

RED WEEKLY

PORTUGAL -
LEFT AT THE
CROSSROADS
pages 5-8

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STRIKE FOR JOBS ON 26 NOV.



In an act of open scabbing on the unemployed, the TUC is trying to crush the mass jobs lobby planned for 26 November. Circulars instructing Trades Councils not to participate have been sent out by the TUC General Council. This comes only weeks after the TUC foisted the wage-cutting £6 limit on the labour movement by claiming it was part of the 'fight for jobs'. This latest move clearly shows that Murray and Co. are not fighting for jobs but meekly accepting wage-cuts and longer dole queues from the Wilson Government.

SABOTAGING

Despite the sabotaging efforts of the General Council, massive support for the jobs lobby — called by the North West Region of the TUC — is building up. It has been endorsed by the N.E. Lancs. and London Region, of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions; Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield and many other Trades Councils; the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers; and hundreds of local trade union organisations (for details see back page).

Most important of all, the first steps are being taken to turn the lobby into a real day of action against unemployment. Four major London building sites covering 2,000 workers — Littlebrook power station, Isle of Grain power station, Taylor & Woodrow Victoria site, and the M3 construction job — have voted unanimously to take strike action on the day of the lobby. Workers from factories engaged in struggles and occupations against redundancies

will be participating in the demo.

Four vital steps are necessary to smash the sabotage of the TUC and turn 26 November into a real red letter day in the fight for jobs — steps that the main forces organising the demonstration, the Communist Party and sections of the Labour left, are unwilling to take:

1. The mobilisation must centre on the workers at the heart of the fight for jobs. The main speakers and leaders of the demonstration should be not just the 'left' union leaders and MPs, but above all representatives from the occupations at Balfour Darwin (Sheffield) and Personna (Glasgow), and other workers occupying and striking against redundancy.

2. The unemployed must be organised for the demonstration. The Manchester District Committee of the AUEW has already provided 25 seats for the unemployed out of 100 it has guaranteed on a special train from Manchester. This initiative should be extended. The workers on the dole have the greatest interest in the fight for jobs, but too often the unions ignore them. A huge drive at the employment exchanges can bring in the unemployed in their thousands.

IMPORT CONTROLS

3. The demands put forward against unemployment must be capable of guaranteeing the right to work. The developing campaign for import controls won't solve anything. Inflation will increase, retaliatory action will provoke a further collapse of world trade, and reactionary illusions will be fostered in the British working class by pretending that our problems can be solved at the expense of foreign

workers.

Against the reformist non-solutions of the Labour left and Communist Party, we must fight the Wilson Government for a 35 hour week, work-sharing with no loss of pay, nationalisation of all firms creating redundancies, a programme of socially useful public works, and the opening of the books to prepare a workers' plan to defend jobs.

RIGHT TO WORK

4. The 'left' leaders of the trade unions and Labour Party must be forced to show where they stand. Scanlon, Benn and the Tribuniters all claim to defend the right to work. They should denounce the TUC's sabotage. Benn should resign from the Government and lead a fight against Wilson's capitalist policies if he claims to defend the right to work.

If these steps are taken, and the strike decision of the building workers extended, 26 November can be turned into the starting point and not the end of the campaign for jobs. The demonstration can issue a clear call for trade union Right to Work Committees in every area, local and regional strikes for jobs, and for full support of all workers engaged in struggle against redundancies. This must be part of the fight to organise a class struggle left wing in the labour movement which can smash the betrayals of the Wilson leadership.

With these steps 26 November can be the beginning of a massive fight to win the right to work. Red Weekly urges every single one of its supporters to move resolutions and take action to demonstrate, lobby and best of all strike for jobs on 26 November.

FIGHT LABOUR

1. HEALTH SERVICE - MCAPP AND AFTER



After the successful conference on 11 October, we asked MCAPP Organiser JANET MAGUIRE, what were the next steps in the fight to defend the NHS.

Q After the MCAPP Conference, what next?

A The Co-ordinating Committee will be organising meetings in the localities and setting up local conferences. The aim of these is to get the support of both health workers and trade union members from other industries. What we want to do is to get action against any cuts made in the NHS.

The Co-ordinating Committee will also be producing a monthly bulletin. This should not just supply information on the cuts and struggles against them - important as that is. It must also start a democratic debate about workers' control in the NHS, and work out what steps are needed to achieve that.

This is not just important to defeat the cuts in the NHS. It also affects workers in other jobs who are faced with the same problems.

The Bulletin will be open to everyone who supports the general aims of the Conference. We will be writing in particular to those people who attended the Conference. Because so many people who wanted to speak could not get to the rostrum, we will be asking them to send in written contributions

instead.

Q At the MCAPP Conference the delegate from the South West Region of the TUC suggested occupations of hospital wards threatened by closures. What do you think of this?

A I personally think it is an excellent idea. Nobody wants the NHS run from dilapidated, antiquated Victorian wards. However, until new buildings are put up we will oppose any reductions in an already inadequate service.

We should encourage staff to keep the wards running. Support for actions like that could gain big support from local people, who will see who is on their side. It is a positive way to fight back against the Government's policies.

Q What is your attitude to the junior doctors' claim?

A Our resolution to the Conference made clear that we support the struggles of health workers fighting for better pay and conditions. Where possible, committees of trade unionists should be set up to support the junior doctors and junior doctors should be invited to trade union branches and shop stewards' committees to explain their case.

Q What do you think of the Government's moves to set up a Royal Commission into the Health Service?

A The Conference called for a workers' enquiry into the NHS. The Royal Commission will start from what the capitalist state can afford to give to the NHS.

Even before its Report is printed its conclusions are obvious. It will say that it is concerned about the decline in the health service, but that no more money can be allowed. Then it will sanction the cuts.

We want a health service responsible to and controlled by the working class. Working people have to

make the NHS their own. If they do not do this, sickness, disease and illness will get worse.

This is why the workers' movement has to set up its own enquiry and demand access to the books. The labour movement alone should decide the priorities of spending and the allocation of resources, and that means that it must have full access to all information. We will have to fight the secret plans of the Labour Government and the Area Health Authorities, because these plans will worsen the health of the working people.

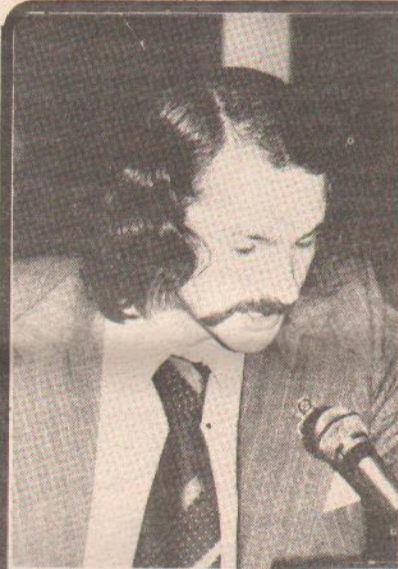
Royal Commissions do nothing more than justify the policies of capitalism - they exclude the interests of the workers. A workers' enquiry has the opposite effect, be-



Daily Express gets the message

cause it is an essential step towards mobilising the broad workers' movement to fight against the cuts and transform the NHS.

Q MCAPP has recently got a lot of publicity in the capitalist press - with the Daily Express even leading the front page on it. Why do you think this is?



Ray Perry is the branch secretary of COHSE at Velindre Hospital, Cardiff. He is a member of the Labour Party and is also a delegate to the Cardiff Trades Council. Ray was also a delegate to last week's MCAPP Conference.

● At the Labour Party Conference a resolution was carried opposing the cuts in the NHS. What importance will this have in the campaign to defend the health service?

I am worried about the relationship between Conference and Cabinet decisions. I have no faith in the Labour Government to carry out Conference decisions.

In the report prepared by the Labour Party about the reasons for their defeat in 1970 it said that many people normally voting Labour ceased to find discernible differences in the policies of the Labour Party and the Tory Party. This resulted in the most radical left-wing Manifesto for years which won back power for Labour in 1974. If we carry on the road we are now pursuing, then we will suffer the wrath of the Labour voters even more.

The only way to avoid this is to implement the policies of the National Conference. But the campaign against cuts in the NHS is going to have to come from the local branches of the trade union movement. As Ian Mikardo said, at the national level in the trade union movement there has been a sell-out unheard of since 1926.

A The Daily Express, like the rest of the capitalist press, is relying on the Wilson Government to carry through attacks on people's living standards and health.

The MCAPP Conference, by mobilising so many trade union delegates from inside and outside the NHS, is seen by them as an alternative inside the labour movement to Mrs Castle and her plans, and that is what worries them.

MCAPP set out to build a broad united struggle rooted inside the working class against the cuts. The 11 October Conference was a modest step towards this objective. But it did show a tremendous potential. We can now start to turn that modest beginning into a really big movement.

This is why the press are so worried. They understood that we were not just trying to organise a protest movement, but that we had set out to co-ordinate and centralise the forces inside the unions and the Labour Party who want an alternative to the pro-capitalist policies of the right-wing Labour leaders.

● So you think that the campaign against cuts concerns all sections of the working class?

The resolution passed by the Cardiff Trades Council - this called for a public enquiry into the NHS - and the backing it received from all sections of the labour movement showed that the fight against the cuts is the concern of all the working class.

● What do you think the role of the MCAPP Conference was, and how can it contribute to the defence and extension of the NHS?

MCAPP in its original form was a good idea. The Conference shows a willingness to develop it into a much more all-embracing organisation of workers interested in the health and social services.

It is my belief that MCAPP should now develop into a 'Health and Social Services Liaison Committee' with branches established all over the country. This would then be equipped to fight every social injustice, ranging from prescription charges to the Old Age Pensioners. The Conference can launch MCAPP on a national scale and provide a co-ordinating body for all groups of workers.

3. EDUCATION - WITCH



'School of shame', screamed the headlines of the *Evening News* (15 October), referring to William Tyndale Junior School in Islington. 'How Red Are Our Schools?', demanded Rhodes Boyson, MP and Black Paper fanatic, from the centre-pages of the *Daily Telegraph* next day. Other papers were meanwhile pillorying Chris Searle, an East London teacher victimised in 1971, for allowing his working class pupils to express their feelings about life.

Far from being a coincidence, these attacks form part of a campaign by right-wing forces to whip up panic and confusion amongst parents, teachers and workers as to the source of the crisis in education.

This campaign comes at a time when the entire education system is under attack and reeling from the blows of the economic crisis and the attacks of the Wilson Government.

FEWER TEACHERS

And every day the educational press is filled with stories about the cuts being planned by local authorities. The Labour controlled education committee of Dudley, for instance, has recommended that the metropolitan borough should employ 246 fewer teachers in its schools than at present, despite the

Dudley's primary school population is expected to grow by 300 and the secondary roll by 600. In other words, Dudley's schools will be faced with classes of over 40.

This piece of news appeared exactly one week after the Labour Party Conference had called on the Government to commit itself to a maximum class size of 25 by 1980.

Chancellor Dennis Healey has also revealed that he plans to cut a further £1,250 million from public spending - including an estimated £500 million from education - over the next five years.

All of this contrasts with the TUC demand prior to Healey's April hatchet work for an increase of £975 million on public spending. The pattern is clear: over a two-year span, £258 million has been cut back during a period when the price of school equipment (to

cent.

Solutions to the crisis in the schools will not be found outside of a solution to the overall crisis of British capitalism. Teachers alone are in no position to achieve this.

Yet last week's IS-dominated Rank and File Conference on the cuts fell predictably into the sectoral bear-trap. The main document called for the building of 'effective links between schools', in the utopian belief that 'at the point at which the Union refuses to sanction further action it is the strength of the school links that have been built up that will determine how the fight develops.'

WORKING CLASS

This effectively ignores the problem that the only way to protect spending on education and other social services is to take the fight against the cuts into the rest of the working class. Hence, as at the MCAPP Conference, the bulk of the IS-dominated Rank & File are against the unifying demand of a

OUR'S CUTS!

I THOUGHT HOME WAS AN EX-PRIME MINISTER UNTIL I DISCOVERED SQUATTING.

2. HOUSING-SQUATTERS WIN VICTORY

Squatters' leader PIERS CORBYN, a member of the International Marxist Group, explained the reasons for the squatters' success to *Red Weekly*:

Squatting solved the immediate problem of housing for many homeless people in London. We had people referred to us in Elgin Avenue from information and advice centres, from council social workers and even (unofficially, of course) from the police!

But we never let the GLC off the hook. Our demand was and remains decent housing for all. We fought all the time for the rehousing of all squatters, and we didn't just shut our mouths when we had somewhere to live. In the last year a state of continuous war has existed between Elgin Avenue and the GLC because we were a direct challenge to the in-built homelessness of GLC housing policy.

Con-trick

Let me explain what I mean by this. The resources already exist for decent housing for everyone. No-one should have to wait for housing while there are hundreds of thousands of empty houses waiting to be used. The council 'housing' waiting list is a political con-trick to justify homelessness. It aims to make the people on the list feel that they are fighting each other or, worse still 'layabout squatters'—who only take over empty houses in any case—for homes.

