin to doubt the ability of the Arab regimes to fight Zionism successfully. As this contradiction ripens, fewer and fewer people still believe Sadat's version of what happened.

* Since the October war, the Egyptian masses have experienced a rapid decline in their living standards as inflation out-

strips the meagre rises in their incomes. For example, rents in working class parts of Cairo have gone up from E£8 to E£15 (E£1 = approx. 80 English pence = 100 piastres). The officially subsidised prices of both a kilo of sugar and a kilo of cooking oil have gone up from 7 to 11 piastres. However, it is so hard to obtain these items 'officially' that a black market is flourishing in which cooking oil sells at 32 piastres a kilo, while sugar sells at 26 piastres.

* The masses' response to this attack on their living standards is best reflected in the phenomenal increase in strikes, factory occupations and demonstrations. The most dramatic episode was undoubtedly the 1 January mobilisation in Cairo, involving thousands of workers and pitched battles with the police.

* The regime's response was predictably to unleash a wave of repression. According to unofficial estimates, more than 250 people have so far been arrested, including students and professionals of all types but also prominent trade unionists and worker militants.

In light of all these factors, one can only conclude that the arrest of the twenty Egyptian revolutionaries, together with the nature of the charges, is designed to isolate a group of internationalist marxist revolutionaries by 'proving' that they are 'motivated from the outside' and attempting to sabotage the 'internal front'. This is first and foremost an attack on the whole of the Egyptian left, and a frontal assault on the organisational gains it has previously won. A lot more than just the fate of twenty revolutionaries is at stake in the trials coming up in Cairo between 15-20 September.



Part of the large demonstration in London last Sunday welcoming the arrival of a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organisation in face of right-wing attempts to keep them out of the country

and Rabin can achieve from their current negotiations is temporarily to forestall the spilling over of the class struggle in the shape of a war against Zionism, and forcibly contain it within the more manageable boundaries of the existing Middle Eastern states.

M. Jaafar

THE ARAB REVOLUTION



New IMG pamphlet containing translation of documents by Fourth International organisations in the Arab world. Available from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. - price 30p & 6p p&p

ZIMBABWE - CARRY ON UP THE FALLS

The desperate attempts to bring about a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe have once again failed. After the farce of trains and 'talks' over Victoria Falls last week, Smith walked out of the haggling to the applause of the right-wing Rhodesia Front - who were busy all the while arming the whites for the coming confrontation.

'Settlement'

The need for a 'settlement' in Zimbabwe is becoming ever more urgent for imperialism in order to contain the fury that has been unleashed by the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. Every attempt has been made to prevent the 'armed road' from being taken in Zimbabwe - a road that could prove disastrous for imperialist interests and those of its puppet regimes in southern Africa.

For President Kaunda of Zambia, the

need for a 'solution' to Rhodesia is not unrelated to the crisis that his own regime finds itself in as a result of the revolution in Angola. Unable to use the post of of Lobito in Angola any more, Zambian copper - the country's major export - can only be transported through Rhodesia. Yet this is impossible in a situation where Smith either rules or is engulfed by a revolution in Rhodesia. Moreover the latter would also have repercussions in Zambia, where the working class has shown growing militancy.

Cuddling

It is therefore no surprise that Kaunda has been cuddling up to Vorster, who naturally also fears the repercussions of the struggle for Zimbabwe inside South Africa, and is sparing no effort to ensure that the puppet Muzorewa and the African National Council continue to play the

game 'in search of a peaceful solution'.

Meanwhile the British bourgeoisie, the biggest investors in southern Africa, are clinging desperately to the task of protecting their interests in the area, a role to which the Wilson Government is well accustomed. It is no surprise that every attempt is being made to head off the coming crisis in the region.

Showdown

Well aware of the stakes involved, Smith has called for another meeting - this time inside Rhodesia - with a motley collection of tribal chiefs, long ago bought off by privileges bestowed upon them by the regime. At the same time the whites are arming for the inevitable showdown. While playing for time, Smith rests assured that although he is a thorn in the side of imperialism, the latter will co-operate - the alternative 'would be too ghastly to imagine'.

WHAT'S ON

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

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

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.

'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.

DROP THE CHARGES Against the BWNIC 161 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).

NEWCASTLE IMG educational meetings, every Thursday at 8pm at the Bridge Hotel.

