

RED WEEKLY

18 SEPTEMBER 1975

No. 117

PRICE 10p

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



DEMONSTRATION

HANDS OFF



PORTUGAL!

With the formation of the Azevedo Government the Portuguese right is mobilising its forces for a new attack against the working class. So far the Portuguese and international ruling class has relied on the campaign of Soares and the Socialist Party to attempt to isolate the vanguard of the Portuguese working class and head off all moves which seek to go beyond capitalist rule in Portugal. This programme is being consolidated still further with the new Government's proposals to impose 'law and order', disarm the working class, restore 'discipline' in the army, censor the press defend the capitalist constitution proposed by the Constituent Assembly, and guarantee the economic rights of Portuguese and international capitalism.

But behind the Azevedo Government stand far more sinister forces even than the Soares leadership of the Socialist Party. International capitalism is tightening its economic blockade and sabotage. The fascist Portuguese 'Liberation' Army is building its forces. The ultra-rightist sections of the Portuguese officers are in contact with the deposed 'leader' Spínola. Not content with the bourgeois democracy of Soares, these forces wish to return to open fascist and military dictatorship.

Today the Portuguese revolution stands at a decisive turning point. The great working class upsurge of the spring and summer has produced a vanguard of tens of thousands of Portuguese workers who are committed to revolution and stand to the left of the policies of the Port-

comparative isolation of Lisbon and the working class cities from the rest of the country, and of the working class vanguard from the mass of its class. It was these failings which helped to allow the traitorous counter-revolutionary policies of Soares and Antunes to gain their victory in the establishment of the Azevedo Government.

NOT YET LOST

But despite a turn in the relation of forces against the working class — and despite the policies of the SP and CP — everything is very far from lost. The Portuguese working class is still undefeated, and the ferment in the army continues. The vanguard of the proletariat can still defeat the rightist plotters. The tasks of the hour are the defence of the rights of the workers — and first of all the soldiers, against whom the greatest attacks will be immediately launched — against the Government's attacks, the launching of economic struggles and an economic plan which can head off the economic catastrophe which is threatening Portugal, and solve the problems of the peasants in the North; the formation of armed self-defence militias by the workers and revolutionary

soldiers; and the demand that the SP and CP break from the bourgeois parties and institutions — these are the key links to building mass organs of workers power and workers democracy in Portugal. These measures can only be carried through against the policies of the Government, the majority of the AFM, and the Constituent Assembly. With the CP and SP leaders participating in the reactionary policies of the Azevedo Government, there is now every chance of winning workers who have followed these parties to a revolutionary policy.

But today the tasks of the struggle extend far beyond Portugal. In the campaign of Soares and the Portuguese Socialist Party every bastion of international reaction — from the CIA through the multinational companies, to the international Social Democracy — was used. The failure of the international working class to launch a similar campaign is one of the reasons why today the government of Azevedo-Soares is in office in Portugal.

NEW THREATS

As the Portuguese workers turn to meet the new threats, we must ensure that the working class of the

whole of Europe and the world places its weight in the balance to ensure the onward march of the Portuguese revolution. The demonstration in London on 20 September, and the demonstrations throughout Europe this month, are only the first step in the struggle. In every town and workplace in Britain the biggest campaign of international solidarity since the Spanish Civil War must be built.

- * Hands of Portugal!
- * End the imperialist blockade!
- * Victory to the Portuguese Revolution!

STOP PRESS

Speakers at the Portuguese solidarity demonstration advertised above will include:

JUDITH HART, MP
Revolutionary army captain
Radio Renascença worker
JOAO FILIP (MPLA)

by The Editors

uguese Socialist and Communist Parties.

But in the crucial months of July and August this vanguard was not able to find the way to link itself to and lead the mass of the Portuguese working class. No programme was advanced which could win over or neutralise the peasants of the North and no clear concrete programme was put forward which could make a living mass reality of the Popular Assemblies in the South. The line of the CP's support for the rotten Government Gonçalves was not adequately challenged. It was these errors which produced the

CAR JOBS ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK

Continuing our series on the fight against unemployment, *Red Weekly* looks this week at the state of the car industry. Motor manufacturing is not just another sector of the economy. In February 1975, 484,000 people were directly employed in motor vehicle manufacturing — 6.5 per cent of total manufacturing employment. The jobs of hundreds of thousands more are dependent on the motor industry. In announcing the Government's acceptance in principle of the Ryder Report on 24 April 1975, Harold Wilson told the House of Commons: 'a million jobs are at stake'.

The result of the confrontation in the motor industry is therefore of vital concern to the whole working class. It is a test-case for other industries. And although it is vital to fight staffing cuts, productivity drives and job loss at every level, the confrontation in the motor industry will be decided around one central issue: by whom and in whose interests, is the necessary massive reorganisation of the industry going to be carried out?

1. The extent of the crisis

Thirty three thousand jobs were cut in the car industry in the year ending July 1974 — no less than nine per cent of the total workforce. Twenty thousand of these jobs went in British Leyland alone. Nearly all these sackings have been achieved by voluntary redundancies carried through with the support of the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Government.

Despite these massive cuts, the car industry remains the sickest section of a sick economy — and there is no end in sight to its problems. By the end of the year, when a slight upturn in the world economy is predicted, British motor manufacturers will still be in no position to take advantage of the increase in the market and step up production significantly. Years of under-investment in new equipment and consequent low productivity have been compounded by an annual rate of inflation which is pushing British car prices out of competition.

Since 1972 total British car sales have fallen by over 30 per cent, and foreign cars are currently taking 40 per cent of the home market. Car output in May 1975 was the lowest for 13 years — 45 per cent below the monthly average for 1974 — and in the first five months of 1975 car production was 15 per cent below the level of the corresponding months for 1974, which included the three-day week. British Leyland itself is operating at a weekly loss of £6 million and has an annual deficit of £290 million.

The car bosses are well aware of the situation, and know there is only one solution for them — to cut jobs. The soft-soaping reserved for union officials in the Ryder Report — 'If British Leyland achieve the increased sales which are planned, manpower reductions resulting from increased productivity (will) be partly, perhaps mainly offset by the expansion of BL's capacity' — has been dropped with the unions' acceptance of 'worker participation'.

Already BL has announced its intention to cut its 116,000 strong car-making division by a further 20–30,000. Chrysler (UK), which lost £17 million over the last year, has cut back its total workforce from 29,500 to 25,000. Ford's has shed 4,000 jobs since January — 2,000 of these left during the prolonged doorhangers' strike at Dagenham, which was eventually defeated.

The sackings have been accompanied by a massive productivity drive. Even at Halewood, where production lines are working at full capacity to turn out the new Escort, Ford's management are trying to push through the same productivity scheme and labour pool which led to the doorhangers' stoppage at Dagenham.

2. The need for nationalisation

The response of the union leaders, the Labour 'lefts' and the Communist Party to the concerted attack on car workers' living standards, working conditions and jobs has been pathetic. While Benn and the 'lefts' welcomed the Ryder Report, the Communist Party — through its strong position in the British Leyland stewards combine — has helped to implement it. The system of 'joint committees' which has been accepted at BL, and the worker participation scheme under discussion at Chrysler, have a single aim: to give the workers the illusion of control while getting workers' representatives to take responsibility for speed-up and rationalisation.