In this way the GLC and the Government, who are responsible for the housing cuts by refusing to stand up to the speculators—90 per cent of GLC rents go back to the City as interest payments—try to get off the hook.

Land 'bank'

We want a crash programme of Government-funded repairs and building to meet the housing crisis... use the brick 'mountain' and the land 'bank'. If the Labour Government wanted to solve the housing crisis it would nationalise all the building firms and give work to the tens of thousands of construction workers without jobs. Instead it is also cutting back on schools and hospitals.

We want all the cuts in social spending reversed and all social spending protected against the effects of inflation. The Labour-controlled GLC could requisition all empty property for the homeless, and end the extortionate interest repayments to financiers on money borrowed for housing.

The IMG has put forward these demands from the first. It was because we had this political line for the whole housing crisis, and explained that attacks on squatting are a smokescreen for legal moves against all protest actions, that we

'As a seaman I was in a trade union but I just tended to drift along with things. I now think more people should fight. If I see any injustice again I will fight it. I'd never fought for anything till now, but if I had gone to prison for defending our right to a home I would still know that justice was on our side.'

That's what Mr Callaghan, married with a three-year-old daughter, and now working as an assistant schoolkeeper, had to say after the victorious outcome of the three-year-old struggle at Elgin Avenue in London. Despite a year of physical harassment by the Greater London Council—which involved the cutting off of gas, the threatened demolition of occupied houses, and the smashing up of one house while the occupants were out—and a vicious propaganda campaign in the press against 'unlawful' squatting, the 200 squatters of Elgin Avenue finally won all their demands.

Families have been rehoused into proper council tenancies, and single people and childless couples have been given alternative short-life accommodation—all inspected by the squatters themselves to see whether it was suitable before they moved out.

were able to go out and fight for support in tenants' associations, trade unions and the local Labour Party.

We said to members of the Labour Party: 'OK. You support Benn. He said that the crisis we inherit should not be an excuse for postponing radical change, but the occa-

sion for advancing it. We agree—so let's start with decent housing for all now.' And they had to agree.

It was difficult, but in the end we won the support of the Paddington Federation of Tenants and Residents Associations (comprising 30 tenants associations) and Westminster Trades Council, and split Paddington Labour Party down the middle a few weeks before the court case. Arthur Latham, the local Labour MP, supported us; and on the eve of the court case the CLP Executive Committee recommended rehousing for all.

We were able to win this support because the people in Elgin Avenue were organised and united. Regular mass meetings were held in which everyone could participate and become conscious that they were acting as a body, not as isolated individuals.

Resistance

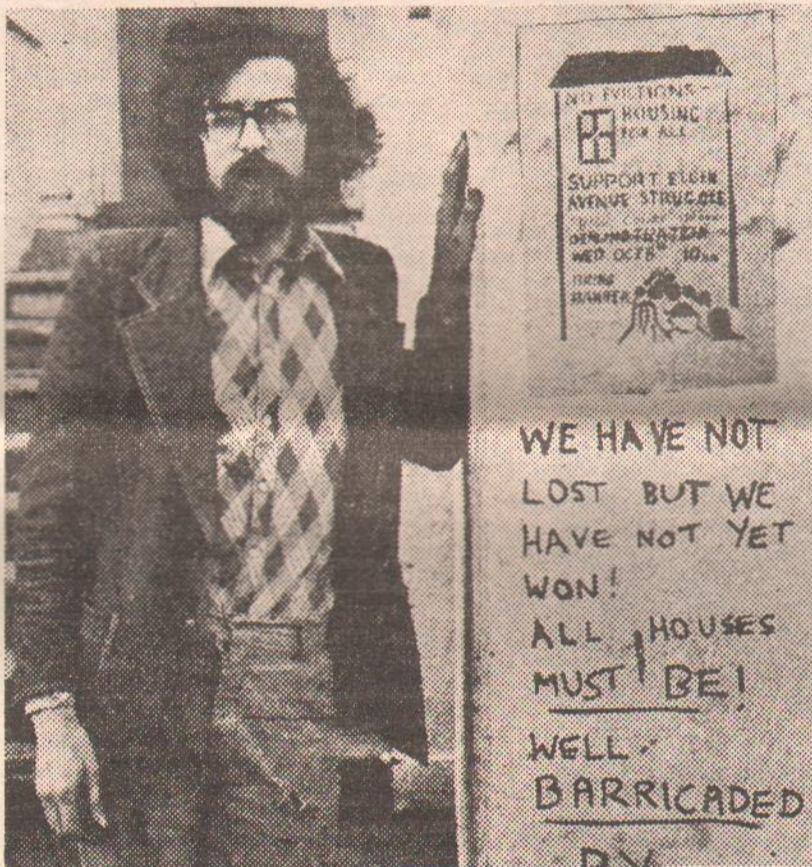
And you shouldn't under-rate those barricades we built! We were ready for physical resistance, and in any confrontation that took place it would have been seen who was fighting for what.

Ours is an important victory. It will encourage more squatters and homeless people to fight. The GLC has been forced to admit that people don't get rehoused by waiting but by struggling. They house people on an *ad hoc* basis when they turn up on the doorstep. The waiting list is a con.

Two hundred squatters have now been accepted as 'decent' and 'worthy' of rehousing, which will make it more difficult for the ruling class to bring in laws supposedly directed against squatting but in reality aimed also against picketing, sit-ins and other forms of working class struggle. Through our active approach to all bodies in the labour movement as well as social workers, advice and law centres, we succeeded in splitting the GLC from top to bottom.

Reversal

We will be taking our campaign forward in opposition to and for the reversal of all the housing cuts and social expenditure cuts, and against all the rotten Tory policies of the Wilson Government. I would like to see a labour movement enquiry into housing and speculation which would investigate the nature of the housing waiting list, open the books of the housing accounts, reveal the scope of speculation, and draw up a plan to meet the real housing needs of the working class. The struggle is only just beginning!



SQUATTERS' LEADER PIERS CORBYN

HUNT HIDES THE CUTS

to compensate for inflation.

Already the broad trade union movement is beginning to take up the question of education. The TUC, for instance, has called for a system of comprehensive secondary education; more nursery school places; and no classes over 30.

The South East Region TUC's mass lobby of Parliament on Tuesday was a step in the right direction; but even this modest initiative was undermined by the trade union bureaucrats. Despite a call from the London division of the NUT, representing 16,000 teachers, for a half-day strike to back up the lobby, the union leadership rejected the call.

The task facing those who wish to fight the cuts is how to break out of this bureaucratic stranglehold — not, as some people would argue, by ignoring these bureaucrats, but by pointing out that to win even their mealy-mouthed demands requires the mobilisation of far wider sections of the trade union and labour movement than have so far been brought into action. One of the central difficulties to overcome, of course, is the deep-rooted profes-

sionalism of teachers who only want trade union help in order to defend their jobs.

The task, however, is far greater. We need to demand not only the restoration of the education cuts, but the protection of all public spending against inflation by a sliding scale of expenditure, which should be under the direction and

TYNDALE TEACHERS GO BACK

Having gained some concessions from the Inner London Education Authority, the striking staff of William Tyndale Junior School returned to work last week. The Authority has given them access to the documents they required, and assurances that the activities of the managers will be looked into.

But the battle is far from over. The inspectors who took over the school during the strike have produced a report which virtually claims that no education at all had been going on. Certainly some-

control of the whole labour movement.

So far it is only the forces gathered around the Socialist Teachers' Conference who have understood the need to build a campaign against the education cuts based on broad sections of the trade union movement.

one is trying to prove this—when the Tyndale teachers returned they found their wall displays destroyed, equipment vanished, and furniture fixed to the floor to provide varied teaching areas ripped up. Despite this the inspection is carrying on as if nothing has happened.

INVITATION

Attempts are still being made to close the school. Mr. Roy Price, Divisional Education Officer, has been quoted as saying: 'All the children on roll at William Tyndale could be accommodated in local schools.' This is an open invitation to confused parents to transfer their children. North London Teachers Association has passed a resolution rejecting this manoeuvre and instructing their members not to accept transfers from William Tyndale.

SOCIALIST TEACHERS 2nd CONFERENCE

10.30am, 25–26 October

Saturday: Argyle School, Tonbridge St., WC1 (opp. Kings X station)

Sunday: Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Creche, accommodation provided. Fee for two days: £1. For more information, contact B. Regan, 24 St Agnes Close, London E9 (01-986 0570).

Despite the ILEA's attempts to pass itself off as a neutral body, it has come to light that it ignored repeated requests as long as 18 months ago to investigate the school managers. As soon as there was a request calling for the sacking of the headmaster from the managers, however, the Authority set up machinery for the inspection with extremely flexible terms of reference.

Whatever the outcome of the enquiry, it is vital that the basic problems of literacy and numeracy in Inner City schools—which are being increased by the Labour Government's spending cuts—are not fobbed off onto the backs of radical teachers.

by Diana Udall



CHILE CONFERENCE CAN PLAN BOYCOTT ACTIONS

Over 300 delegates have already registered for the Chile Solidarity Campaign trade union conference this Saturday.

Eighteen national unions are now sponsoring the conference, and many more are sending delegations. Support has come particularly from NALGO (27 branches), the AUEW (18 branches), and ASTMS (11 branches), as well as from several TASS divisional councils and TGWU district committees. Twenty-three trades councils are so far sending delegations.

Such wide-ranging and significant support from the organised workers' movement means that the conference will be in a good position to plan the extension of concrete solidarity with the Chilean working class.

Such solidarity is certainly needed. The junta's repression is still increasing: directly, by the arrest, torture, and jailing without trial of thousands of opponents of the regime; and indirectly, as a result of economic policies which have more than halved real wages while putting 20 per cent of the population out of work.



If the conference sets about seriously planning a campaign of boycott actions to break this collaboration, then it will represent a big step forward for the solidarity movement.

Anna Larkin

TUC TELLS 300,000 ENGINEERS -

'No pay rise this year'

In March this year the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions—which embraces 19 unions organising around three million workers—concluded a three-stage pay settlement with the Engineering Employers Federation. The agreement was to increase national minimum rates in the engineering industry by £10. The first stage in April resulted in a £4 increase, with another £4 to follow in November and a further £2 in February 1976.

This will bring up the national minimum rate for skilled workers to £42 per week, and for unskilled £33. Although most factories supplement this rate with domestic negotiations, there are still around 20 per cent of CSEU members who depend almost entirely on the annual national negotiations for a wage increase.

Observant readers will have noticed that the last £6 of the £10 package is to be concluded only after the introduction of the £6 limit. Accordingly the TUC has now notified the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (the main union in the CSEU) that the £6 limit must be observed, and that it is tough luck if 300,000 AUEW members only receive a £10 increase over a period of two years (1975 and 1976)—they are not entitled under the new-style Social Contract to have another pay rise in April 1976 as usual.

This will mean a massive drop in living standards for those who are already feeling the pinch harder than anyone else.

WAGE-SLASHING

The CSEU-affiliated unions must reject these wage-slashing plans. The next AUEW national committee should prepare a major pay claim to protect the living standards of all engineers. That would mean an across-the-board claim for at least £15, coupled with the demand for a sliding scale of wages to defend any gains in living standards against the effects of inflation.

ACTION

The AUEW has come out in words against the £6 limit, but now it must turn these words into action. Opposition from the TUC and the Wilson Government, together with the witch-hunts of the right-wing press, can only be defeated if the opponents of the £6 limit unite and spell out a clear alternative to Wilson's Tory policies. A determined fight by the AUEW would rapidly draw in rank-and-file support from other unions—and it would do more than all the electioneering of the

Broad Left to put paid to any support for the right-wing union leaders.

Unfortunately for the members of the CSEU, Scanlon, Wright and the Communist Party seem reluctant (to say the least) to give such a lead. Their idea of how to fight the right in the labour movement is limited almost entirely to the confines of TUC and Labour Party conferences. It is precisely in this area that the right-wing is strongest—and the rank-and-file virtually excluded.

SHOP FLOOR

It is only by mobilising action on the shop floor, in union branches and stewards' meetings, and in local Labour Parties, that a real alternative to the right-wing policies and leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions can be built.

by John Graham
(AUEW)

Blockade

Foremost of the tasks facing the conference will be the need to develop the economic blockade of the Chilean regime. Boycotts of British imports from Chile—particularly copper, nitrates, fruit and wine—and the halting of supplies of goods to Chile—especially machinery and vehicles—must be actively encouraged. Decisions like that of the National Union of Seamen to call for a boycott of British ships sailing to or from Chile must be taken up by the whole solidarity campaign, to ensure that they are not aborted as a result of right-wing manoeuvres.

Such working class actions will also be the key to forcing the Labour Government to break its collaboration with the junta. The Wilson leadership persisted in sending the warships to Pinochet, while not batting an eyelid at the junta's non-payment of Chile's debts. At the United Nations the Labour Government was quite happy to go along with a resolution which stated that—while some violations of human rights had occurred—the junta had made considerable progress in the last year.