SOCIALIST HEALTH SERVICE - another pie in the sky? Second meeting in a series organised by MCAPP: 'What lessons can be learnt from the experiences of Chile and Cuba?' Thurs 4 Sept, 8pm, the Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road (Warren St

tube).

TWO YEARS AFTER the bloody coup in Chile - the relevance of Chile to the Portuguese revolution now. Thurs 11 September, 7.30pm, Lambeth Town Hall (lower hall). Speakers invited include Tariq Ali and Chilean refugee, plus film 'The Jackal of Nahueltoro'. Tickets 50p. Red Weekly Benefit.

SOCIAL in Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Rd., Fri 12 Sept, 8pm. Music and drink. Organised by Campaign to Repeal the 1971 Immigration Act. More information on the Campaign from: Franco Caprino, 45 Kensington Park Rd., London W.11.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION - first issue of this journal by IMG Africa Commission due out in late Sept. Further information, contributions and orders, contact African Revolution, 97 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

CHILE SOLIDARITY DEMO: organised by Humb. beside CSC in Hull, Saturday 13 Sept., assemble 2pm in Kingston Square for 2.30 start.

BROADSIDE Mobile Workers Theatre need versatile actor. Committed socialists only. Phone 01-730 5396 or write 58 Holbein House, Holbein Place, London SW1 W8NJ

LARGE & SMALL ROOM (£8 and £5) in small community for comrade(s) (with school child). Phone 883 5927.

PICKET against DHSS financial support for SPUC anti-abortion conference - Thurs 11 Sept. from 12 to 2pm outside offices of Postgraduate Medical Federation, Millman St., London WC1.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

NEW ATTACKS ON GAYS

Conspiracy charges are to be brought against two homosexual magazines, *Him Exclusive* and *Gay Circle*, in an unprecedented move by the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

The charges do not appear in any Act of Parliament. There have never been prosecutions on such charges before. The technical wording is 'conspiracy to procure an act of buggery'. It has been brought because the two magazines carry contact ads. It means that anyone who attempts to put lonely or isolated homosexuals in touch with each other can be sent to prison.

Since conspiracy charges can carry sentences of up to thirty years, this action by the DPP puts the clock back on gay rights to before the liberalisation of the law in 1967. Indeed it could make matters worse, since with such vague charges it will now become possible for gay women to be prosecuted.

Just how the situation could be used has been made clear in recent weeks — first with an attempt by the *News of the World* to whip up a witch-hunt campaign against gay organisations, and then by police purges in Leeds, Birmingham, and Earls Court in London. Clubs have been raided, and people have been simply lifted from the streets. Some of the victims are in danger of losing their jobs after publicity given to these cases.

Little Comfort

But little comfort or help is likely to come from the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, Britain's largest gay organisation. Their conference in Sheffield on 23-24 August managed a ten minute discussion on the DPP's charges. The thousand delegates were informed that they should write to their MPs and then the discussion was closed. Practically the whole of the rest of the conference was given over to discussion of CHE's draft law reform bill — although as things stand it won't even get discussed, let alone passed — and to upping the subs.

The leaders of CHE seemed concerned only with preserving their own positions. After a twenty minute (!) debate on gay workers during which the conference declared its support for the Working Women's Charter and for the defence of victimised gay workers, the leadership hastily manoeuvred their way out of a vote on a proposal that would have committed them to financial and practical support for the gay trade union groups.

Though the reformist leaders of CHE were shaken up, they managed to survive mainly because most of their critics concentrated on organisational matters. There was never a real attack on their politics. The left in the gay movement needs to become much clearer on its objectives if it is to defeat the reformists. In the meantime it is essential that the broad labour movement fights back against these latest moves in the repression of gay people.

Janice Mills



The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child was founded in 1967 as a direct reaction against the 1967 Abortion Act. It is bitterly opposed to the right of women to control their own bodies, advocating 'the

sanctity of family life' — a euphemism for chaining women to domestic drudgery and permanent inferiority.

The chairman of SPUC is a bachelor Viscount Barrington, an Old Etonian who has served in the Royal

How to fight SPUC - Aberdeen IMG reports

The Aberdeen labour movement has set an excellent example of how to fight against the reactionary ideas of the anti-abortionists.