As Roy Levine wrote in the *Financial Times* (5 September): 'The problems facing the two companies (Chrysler and BL) are basically the same. The UK motor industry has the lowest labour productivity in the world, with BL producing value added per man of £2,129 in 1974 and Chrysler £2,765 — less than half the figure for General Motors and Ford US.' Worker participation proposals are aimed at solving the problem of 'poor industrial rela-

tions' in order to guarantee the success of the massive reinvestment under way in the British motor industry.

Yes, a gigantic reorganisation of the structure and products of the motor industry is necessary. But the precondition for this to be carried out in the interests of the working class is total rejection of the Ryder Report. The only way in which the fundamental problems facing carworkers can be solved is through the nationalisation without compensation of the entire motor and component industry.

In order to prepare this, the phoney participation schemes of the bosses, the weak-kneed proposals of the TUC for 'industrial democracy' and the inadequate disclosure provisions in Labour's Industry Bill are useless. This is tellingly revealed by the secrecy surrounding all the key sections of the Ryder Report. The fight to remove the cloak of commercial secrecy surrounding all the financial and planning arrangements of the employers through the opening of the books is the fight for workers' control to prepare the nationalisation and socialist reorganisation of the industry.

To believe, as do the Labour 'left' and the TUC, that the disclosure of all the relevant information can be achieved through the passing of a Bill in Parliament is an act of both gross stupidity and betrayal. Only real measures of workers' control won through bitter struggle can break the bosses' monopoly of information and prepare the way for a workers' enquiry based on workers' committees in every plant, which can draw up plans for the socialist reorganisation of the motor industry.

The capitalists would of course try to sabotage any nationalisation of such a key sec-

tion of industry simply by refusing the credits and finance necessary. Workers' control in the industry could not be effective unless all financial dealings with the banks and finance houses were also revealed. The nationalisation of the banks and the finance houses into a single state bank would therefore be crucial to the success of these plans.

3. Fighting Wilson's policies

Any policy aimed at throwing back the offensive of the car bosses can't be divorced from the struggle against the Wilson Government. Minister of Industry Varley is quite prepared to let 3,000 jobs at NVT Wolverhampton go to the wall. At the same time the £6 limit is cutting demand for the products of the motor industry. By raising the reactionary demand for import controls to boost domestic demand the CP and Labour left are attempting to avoid a head-on fight with Wilson over the £6 limit. But smashing the £6 limit is the most basic measure necessary to reflate the economy, boost demand, and so save jobs.

Precisely when a united fight back against the bosses' and the Government's plans for the motor industry is most needed, the Communist Party has taken the decision — through its position in the British Leyland Trade Union Committee — to fold up the Standing Motors Action Committee. This is allegedly because the convenors in British Leyland have so much on their plate at the moment that they haven't the time or money to discuss the problems of the whole car industry!

In this context the call by the Institute of Workers Control for a conference on the car industry in Birmingham in November takes on added importance for militants. If the defeat reflected in the folding of the Standing Motors Action Committee is not overcome, carworkers will be left isolated from each other and the rest of the working class, leaving them dependent on the left labour bureaucracy.

Rover (Solihull) Shop Stewards Committee has already voted to send ten delegates to the conference. It could be an important step towards building the broad unity in action amongst carworkers and the rest of the class which is needed to defeat the job-cutting plans of the car bosses and the Wilson Government.

MICK GOSLING

Further information on the IWC Conference can be obtained from: IWC, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham.



The size of the problem—stockpiled cars at Chrysler in Coventry



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

NAMIBIA

Public Meeting

Wednesday 24 September
7.30 pm
N.U.R. Hall

Main speakers:
Putse Appolis,
SWAPO Women's League
Representative of
SWAPO Youth League

Audrey Wise, MP

Ernie Roberts,
Asst. Gen. Sec. AUEW

Pauline Webb,
Vice-chairwoman, World
Council of Churches

SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO AND THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA

SWAPO women's tour of Europe during International Women's Year
Namibia Support Committee, with
the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London Co-op Political Committee
Liberation, National Assembly of Women, National Union of Students

NAMIBIA SUPPORT COMMITTEE, 21/25 TABERNACLE STREET,
LONDON EC2. TELEPHONE (01)-588 4342
Printed by Rye Express (TU), 204 Puckham Rye, London SE22

Victory at Eldon Square

A 'shambles, a charade and bloody diabolical'. No, not the words of the ten Eldon Square pickets — finally brought to trial in September after being arrested in January — but those of the police. In this particular match the pickets won an amazing ten-nil victory. After a retrial last week the final defendant, South Shields scaffolder Robert Henderson, was found not guilty of assaulting a policeman.

The Newcastle police have now announced that they are going to hold an enquiry into allegations of police brutality. But as members of the Tyneside Trade Unions 'Eldon Square Pickets' Defence Committee have pointed out, with the police proven wrong in so many cases already, surely what's needed is a workers' enquiry into the affair.

The task now is to extend the successful Tyneside campaign to the fight to free Des Warren and defend the Glasgow and Cammell Laird pickets who are coming before the courts.

TRIBUNITES ABANDON £6 FIGHT

As the Labour Party conference approaches, the Labour left is getting increasingly worked up in its denunciations of the Government's economic policies. Following hard on the heels of the Institute for Workers Control and the Tribune proposals to 'implement the Labour Party Manifesto', Benn has suddenly rediscovered his voice with his letter to his Bristol constituents. A veritable wattle royal might appear to be on the agenda at the impending Labour Party gathering.

The reality, however, is very different. Absolutely none of the Labour left are really prepared to grasp the nettle of the Healey measures and the £6 norm. It is true that some of the Tribunites voted against Healey's measures — which is more than can be said for Benn — but it is clear that they regard the whole thing as really quite minor. For example, in the latest issue of *Tribune* Eric Heffer announces that while he opposes incomes policy, the Labour Party conference must not 'get sidetracked into false debate about a £6 limitation' — a view fully in line with the fact that *Tribune* has not supported any of the struggles against the £6 norm.

Heffer is actually saying that the working class must not get dragged into a debate over whether its living standards should be maintained or should be drastically cut by Healey's measures. He himself might well think that this is a 'false debate' — but millions of workers this autumn and winter will find that the inability to pay the rent, to meet the food bills, the need to cut back even on the essentials of life, will not appear a 'false' question at all.

'PROGRESSIVE'?

No better than Heffer is Clive Jenkins. Writing in the same issue of *Tribune*, he declares: 'If we leave aside the £6 wage limit, last week's Trade Union Congress was a very progressive affair.' This is rather like saying that the patient is in excellent health apart from the fact that he's got cancer!

If we look at the reasons given by Heffer, Jenkins and the Tribunites for declaring that the £6 limit is a 'false debate', we find that their arguments are even more reactionary. Heffer says, for example: 'By concentrating on that question (the incomes policy) and pretending that its acceptance or non-acceptance is of vital importance to the future of the Government, the movement is being led up a blind alley. As unemployment grows wage demands will diminish anyway.'