BETRAYAL

This latest act of betrayal by the TUC completely exposes the hypocrisy of those TUC leaders who claim the £6 limit exists to help the low-paid. If the TUC get their way over this matter, it will be precisely the low-paid in the engineering industry who will suffer.

The better organised plants, who are already well above the national minimum rate, will no doubt receive something in the region of £6 in the next round of annual wage negotiations at a domestic level—but for those who are not strong enough to win domestic claims, the TUC has said 'you will get nothing at all'.

-WHAT'S ON-

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR: AUEW/Ealing Women's Group/Trades Council joint public meeting, Thursday 23 October, 7.45 pm, in Ealing Town Hall (Princes Room). Speaker Joan Maynard MP, plus Broadside Theatre Group and discussion groups.

FILM SHOW/DISCUSSION on fascism in Spain and Britain, organised by Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee and Manchester Spanish Solidarity Committee. Films: 'Dreams and Nightmares' about Spain, and a film about the extreme right in Britain. Speakers will include B. Bunsee and a speaker from Spain. Sunday 2 Nov., 2 pm, at Students Union, UMIST, Sackville St., Manchester 1. Admission 40p.

CHARTIST public meeting: 'After Newham—Which Way for Labour Left?' Main speaker Tony Kelly (Newham NE CLP). Friday 31 Oct., 8 pm, at Durning Library, Kennington Lane (junction of Kennington Road), SE11. For tickets phone 733 8953.

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Lessons of 1968—and the tasks of revolutionaries today', Tues 28 Oct., 7.30 pm in Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. (Holborn tube).

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION anniversary social, Friday 7 November, 8pm-2am at the West Indian Centre, Manchester. Films/Group/Disco. Proceeds to Red Weekly and LCI in Portugal. 40p admission.

HULL SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Portugal—What Next?' Friday 31 Oct., 7.30pm at the White Hart, Alfred Gelder Street.

THIS IS IT! Don't arrange anything on Saturday 1 November. At 7.30 in the evening the ultimate in entertainment will start. Yes, come to a Red Rave in aid of the IMG's £15,000 Fund Drive. Be deflected by two bands and singers; tap dance to amazing disco sounds; meet the incredible Piers Corbyn. Yes, all this and all the booze you can drink—or afford. 50p entrance. See next week's Red Weekly for the place.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER: General Meeting, Saturday 1 Nov., 2pm in University of London Union (Room 3B), Malet Street, WC1.

SCOTTISH NAC Conference, Saturday 25 Oct., from 9am-5pm at Queen Margaret Union, Glasgow University. Speakers include Dr Berry Beaumont (MPU-ASTMS), Dr Elizabeth Wilson (FPA Glasgow), Angela McHugh (AUEW shop steward) and invited MP. Creche available. Social in evening. For information and registration, contact Geraldine Smyth, 54 Grant Street, Glasgow (041-333 0318).

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

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

A WOMAN'S RIGHT To Choose/Free Abortion on Demand badges available from 97 Caledonian Road, London N1-10p each plus s.a.e., bulk reductions on request.

The International Marxist Group is an organisation dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism. It is engaged in permanent struggle against the ruling class, and its members devote their time, energy and resources to the socialist revolution.

The IMG fights consistently to draw together all working class struggles into a united movement against capitalism. Our comrades were tirelessly active in building the MCAPP Conference on 11-12 October, which was an important first step in building a nationally coordinated struggle against the cuts. IMG members also played a similar prominent role in the National Abortion Campaign Conference last weekend.

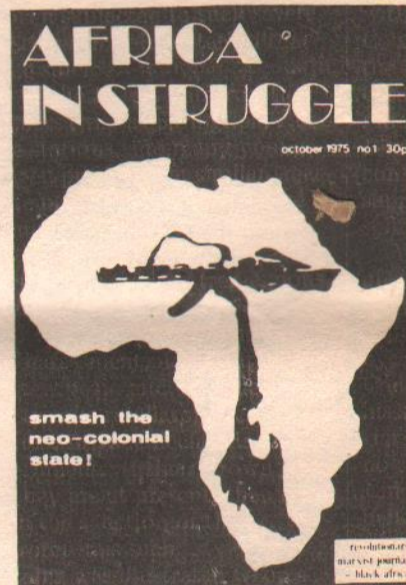
But the fight to develop and centralise these campaigns takes money and resources. We have no rich backers or sympathetic capitalists to finance us. All we have is the revolutionary internationalism and commitment of our members.

If you support our aims, if you agree with our struggle, then you can help us to meet the needs of the international class struggle by donating money. We need £15,000 to:

- * Build a 16-page Red Weekly
- * Organise a Scottish Centre
- * Allocate more full-time workers to our campaigns
- * Increase and improve our publications

By the end of October we need to raise £1,500. By the end of November we want £4,000. Help us to make sure we reach these targets by sending your donation now—as much as you can give.

All contributions should be sent to: IMG Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Cheques/POs should be made payable to 'The Week'.



New journal from IMG Africa Commission, price 30p + 8p p&p from Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

&15,000
FUND DRIVE

THE LEFT AT CROSSROADS

Events in the last few days in Portugal have shown only too clearly the nature of the turning point which the revolution now faces. The rebellion of rank-and-file soldiers in the army has gone farther than ever. Representatives of sixteen out of the twenty military units in Lisbon now meet to discuss joint policy. Supplies of arms to reactionary troops from the giant Bairolas arsenal in Lisbon have been stopped by left-wing soldiers. The air force privates have withdrawn from the officer-dominated assembly of the Armed Forces Movement.

Two thousand troops in the central town of Coimbra have demonstrated, under the leadership of 'Soldiers United Will Win' (SUV). They followed the 4,000 who marched in Lisbon and the 1,500 who demonstrated in Oporto. Huge strikes of steel workers and agricultural workers, and demonstrations of working class organisations have supported the soldiers. Militarily there is little doubt that in a civil war Lisbon and the south of the country would be taken by the left — something even Prime Minister Azevedo has been forced to admit.

SOME OBJECTIVES GAINED

But at the very time the ferment in the country deepens there is no doubt that the reactionary Government has at least temporarily gained some of its objectives. The worker-controlled Radio Renascença has been closed down. Despite press reports to the contrary, the occupation of the artillery barracks in Oporto by left-wing soldiers did not end in a complete defeat for the Government (although it was a major setback for it). The ultra-right CDS party was

able to mobilise 15,000 people in Oporto on Sunday.

Meanwhile the most central projects of the Government — the re-arming of the fascist police, the re-enlisting and re-arming of demobilised 'elite troops', the arming of the Angolan refugees and other rightists with the huge quantities of American arms flowing into the north of the country via Spain — all go on. The Government decree for the disarming of the workers' militias by the end of this week means a further trial of strength.

CLARITY NEEDED

It is absolutely vital that in this situation the left is clear about what is going on in Portugal. Despite stupid and euphoric reports to the contrary, Portugal is *not* on the brink of a semi-spontaneous seizure of power by a working class led by rank-and-file soldiers and an alliance of the groups of the revolutionary left. There is today in Portugal a huge explosion of revolutionary energy — but no political force which is directing and concentrating that energy to the attaining of clear and decisive objective. Without this the capitalists will be able eventually to absorb the blows against it and re-organise its forces.

In order to direct activities correctly, and for revolutionaries outside Portugal to understand the likely course of events, it is necessary to study the real relations in the country and the lessons to be drawn from them. In this dossier *Red Weekly* looks at the forces — the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the Front for Revolutionary Unity — which claim to represent the left in Portugal.



The Socialist Party

There is no doubt that the most important political cover for the counter-revolution in Portugal today comes from the leadership of the Socialist Party. Neither of the openly pro-capitalist parties in Portugal, the PPD or the CDS, is capable of confronting the working class or providing a cover for the reactionary officers. As in 1919 in Germany, when the Social Democratic leaders Ebert and Noske crushed the working class, it is only a party of the workers' movement that can provide a cover for counter-revolution.

SP leader Soares made his present policy quite clear when, after leading the SP out of the Fourth Provisional Government, he formulated the Socialist Party's 'Proposals for Immediate Action' which were published on 28 July this year. It was these which heralded the SP's campaign for 'discipline' — with its condemnation of the 'succession of usurpations of houses and landed property', the denunciation of the fact that 'the authority of the State is being lost inexorably', and the call for the Government to 'introduce severe punitive legislation against "armed militias" which should be suppressed within one month

at the most.'

It was *this* line, and not the pretext of the so-called 'suppression of free speech', which was the real reason for the launching of the SP's reactionary campaign. It was *this* campaign for 'discipline', and against 'anarcho-populism', which logically culminated in the SP's demonstrations in favour of the Amadora commandos — the most reactionary army regiment in the whole of Lisbon — and their statement that: 'The commando regiment and Colonel Jaime Neves are the victims of a campaign of calumnies aimed at sowing discipline and confusion inside the armed forces.'

It is to bolster this sort of campaign — with its chants of 'Order, discipline', 'Down with Communist Dictatorship', and 'We want bread, we want peace, we don't want arms' — that the CIA has been pumping its 3-10 million dollars a month into the Socialist Party, and the EEC and the United States have agreed their multi-million dollar 'aid' programme to Portugal. As for Soares' claim that all this is to protect 'free speech', threatened by the 'Republica affair', the real attitude of the SP leadership to free speech has been shown only

too clearly by its support for the Government's seizure of the radio stations, its demands for suppression of free political activity in the army, and by the expulsion from the Council

(Central Committee) of the Socialist Party of everyone who has opposed the anti-communist campaign of recent months.

The Armed Forces Movement

But if the SP today provides the main political cover for the moves of the extreme right in Portugal, it would be quite wrong to see the Socialist Party as itself the physical instrument of counter-revolution. Soares is someone whose job is to disorient and crush the vanguard of the working class — not a Pinochet whose task is to drown the entire workers' movement in blood. We can be sure that the real Portuguese Pinochets will crush Soares and the Socialist Party almost as severely as they will destroy the rest of the Portuguese workers — just as in 1933, in Germany, Hitler ruthlessly crushed the German Social Democrats who a mere 14 years earlier had murdered Rosa Luxemburg and thousands of workers to save the life of German capitalism.

The real Hitlers and Pinochets in Portugal

lie not in the Socialist Party but inside the army and the Armed Forces Movement. One of the best bets for this role is the ex-Chief of Staff in Caetano's army, President Costa Gomes, who made *his* views very well known last week. Returning from a visit to Eastern Europe he was full of praise for the 'authority, order and discipline' in Poland and Russia. Attacking soldiers who sided with the workers and not with the capitalist class, he announced: 'If a soldier doesn't place his weapons at the service of the people, but at that of his own individual political opinions, he is betraying his uniform.'

Closely associated with Costa Gomes and the Melo Antunes group of officers are the ultra-right commander of the Northern military region, Brigadier Veloso — who last week

threatened to bomb out left-wing soldiers occupying the Oporto artillery barracks; and the probable candidate for next Chief of Staff of the army, General Charais — who in mid-August threatened to march on Lisbon with right-wing forces.

As for Prime Minister Azevedo — whose programme was referred to by the CP as recently as 9 October as confirming the 'fundamental option of the revolutionary perspective' — he too has made his line quite clear. In a broadcast speech on 12 October, Azevedo declared that people must 'talk about revolution less and produce more'. He threatened open military dictatorship, declaring that his administration was 'the last hope of a government within the present constitutional structures'. He also sponsored the demonstration in favour of the right-wing Amadora commando regiment. In front of the guns of the most right-wing unit still available in Lisbon, the shouts of Admiral Azevedo for 'discipline' had only one meaning.

The whole Costa Gomes-Veloso-Antunes-Azevedo section of the army — that is, the overwhelming bulk of the MFA — is a veritable ants nest of potential butchers of the working class. They are held back purely because they fear they would lose a civil war at present



PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES

The 'left' of the MFA

If illusions in the bulk of the MFA are rapidly disappearing, however, they unfortunately continue to exist in the 'left' minority of that organisation. Above all they have been fanned — in the case of General Carvalho — by groups like the PRP. *Revolucão*, the paper of the PRP, summed up its general attitude, for example, on 8 May when it wrote: 'We underline the courage of this soldier, who is always ready to advance without fear.'

The real nature of the 'courageous soldier' has been underlined only too clearly in the recent weeks. The fact that Neves, the commander of the Amadora commandos, is only in command of his regiment because Carvalho had him reinstated after the men had voted to purge him, the fact that it was Carvalho who commanded the troops which occupied the radio stations, underline his real role even more clearly than did his previous manoeuvres with the Antunes group, and his use of troops against strikes. Carvalho is not 'the Fidel Castro of Europe', but merely the last 'left' card which the bourgeoisie might play if it feared that the workers were really going to take power.

STAR SLIPPED

Unfortunately, as Carvalho's star has slipped, an even more ridiculous 'left' mini-cult has threatened to emerge around the character of General Fabiao. Carvalho, no less, has declared that he, Gonçalves and Fabiao constitute the 'revolutionary core' of the MFA — a view whose worth can be seen by the fact that Carvalho also said, in an interview printed in the weekly *O Jornal* on 12 October, that Azevedo was 'a convinced man of the left'. The cult of Fabiao as a 'left' is even more ridiculous than that of Carvalho. Fabiao was actually the original nominee for Prime Minister by the right-wing Antunes group of officers. But Fabiao has allegedly now shown his revolutionary worth by securing the victory of the troops occupying the artillery barracks in Oporto. The reality, however, is very different.