Two months ago, militants found out that SPUC intended to open a pregnancy counselling centre in Market Street, Aberdeen. The Aberdeen Abortion Campaign — which includes representatives of the National Abortion Campaign, the International Marxist Group, the International Socialists, the Young Communist League, the Labour Party Young Socialists, and various independents — promptly decided to mobilise against its opening.

The Aberdeen Abortion Campaign first circulated information about SPUC's intentions to trade union branches, Labour Party councillors, and local Labour MP Bob Hughes. A quick response to the circular came from Donside and District branch of the printworkers' union SOGAT.

The SOGAT branch carried a resolution asking the Aberdeen Trades Council to call on the Labour-controlled district council to close the SPUC centre and mount a campaign against SPUC's activities.

Five days before the centre was due to open, the Trades Council almost unanimously passed the SOGAT motion, declaring its support for the campaign.

The two local dailies covered this, and to quote the newspaper hoardings all over the city the 'Aberdeen Abortion Battle' was on!

On 18 August the morning paper carried a letter from the Abortion Campaign, with another from the SPUC chairman, headed 'Abortion — two points of view'. SPUC's claim to be a pregnancy counselling service was exposed. The instruction sheet issued to potential SPUC counsellors was quoted: 'Our own convictions concerning the sanctity of life must be sufficient to persuade the girl that abortion is not the solution to her problems and that it is really in her own best interests to have her baby.'

A picket that evening outside the centre was about 50 strong, and displayed slogans calling for 'A woman's right to choose — not SPUC's' and 'Better housing, social benefits and abortion'. A delegation of four SOGAT workers joined the picket, and it attracted a lot of attention from people in the city centre.

It is intended to continue and step up the anti-SPUC campaign. IMG members are urging the need for the campaign to be taken up in local hospitals where it is hoped shop stewards will arrange for meetings for speakers from the National Abortion Campaign.

Artillery and the Diplomatic Service — which undoubtedly provides him with impeccable qualifications for appreciating the problems of working class women.

Deputy chairman is Professor of Gynaecology J.S. Scott, who is not averse to throwing around the most unscientific arguments. He once claimed: 'Foetuses feel pain just as a baby in the cot would... the only difference being that any attempts to cry are stifled by the water in which the baby floats.' An outcry from other doctors against such unprovable assertions has since forced him to lie doggo on that one.

SPUC is not short of support. Jill Knight, Tory MP for Edgbaston, has used the most dubious stories in its defence.

'BURNED ALIVE'

In 1966 she was writing: 'Aborted babies are being burned alive'. This Tory hack also claimed — without a shred of evidence — that: 'In Sweden if a child has not been killed in the operation, they drown it in a bucket like a kitten....' Naturally Mrs Knight has never produced one single shred of evidence to back up her statement.

Another who is jumping on the SPUC bandwagon is Labour MP Leo Abse. His taste in exotic clothes is only matched by his taste in exotic and bizarre ideas. A rabid supporter of the horror comic *Babies for Burning*, he reviewed this book under the heading, 'The Murder Trade of the London Abortion Clinics'.

Describing the two charlatans who concocted this tissue of lies as 'virginal and pristine', he has remained 'strangely' quiet about the *Sun-*

day Times's debunking of its assertions. After all, what are a few lies when you are in the front trenches defending the new moral order?

NO BRUNETTES!

Another rabid SPUC supporter is Professor Hugh McLaren, a Presbyterian father of seven children who has the nerve to assert publicly that 'most women seeking abortions are blondes, quite healthy, with cars...'

Also on the SPUC executive is Myra Sim, whose sympathetic and kindly nature comes out in her statement that 'there are never any psychiatric grounds for abortion....'

Press Secretary to SPUC is Phyllis Bowman, who is fond of 'convincing' arguments such as that 'the majority of girls who have abortions are panicked'. It never enters her head that for many working class women more children mean misery, poverty and deprivation.

LABOUR HELP

Just to make sure that these right-wingers don't feel isolated, the social democrats help out. Apart from Leo Abse's support, the SPUC executive is adorned by two Labour MPs, Gordon Oakes and James Dunn.

As the crisis of British capitalism deepens, the Labour Government is making savage cuts in public expenditure. The social services and the National Health Service are high on its list for sacrifices. The idea that the family should take on even more of the burden of social and health problems therefore finds a ready response amongst Labour's right wing.

Movements like SPUC help to strengthen this trend. Its emphasis on the 'virtues of motherhood', the 'sanctity of the family' and its 'preservation of morality' provide ideological cover for attacks on the rights of women in particular and the working class in general.