But this view is at variance even with the most elementary facts. If unemployment were itself enough to keep down wages, then the Treasury and capitalists wouldn't be demanding an incomes policy anyway. It is precisely because experience (notably 1971-72) has shown that large sections of workers continue to fight to maintain living standards despite the bludgeon of unemployment that this incomes policy has been pushed through.

Of course, if Heffer means that many sections of workers would be intimidated by unemployment, no one can dispute that — but it is not the point at issue. The question is whether the working class as a whole would today be in a stronger or weaker position with or without

by Alan Jones

the £6 limit and the TUC's acceptance of it. The answer to that is absolutely obvious. The £6 limit weakens the working class as a whole, and it is for this reason that opposition to this is not a 'false debate' but an absolutely central question for the labour movement.

The same arguments are being used at present by virtually the entire Labour left. Indeed they even come now dressed up in a 'Bolshevik' wrapper — Lenin was opposed to 'economism' and to concentrate on wages is 'economist', so therefore it is really a truly revolu-

tionary attitude not to concentrate on the incomes policy. Such is the latest wisdom of the 'truly left' Labourite, which argues that we should register a sigh of protest over the £6 norm but really concentrate our attention on 'structural changes' in the economy.

It is of course true that the left social democrats promise us all sorts of goodies in the future; and there is no doubt that if the proposal to nationalise 25 of the largest monopolies, or Heffer's proposal to bring the entire finance system under public control, were implemented, then the concerns of militants might shift. But at the present time the call not to concentrate on the pres-



ASTMS leader Clive Jenkins—says: 'Leaving aside the £6 limit, the TUC was a very progressive affair.' Rather like saying that the patient is in excellent health apart from the fact that he's got cancer.

ent crucial questions because of promised *future* benefits is simply a betrayal of the real concrete needs of the working class.

What is more, refusing to fight centrally against the £6 norm actually goes against fighting for the more radical policies which the Labour left, and those who go beyond them, want to fight for. What policies will be implemented is not decided by a polite discussion in which the working class agrees to incomes policy in return for radical nationalisation and other measures. It is decided by the *relation of class forces*. Acceptance of the £6 norm weakens the working class, and in doing so not merely strikes directly at its standard of

living, but also limits the possibility that it will take up issues going beyond the wages struggle.

The reality of the Tribune position is very clear. The choice is not, as Heffer would have it, between 'concentrating' on unemployment and a 'false debate' on the £6 norm, but an understanding that a central struggle *against both* is necessary as part of the fight to take the working class forward on all fronts. By attempting to play down the fight against the incomes policy — a capitulation made to get a supposed agreement with Jack Jones — the Tribunites in fact move away from being able to take the fight forward on any front.

DEFEND THE MANIFESTO?

While the Tribunites and Benn are making no central fight against the £6 norm, they — together with the Institute of Workers Control — have decided to make a campaign 'in defence of the Labour Party Manifesto'. There is no doubt that this is receiving quite significant support within the working class. It represents the most substantial move towards left wing organisation within the Labour Party since early 1960s. Revolutionary socialists therefore have to have a clear attitude towards such a campaign.

In terms of the social forces which it represents, there is no doubt that the Manifesto campaign is the first beginning of a movement towards the development of an organised trade union and political left inside the Labour Party. As such it contains the most diverse political forces, ranging from hardened personally ambitious bureaucrats through to confused left reformists and centrists, to other forces who hold positions which place them close to the revolutionary left.

There is also no doubt about the dynamic of this movement — it, together with a whole series of other forces, will undergo a progressive development and differentiation which will take it well away from its present base. As such the Manifesto campaign is just one of the first small symptoms of what will develop, quite regardless of what revolutionary socialists desire, during the coming period. It will be absolutely necessary for revolutionary socialists to attempt to influence those who will be attracted around the Manifesto campaign, and to work with them on all issues where agreement can exist — for example, currently on unemployment and against the Healey measures, on Portugal, on abortion, in the Medical Committee against Private Practice.

REACTIONARY POSITIONS

If we come to the actual political basis of the Manifesto campaign, however, it is quite clear that this cannot be supported. Of course the Manifesto does contain isolated good proposals — for example, the nationalisation of shipbuilding and aircraft production; and the original version of the Industry Bill proposals on opening the books which, while limited, no socialist would have any hesitation in supporting.

Nevertheless, built right into the heart even of the economic sections of the Manifesto, were measures which were not only not socialist policies of nationalisation of the economy, but which were directly against the interests of the working class — for example, the wage restraint policies of the Social Contract. As for

sections not so directly on the economy — for example on Ireland, NATO and the position of women in society — the Manifesto contained positions that were downright reactionary. No campaign whose basis includes the defence of these positions can be politically supported.

The crucial question, however, is — will the 'Manifesto' campaign confine itself to the policies it is established on or will it begin to go beyond them? Already some of the proposals put forward for 'implementing the Manifesto' — for example, the proposals put to the IWC conference, or Heffer's demand for public control of the banking system — do raise demands which in fact go far beyond the Manifesto.

HOW WILL IT DEVELOP?

Take for example the proposals of Stuart Holland — who actually wrote large parts of the Labour Party Manifesto. At the recent Institute of Workers Control conference, he put forward a programme which is undoubtedly relatively radical — although it is presented in a completely bureaucratic way. It proposes the opening of the books of the top 200 companies, public ownership and control of the banking and finance system, majority worker-directors on the top 200 companies, a total price freeze which would apply to half industrial output, and a £10 across-the-board increase for all workers. All this was presented as 'A Platform for the Campaign to implement Labour's Programme'

Of course a programme like this is not nearly adequate for the working class — above all it is not linked to real struggles of the working class — but no one would have many qualms, if this were Labour's Manifesto, in demanding that it be carried out. The trouble however, is that this is most decidedly not contained in the Labour Party Manifesto, and to claim that it is is both ridiculous and untrue. A campaign to implement such a programme as Holland proposes is one thing — it would be possible to embark on a serious discussion on this; but a campaign to implement the Manifesto is something quite different.

The coming months will be very important in seeing how this 'implement the Manifesto' campaign develops. If it remains confined to defending the positions advanced by Labour at the last elections, such a campaign can only play the role of a brake on the class struggle. One of the tasks of revolutionary socialists is to work with the forces in the 'Manifesto' campaigns precisely to persuade them of the need to go beyond this basis to a real programme of action which can meet the needs of the working class.

LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Tribune

'There will be no the Army gets



● What significance do you think the recent killings will have for South Armagh and the way people think about the situation here?

PADDY SHORT: I don't think it will make any change in the situation. Whoever is doing them is trying to create a sectarian war in South Armagh — and that is just not on. There can be no sectarian war because the ratio of the population is at least 85 to 15 in favour of nationalists or Republicans.

The British Army could never control South Armagh because the people are *solid* Republican — anti-British or pro-Irish, however you want to take it. The events of the last five years have proved this. There have been more soldiers shot and killed and wounded around this particular area than any other part of the North.