Firstly, it is true that the troops in Oporto won a victory in the sense that the Government had to abandon all thought of removing them by force. It is also possible, if the agitation

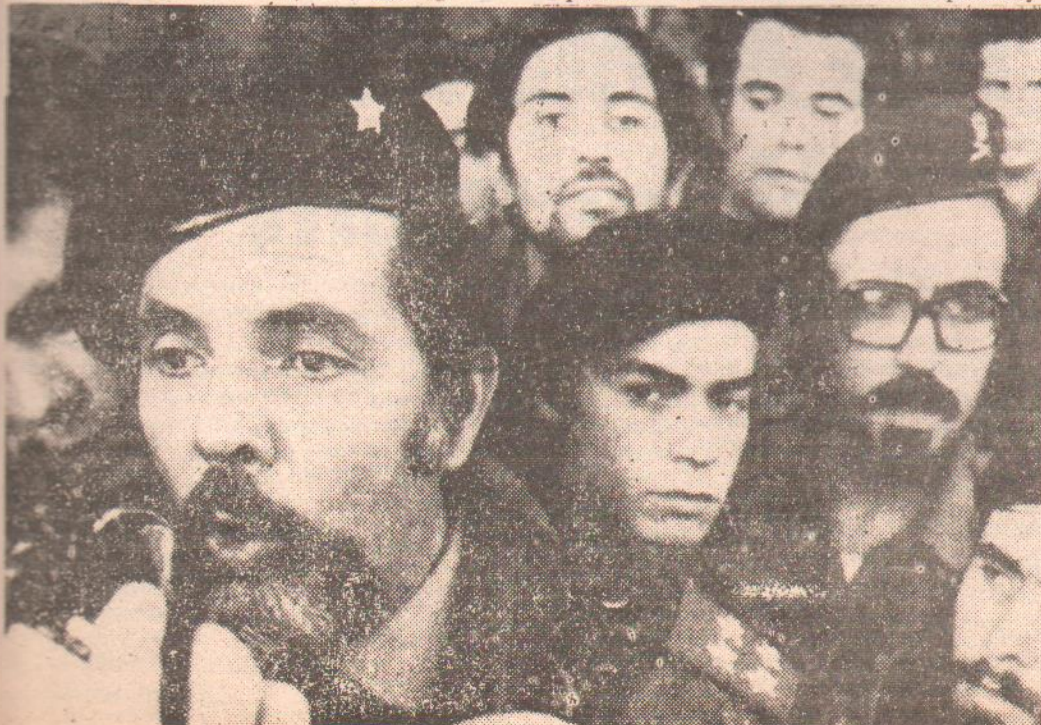
in the army continues, that the soldiers will actually win their demand for the reformation of the disbanded transport regiment.

But the actual agreement which Fabiao made was not at all a simple victory for the soldiers. There will be an 'investigation' into the affair, and the Government has stated that disciplinary action could be taken against certain 'ring-leaders'. Furthermore, the commander of the Northern region, Brigadier Veloso, has ordered various of the leaders to return to their homes pending discharge from the Army. The ability to fight this attack is greatly weakened by the fact that Fabiao has meanwhile persuaded the soldiers to abandon the barracks, and all the supporting troops have thus returned home.

REAL ATTITUDE

As for Fabiao's real attitude towards the soldiers' movement, it was summed up in his view that 'the SUV (the rank-and-file soldiers' movement) has a certain strength. But I have reservations because it is a horizontal organisation, and in the army we have a vertical organisation' — a view which freely translated means: 'I would like to smash them, but unfortunately at the moment they are too strong for me.'

The second reason why it would be wrong to consider the Oporto struggle as a clear-cut defeat for the Government, is that at present Azevedo's aim is not at all to take on and directly confront the rebellious troops. Above all the Government is playing for time. As the Prime Minister put it in an interview with *Time* magazine last week: 'If I can govern my country for one more month in the present conditions then I am practically certain that relations between us and the United States, as with Europe, will improve. But we must hold on for one more month.' The Government has now more or less given up its attempts to win back whole sections of the army — it lets them go their own way. It aims to gain the weeks necessary to organise its new military intervention force, and rearm the counter-revolutionary police, veterans' organisations, Angolan refugees and so on. Then it will be in a position to strike back. Fabiao has precisely



General Fabiao in Oporto — manoeuvring to play for time

helped the Government to gain those weeks.

It is true that in Portugal certain individual officers have shown by their actions that in the struggle between the workers and the bourgeoisie they will, for whatever confused reasons, stand with the workers. Captain Henrique Fernandes, who diverted 1,000 automatic rifles to the workers, and Major Almeida of the Light

Artillery regiment, who undertakes the military training of workers' militias, must obviously be included in any military bloc against the reaction. But they will do it not through transforming the MFA but through breaking with it. It is the SUV and the soldiers committees, not any section of the MFA, which shows the way forward.

CP turns left?

Confronted with the increasingly open right-wing course of the MFA, and the mounting resistance of the soldiers and workers to it, the leadership of the Communist Party has been increasingly considering how it can make the maximum mileage out of the new situation.

Its initial reaction flowed from its early position of attempting to cuddle up as closely as possible to Azevedo. When the troops were sent in to close the radio stations on 29 September, the CP merely 'regretted' that it had not been consulted in advance. It in no way condemned the action, issued a call for 'calm', and 'condemned anarchy'.

Furthermore on 2 October, in one of the most disgusting pronouncements to come even from the Portuguese Communist Party, clearly referring to Spanish exiles from Franco's dictatorship, the CP stated in a front page editorial in its paper *Avante*: 'It is necessary to impose severe controls on the lives and activities

of foreigners residing on our national territory and to expel from Portugal those who take part in any way in disturbances of democratic order.' It accused 'irresponsible provocateurs' of creating a climate of anarchy and, worst of all, supported the call for a new military intervention force of the type established by Azevedo.

CP LOSING MEMBERS

Despite this initial reaction, however, the CP has also openly admitted recently that it is losing members to the revolutionary left. It has also been losing out inside the MFA to the Socialist Party. The CP saw the mass upsurge as a way of redressing this situation. Carvalho therefore switched his line to attempt to use the demonstrations to support the CP's position.

By 8 October, when it was clear that huge resistance was developing within the army, the



by Charles Michaloux and Anton Udry

THE

The FUR reacted immediately on the morning of 29 September when the military occupation of the radio was announced. Unfortunately, it adopted an alarmist position doomed in advance to failure. The leaflet distributed by the FUR described the situation in terms of imminent counter-revolution, of a virtual coup d'état: 'Alert! To the working class, to the toilers, the soldiers and sailors! Let us mobilise to crush the counter-revolution! The counter-revolution shall not pass!'

In the same leaflet it was announced that 'this aggression by reactionary sectors was led by the paratroopers, the CIAAC troops, and the RIOQ!' The population exhibited quite understandable hesitation, justified by subsequent events, when they were asked to believe that such groups were willing to become the spearhead of 'counter-revolutionary aggression'. The alarmism of the FUR led to a demonstration of about a thousand people on the Rossio at 1 pm in the afternoon of 29 September. It was this group of 1,000 people, according to the FUR, that was supposed to 'crush the counter-revolution'.

This alarmism was topped off by a total absence of any appeal or initiative towards the SP and CP, whose working class forces are far from useless in defeating counter-revolutionary aggression. This is an illustration of the dominant conception of the FUR, which is that the unity of the revolutionary organisations not only amounts to the unity of the broad workers vanguard, but is itself a sufficient factor to draw in the heavy battalions of the working class — over the heads of the SP and the CP (that goes without saying).

MASS DESIRE

Nevertheless, there was a mass desire to mobilise alongside the soldiers to transform the Government-ordered occupation into its opposite. But the leaflet of the FUR did not even allude to this necessary link-up of the workers and soldiers around this precise objective.

Furthermore, the 29 September assembly in front of the Ministry of Social Communications expressed the determination of thousands of people — among them the workers of the major factories of the Lisbon industrial zone, who came in contingents — to make the Government yield and to actively participate in a different sort of occupation of the radio and television stations, the sort of occupation that the ADFA (Association of Wounded

Armed Forces Veterans) had carried out during its struggle. In any case, there was a real possibility of acting in an exemplary manner to hand the radio stations over to the workers instead of over to the Minister of Social Communications.

A FARCE

Once again the FUR failed. The 29 September press conference given by the Minister, A. Santos, and General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho (held in the Ministry of Social Communications) turned into a real farce. A delegation from the demonstration — composed of workers from Lisnave, Setnave, and ENI — burst into the conference hall. The minister paled; Carvalho began stammering; the demonstrators broke up the chairs and broke down the doors of the library.

The leadership of the FUR did not take this opportunity to make Carvalho go out onto the balcony of the Ministry and force him to respond quickly and openly, before everybody, to the one important question: if we occupy the radio and television stations, will you give the order to fire on us? Instead they gave Carvalho the floor to make a demagogic public confession about the contradictory spiritual state of the 'revolutionary' Copcon command, which respected the orders of the President of the Republic, and about his own 'lack of book-learning' which prevents him 'from being the Fidel Castro of Europe' (his very words).

After a few minutes, the demonstrators started expressing their disdain for Otelo; on the other hand, they greeted the soldiers from the military police regiment with cries of 'SUV has won, SUV will win!' Carried away in triumph, the soldiers responded with raised fists.

At that very moment, the leadership of the FUR was sitting in the salon of the Ministry engaged in an interminable discussion with

CP announced that it was a 'serious error' to see the current 'great agitation' within the army as anarchy. On the contrary what was happening was that: 'The broad and vigorous movement of the soldiers is an expression of the struggle of the working people. The new revolutionary flux which is taking place constitutes a magnificent riposte by the Portuguese people to reactionary and conservative forces and to attempts to swing to the right.' The CP demanded an end to the purge of 'progressive' i.e. pro-Communist soldiers.

However, just to make it clear that no one should be scared that the CP was for destroying the bourgeois army, Cunhal let it be known on 13 October that the CP was a com-

plete supporter of 'discipline and democratic order' within the army. There was only one condition: 'The PCP thinks that discipline in the armed forces must coincide with the line of command of the MFA and of the revolutionary line in Portugal today' - which simply means that the CP is all for keeping the rank-and-file soldiers in their places - provided that the officers carry out the counter-revolutionary line of the CP instead of the counter-revolutionary line of the SP.

Until it gets this the CP is prepared to kick up a bit of a stink and fool around with the revolutionary left a little to force the MFA to realise that it can't get along without it.

Revolutionary left

Faced with the counter-revolutionary role of the SP leadership, the military plotting of the MFA, and the bureaucratic manipulations of the CP, the weight of the response to the attacks of Azevedo has fallen on the revolutionary left.

As we analyse elsewhere on these pages, the response of the revolutionaries on many questions has been extremely inadequate - and in many cases simply wrong. The Manifesto of the Front for Revolutionary Unity (see page 8) is both extremely confused and contains some very dangerous and wrong demands - notably its call for the dissolution

of the Constituent Assembly, and its virtual equation of social democracy with fascism. It is necessary for revolutionaries to keep up a relentless criticism of the confusions and dangers presented by some of the ideas of the extreme left in Portugal.

Nevertheless, despite these weaknesses, it is the forces of the revolutionary left which have taken the initiative in fighting the attacks of the Azevedo Government - and to the degree that anyone else has been forced into opposition, it has been under *their* impact. It is in their hands that the fate of the Portuguese revolution lies today.



REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT

the Copcon commanders, trying to convince them to march at the head of a demonstration that would skirt the radio stations and wind up at the Belem Palace. At midnight, eight hours after the beginning of the assembly, there were only about a thousand people left. Everybody else had headed for the radio stations. At 4 am, without Otelo, the secretary of the FUR met Pinheiro de Azevedo to listen to his claims that the military occupation had been carried out against the counter-revolution.

The secretariat of the FUR did not even succeed in compromising Otelo. He understood the limits of the division in the military hierarchy better than they did. A third failure.

All was not yet lost, however. A series of initiatives were still possible. On 30 September the soldiers stood everywhere at the sides

of the workers, occupying the radio stations along with the popular solidarity pickets, and passing motions asserting their will to defend the right of the workers to use the radio.

The national radio station was the only station where this did not happen. The soldiers of EPAM, who had been sent to occupy the station, declared themselves in solidarity with the workers; but the workers, under the influence of the Communist Party, did nothing to broadcast that solidarity over the airwaves. A common initiative with the workers commissions of the other stations and the delegations of soldiers could have changed the situation radically and paved the way for the utilisation of the television station to inflict a total defeat on the Government. But nothing was done in that direction.

It was also possible to launch a vast cam-

paign concretely counterposing the principles of workers democracy to those of formal bourgeois democracy in the realm of news and information. This question was of the most burning importance, and such a campaign would have permitted both reaching the rank-and-file workers of the CP and SP and diffusing a conception different from that of the CP.