Unless the workers' movement advances its own collective and socialist solution to the crisis, and unhesitatingly allies itself with women who are fighting for their emancipation, organisations like SPUC will play on the divisions between men and women to further divide the working class movement.

FULL EQUALITY

The campaign against SPUC is not just the responsibility of the women's movement. It is a campaign that has to be fought by the entire labour movement, which must fully grasp that an essential step on the road to socialism is the establishment of absolute and full equality for women.

J. King

A FILM FOR THE STRUGGLE

'One more child won't make any difference.' This was the experienced, professional judgement given to one of the women interviewed in the Newsreel Collective film *An Egg is not a Chicken*.

Refused an abortion, this woman had already been forced to go through with an unplanned pregnancy at 16, then had twins and found herself struggling alone to hold down a job, look after three kids, and complete a college course. When fate (or imperfect contraceptive methods) struck a third time, she got heavily into debt to pay for a private abortion — by this time she had discovered that a woman only has control over her own body if she can afford to buy that right on Harley St.

The experience of Winifred and two other women — a young mother forced to agree to sterilisation in order to get an abortion, and a 19-year old student who went through the traumas of a self-induced abortion — are threaded between shots of the fight to ensure women the right to choose. The personal realities which are the result of restrictive abortion legislation, inadequate facilities, and the refusal to allow women to decide the course of their own lives are constantly brought home.

Although the film is centred around the activities of the National Abortion Campaign, it includes struggles around equal pay, nursery provision, and the Hackney nurses' dispute. Unfortunately there is no real attempt to communicate to the audience that the fight for women's rights at home and at work are welded together and cannot be fought out in isolation from one another. Although the film-makers obviously understand this, it is not explained — a word about the Working Women's Charter might have got over this problem

The other main weakness of the film is that it appears to see abortion as a 'women's issue' — shots of demonstrations etc. concentrate almost exclusively on banners belonging to women's organisations — rather than understanding that abortion, like all questions of women's rights, is the concern of the whole workers' movement. Women have rightly taken the leadership of the abortion campaign, but it is the whole of the labour movement which should be behind them.

Both these problems can be avoided if the film is used, as was intended, with speakers who can enlarge on the questions which it raises. And the film itself is able to get across the vitality of the campaign and harsh realities of abortion restrictions in a far more immediate way than any speaker.

JUST OUT:

25 minute black-and-white newsreel film (16mm) on

WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND

available from the Other Cinema, 12/13 Little Newport Street, London WC2. (Tel: 01-734-8505/9)

This film is the first of a series of monthly newsreels to be made by the Newsreel Collective. The next two films will be about the revolutionary situation in Portugal, and on working class struggles around housing, rents and squatting in Britain.



SPUC hides behind slogans like 'social help not killing', but its leaders only aim is to deny women the right to control their own bodies.

UNITY IN ACTION NEEDED FOR NHS FIGHT

The terrible decline in the National Health Service exposes the absolute bankruptcy of reformism. This 'great gain' of social democracy can no longer be defended by its own originators. In fact it is the Labour leadership who are not only presiding over the deterioration of the NHS but are the very architects of the cuts.

Throughout the NHS there is a steadily unfolding picture of closures, cancellation of hospital building programmes, cut-backs in whole areas of health care and research, and extended waiting lists. The increasing use of prescription charges and the support by organisations like the British Medical Association for the extension of the fee-paying system is a direct challenge to the idea of a free health service for the working class.

Meanwhile the private sector continues to flourish, posing the threat of a two-tier health system and draining away trained workers from the NHS.

The attacks on the NHS are the concern of all the working class. Health care is an essential part of the standard of living of the working class and constitutes a part of its real wages. Furthermore it affects the health and well-being of the entire working class.

The Conference called by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice for 11 October under the title 'Fight The Cuts in the NHS' must therefore have as its first task the aim of establishing the maximum unity inside the workers' movement in order to fight the cuts. But that unity has to be based around an agreed programme that does not simply call for the defence of what is an inadequate health service subordinated to the needs of capitalism. It has to fight for the transformation of the health service, and show how that can only be achieved by mobilising the working class and its allies around an anti-capitalist programme.