JIM SHORT: Another important point is that even in the event of a civil war, a sectarian war here, the British Army wouldn't step in to 'keep the peace' between Protestants and Catholics. The shootings the other day show that there

Red Weekly talks to PADDY SHORT, a leading spokesman for the people of Crossmaglen in South Armagh since the early days of the civil rights movement, and his son JIM SHORT.

is some collusion going on between the UDR — the biggest British Army regiment in the North of Ireland with 8,000 men in it — and the para-military groups, so the idea that the British Army would stop any sectarian war is just nonsense.

● I'm told the soldiers haven't shown their faces here for quite a time. Would you like to tell me first of all how this situation has come about?

PS: Well the Provisional ceasefire started at the beginning of the year. There were no incidents around here, the Provisionals have never fired a shot. On the other hand the last regiment of the Army that was here misbehaved themselves on many occasions, with the net result that the Provisionals took what they call a retaliatory action against them four miles from here, when four soldiers were blown up. This was the lesson the Army had to get — that the only way they can survive round Crossmaglen is with a low profile.

● When the Army first came into this area they came in some strength. Why did they come in the first place?

PS: They came here for the simple reason that the RUC couldn't control the area. They came in for no other reason than to keep the flag flying, and say: 'This is British territory, we're the representatives and we're going to keep it under control.' The people naturally revolted, and now the Army here are in a dilemma.

One thing that should always be stressed is that Faulkner and Taylor are primarily responsible for all the deaths of all the soldiers around here. In 1970 they were making a great play about the infiltration of the civil rights movement by IRA men. They would never admit that there was a rising in the North, you see, it was all blamed on people coming up from the South of Ireland. So they decided they would blow up the border roads.

They had to find an excuse. So on one Saturday night in August a car stolen in Newry was planted here on the main Crossmaglen-Dundalk border road. For nearly three days it sat there, then two off-duty policemen went to get it, opened the door, and they got blown up.

The people who put that car there wanted to create the situation of the roads. So the Army went and blocked the Dundalk road; the people wouldn't have it, because that's their life-line; it was blocked again, removed again, and again, and again...about twelve or thirteen times in all. And it was through this that there was formed the nucleus of an anti-British campaign. And then the soldiers started getting shot.

I believe that if the Army had just kept out of this area completely, and if the police had vacated the barracks, then

there wouldn't have been a single life lost. After all, we had never before had the British Army here in all our lifetime JS: Even in the period when Catholics were supposed to be welcoming the troops after August 1969, they were only barely tolerated round here. People hated to see them coming into the shops, and your stomach didn't really settle until they were gone.

PS: There's an interesting little story about that. Four soldiers used to come into the shop — one a Pakistani — and we'd talk to them and ask them why they were here. We'd tell them that obviously they weren't here to keep law and order, they weren't here to keep



two factions from fighting, and the only reason they were here was to keep the old flag flying.

This Pakistani agreed with me — and there was one English chap there who took umbrage at this. The next day, the four soldiers came down again, and the Pakistani put his head round the bar and said: 'We're not allowed in here any more.'

Of course, if the people feel that they can't be beaten, then they walk with their heads higher and higher. We just ignore the Army, treat them with contempt. But there'll never be peace until they leave.

JS: I think all these attacks by Rees and others — they're just trying to blacken and tarnish the whole area and thereby trying to break down the ceasefire. The situation in which all this was being talked about was that the Convention

7 Days in the 6 Counties

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Vanguard Unionist leader William Craig has been hailed in the past week as a 'courageous and sincere man' by the British and Irish press, the SDLP and Alliance parties, and southern Irish politicians. According to Craig's admirers, he is the only leading Loyalist politician with a 'sensible plan that could have been a step towards bringing majority and minority closer in the province', as the Belfast Newsletter put it.

Craig's 'plan' amounted to holding out the possibility that the SDLP might one day be invited to participate in an emergency coalition government at the discretion of a Loyalist Prime Minister in a Loyalist-dominated Northern Ireland Parliament. At a meeting of the United Ulster Unionist Council coalition on Monday 8 September, Craig argued that his proposal might well be accepted by the SDLP and the Labour Government — thus ensuring the return of a Stormont Parliament and putting the SDLP 'in the position of having to accept Unionist Policies'. His colleagues in the UUUC rejected this argument, and Craig was the only one to oppose a motion put forward by Paisley which categorically rejected power-sharing with the SDLP under any circumstances.

Craig's opposition to the Paisley motion has however been misrepresented by the media as a vote for 'power-sharing', which is patently absurd. Craig founded his Vanguard party with the precise objective of frustrating the Assembly and 'power-sharing Executive' headed by Faulkner and Fitt in 1974; he has always been totally opposed to any concessions being made on Loyalist domination, and indeed has been the foremost advocate of UDI in the North of Ireland. Last February he said in a speech at a Loyalist rally: 'If this Parliament (Westminster) decides to put us out of the United Kingdom, they will not be putting us into a united Ireland but into an independent Ulster.' And in the very month that the Convention elections took place, Craig thundered: 'The idea of any power-sharing with republicans is as dead as a dodo.'

Loyalist terms

Craig himself has insisted since last Monday's meeting that his proposal has nothing whatever to do with power-sharing, and that it in no way diverges from the UUUC manifesto, which explicitly ruled out any SDLP participation in a Northern Ireland administration at cabinet level. Clearly in his plan the SDLP would only hold office on Loyalist terms.

How much support Craig can actually muster behind his proposals is not yet clear. Some of those who supported Paisley at Monday's meeting have now switched positions, and the Ulster Loyalist Co-ordinating Committee — which with the Ulster Army Council links together all but one of the Loyalist para-military organisations — has come out in favour of the Craig 'plan'.

Significantly, the only organisation excluded from the UAC and the ULCC is the Ulster Volunteer Force, which is opposed to independence and has seemed over recent months to be increasingly isolated within the Loyalist camp. It has lined up behind Paisley. Also

significant is Enoch Powell's reappearance at Loyalist meetings, and it is said that his intervention at Monday's meeting was decisive in swaying many of the Loyalist backwoodsmen behind Paisley.

Powell has always been an advocate of total integration of the Six County statelet into the UK, and in the past has had support for this line from both Paisley and the UVF. Powell rejects independence because it would remove the base he hoped to use as a springboard back into British political life. But only a few weeks ago he clashed with all the Loyalists, including Paisley, over his claim that loyalty to the Westminster Parliament was fundamental to 'Unionism'.

This evoked the response from Paisley that: 'It is now evident that Ulster Loyalists will have to look to Ulster alone in the coming days for a clear expression of their principles and an unswerving defence of the same.' He went on to remind everyone that Loyalists had resisted the interference of the British Parliament in the past 'by force of arms'. This placed Paisley firmly in the camp of the independence supporters, and it is the keystone of the UUUC manifesto that a Stormont-type administration would be restored in the North of Ireland. Nothing has happened in the past week to suggest that Paisley or the UUUC have now opted for integration.