First of all, it would have been easy to expose the real nature of the campaign about free expression the SP waged around Republica, for this time its leaders were energetically supporting a censorship decree and a military occupation. This was especially true since even *Jornal Novo*, which is close to the SP, found itself compelled to print bands along its front pages reading 'military censorship, day 1, day 2, etc.' On the basis of the simple reaction of this daily, it would have been easy to throw the Social Democratic leadership off balance.

Then, on 1 October, when *Jornal Novo* was preparing production of a second edition reproducing the communique of the Soares leadership about the imminence of a mysterious far-left coup d'etat, the night-shift workers of the Mirandella printshop refused to print that edition unless they could also print a communique of their own about this alleged coup. The *Jornal Novo* management preferred to forget about their second edition.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Concurrently, at Emisora Nacional, there were two lists in an election to the workers commission. One list demanded the right of all currents of the workers' movement to express their views on the broadcasts of the radio station. These two workers' initiatives could have served as illustrations in a campaign demonstrating that socialist democracy can and must be a democracy that is qualitatively superior to bourgeois democracy and can and must assure greater liberties to the toiling masses.

This could have been combined with a campaign in defence of Republica and Radio Renascenca, which are both being threatened by the Government in the name of private property, which appears to the workers as an institution restricting their liberties. Moreover, all the workers commissions in the press industry have just met to plan out ways to defend Radio Renascenca, which is now ge-

Iberonica, where the workers expelled the employer a month ago, has offered its services to the Radio Renascenca workers in establishing a broadcasting station of their own.

In spite of these missed opportunities and in spite of the absence of initiatives that could have inflicted an exemplary defeat on the Government, the response of the soldiers did halt the offensive of Pinheiro de Azevedo and Costa Gomes.

NO ANSWER

The outcome of this confrontation, which turned out favourably for the working class, is part of a process of step-by-step revolutionary upsurge in which the workers have won victories without meeting any great resistance from the class enemy. This could create the false impression that the bourgeoisie is politically impotent and that it is definitively incapable of reconstituting a military striking force. This illusion fuels an ultra-leftism that is translated into adventurism by the PRP-BR, which claims that 'it is now time for the revolutionary forces and the workers to pose the problem of an insurrection' (*Diario de Lisboa*, 30 September). This ultra-leftism is reflected in the sectarian and triumphalist positions of virtually the entire far left toward the SP and the CP, which leads to the elimination of any united front tactic or else reduces such a tactic to frenetic ultimatism.

If the far-left groups continue to play this game, they could well be caught in the same trap the German Communists fell into in January 1919. But the development of the political situation, as illustrated by the latest events, can facilitate a process of clarification that would permit a response to the need for unity in action by the workers movement and for the centralisation of the organs of 'popular power'.

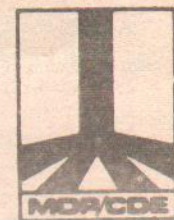
THE MORNING STAR - AN APOLOGY

It has been pointed out to us that the copyright to the photograph captioned 'Portuguese soldiers - with the MFA or the workers?' on page 7 of our issue number 115 is held by the *Morning Star*, and that this photo was used without their permission to illustrate an article with whose contents they and the photographer profoundly disagree. We apologise for any inconvenience or possible misrepresentation that may have been caused by our action in



DOCUMENT

Fronte Unidade Revolucionária



MANIFESTO OF THE FRONT FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

The following Manifesto was presented at a press conference called by the Front for Revolutionary Unity in Lisbon on 10 September. The groups represented were: the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP—erstwhile petty-bourgeois ally of the CP, winning just over 4 per cent of the vote in the April elections); the Movement of the Socialist Left (MES—a centrist group); the Socialist People's Front (FSP—a group which left the Socialist Party in December 1974 after the right-wing leadership had won a majority at the SP Congress); the Internationalist Communist League (LCI—Portuguese sympathising group of the Fourth International); the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP—as the Revolutionary Brigades carried out armed actions against the Caetano regime, now has links with the International Socialists); the League for Revolutionary Unity and Action (LUAR—also carried out armed actions against the dictatorship, now tends towards a populist approach). We are printing this document for information purposes.

Through the [25 April] elections and up to the latest events, we have seen the unfolding since 11 March of a reactionary bourgeois offensive aimed at bringing the [revolutionary] process in the country under control and wiping out the gains made by the working class and the toiling masses.

The following have been the fundamental features of this offensive, which has had, and increasingly will have, the active support of imperialism, either directly or through economic and military blackmail: the imposition of bourgeois elections and the resulting vote for the Social Democracy; the successive crises of the political-military power; the exploitation of the social situation existing in the Centre and North of the country; the actions unleashed by the church hierarchy; the presentation of the Document of the Nine; the reactionary exploitation of the problem of the returnees from Angola; and the rightist manoeuvres in the military assemblies.

Since it is impossible in reality to establish a stable system of bourgeois rule in Portugal through 'democratic' forms, it is understandable why this Social Democratic offensive objectively helped the fascist right to reorganise itself and regain positions. In this context, the Social Democratic 'solution' for the present crisis will inevitably lead to a fascist coup.

The working class, the toilers, and the progressive and revolutionary forces, both civilian and military, thus find themselves facing an all-out bourgeois offensive that can be defeated only by a firm and massive counter-attack.

The following are the main aspects of this reactionary escalation:

In the Military Field

- The advance of the rightist contingents within the Armed Forces Movement, aimed at dissolving the movement in the general framework of the armed forces, which have the same structure today that they had on 24 April, 1974 [i.e., the day before the coup that overthrew the Salazarist regime].
- The downgrading of the ADUs [Unit Delegate Assemblies] and the GDUs [Unit Political Education Groups], aimed at dissolving these bodies and re-establishing a hierarchical chain of command controlled by reactionary officers.
- Dissolution or neutralisation of those bodies that tried to defend the interests of the working classes. An example of this is the dissolution of the Fifth Division of the General Staff, whose activity, despite some errors, was positive on the whole, a fact that has been systematically covered up.
- Isolation and even, in some cases, purges of progressive and revolutionary members of the armed forces, aimed at annihilating the military component of the revolutionary forces that are ready now to oppose the advance of the right.
- Preparation for the reactionary military coup that will be unleashed when the institutional offensive has achieved its objectives.

The so-called Nine and their collaborators, regardless of their cohesion or lack of it, have functioned as a pole of regroupment for the entire right (both fascist and Social Democrat), thereby creating a base for the reactionary political-military offensive.

In the Civilian Field

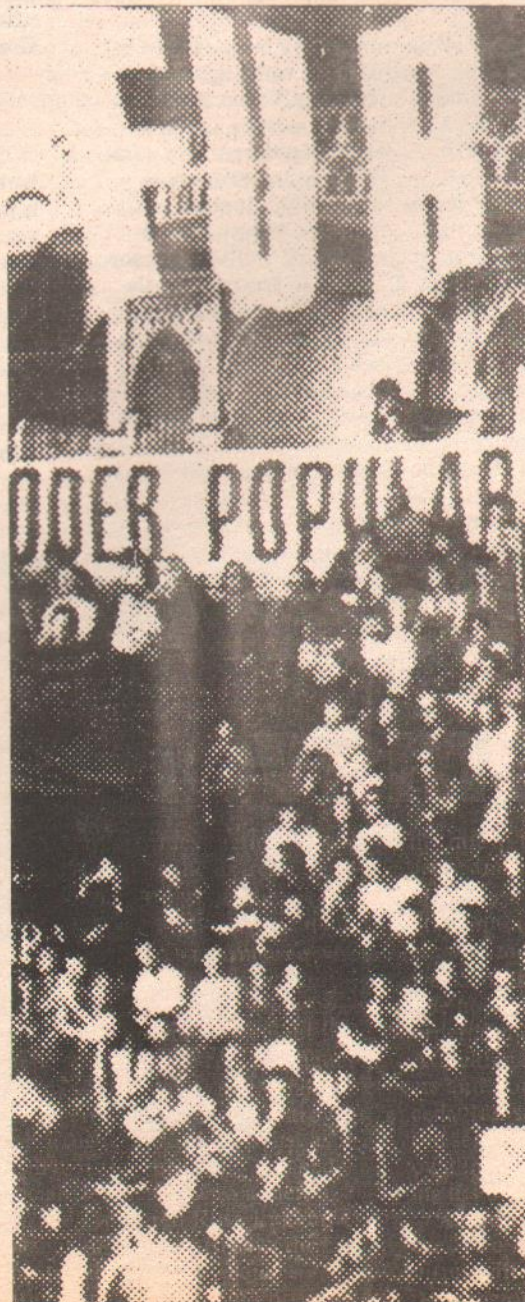
- The political offensive of the Social Democracy, seeking to restore the coalition among the PPD, the SP, and the CP on the basis of the bourgeois election results.
- Exploiting the justified discontent of sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry in order to mobilise these strata against the advance of the revolutionary process.
- The attempt to polarise these sections of the pop-

ulation around the military units under the reactionary Central and Northern Regional Commands.

- The opening up of room for intervention by the terrorist forces of the ELP [Portuguese Liberation Army].
- The launching of an extensive campaign of false propaganda through the reactionary press, the local strongmen, the church hierarchy, and so forth, designed to create confusion and disquiet among the toiling masses.

The support of the workers for the general lines of the political plan presented by some officers in COPCON, as well as the support demonstrated for the formation of the Front for Revolutionary Unity, have shown that broad masses are ready for the revolution. This, of course, involves a consciousness on their part that to avoid a defeat we have to go forward.

Thus, it is clearly urgent to launch a broad mass offensive that can mobilise the workers and unite them around their organs of people's power for an immediate and unhesitating advance of the revolutionary process, to defeat the bourgeoisie, to destroy their state apparatus, and to build a workers power. This vital objective can be realised only if the various revolutionary political organisations and all the revolutionary activists are able to combine their efforts. Revolutionary unity is essential and



At the 10 September press conference (l to r): Elizabeth Vicente (MDP), Francisco Vale (LCI), Pedro Goulart (PRP), Afonso Barros (MES), Fernando Marques (LUAR), and Rui Carneiro (FSP).

cannot be postponed.

Unity in Action

The Front for Revolutionary Unity we are going to build to unite the political organisations in action is designed to help unify the revolutionists behind a revolutionary platform of struggle that the toiling masses will take up as their own.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity will enable us to combine the forces of all the revolutionists so as to promote, strengthen, spread and co-ordinate the organs of people's power.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity is not a substitute for the self-guided organisation of the working class and toiling masses. The role of the Front is to help create the conditions that will enable the organs of people's power to come increasingly to the fore as the fundamental means for the taking of power by the workers and for the exercise of revolutionary power by the proletariat.

By its activity, the Front for Revolutionary Unity will help to bring about the strengthening of the class alliances the proletariat needs to take power and build the socialist society.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity represents a contribution to uniting and organising the vanguard of the class, which is a historic need for the prolet-

HELP FIGHT REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE

The reactionary offensive continues in Portugal — on 15 October a bomb exploded at the Oporto offices of the LCI (Internationalist Communist League, Portuguese sympathising group of the Fourth International). Fortunately no-one was hurt, but a certain amount of damage was caused. We have sent £30 from our Iberian Fund to help with the cost of repairs.

The total so far collected for this Fund — which will also be used to assist the work of our Spanish comrades of the LCR-ETA (VI) — stood at £187.03 at the end of last week. Our thanks to recent donors, including Y. Tournaire £5, S. Raithatha £5, J. Holloway £5, Colchester IMG £4, Lorraine Hodges £2 and several who sent their contributions anonymously.

One donor has suggested that some readers might like to make a regular monthly commitment by way of a bankers' order. We will be only too pleased to supply the necessary details to anyone interested.

All contributions should be sent to: Red Weekly (Iberia), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Please don't put it off — the speed with which the revolutionary process is unfolding in Iberia means that there is not a minute to lose.

ariat on the road to taking power and to exercising it in a revolutionary way.

Revolutionary Unity Points the Way for the Toiling Masses

The Front for Revolutionary Unity points out the road for the working class; the peasants and all the working people; the progressive and revolutionary soldiers, sailors, non-commissioned and commissioned officers; the students and progressive intelli-

actuals. It points out the road for a massive offensive to defeat the Social Democracy and to crush fascism.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity points out the road for the toiling masses, the road for struggle against capitalism for people's power, for socialism, and for national independence from imperialism.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity points out the way for the toilers of the cities and the countryside, as well as the soldiers and sailors, to strengthen their autonomous organisations of people's power (workers' committees, tenants' committees, village assemblies, soldiers' assemblies, sailors' assemblies, ADUs).

The Front for Revolutionary Unity points out to all the exploited and oppressed the need from here on to unite the force of arms with the organised will of the working people by promoting the growth of local, district, and regional assemblies everywhere, with a view toward calling a national people's assembly.