The following demands can play a vital role in building a united movement around the fight in the NHS:

- * Opposition to all cuts and hospital closures. No reductions in staffing levels. No reductions in services to patients, especially those poorly catered for such as women, the old and the mentally ill. For the abolition of all prescription and other charges.

- * An immediate injection of one thousand million pounds into the NHS. This to be the first step towards ending the decline of the NHS. A sliding scale of expenditure for the NHS so that it is fully protected from inflation.

- * For the immediate nationalisation of the drugs industry and all medical supplies industries. The opening of the books of all these companies.

- * For the complete abolition of all private practice both inside and outside the NHS and the nationalisation of all private health facilities.

- * For a health service under the control of the working class. For the extension of preventative medicine and an occupational health service accompanied by an extensive programme of health education. For free abortion on demand.

- * For a workers' inquiry into the running and organisation of the NHS and the ending of the control of the medical hierarchy. All the books and records inside the NHS to be opened up to the inspection of the

by
Bob Pennington

Last week the first registration forms for the MCAPP Conference were circulated. MCAPP report delegates have been elected from Sheffield Brightside Labour Party, North London district council of the National Union of Railwayworkers, Brent Trades Council, Norwich Trades Council, the South West Region of the TUC, Ealing AUEW, and the Bronx Engineering Shop Stewards Committee at Stowbridge.

New sponsors include Brent Working Women's Charter, North West London NAC, National Action Group of Occupational Therapists, Oxford NAC, NUPE branch at University College Hospital, North Tyneside Development Project, and the Bronx SSC.

MCAPP also tell us that in London they are organising a series of lunch-time meetings on building sites as well as sending out speakers to trade union branches, local Labour Parties and branches of the LPYS. Readers should make sure that their organisations elect delegates to the 11 October Conference and where possible arrange for an MCAPP speaker.

into the NHS, to draw up a programme to transform the health service into one based on the needs of and responsible to the working class.

- * For general working class solidarity with the struggles of all health workers - except those working part-time for private practice.

Such a programme can lay the basis for uniting the broad workers' movement in action. This means pickets of private hospitals and solidarity action with health workers' struggles such as the supportive strike action recently by miners and dockers. Campaigns are needed to black private hospitals, involving the whole trade union movement in a refusal to supply labour and services. Occupations should be held against closures, cut backs and in support of demands for free abortion.

These can be used as a focus to mobilise not only health workers but other people in the community, leading to the establishment of broad based local action committees.

MORE SOCIAL WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST CUT-BACKS

Social workers in another London borough have come out on strike - this time in Southwark, where there was a one-day stoppage on Friday 28 August to protest about staff shortages and cut-backs in expenditure. They picketed area offices, gave out leaflets calling the public's attention to the cuts, and marched to their head office and to the Department of Health and Social Security to hand in a petition to Barbara Castle.

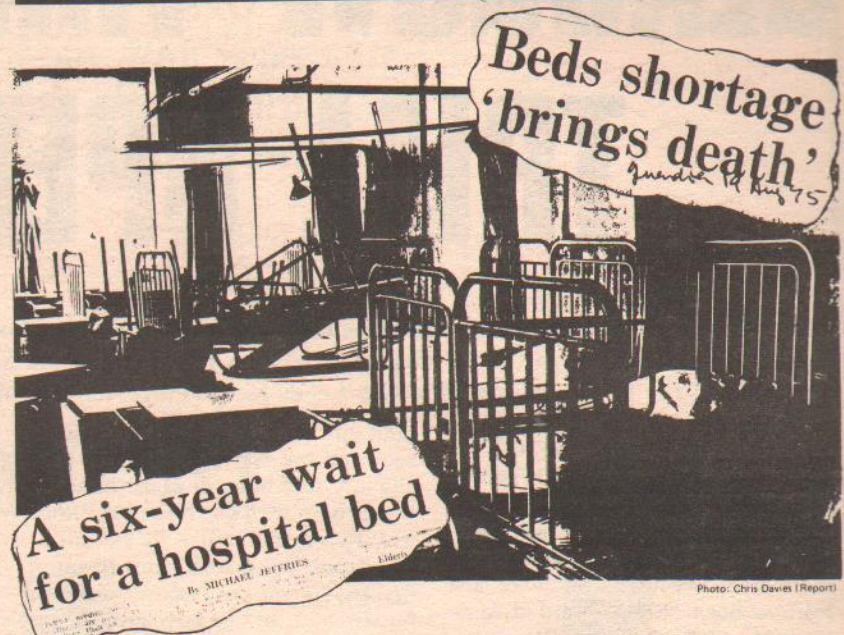
The need to take some action became immediate when a confidential report was discovered. This report proposes that staff vacancies should not be filled; instead there should be a two-month moratorium after which a special committee would decide whether or not each particular post should be refilled.