Intimidation

The importance of Craig's proposals, however, can be seen from the SDLP's admission last Thursday that they had been offered chairmanship of an important security committee in a new administration, and had been discussing the proposals for a coalition government seriously. Craig's plan needs the collaboration of the SDLP to succeed. Faced with mass intimidation — the assassination of Catholics having become a nightly occurrence — the anti-Unionist population is confused and divided by the continuing collaboration of the SDLP in the Convention. With the SDLP involved in an emergency coalition pursuing a 'strong law and order policy' this situation would be worsened — even more so with the SDLP openly taking responsibility for 'security'.

The fact that the Loyalist camp appears once again to be split on the mechanics of a takeover can bring little comfort to the anti-Unionist population. The SDLP when they were in Faulkner's Executive took responsibility for housing and social security, and proceeded to attempt to break the rent and rates strike which formed part of the civil disobedience campaign launched in opposition to internment and which the SDLP had previously supported. Given responsibility for 'security', in or out of a coalition government, the SDLP could be relied on to implement the dictates of their British and Loyalist masters with vigour, bringing increased repression to the nationalist areas. Anti-imperialist organisations can make sure that the SDLP never get the opportunity, by working together to unite the anti-Unionist population in mass mobilisations against a Loyalist takeover, and for the withdrawal of the British army of occupation.



Photo: LAWRENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

'Troops Out' supporters demonstrate outside last Saturday's meeting

peace until out of here'

was deadlocked, the politicians knew the Convention was going to fail, but they were trying to shift the blame from their own failure to make the Convention work onto the Provisional IRA.

Because otherwise what the Provisionals can say is: 'We've had the ceasefire, but the Convention still broke down, isn't it surely time that you thought about our strategy - withdrawal of the troops and the right of the Irish people to control their own future?'

● Do you think you could tell me more precisely how the Army has been resisted in this area?

PS: First of all, the main weapon against the Army was ignoring them, treating them with contempt. But when the Army started messing people around, then force had to be used against them.

So that was that with them, then somebody else would come in and start up trouble, but in the end the last four or five regiments were hit on the first or second day they came in. It was a way of saying to them: 'Listen, if you fellows behave yourselves, OK - but if you mess about you're going to get shot.' And it was as simple as that. There's no more harassment now.

JS: The problem is how do you get through to the troops and say to them: 'Listen, you're here, you're doing a thankless job, and when you go back to England no-one will thank you.' There's evidence of that now - for instance, when the soldiers were beaten up in the pubs in Southend.

And of course one thing's for sure - although the officers and the men



TROOPS OUT DEMO PLANS

As events in Ireland move towards the breakdown of yet another British-imposed 'solution' to the problem, the time has come for the whole Labour and trade union movement to make its voice heard in a demand for an end to British involvement in Ireland, and in support of the Irish people's right to national self-determination.

Last May, a conference organised by the Troops Out Movement and attended by over 300 delegates from 32 Trades Councils, plus trade union, Constituency Labour Party and Labour Party Young Socialist branches, voted to call for a massive demonstration in the autumn against British involvement in Ireland.

An ad-hoc committee is now being formed to organise this demonstration, to coincide with an indoor rally which will be held in London by the Troops Out Movement early in December. Both the committee and the demonstration will be open to all those in Britain who are opposed to British political military and economic involvement in Ireland, and who support the right of the Irish people to national self-determination.

We urge all sections of the labour movement to support this demonstration and send two delegates to the ad-hoc committee against British involvement in Ireland. The first meeting will take place in the Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road, (near Warren St. underground station) on Friday 26 September at 7.30 pm. For details of later meetings please ring Margaret Edney, on 226-7615 or contact the committee at: 1 North End Road, London W.14.

If your branch is unable to send delegates to the committee but is in general support of the demonstration, then you can help by (a) letting your members know of it and urging their attendance; (b) agreeing to sponsor the committee; (c) making arrangements as soon as possible for a contingent from your branch to attend; (d) by a donation towards the cost of organising this important event.



ABOVE, LEFT and RIGHT. The British army of occupation in action in Ireland with rifles at the ready

might walk round the streets of Crossmaglen together, once they get back to civvy street they'll never drink in the same pub again.

PS: That's very true. When I was over in England I met the odd fellow whose father was in the Black and Tans - and not one of them was proud of the fact. They were all ashamed of it.

I mean, can you imagine any soldier back in civvy street - he's drunk one night in the pub, and he's got the Ulster Military Medal, so someone asks him what he got it for, and he says: 'Well, I shot four paddies.' Well, the most likely thing is that the landlord will order him out of the pub.

The paratroopers, for instance, came here and they were going to take over the whole town. They came in, set about trying to dominate the situation, and so some of them were lured to a house and blown up. Then they beat up fellows in the town, and so they were blown up again. Then they came that night and beat up people right through the town - and next day they were blown up yet again.

They used the old threats of what they would do before they'd leave - and people in town said: 'Well, if that's the way you want it, that's the way you can have it, but you'll never leave it because every road from the town is mined.' And the para-troopers - the glorious paras - were out of here down that street there at twelve o'clock at night, and afterwards they never brought their jeeps or tanks or whatever in again.

Riggings & gaggings at Ireland report-back

A report-back delegate meeting to discuss the recent Greater London Association of Trades Councils visit to Belfast provided further evidence of the growing support within the trade union movement for a 'Troops Out Now - Self-Determination for Ireland' position.

The Communist Party, which had a majority on the GLATC delegation to Belfast, has tried every manoeuvre to impose its views on Ireland - views which call for the British Government to undertake all manner of wonderful reforms in Ireland, and which thereby accept the right of the British Government to rule Ireland. During the Belfast visit itself the CP majority threw out of the delegation three supporters of the 'Troops Out' position and last Saturday they produced a further battery of 'dirty tricks' in an attempt to silence any opposition:

* The chairman of the meeting, Brother

Coles, resisted demands for equal speaking rights for the minority. When his ruling produced shouts for a vote on the matter, Coles bombasted: 'There will be no vote.'

* The GLATC majority gave its main speakers an hour and a half to put their views. Only continual protests from delegates assured the minority of any right to speak - and even then they were only permitted fifteen minutes.

* Coles selected contributions from the floor so that supporters of his views were allowed a three-to-one majority.

* Jack Dromey, the majority's main spokesman, even produced a letter from a Belfast tenants' association to back his opinions. Unfortunately for Dromey the letter was addressed to one of the minority, Mike Knowles, and when an astonished Knowles declared that he had never seen the letter, Dromey hastily withdrew the correspondence.

* There is also evidence of an attempt

to pack the meeting - at least one CP member from Barnet Trades Council who had failed to be elected as a delegate still attended the meeting.

In spite of all these manoeuvres, the GLATC platform received a stormy hearing from at least half of last Saturday's delegates. Indeed, the CP-controlled platform were so afraid to test their pro-imperialist line that they made no attempt to put their 'Report' to the vote - a clear indication of the level of opposition.

The gags and expulsions have defied the 'Troops Out' position a fair hearing, but the level of support for that position evident at Saturday's meeting represents a sizable defeat for all those who think that a British 'solution' for Ireland is possible. All members of trades councils in London should now ensure that in any local report-back meeting a representative of the minority is invited to speak.