The Front for Revolutionary Unity points out the following as immediate objectives for the struggle of the toiling masses:

- Organising self-defence, in particular through the organs of people's power, against the armed attacks of capitalist reaction.
- Struggle to purge all the fascist and Social Democratic putschists from the armed forces.
- Struggle for full freedom of the soldiers and sailors to meet and organise. This is the only way the ADUs will be genuinely democratic and revolutionary.
- Struggle to force exemplary punishment of the fascists and counter-revolutionists of all stripes, of the local strongmen and reactionary clergy, who are responsible for the wave of anti-Communist violence that has been rising in many areas of the country.
- Struggle for the formation of revolutionary tribunals that can exercise the class justice of the exploited and oppressed against the counter-revolutionists.
- Struggle against the power of those capitalist conglomerates that still exist, for nationalising the big industrial and agricultural enterprises, as well as foreign banks and insurance companies, without compensation and under workers' control, on the road to collectivisation of the means of production.
- Struggle for generalising workers' control over production and for the organised control of the working people over the entire economy.
- Struggle to deepen and extend the agrarian reform so as to satisfy in a revolutionary way the needs and aspirations of the rural workers and small and middle peasants organised in their organs of people's power — that is, the village councils.
- Struggle against lay-offs and for full employment.
- Struggle against the scarcities suffered by the working people in the cities and in the countryside, scarcities that profit parasitic middlemen.
- Struggle for national independence vis-a-vis imperialism, national independence based on an alliance with the anti-imperialist countries and the militant solidarity of the workers of the entire world. This requires Portugal's immediate departure from NATO and the end of the Iberian Pact [with Spain].
- Struggle for a revolutionary alliance of the Portuguese toilers with the Angolan people, represented by their only liberation movement, the MPLA.
- Demanding the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and exposing its bourgeois character.
- Struggle to form a Government of Revolutionary Unity.

WHICH WAY FOR THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT?

The Troops Out Movement had the chance at its National Delegate Conference on 11-12 October to make a serious turn away from the petty squabbling that has wracked it for the last year. To make this turn, it would have been necessary for the 91 delegates to be presented with a political perspective by the outgoing leadership.

Unfortunately, however, the discussion on political perspectives turned out to be extremely shallow. Failure to analyse seriously the actual situation in the north of Ireland allowed the issues to be blurred by those who for some time have been predicting an imminent handover to the Loyalists and civil war.

by TED COXHEAD

Indeed, it was left primarily to supporters of the International Marxist Group to explain the crucial importance of a mass movement on the question of troops, how it is objectively necessary and possible, and how it is the best way the British working class can aid the struggle of the oppressed masses in the north of Ireland.

The struggle in Ireland is clearly at a critical stage. The rejection of the Craig proposals for an 'emergency coalition', along with the rising tide of Loyalist terror, highlights this. The response of the Labour Government has been to continue to repress, disorganise and disarm the minority.

The future course of the struggle—whether back to complete Orange retrenchment or forward to a free Ireland—hinges more than ever on the role of the British Army. Our ability to build a mass troops out movement in this country for immediate and unconditional withdrawal is vital.

into a powerful movement with which British workers can easily identify. This sort of action could not only severely limit the options open to the Government, but it would be a source of inspiration for the anti-Unionists and a demoralising blow to the Loyalist population.

Flowing from the inadequate perspectives discussion was the inability of the Delegate Conference to restructure the TOM along the lines that will be necessary if it is to play a major part in building a mass movement.

DISCIPLINE

Tight, rigid structures and heavy discipline can only disorganise the movement and leave it prey to sectarian groups of all kinds. The broadest possible united front is needed, involving all those individuals, groups and organisations prepared to support and struggle for the demands of the TOM. By necessity this move-



It was necessary to fight at this conference for a concrete programme of action as the framework for building a mass movement. The first step in such a programme would have been a thorough and prepared discussion around the winter demonstration. This was the position of the IMG in two discussion papers submitted beforehand and in a statement given out at the conference.

The type of action envisaged for the winter takes a lot of building. Such demonstrations are the best way of welding together diffuse sentiments concerning withdrawal

ment must be as open as possible. Only a completely open and democratic structure can encourage and develop large-scale participation of serious individuals who are mainly concerned with building the movement.

In such a broad open movement there would undoubtedly be political disputes and differences. But these differences need never threaten to split the movement, as some of the recent disputes have done. It was a scandal that when some delegates, including supporters of the

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast



Some weeks ago in this column, we reported how Joe Magee—an 18-year-old Catholic youth from Belfast's New Lodge district—had been subjected to such severe beatings and threats at Castlereagh Police Station that he was driven to attempting suicide.

Castlereagh is only one of the RUC's 'interrogation' centres in Belfast. Two others exist at Springfield Road and Musgrave Street police stations, and many young lads like Joe Magee have been put through similar treatment at these centres in the past month. Most of the victims have not been members of any Republican organisation.

This recent wave of torture has aroused tremendous anger amongst the anti-Unionist minority. In a statement issued on Monday 13 October, the Provisionals' Belfast Brigade noted that harassment of the nationalist population had reached a new peak, and that they would have no option but to take retaliatory action despite the truce. The Belfast Brigade declared: 'It rests with the British Government. If their Crown Forces continue to act as they are at present, then they are obviously doing so with the sanction of their superiors, and we will interpret it as such.'

Two days later this warning was illustrated when a bomb exploded at Castlereagh, completely wrecking the interrogation centre. In a statement claiming responsibility, the Provisionals reiterated that they would 'not tolerate the torture of innocent civilians.'

* * * * *

The border village of Crossmaglen in South Armagh was saturated with British soldiers over the weekend of 11-12 October. Troops conducted a thorough search and arrested 35 people, including two 80-year-old men.

However, all those arrested were later released, and the entire British Army exercise was revealed as a glorious flop. So much so, that journalists reported that an IRA road-block was operating three miles up the road from the village. The secret had been given away by an Army officer who told a reporter the previous day that 'the gloves were coming off.'

The British Army has taken a harder battering round Crossmaglen than in any other area of the North. As one inhabitant commented, the lesson the troops must learn is that their only chance of survival is to keep a consistently low profile.

* * * * *

IMG, attempted to move proposals for such a structure, the leadership team of the TOM threatened in advance to resign if any proposal involving 'the national affiliation of political organisations were passed. With the Conference thus stamped, and with the support of some libertarians and Maoists, a new step forward for the TOM was thus short-circuited.

WINTER DEMO

The IMG will continue to struggle for its ideas within the TOM. Concretely this means fighting to build the Ad Hoc Committee called to build the winter demonstration.

The Ad Hoc Committee has now

decided to postpone the demonstration until the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, on 1 February next year. This gives plenty of time to struggle for trade union and Labour Party branch affiliations to the Ad Hoc Committee. IMG members will also be pushing within the TOM branches for a far bigger commitment to building the Committee than has so far been displayed.

Meetings will have to be organised in all the colleges and universities with members of the Ad Hoc Committee explaining the importance of the demonstration and the fundamental importance of building a mass Troops Out Movement in Britain. This kind of preparation, along with the various fund-raising activities that will have to be car-

The split in Loyalist ranks over Craig's scheme for a 'voluntary' coalition government widened this week with the suspension from the United Ulster Unionist Council of Craig and three other Vanguard members of the Convention. This followed a meeting of Vanguard's Central Council on 11 October where the party's other nine Convention members—including the Chairman and Deputy Leader—resigned after a substantial vote of confidence in Craig. The dissidents have taken their supporters out of Vanguard with them, effectively splitting the party.

While these developments have strengthened Craig's position within Vanguard, they have paradoxically weakened his influence in the UUUC. His place as a deputy leader of the Loyalist Coalition has been taken by Ernest Baird, formerly Deputy Leader of Vanguard. Craig himself did not attend the UUUC meeting, and his suspension represented a compromise between Harry West's Official Unionists—who wished to take no action in his absence—and Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party—which wanted the Craig quartet expelled immediately. However, a further meeting is almost certain to expel them.

Despite the verbiage in the British and Irish capitalist press, this split in the Loyalist ranks does not mean that Craig has become a 'moderate'. One of his principal supporters now is Glen Barr, who is chairman of the Loyalist para-militaries as well as being a Vanguard Convention member. Craig and Barr are for the restoration of the Protestant ascendancy every bit as much as Ian Paisley—they simply disagree on how to get it.

Loyalism has never really recovered from the collapse of the old Stormont Parliament—brought down by the resistance struggle of the nationalist community. As far as the Loyalists are concerned, this resulted from the 'appeasement' policies of the British Government and the 'liberal' Unionists like O'Neill, Chichester-Clark and Faulkner. With the fall of Stormont, the previously solid Unionist monolith was shattered, and despite the efforts of the UUUC to ape former glories, it has failed to stick it back together again.

The primary reason for this failure has been the lack of success in repressing the anti-Unionist community. Paisley desperately hopes that this can still be done by wielding the naked Loyalist bludgeon; Craig, on the other hand, would like to see the bludgeon wielded partly by the SDLP. The fight now being waged by the people of South Armagh holds out hope that neither will meet with success.

BWNIC 14 TRIAL

The Defend the 14+ Campaign is hoping to coordinate days of mass picketing outside the Old Bailey, particularly to show support for the 14 when the defence case opens. If your organisation, college or group can undertake to mount a picket on any particular day, or you want information about what is being organised, please telephone 01-837 9794, or write to Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C1.



WHAT IS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?

Events in Britain and Portugal in the last months have sharpened the controversy on the revolutionary left about the nature of Social Democratic parties like the Portuguese Socialist Party and the British Labour Party. In this article, the first of a number which *Red Weekly* will be publishing on this problem, ALAN JONES looks at the views of Lenin and Trotsky on social democracy.



The need for a general theory of the basis of reformism within working class parties was first raised by the betrayal of virtually every European Social Democratic party in supporting the imperialist slaughter of the First World War. Reformism in Britain had been analysed by Marx and Engels as being based on the economic supremacy of that country, but after their deaths no attempt to generalise their findings to other countries had been made.

It was only after 1914 that Lenin systematically showed that the main social basis of social democratic reformism arose from the imperialist stage of capitalism. Despite its bloody convulsions, imperialism could under certain conditions temporarily soften the impact on the working class of the economic contradictions of capitalism. It created within the working class a privileged section, allowed bourgeois democracy to be maintained, and established conditions in which a fetishism of Parliament and legalism developed. Lenin explained:

"Peaceful" decades have not passed without leaving their mark. They have of necessity given rise to opportunism in all countries, and made it prevalent among Parliamentarian, trade union, journalistic and other "leaders". (1)

LOT TO LOSE

He also noted that the bureaucrats had a tremendous amount to lose through any clash with the bourgeoisie—for instance:

"Otto Braun, member of the Central Committee [of the German Social Democrats], made reference to the 20 million marks invested in legal papers, and their 11,000 employees. The tens of thousands of leaders, officials and privileged workers have disorganised the millions-strong army of the proletariat." (2)

While these bureaucrats and the 'aristocracy of labour' were not numerically large in relation to the working class, they were nevertheless able to play a decisive role because of their position within the organisations of the labour movement. When the reformist Kautsky attempted to ridicule Lenin's position, claiming that it was absurd to say that 'an order given by a handful of parliamentarians is sufficient to make four million class conscious workers turn right about face', Lenin pointed out:

"As is the case with any organisation, the united will of this mass organisation [the German Social Democratic Party] was expressed *only* through its united political centre, the "handful" who have betrayed socialism. It was this handful who were asked to express their opinion; it was this handful who were called upon to vote; they were in a position to vote; they were in a position to write articles, etc. The masses were not consulted. Not only were they not permitted to vote, but they were disunited and coerced "by orders" not from a handful of parliamentarians but from the military authorities.

"It called upon the "masses" one by one, confronted the individual with the ultimatum: either join the army, as your leaders advise you to, or be shot. The masses could not act in an organised fashion because their previously created organisation, an organisation embodied in a "handful", had betrayed them. It takes time to create a new organisation, as well as a determination to consign the old, rotten and obsolete organisation to the scrap heap." (3)

WORKERS' PARTIES?

But if the Social Democratic parties had become 'rotten', and fit only for the scrap heap, nevertheless what sort of organisations were they? Clearly they still contained millions of workers. Therefore, so it was argued, they must be *workers' parties*. This position was put forward by the British Communist MacLaine at the Second Congress of the Communist International. He described the Labour Party as the 'political expression of the trade unions'—the formula which incidentally is still used today, in complete contradiction of Marxism, by supporters of the *Militant*.



EARLY DAYS.....the 1906 Conference of the Labour Party in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London. But it was the basic political ideas of these 'founding fathers' of British social democracy which created.....

Lenin explained that this was quite wrong. The class nature of a party had to be defined not by who supported it, or were members of it, but by what *programme*, what real social interests, it defended—and not by its programme on a piece of paper, but by its *real* social role. As Lenin replied:

"Comrade MacLaine has been guilty of a slight inaccuracy with which it is impossible to agree. He calls the Labour Party the political expression of the trade union movement. I have read the same expression of opinion in the organ of the British Socialist Party. It is not true. Indeed the concept "political organisation of the trade union movement" or the "political expression" of this movement is mistaken.