Social workers already estimate that they are 25 per cent down on staff in residential homes (for children and the elderly) and 20 per cent down in area social service offices. In one area where several workers are leaving, these proposals would result in a 75 per cent reduction of staff! Leaving the report aside, there still remains the fact that the majority of the council's expenditure on social services goes to pay old debts or money borrowed

is no sign of expansion to meet expanding need.

The Director of Social Services has taken the line that the situation cannot be resolved by strike action - that social workers almost by definition exist to meet needs where they are to be found - so he will not negotiate. But the similar strike in Tower Hamlets three weeks ago showed that social workers are beginning to be aware that it is not in the interest of the working class for them to go on providing inadequate services, and that the only way to obtain resources is to fight for them before the damage is irreparable.

NHS IN DANGER!



Labour movement conference on the fight against the cuts in the NHS

City University London. October 11
Chaired by Jack Collins speakers include Audrey Wise MP and health workers.

Organised by
Medical Committee Against Private Practice 55 Bridge Lane London NW 11

Published by Medical Committee Against Private Practice. Printed by FF Lethbridge 187 Pentonville Road London N1

Horror Story in North East

The Labour Party has always used the National Health Service as a shining example of its devotion to socialism. The NHS is also supposed to prove that socialism via Parliament is possible - in fact the only possible way. However, the present Labour Government is managing to cut expenditure on the social services drastically without any ministers suffering any noticeable pangs of conscience.

The appalling state of the NHS in the North East has just been revealed in a report in the 24 August edition of the Newcastle Sunday Sun. The report shows:

- * 30,735 waiting for treatment in the North at the end of May - a 15 per cent increase over a year.
- * In Cumbria general surgery waiting up by 635 to 1,900.
- * In Cleveland general surgery waiting up by a third, and figures nearly doubled in Gateshead and North Tyneside.
- * Orthopaedics waiting in Newcastle up by 188 to 718, with a 76 per cent rise in South Tyneside and nearly 50 per cent increase in North Tyneside.
- * Gynaecology waiting lists more than double normal waiting times - more than a year in North and South Tyneside.

However these horrifying figures still do not give the full picture. They do not include the very large numbers waiting for an appointment with a consultant before possible admission to hospital. The real state of affairs was revealed by Dr. James

Bringan, a member of the Regional Health Authority. He claims: 'We have cases in the region where patients are waiting more than a year before they get an appointment with a consultant. Then they could wait another year for treatment'.

In contrast the Newcastle Labour controlled council has been less than stingy in doling out cash for its prestige projects to private enterprise. The new Civic Centre cost £6 million, the Eldon Square shopping centre has so far cost at least £40 million - to name just two of the many examples.

On Friday 15 August it was announced that the General Hospital, the second largest in the city, is to be closed. It is to be replaced by a new hospital at Freeman Road. Although the General is not supposed to be closed for several years, it will mean that no hospital will be left in the predominantly working class west end of Newcastle.

The situation in the North East is by no means an exception. And the Healey measures mean that waiting lists will get still longer, and yet more people will die before they are even seen by a specialist, let alone treated. This appalling situation shows the urgency for the working class to work out a plan to defend the NHS against any attacks. At the moment this means getting the widest possible delegations to the MCAPP conference in London on 11 October.

Geoff Ryan



GLASGOW FRAME-UP TRIAL OPENS



NF leader Kingsley Read confers with police minutes before their attack



The trial opened in Glasgow on Monday of the first group of anti-fascist pickets arrested during the Kingston Halls police riot of 24 May. Seventy-six militants of the Scottish labour movement are due to appear in the courts, along with two Leeds fascists arrested by mistake by the frenzied cops.

The first group of seven defendants includes: Hugh Wyper, Glasgow District Secretary of the TGWU; John Reidford, Secretary of Glasgow Trades Council; Charlie Montgomery, EEPTU shop steward and former National Executive candidate; and Norman Bean, shop steward at Anderson Mavor Engineering, Glasgow. The main bulk of the civilian witnesses ranged against them are eleven members of the National Front from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Blackburn, Accrington, Birmingham and Plymouth; they include Kingsley Read, Chairman of the NF.