Geoff Bell

ANTI-FASCIST FRAME-UP TRIALS ROLL ON

In the first of the mass trials of anti-fascist pickets in Glasgow, Sheriff-Principal Lord Wilson made clear the purpose of the frame-up in his summing up. He judged that the Glasgow police have the right to decide that the intention of any demonstration has changed from its original purpose. From this, he concluded that the police then have the right to arrest *en masse* any persons associated with the demonstration.

In his summing up on the second trial, Wilson spelt out exactly what this attack means. His ruling was that picketing unrelated to industrial disputes is illegal. If unchallenged, this ruling will set a precedent in Scots law. The intention is that the repressive decision on picketing passed in the High Court last year against the Prebble's pickets in London should now be brought to bear on the Scottish labour movement.

Meanwhile, a travelling circus of fascist provocateurs and police thugs continue to lie their way through the court. The Glasgow Trades Council has issued a statement in which it had no qualms about saying of the first trial: 'The police evidence was clearly proved to be lies.'

A startling case in point is that of Peter Porteous, the only person accused who has so far been acquitted. Two Support Unit (Glasgow SPG) cops claimed to have arrested him in the crowd. But witnesses and photographs proved that Porteous was arrested *twenty minutes earlier, on the opposite side of the road, by Chief Superintendent Dunford, the director of the police riot, assisted by Blackburn fascist George Hughes*. Dunford had denied in court having anything to do with Porteous' arrest. The 'Not Proven' verdict on Porteous indicates the truth about the whole frame-up - the police evidence, from top officers to the ranks, is a pack of lies.

BRUTALITY

Those at present standing trial include some who suffered the worst brutality during the police riot of 24 May. To cover up for the thugs responsible, the police have set these people up on assault charges. Examples of those thus framed are: Maggie Osborne (kicked from behind in the groin); Sheila Morrison (dragged by her hair across the road until her feet bled); John Dennis (nose broken against floor of a police van).

The ramshackle basis of the whole frame-up is shown dramatically by the fact that Glasgow IMG has up till now been able to circulate freely a series of leaflets throughout the city exposing the falsity of police evidence and naming the officers concerned; exposing the two fascist defendants who had hoped to go

through the trials on the quiet; and exposing the background of NF witnesses.

This material is now being produced in the form of fact-sheets for circulation throughout the Glasgow labour movement. On the basis of this material, the IMG intends to cut through the press silence on the trials and equip workers with the facts necessary to build solidarity with the defendants and unity against the attack on the right to picket and demonstrate.

PROSECUTION

In particular campaigns are being launched against two of the prosecution witnesses. One of these, William Fay, a Labour Councillor, is fronting for right-wing District Council boss Dick Dynes, whose clique gave the fascists their hall and the police the go-ahead for their attack. The other is Glasgow NF chairman Richard Montague, a clerk in the District Council's collecting department, whom NALGO members have the misfortune to number in their ranks.

Fact-sheets Nos. 1 and 2 are available from James MacAllister, 18 Carrington Street, Glasgow; and money for the Defence Fund should be rushed to: Trades Council Defence Fund, Glasgow Trades Council, 83 Carlton Place, Glasgow G5. With 63 of the 76 anti-fascists still to be sentenced, fines already total £310: several thousand pounds will be required to cover fines, lawyers and appeal costs.

James MacAllister

WHY, OH, WHY?

Why was NF boss Kingsley Read talking with a senior member of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 7 prior to giving evidence in the first of the trials at Glasgow Sheriff Court on 1 September? Was the topic of conversation the same as that between Glasgow NF chairman and prosecution witness Richard Montague and two men wearing UVF badges in the same building later that week? Perhaps it was to ensure the supply of the NF 'Smash IRA Murder Gang' stickers which decorated the placards of Protestant Action as they broke up Bishop Daly's sermon at St. Giles Edinburgh at the end of that week?



1500 troops denounce hierarchy's manoeuvres

Another sign of the growing determination of sections of the ranks in the Portuguese army to continue the revolutionary process came last week with a mass demonstration through the streets of the northern city of Porto.

Fifteen hundred soldiers — the equivalent of a regiment — marched in uniform behind a red banner carrying the slogan 'Soldiers United Will Win'. Following them were an estimated 10,000 civilians, representing notably the workers' and neighbourhood commissions.

The main organisers of the demonstration



were the Movement of the Socialist Left (MES) and the Internationalist Communist League (LCI — Portuguese sympathising section of the Fourth International). The Communist Party also took part, although it failed to issue any public appeals for support.

Masked soldiers

The initiative was first announced by three masked soldiers at a press conference the previous Sunday. But according to *Le Monde's* correspondent in Porto, the response was totally unexpected. 'Certainly they thought that something would happen, but no-one would have dared forecast such an outburst.'

The organisers feared that units might be confined to barracks by the authorities. Some were — at Viana-do-Castelo, for instance. But the conscripts, finding the gates closed, simply

as far away as Coimbra and Tancos, and there was even a small delegation from the light artillery regiment of Lisbon (RALIS) — the famous 'red regiment'.

The soldiers marched through the city surrounded by stewards from the workers' and neighbourhood commissions. As an additional precaution to prevent unnecessary identification, a flying squad led by a young lieutenant constantly intercepted photographers to make sure that only pictures of the banner at the head of the demonstration were taken.

Sons of the people

Arriving at the central square, the troops gathered round the town hall, whose steps served as a make-shift platform. A speaker warned of the threat from the military hierarchy: 'General Fabiao (the army chief-of-staff) sent a note by telex to all unit commanders telling them that our demonstration was counter-revolutionary. He has forbidden us to go onto the streets in uniform.'

Suddenly a soldier shouted: 'Down with Fabiao!' Within seconds the cry was taken up on all sides. Then another speaker from the Coimbra infantry regiment told how the commander of the central region, General Charais — one of the signatories of the Melo Antunes document — had also tried to prevent soldiers from leaving their barracks. Again a roar went up: 'Down with Charais, Pinochet's apprentice!' Finally an anonymous soldier appealed to the audience to step up their activity:

'We must generalise these demonstrations to show to the authorities and the bourgeoisie the power of the soldiers. Tonight we have taken the first steps towards the independent self-organisation of the workers in uniform. The soldier is a son of the people. Shoulder to shoulder with the people organised in their factories and their neighbourhoods, we shall thwart the manoeuvres of the reactionary officers.'

Then, shouting the slogan 'Portugal will not be the Chile of Europe', the soldiers dispersed from what was undoubtedly one of the most momentous demonstrations since

Ferment grows Portuguese

Left-wing COPCON captain speaks out

'We must know how to get rid of these illusions while there is still time. An army cannot be transformed from the inside.'

The words are those of Carlos Matos Gomes, a captain in COPCON, speaking to Dominique Pouchin of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. His attitudes show just how far the radicalisation inside the army has developed, particularly since the reactionary manoeuvres around the 'group of nine' officers led by Melo Antunes. Gomes is quite clear about what is at stake:

'The hierarchy wishes to re-establish militarism, a strict respect for bourgeois authority. But the soldiers, the sergeants and the progressive officers will struggle for their rights. They have made a conscious and serious class choice — to fight for the maintenance and development of democratic rights in the barracks, to insist on mass assemblies in each unit, to encourage the 'dynamisation brigades' [propaganda units], to confront those in power who want to halt the revolutionary process.'