"Of course for the most part the Labour Party consists of workers, but it does not follow from this logically that every workers' party which consists of workers is a "political workers' party"; that depends on who leads it, on the content of its activities, and of its tactics. From this point of view, which is the only correct point of view, the Labour Party is not a political workers' party but a thoroughly bourgeois party." (4)

When Lenin and Trotsky defined the Social Democratic parties, including the Labour Party, as bourgeois labour parties, they meant by this that these parties defended in the last analysis the interests of capitalism. These parties would prefer anything at all, including even fascism, to the overthrow of capitalism. As Trotsky pointed out:

"There is no class contradiction between the social democracy and fascism. Both fascism and social democracy are bourgeois parties." (5)



.....the possibility of this situation 70 years later. The leaders of European social democracy meeting in the garden at 10 Downing Street at Harold Wilson's invitation to discuss with Portuguese Socialist Party leader Ivario Soares how they could help crush the Portuguese revolution

And, for example, in the case of Britain he noted that:

"If Communism should become a decisive force, threatening the General Council of the TUC with the loss of positions, honours and income, Messrs. Citrine and Co. would undoubtedly enter into a bloc with Mosley and Co. against the Communists." (6)

It is from the fact that Social Democratic parties, including the Labour Party, are analysed by Marxists as *bourgeois parties*—which in the final analysis will side even with fascism rather than have a victorious working class revolution—that various ultra-left organisations have described Socialist Parties as 'social fascist'. This was the case both with the policy of the Communist Parties as a whole in 1929-34, and with some of the ultra-left groups in Portugal today.

Unfortunately for this line of argument, the fact that social democracy, fascism, Tories, etc. are all *bourgeois* does not mean that they are all the same. While fascist parties aim to smash all traces even of bourgeois democracy, social democracy 'clings to Parliamentarism with all its feeble power, for all the sources of its influence and welfare are bound up with this artificial machine.' (7) From the *general* truth concerning the same class nature of Tories, fascists and social democracy, it is not possible to derive the conclusion that in each specific situation they play the same role either for the ruling class or for the working class—above all because Social Democratic parties *are* parties

of the working class. Speaking of Germany, Trotsky said:

"In the face of a proletarian uprising, there is no gainsaying it, there will be no difference between Bruening [a German Tory], Severing, Leipart [Social Democratic leaders] and Hitler... But that doesn't at all mean that Bruening, Severing, Leipart and Hitler *always* and *under all conditions* belong to the same camp. Just now their interests diverge. At the *given* moment the question that is posed before the social democracy is not so much one of defending the foundations of capitalist society against proletarian revolution as of defending the semi-parliamentary system against fascism." (8)

As regards tactics, the conclusions are obvious:

"When one of my enemies sets before me small daily doses of poison and the second, on the other hand, is about to shoot straight at me, then I will first knock the revolver out of the hand of my second enemy, for this gives me an opportunity to get rid of my first enemy." (9)

What is more, while Social Democratic parties always defend the historic interests of capitalism, they can come into very violent conflict with outright capitalist reaction. Thus, in Russia:

"In October 1917, they [the reformists] were fighting hand in hand with the Kornilovists [extreme reactionaries] against the Bolsheviks... [but] in August 1917, the Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries together with the Bolsheviks repulsed General Kornilov... And in the first months of 1917, when the reformists were still strong, they spouted, just like Citrine and Co., about the impossibility of their making an alliance with the dictatorship either of the right or left." (10)

CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE

The real crucial difference between Social Democratic parties and other bourgeois parties is the fact that they are bourgeois parties *of the working class* and not parties *of the bourgeoisie*. In Lenin's words, they are 'bourgeois labour parties', which means that these parties can come into conflict not merely with outright capitalist reaction but even with the day-to-day immediate needs of capitalism. In certain cases, Trotsky explained:

"In order not to lose their influence over the workers, reformists are compelled, against the innermost desires of their own leaders, to support the partial movements of the exploited against the exploiters." (11)

Trotsky noted that in Belgium in the mid-1930s:

"To save itself from ruin, the Social Democracy needs a *certain* movement of the workers. It must frighten the bourgeoisie to make it more agreeable. It is certainly mortally afraid that this movement might go over its head. But with the absolute insignificance of the Comintern, the weakness of the revolutionary groups, and under the fresh impression of the German experience, the Social Democracy expects immediate danger from the right and not from the left." (12)

Under circumstances where—despite its reformism—social democracy clashed with the immediate interests of the bourgeoisie, Trotsky considered:

"It is necessary to catch the squirming reformists at their own words and to impel the reformist masses to the road of action—beat the enemy with his own weapons." (13)

In coming issues of *Red Weekly* we will be looking at the kind of situation in which it is correct to apply these tactics.

(1) Lenin—*Collected Works (CW)*, Vol 21, p94; (2) Lenin—*CW*, Vol 21, p129; (3) Lenin—*CW*, Vol 21, p205; (4) Lenin—*CW*, Vol 31, p213; (5) Trotsky—*Notes of a Journalist*, September 1930; (6) Trotsky—*The ILP and the New International*; (7) Trotsky—*Notes of a Journalist*, September 1930; (8) Trotsky—*What Next?*; (9) Trotsky—*For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism*; (10) Trotsky—*The ILP and the New International*; (11) Trotsky—*Theses on the United Front*; (12) Trotsky—*Revisionism and Planning*; (13) Trotsky—*Are There No Limits to the Fall?*

ABORTION CAMPAIGN TAKES BIG STEP FORWARD

One thousand people, representing 17 different trade unions, six trades councils, seven national political organisations and 69 local National Abortion Campaign groups, crowded into London's Imperial College last weekend to discuss how to fight the attacks being made on a women's right to abortion.

At the same time the forces of reaction and bigotry, organised by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, were marching against the very aims of the NAC Conference. The capitalist press gleefully played up the SPUC demonstration — while the police estimation of its size was only 30,000, the *Guardian* talked about 80,000 and the *Mirror* went as high as 100,000.

Whipped up

The SPUC forces had been whipped up by a campaign from the pulpits, massively supported by the Catholic Church. All week the calls had been going out to support SPUC. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Coggan had made a cleverly timed speech 'against the tide of stark materialism' and called on all people to 'return to basic values', in which he naturally includ-

ed 'the safeguarding of the rights of family life'.

At Westminster Cathedral, the Catholic clergy organised a special service on Sunday for the 'Unborn Child'. This, however, was attended by 25 supporters of the Women's Right to Choose Campaign, who handcuffed themselves together and marched to the altar. They were ejected by irate men, one waving a stick.

No publicity

Naturally the press gave no pre-publicity to the NAC Conference and little or no coverage of either the debates or the decisions taken at the Conference. Despite this attempt to place a wall of silence around NAC, on the Sunday most of the radio and TV reports were forced to give the Conference a mention along with the SPUC demonstration.

This was not because of some new-found liberal sense, but because they had to recognise the strength of the forces represented by the 1,000 people attending the NAC Conference. For there is no doubt whatever — particularly in view of the TUC and Labour Party decisions — that the campaign has the support of millions of working people in Britain.

its main campaigning slogan. The important task now is to ensure that these demands are understood in the context of what main issues are facing the pro-abortion movement at this stage.

by Dodie Wepler

Right now the biggest immediate threat facing the pro-abortion campaign is the manoeuvres taking place in Parliament around the re-constitution of the Select Committee, and for acceptance of the proposals made in its Third Report.

The Labour Government hides its true face by hypocritically claiming concern about abuses in the private sector. On one hand it is carrying out direct cutbacks which mean less facilities for women on the NHS. On the other hand, under the pretence of fighting against 'abuses' it is supporting moves to reduce abortion facilities in the private sector as well.

MANOEUVRES

In every step taken to fight against these parliamentary manoeuvres, the basis must be prepared for a major future offensive for free abortion on demand on the NHS.

The series of action proposals adopted can lay the basis for really consolidating the campaign along

these lines. Amongst the proposals carried were agreements to hold 'regional rallies....to combat restrictive legislation and to pick regions to highlight the inadequacies and unequal provisions of the 1967 Abortion Act.'



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)
JO RICHARDSON MP
Jo Richardson chaired the final session of the Conference, and informed NAC that the DHSS are already implementing the restrictions called for by the Select Committee. She should be making a fight NOW amongst Labour MPs to ensure that this Committee is not set up again in the next Parliamentary session.

A successful amendment from Redmond O'Neill, an IMG member from Brighton NAC, urged 'local Constituency Labour Parties to demand that Labour MPs recognise that "abortion is not a matter of conscience" and vote against all restrictive legislation and vote for legislation establishing "A woman's Right to Choose" in law.'

The amendment also called on trade unions which sponsor MPs to demand that they vote to oppose all restrictions on abortion, and went on to call for the removal of 'repres-

entatives of the labour movement such as MPs who refuse to implement and be bound by the TUC and Labour Party Conference decisions to campaign for free abortion on request.'

Conference also decided that a 'day of national action be called directed towards the National Health Service on which all NAC groups arrange a deputation to and joint meetings with gynaecologists in the local hospitals, local MPs and hospital workers to sign petitions publicly and speak on their attitude to a Women's Right to Choose, present implementation of the 1967 Act inside the said local hospitals and its facilities for abortion.'



Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)
LIZ ADAMS
Liz Adams from the Steering Committee made the point that the importance of demonstrations for NAC lay in the political focus they provided for mobilising the mass of supporters of the campaign. She successfully urged the Conference to oppose the call for a demo on 6 December 'a date which has just been conjured out of the air'. Instead, NAC will be preparing to mobilise urgently against any specific restrictive legislation which may come before Parliament in the next months.

The variety of proposals showed that the participants in the Conference had discussed and debated the way forward for the campaign in depth. Unfortunately, the great number of resolutions put to the Conference went beyond the time available within the two onstration against the cuts organised by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice (MCAPP) — an organisation which has adopted a position in support of free abortion on demand.

DECISIONS

To carry out these decisions, the Conference debated the most democratic way of organising the campaign. It decided to keep the present loosely structured form of organisation, amending this only to deal with problems that had come up like communication and taking decisions.

It was decided, for example, to call regular, well-planned national

WOMEN TO STRIKE IN ICELAND

Women workers in Iceland — almost all of whom are employed in the lowest paid jobs — have called a 24-hour strike for this Friday as part of their struggle to end discrimination.

According to an opinion poll, the strike is likely to be 90 per cent successful, and will paralyse economic life on the island. The telephone system, staffed almost exclusively by women, is certain to stop functioning. As a result, shops, banks and most offices have already announced that they will be closed for the day. And the newspapers will not be appearing the next morning.

The Icelandic women will also be using this action to protest at the failure of the trade union leaders to improve the position of women. An indication of the bureaucrats' attitude is the fact that there is not a single woman on the Icelandic equivalent of the TUC General Council.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)
DODIE WEPPLER
A member of the IMG on the Steering Committee, she argued that the central question facing NAC was the role of the Labour Government in attacking the right of women to abortion. meetings to decide policy between Conferences. Votes at these meetings will be taken following nationally organised discussions on the basis of one mandated vote per NAC group. With respect to matters of procedure or non-contentious items, votes will be taken of all those attending.

IMPRESSIVE

The Conference decisions and its impressive attendance show that a movement involving the mass of the working class can be built to fight on these issues.

SPUC, NAC & IS

Two weeks before the NAC Conference, the International Socialists called through the columns of *Socialist Worker* and *Women's Voice* for people to support the 'Women's Voice counter-demonstration [against SPUC] on Sunday at 1 pm...' The NAC Steering Committee discussed this and met two representatives of IS, who apologised for not going through the Steering Committee but insisted on their right to call a demonstration.

Initiative

Of course the Steering Committee accepted the right of organisations to take their own initiatives; but it stressed that the Conference was the *major* initiative of the NAC campaign. Furthermore it had not been discussed before, so that even if the Steering Committee had been in favour of a counter-demonstration it would not have had sufficient time to alter the agenda.

A resolution from Brent NAC also called for a counter-demonstration. But this resolution was submitted to the Conference for a vote and its supporters recognised that *Conference* was where the decision should be taken.

NAC overwhelmingly went on record for continuing the important and vital business of the Conference in deciding the way forward. The delegates felt that to stop Conference from doing that and go to the counter-demonstration instead would be a diversion.

Sustained

Furthermore delegates understood that the way to build a demonstration is to win support inside the workers' movement. This means a sustained campaign inside the unions and the Labour Parties to win support so that a massive and representative demonstration is organised around a particular focus.

To make a call from the wilderness two short weeks before, and then march off some 200 people — most of whom are IS members — achieves nothing. When there is an urgent need to build a *united* movement, the IS walk-out to go to the counter-demonstration can only be described as divisive, cutting right across the main objectives of the pro-abortion campaign.

The NAC Conference went on record with a massive vote for a Week of Action against the reconvening of the Parliamentary Select Committee.

This resolution was moved on behalf of the NAC Steering Committee by Linda Smith, the International Marxist Group representative on the Steering Committee. It called for 'public meetings, lobbying MPs in and out of parliament, street meetings, hospital pickets and meetings, local demonstrations and rallies.'