It is the peaceful pickets and not Read, however, who are charged with 'bawling, cursing, shouting, swearing, obstructing the footpath and causing a breach of the peace'. Read's conduct, verified by every major newspaper in Scotland, does not seem to have breached the peace. After all, he simply gave repeated Nazi salutes, shouting 'scum' and 'vermin' while his sidekick Richard Montague provided a backing chorus of 'fucking shit'.

We can also assume that the two Leeds fascists on trial, Derek Curtis and Frank Burden, both former thugs of the Nazi National Democratic and Freedom Movement, will follow the course of another prosecution witness, Glasgow fascist Gus Macdonald.

Shortly after the Kingston Halls incident, Macdonald stood trial for the alleged serious assault of an IMG

militant. One major factor in his acquittal was his sworn avowal to the jury that he no longer had anything to do with the National Front. Yet two weeks earlier he had made statements in his own name to the *Glasgow Herald* as Glasgow NF Press Spokesman; and he now appears on the list of prosecution witnesses as one of the eleven 'Members of the National Front Political Party'.

Nor will the Glasgow police enter the witness box without a lot of egg on their faces. Quite apart from the mammoth job of covering up for a full scale riot, numerous assaults and systematic intimidation, they have two major problems to deal with.

CHARGES

It is strongly rumoured among defendants that a deposition made by Chief Inspector Dunford states that *the police attacked the picket*. If such a statement exists, it blows the whole basis of the prosecution from top to bottom. It is most unlikely that reference will not be made to the matter in court.

It is also known at the time of writing that a senior Scottish Labour parliamentary figure has been engaged in correspondence with the Scottish Office concerning the possibility of charges being brought against police officers for their part in the police riot. This information is said to come from Scottish Office level.

The third partner in the Kingston Halls outrage, the ruling clique of the Labour-controlled Glasgow District Council, is having a hard time of it as well. At the last full Labour Group meeting an Executive recommendation for a rents increase was voted down 32-15 and Dick Dynes, the clique boss and Labour leader on the Council, was discreetly informed that failure to toe the line of the Labour Group would provoke an open challenge to his leadership. The leader of the rents revolt, Councillor Andy MacMahon, represents Kingston and has led the fight in council for Labour to ban the fascists.

MacMahon addressed a meeting called by the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council a week before the trials. Scorning the necessity to avoid remarks on 'sub judice' matters, he denounced 'acts of gross brutality by the Strathclyde police' and stated: 'I lay full blame on Glasgow District Council for accommodating these villains.' Disagreeing with those who thought 'that we will win over the Glasgow District Council', he stressed the need to escalate the fight against 'the old clique' and 'Tricky Dicky Dynes'.

PICKET

MacMahon also revealed that Govan's self-proclaimed 'Trotskyist' Labour MP, Harry Selby, has twice refused appeals in his constituency party to support Kelvingrove MP Neil Carmichael in demanding a public enquiry. According to Selby, 'all you've done is provide the National Front with a million pounds of free advertising'. Selby, it should be noted, did not deem it necessary to warn the Glasgow labour movement when the fascists approached him for a joint 'anti-Common Market' platform.

In the final week before the trials commenced, Glasgow IMG combined its preparations for the defence with a campaign to build united public action in the labour movement. Recognising that a purely legalistic defence can only let

the prosecution define the key issues, the IMG will concentrate on dragging the police bosses, fascists and Labour bureaucrats through the witness box and thus accuse the real criminals.

A picket of the first trial, sponsored by Glasgow IMG and IS and by defendants Keith Stoddart and Norman Bean, took place earlier this week; and a meeting of all organisations called by IMG is to take place to co-ordinate further pickets, demonstrations, rallies, etc.

JAMES MacALLISTER

DEFENCE FUND

Donations are urgently needed to help the anti-fascist defendants. Please send all donations to Glasgow Trade Union Anti-Fascist Defence Fund, c/o Glasgow Trades Council, 83 Carlton Place, Glasgow 4.

IMG PAMPHLET

'Kingston Halls Police Riot—The Real Criminals': obtainable price 10p + 5p postage from 18 Carrington Street, Glasgow 4.