'That will only be possible, and have a real meaning, if we link our struggle to that of the workers' and neighbourhood commissions, the village committees.... Only the alliance of the organs of popular power together with the soldiers organised in the barracks can bring about changes in the structure of the army.'

Anti-fascist revolt

Like the other 'captains of 25 April', Carlos Matos Gomes spent years in the African colonies — first in Angola, then Mozambique, and finally in Guinea-Bissau — where he served under General Spinoza and made the acquaintance of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, then a captain like himself. 'The liberation movements taught us what the just cause of a people could be: the colonial wars gave birth to an anti-fascist revolt.'

Captain Gomes was among the first 'conspirators' in Guinea. Then, and for some time after 25 April, he believed that the army could shed its skin to become 'the people in uniform'. Today he no longer thinks so.

'The Armed Forces Movement amounts to nothing today. Rent by the same contradictions as Portuguese civil society, it has blown apart. The anti-fascist stage is over: the Armed Forces Movement has accomplished its historic role. We now have to make a choice: to stop where we are and accept a social-democratic neo-capitalism, or to go forward towards socialism. There is no other choice.'

Repression

Gomes is therefore outspoken in his attacks on the Antunes document:

'It advocates a neo-capitalist orientation, but we know that in Portugal this must necessarily mean increased repression of the workers. That is why the social democracy of the "nine" would turn out to be only a transition to fascism.'

But wasn't there talk at one time about an alliance or even a synthesis between the so-called 'moderates' and the 'radical' officers of COPCON? Gomes explains:

'We upbraided Melo Antunes for producing a negative critique. General Carvalho then announced to us that the "nine" were prepared to submit a new text incorporating our objections. We put forward the idea of a common platform, but the "nine" turned it down: only Otelo discussed with them about a new docu-

immediately that it outlined an unacceptable right-wing project. Those around Melo Antunes have tried to make out that Otelo was acting as our representative; in no way was this the case.'

The *Le Monde* interviewer then asked Gomes an oft-repeated question: just what kind of man is Carvalho. With a sad smile the COPCON captain replied: 'He is a general.' Many illusions in Carvalho as the spokesman for the extreme left inside the military have been shattered in the last few weeks. The radicalised young officers consider that they are not represented inside the new Revolutionary Council — nor do they want to be. 'In the framework of the State apparatus one cannot reconcile revolutionary positions with a social-democratic orientation.'

Instead they pose an alternative, which is often confused — notably in its emphasis on creating a force 'above parties' — but never-

Top brass on pro

The military authorities in Portugal also suffered a crushing defeat last week when they had to admit that a law preventing the press from reporting debates and activities inside the barracks was unenforceable.

This decree was obviously aimed at isolating the democratic rank-and-file organisations inside the armed forces as a prelude to crushing them and restoring bourgeois military discipline. But the authorities were met by an almost blanket refusal by the press

to implement it. Headed by *República*, a number of radio stations invited the masses to use mass meetings and the new law to protest resolution.

Almost all continued to payn by the to prevent an from being se The result was a blow in favor



**PORTUGAL
SPAIN**

**TOWARDS THE IBERIAN
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**



INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP
PAMPHLET PRICE 20p

Available from RED BOOKS,
97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

Downs in Army

theless provides a basis for a united revolutionary offensive.

'The fundamental thing today is our unity. The revolutionary left inside the army is much more homogeneous than it is in civil society. Our ideas are simple — we advocate popular power and national independence. We must win the people by taking up their day-to-day problems, giving them the opportunity so that they too can learn through experience a politics above parties.'

Indiscipline

Isn't this indiscipline, asked the *Le Monde* interviewer. 'Not at all', replied Gomes. 'It is real discipline, freely consented to by the soldiers who have lined up alongside the workers and peasants.' Subversion, then? 'Yes', agreed the captain, 'a little'.

Back down Law

decision. workers of yees at a pers and ed openly to organ- to discuss end them s for public- press also r the camy- police are troops Angola. remendous the right to

real freedom of information.

Only one newspaper broke ranks. *A Luta*, a new daily published by the former owner of *Republica*, Raul Rego, announced that while it had disagreements with the law it would nevertheless implement it.

No wonder the pro-capitalist Socialist Party leaders are still so insistent that *Republica* be returned to the clutches of Dr Rego. And no wonder the Portuguese working class are so determined to hold on to this valuable instrument of struggle.



LCI APPEAL

The Internationalist Communist League (LCI—sympathising section of the Fourth International) had barely 20 members on 25 April 1974. Since then it has grown to several hundred militants due to its ability to put forward a revolutionary line of advance for the Portuguese workers and peasants. But whereas the Portuguese SP and CP are receiving massive amounts of aid from their well-placed supporters abroad, the LCI has to rely on the comparatively small forces of the international revolutionary vanguard for support. *Red Weekly* is therefore launching a public appeal for money to enable the LCI to carry out still more effectively its work.

Please send all monies to: *Red Weekly* (LCI), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. All donations will be acknowledged.



Q: Where are 'full' hotels empty ? Where do banks not lend out money ? A: Portugal, of course !

RED WEEKLY: *We have heard increasingly about the development of 'popular power' in Portugal — how does this form of workers' democracy actually work out in practice?*

ALVARO MIRANDA: The development of popular power is very uneven throughout the country, and takes two distinct forms.

First there are the workers' committees, which are very strong in all factories in industrial areas and are co-ordinated on an ad hoc basis in Lisbon and Porto. In Lisbon the co-ordination centres around the workers' committees of the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, the national steel works, Sorefame — these are the major industrial units — together with the TAP airline workers and the post office workers. Also involved are the workers at *Republica* and Radio Renascenca, which have become the symbols of independent working class organs.

The other form of popular power are the neighbourhood committees, which are of two kinds. The first are connected with the local government administration, and try to operate in a legalistic manner. The others call themselves the revolutionary neighbourhood committees, and started from the occupation of empty buildings. The revolutionary committees are co-ordinated by an all-Lisbon secretariat of two representatives from each district, and they also exchange delegates with the Setubal neighbourhood committees. Work is now in hand for a national secretariat, but their basic strength is in Lisbon and to a lesser extent in Porto.

The popular assemblies are less developed, and their character varies from place to place. There is a popular assembly covering the whole of Setubal, representing workers' committees, neighbourhood committees and the Armed Forces Movement. In Lisbon a few have been formed, the most active of which is the popular assembly of Pontinha. This is already running a number of social services — clinics, nurseries, old peoples homes, transport. As far as I know some exist in Porto, but in other areas they are just beginning to evolve.

The general conception of the popular assemblies is that they will co-ordinate locally the activities of all the other rank-and-file organisations — neighbourhood committees and local army units.

Q. To what extent is the military involved — and how?

A. The army participation is not necessarily democratic. Some units elect delegates in mass meetings, but in other cases delegates are appointed by the more restricted MFA structures.

Q. What is the attitude of the larger political parties — the Communist Party and the Socialist Party — to these independent organs? And has the MFA leadership taken a definite attitude?