An amendment from Rose Knight



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)
ANN CHESTERTON
In speaking against the call for a counter-demonstration to SPUC, IMG member Ann Chesterton from Bath NAC pointed out that the way to fight their ideology was to mobilise the weight of the workers' movement behind actions against SPUC. A small counter picket representing only people drawn from the NAC conference would in no way do this.

that the Week of Action should start on Monday 17 November to coincide with the first week of the next parliamentary session was accepted.

After an intensive discussion NAC adopted 'Free Abortion on Demand — A Woman's Right to Choose' as



JUST OUT! The ideal present. 12 X 8 inches, printed on six different shades of cartridge paper, depicting various historical moments in the struggle for women's liberation over the last century. Only £1 (inc. postage) from: Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

RED WEEKLY

PAT ARRESTED AGAIN

Pat Arrowsmith, the pacifist campaigner and militant opponent of British troops in Ireland, was arrested yet again last Sunday in Aldershot. The circumstances are even more outrageous than those surrounding her earlier arrest and nine months imprisonment under the notorious Incitement to Disaffection Act.

As Pat told *Red Weekly*: 'I was done under the Prevention of Terrorism Act for giving out a purely political leaflet in an ordinary civilian street in Aldershot. It contained no information directed towards soldiers and was a completely pacifist leaflet, deploring all violence in the North of Ireland. Despite this and my well known reputation as a pacifist, I was strip-searched for explosives at the town's police station.'

'The 200 leaflets taken from me have now been forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions, and I have been remanded on bail to re-appear at the police station on 1 December to find out what I am going to be charged with. The whole business is quite horrendous in its implications.'

The implications of Pat's latest arrest are only too clear. Coming at the same time as the trial of 14 pacifist campaigners from the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, her arrest is yet another indication that the British authorities will brook no opposition to their policies in Ireland whatever the source.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act has now been on the statute book for nearly a year. As *Red Weekly* explained at the time it was introduced, this Act has nothing to do with the prevention of 'terrorism', but is aimed at intimidating all opponents of British repression in Ireland and cowering into submission the exile Irish community.

In a few weeks time the Prevention of Terrorism Act comes up for renewal. Now is the time to launch a vigorous campaign against it. Earlier this year the Transport and General Workers Union went on record against its renewal - now it must turn these words into a campaign for its repeal. Already the Connolly Association and the National Council of Civil Liberties have organised a lobby of Parliament for 4 November to urge MPs to vote against its renewal or re-enactment.

Three London trades councils - Hammersmith & Kensington, Brent, and Hillingdon - have so far announced their support, along with the Oxford Association of Trades Councils. The International Marxist Group will also be backing this initiative, and *Red Weekly* urges its London readers to turn up after work to support the lobby.

STOP PRESS: Pat Arrowsmith tells us that she is planning to sue the police for false imprisonment; further, that there will be another leafleting in Aldershot this Sunday - people to meet outside the railway station at 3 pm. For further details phone Jim Hinsson at 01-437 5537

NO TO FRANCO!

Once again rumours abound in Madrid about the ill-health of the Spanish dictator, General Franco. All the knowledge of modern medical science is being marshalled to keep this walking mummy from the era of Nazism alive.

This exposes all the tough talk by the Spanish regime in recent weeks for the sham it is. Just beneath the surface is a seething mass of discontent, as the recent arrest of oppositionist officers in the armed forces shows. For this reason the regime is eager to smash the main centres of resistance to the dictatorship - especially the powerful working class vanguard in the Basque country - before the dictator passes away.

There are only two forces that can stop this reign of terror: the growing struggle of the Spanish masses and the actions of the international workers' movement in solidarity with this struggle. The organisation of international action to isolate the dictatorship is now more

urgent than ever.

An important opportunity to get this work on the road in the British labour movement comes with the call of the Action Group Against Repression in Spain and the 'Iberian 19' Defence Campaign for a national demonstration against the repression in Spain on 15 November. This demonstration has already received the sponsorship of a number of Labour MPs - including Joan Maynard, Judith Hart, Audrey Wise, and Jo Richardson - the National Union of Students Polytechnic Policy Conference, and the LSE Students Union.

This demonstration should be built throughout the labour movement up and down the country. We must immediately start work to ensure that 15 November - the first national demonstration in solidarity with the Spanish struggle - is the beginning of a real mass solidarity movement within the British working class.

STILL NOT ENOUGH!!

There was a fair response to our appeal last week for £310 by the end of the month, to help us reach our regular £500 Fund Drive target for October. A total of £113.27 came in, including £48 from East London IMG, £18.47 from West London, £16.80 from South West London, and another £10 from North London. This was a fine response from our London supporters, who provided no less than £93.27 of the total.

But, comrades, it still isn't enough! We now need another £196.50 before the end of the month to reach our target. So we appeal to our readers and supporters outside London to rush in their quotas or extra donations now. If you're holding big socials to celebrate the Russian Revolution, then get a comrade to underwrite your success then by sending in your money now. We need the money urgently, so rush it in to: Red Weekly Fund Drive, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

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CASTLE ATTACKS DOCTORS AND NHS

The strike wave of junior doctors is spreading fast. Doctors working through the North West Area Action Committee have taken action in about 50 hospitals in that area; and there has also been a walk-out in five London hospitals. Even the normally conservative Middlesex teaching hospital had a 24-hour stoppage organised by 200 junior doctors.

The Castle proposals have rightly aroused opposition. The junior doctors used to work a basic 80-hour week for salaries as low as £1,900 a year. One doctor who had worked an average of 116 hours a week explained that this worked out at the 'princely sum of 40p an hour'.

Mrs Castle has now introduced a basic 44-hour week. But what the Labour Government has given with one hand it has snatched back with the other. Junior doctors working overtime - and the chronically under-staffed and under-financed NHS is absolutely dependent on overtime - will only be paid 30 per cent of their basic rate for these extra hours. This is literally a pay cut. Even more scandalous is the fact that those who have to work the longest hours will suffer the most under Castle's proposals.

Castle has insisted that unless these measures are introduced then the Healey £6 norm will be breached. If ever the reactionary nature of the Government's pay proposals

was exposed, then the present dispute over the doctors' pay has done it.

Castle's proposals also drive doctors into the smothering embrace of the consultants, who are making encouraging noises to their juniors so that they can line them up in support of their selfish campaign to defend private practice. Meanwhile the British Medical Association - the mouthpiece of the consultants - hedges its bets. Although it says the junior doctors should reject the new contract, it urges them not to take action.

WAIT FOR SANTA!

The BMA is organising - at tortoise pace - a ballot amongst junior doctors. Forms for the ballot will go out with the November pay packets, so that the results will arrive with Santa Claus! They are suggesting on the ballot forms three

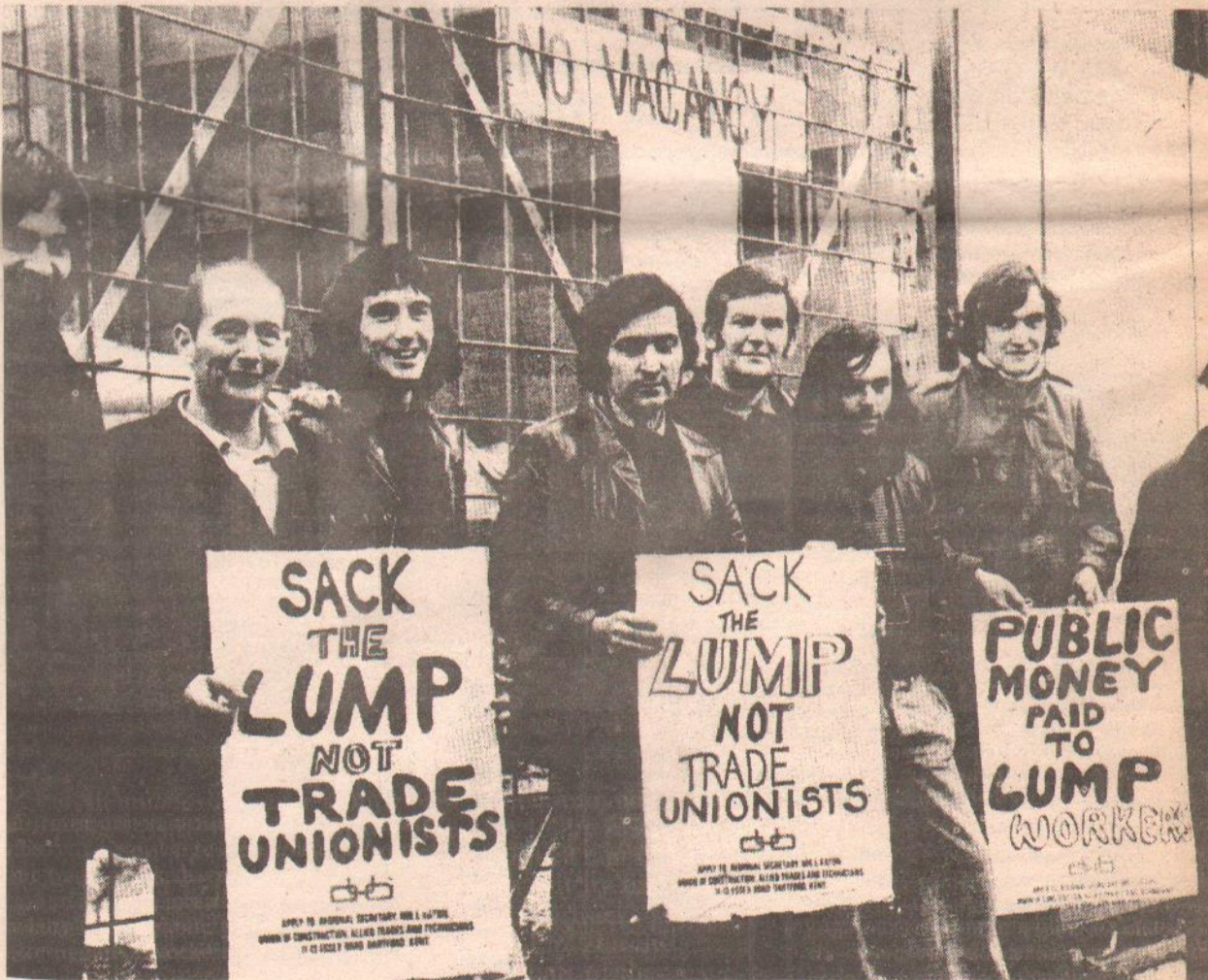
alternative contracts, none of which would put more money in the junior doctors' pockets.

The fight of the junior doctors deserves the support of all the trade union movement. Long hours and bad pay work against both the doctors and their patients. Castle's actions are just another attempt by the right-wing Labour leaders to foist the capitalist crisis on the backs of working class patients and the junior doctors and staff of the NHS.

The measures also strengthen the consultants, who themselves are planning a campaign against the health service. If the attacks of the consultants are to be defeated it is essential that the rest of the NHS staff are in a position to fight them rather than be driven into their arms.

If the junior doctors smash the £6 norm, they will have rendered a service to the entire labour movement.

Bob Pennington



Pickers out at Lovell's Archway site in North London against redundancies at the firm's Guildford Street site

Fight the Scourge of Dole Queues

Unemployment continues to climb towards the 1½ million mark. 130,000 are out of work in Scotland alone. In London the headquarters of the National Union of Teachers are receiving 50 letters a day from unemployed teachers. Last week 300 workers at GEC's North Shields factory were sacked while elsewhere in the Tyneside area 2,800 workers at Plessey's Sunderland factory, and 6,000 workers at Smart and Brown's refrigerator plant were put on a four-day week.

But the fight back is also beginning. The 280 workers at the Personna razor blade plant in Glasgow have turned their four week old strike against sackings into an occupation. And at Balfour Darwin in Sheffield, 360 workers are entering the sixth week of their strike and occupation against redundancies.

On 14 October 4,000 engineering workers at Imperial Metal Industries in Birmingham downed tools for a mass meeting and march against a proposed 180 redundancies at the company's Witton industrial estate. Monthly meetings of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in Birmingham and Coventry have decided to step up their fight for jobs by calling town meetings of stewards and convenors.

In London, two thousand building workers at four sites

have voted to strike on 26 November in support of the jobs lobby, while Lovell building workers - on strike against 24 redundancies at the company's Guildford Street site - have successfully picketed and closed the Lovell's site at Archway station, North London. In Woolwich unemployed building workers are campaigning for jobs at the Thames Barrier Project, a huge flood prevention scheme where twelve hour shifts are being worked seven days a week.

Meanwhile more support for the 26 November lobby is coming in. The London regional committee of the building workers' union, UCATT, has called on all its members to assemble at 1.30 at Euston Station to welcome the demonstrators from the provinces. The No. 1 region of the Transport and General Workers Union, covering Greater London and the South (building trades section), is giving full support. So too are the Southern Region of UCATT, Crawley Trades Council, the Lancashire Association of Trades Councils, and the Scottish Area of the NUM.

The task now is a massive campaign for strike action on 26 November to turn it into a fighting demonstration against the unemployment policies of the Labour Government.