STOP THE NATIONAL FRONT MARCHING THROUGH LONDON'S EAST END

In one of their most provocative acts yet, the fascist National Front is proposing to 'march against mugging' through the East End of London on 6 September.

Their proposed march route has not been disclosed, but speakers include NF head Kingsley Read and arch-thug John Tyndall of Nazi uniform fame. Also on the platform will be two local gangsters — one of whom, Derrick Day, is currently awaiting trial for mugging a black woman.

The Hackney Committee Against Racism has called on all sections of the labour movement to support

a massive anti-fascist rally. The HCAR is a united front body supported by Hackney Trades Council, Hackney NALGO, Hackney Teachers Association and most left-wing groups in the area.

The International Marxist Group is calling on all its supporters in London to mobilise for the rally. Three Labour Councillors are supporting the rally and one of them, Stuart Weir, has agreed to speak. All militants are urged to mobilise maximum support. Assemble 1pm Victoria Park Square (near Bethnal Green Tube), Saturday 6 September.

NOT NEARLY ENOUGH!!

Our appeal last week did find some response. One comrade in the acting profession came into the office with £60. Although she has not been working for some time, and her latest job does not exactly pay a Liz Taylor-type salary, she does know that without *Red Weekly* the fight for an internationalist revolutionary movement in the British working class would suffer a severe setback.

A number of other comrades responded to our appeal, and we finally collected just over £150 more. But quite honestly that is not nearly enough. We are still over £200 short on our August target. Now it is up to the IMG branches in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Oxford, Coventry, etc, who have not yet sent in their monthly guarantees or have only paid part of them.

Unless our monthly guarantors get in their quotas we are in a mess. The August Fund Drive closes after this weekend. Dear readers, just make sure that it is the Fund Drive that closes with a successful target, not your paper that closes because you have let it go bankrupt.

The address has not changed — it is still 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.



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

7 Days in the 6 Counties

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

TEN YEAR OLD Stephen Geddes lived in the Catholic Divis Flats in the Falls Road, Belfast. Last Saturday Stephen died in hospital — killed by a plastic bullet fired by British soldiers at point-blank range.

At the same time the campaign to intimidate Catholic families into leaving their homes continues to spread under the benevolent gaze of the Army. Three families in the Lisburn area in County Antrim had shots and petrol bombs fired into their houses last week. Every day the Irish News carries a series of appeals from Catholics who find themselves isolated in Loyalist areas asking for accommodation in anti-Unionist areas.

The Ulster Volunteer Force — the Protestant terrorist organisation given legal recognition by the Labour Government last year — warned last week that for each 'Republican-inspired violent incident' it would take seven actions in retaliation. In its statement the UVF also named 14 organisations, ranging from both wings of the IRA to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, as 'enemies of Ulster' against whom they regarded all actions as 'legitimate'.

The same day, two Catholics returning from a Gaelic football match in Dublin were murdered near the border at Newtownhamilton. The Protestant Action Force, a satellite organisation of the UVF, claimed responsibility for the killings.

The two were killed after being stopped at a road block manned by personnel in British Army uniform. Demands by anti-Unionists for ballistic tests to be carried out on all Ulster Defence Regiment weapons in the area were rejected

by the authorities, who dismissed suggestions that the UDR had been infiltrated by Loyalist extremists.

Nevertheless, abundant evidence exists that all the Loyalist para-military associations have a large number of members in both the UDR and the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Only a fortnight ago a former Ulster Defence Association captain in Belfast caused a mild sensation when he revealed that he had been asked to recruit UDA members to the RUC reserve.

The UVF have often boasted of their 'co-operation' with the security forces, and last weekend a story in the Sunday News revealed that many UDR members who have access to intelligence information and carry legal weapons are also members of the UVF. It continued: 'Some of them are attached to the RUC, UDR and several full-time army regiments. They are not only active members of the UVF, but they also feed off vital information on security and Republicans.'

The events surrounding the murder of the football fans reveals the extent of this collusion. Shortly before the murders an RUC patrol passed through the same roadblock. All security personnel in any area are attached to the same barracks, so the RUC would have known instantly that the roadblock was not official. Yet they claim that they discovered this only when they returned to their base.

Why did the RUC ignore this roadblock? Anti-Unionists in the North of Ireland are insisting that the answer is obvious — the RUC recognised the terrorists as members of the security forces.