A. Neither of the two major political parties have made these organs a definite part of their platform. The SP general secretary, Mario Soares, has recently stated that there is a need to pass legislation to regulate the authority of the organs of popular power, clearly subordinating them to other organs of power. But individual rank-and-file militants of both the CP and SP participate actively in the

Red Weekly interviews ALVARO MIRANDA of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee, who has recently returned from a visit to Portugal

Actually the root of the present crisis was a decision of the MFA general assembly in July to 'move decisively towards the taking of power by the working masses', based on organs of popular power such as the popular assemblies. This was set out in a document known as the 'Document Guide of the MFA' published at the end of the July assembly. Some of the officers accepted this document but saw it as a plan to be implemented over a very long period. Captain Vasco Lourenco, one of the Melo Antunes group, spoke about a period of thirty years!

The document guide was in any case ambiguous on several points. It retained for the MFA overall control in the process, and did not explicitly state that any participation in rank-and-file involvement.

The workers, however, immediately seized on the positive side of the document, started spontaneously forming nuclei of popular power, and held a number of demonstrations for their immediate establishment. It was this development — which threatened to produce a political alternative to the bourgeois democratic strategy of the SP and Popular Democrats (PPD) — rather than the official



excuse of the *Republica* affair which led the SP leadership to leave the Government and start their campaign.

Q. In the southern rural areas have there been similar examples of direct action on the part of the agricultural proletariat?

A. There has been an important wave of land occupations carried out by the southern agricultural workers. These in the main have been supported by the agricultural workers' unions, which have been encouraging the formation of cooperatives on the occupied land, with technical help — such as tractors, fertilisers, and agronomists provided by the 'Institute of Agrarian Reform'.

It is estimated by the IAR that between a third and a half of the reform planned by the Government under the law which expropriates estates over 500 hectares has been carried out already by spontaneous occupations in the Beja and Evora districts of Alentejo.

Q. Little information seems to be getting through here about the direct effects of the

in Portugal, did you hear of any concrete examples of deliberate sabotage?

A. It is obviously extremely difficult to document in detail the sabotage, because in most respects it is carried out by subtle means, like the cancellation of orders for Portuguese goods or services. But the Lisnave workers have been able to prove that the Swedish parent company was diverting ships due for repair away from Lisnave.

There is also a complete shut-down on credit by British banks to companies who wish to buy Portuguese goods. All the multinationals are demanding cash payment for supplies of goods and components to their Portuguese subsidiaries which were previously obtained on credit.

There is also, of course, the recent announcement by ITT cutting off all finance for their Portuguese subsidiaries — which altogether employ nearly 10,000 workers. This has already resulted in 300 redundancies occurring in MK Electrics (a British subsidiary) in London due to the expected lack of business with Portugal. This week Boardman International, a Stockport-based firm, announced the closure of their Portuguese subsidiary due to 'trouble with the militant workers committee'. In the financial year ending April 1974, Boardman's profits from that subsidiary were £¼ million.

Anybody who has tried to go on a tourist trip to Portugal this year by booking through normal travel agents will in most cases have been told that all hotels in Portugal are full. In fact they are mostly empty!

The PWCC is at the moment compiling a complete dossier on the boycott which we hope to publish soon.

Q. Similarly, did you discover much about what was actually happening during the recent 'reactionary offensive', or see much activity from the right wing?

A. Yes, the right wing activity in the north is open and clearly visible. It is being fermented by organised groups of right wingers — small in number — associated with the ELP (Portuguese 'Liberation' Army), the Centre Democrats (CDS), and the PPD. They have taken advantage of the genuine grievances of the backward peasantry under the cover of the anti-communist mobilisations carried out firstly by the Socialist Party and later by the Catholic hierarchy.

In any of these mass gatherings, organised groups of 50–80 right-wingers would whip up mass hysteria and lead the crowds to attack the headquarters of the Communist Party and other left-wing parties. The same group of people moves from town to town, so that attacks are never carried out simultaneously in neighbouring places.

In the last week that we were in Portugal (the third week of August) there was a wave of sabotage actions, which included setting fire to large areas of the countryside. We ourselves saw the countryside on fire for miles and miles, and just north of Leiria the local people told us that the fire had been started by an unmarked mono-plane dropping incendiary bombs. We later heard from official sources that the plane had flown over from



PORTUGAL FORUM



The role of the Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

Although I do not doubt the sincerity of *Red Weekly's* headline (21 August) 'Defend the Portuguese Revolution', it is somewhat strange that inside the paper this defence should consist mainly of a very lengthy and ill-informed attack upon the Portuguese Communist Party. Its author, Chris Balfour, would appear to operate from the assumption that because Trotskyist theory has already written off all Communist Parties as hopelessly counter-revolutionary, therefore it is impossible for the PCP to do anything correct, and there is obviously no need to substantiate this by actually looking at PCP statements.

For clearly comrade Balfour is ignorant of many important PCP documents, otherwise he would have written a very different article. Attacking the PCP's attitude to the elections he writes: 'A party genuinely dedicated to advancing the interests of the Portuguese working class would have drawn inspiration from the fact that almost 60 per cent of the votes in the election were cast for parties of the working class.' Precisely — and if comrade Balfour bothers to read the PCP's statement on the elections, issued on 26 April, he will find that this is indeed the PCP's position:

'The result of the election shows that the Portuguese people are in favour of democratic policies and a socialist way forward....the voting confirmed that the reactionary right can count on little popular support.'

Or take the question of sectarianism towards the Socialist Party, of which comrade Balfour repeatedly accuses the PCP. In fact the PCP leadership has continually warned against sectarianism; for instance, Alvaro Cunhal, speaking at Vila Franca de Xira on 18 May, stated:

'We call on Party members to overcome symptoms of sectarianism and to seek, among all sections and without any discrimination, co-operation with other trends, even if they are divergent with those of the Party, once those sections show themselves genuinely prepared to combine their efforts with those of Communists. The interests of all workers are identical, whatever their views or creeds, and this unity of interests can be matched by unity of organisation and action in the workplace, in the trade unions, and in the great and exalting tasks of constructing the new democratic Portugal marching forward to socialism.'

Or again, very clearly in Cunhal's report to the Central Committee meeting of 10 August (a meeting to which comrade Balfour does make passing reference):

'Sectarianism leads to reserves, lack of confidence and recriminations between forces that could and should be in strict co-operation. Sectarianism is particularly malign in the political situation in which we are living now. The PCP is combating, within its own ranks, the group spirit, narrowness and political rigidity which in many cases have been shown in dealings with other political sectors and in dealings with the masses.'

Not only has the PCP consistently held out a hand of friendship to the Socialist Party, demanding as the price of co-operation only that the SP leadership drop its anti-communist campaign, but it has also recently attempted to hold talks with other left groups, including the IMG's sister organisation in Portugal, the LCI. Unfortunately the LCI's attitude to this initiative is less than constructive — the LCI leaflet reproduced in *Red Weekly* of 14 August denounced such approaches by the PCP as 'manoeuvres': ironically enough this piece was headlined 'Portuguese Trotskyists Appeal for Workers' Unity'. Who, one might ask, is really guilty of sectarianism?

If comrade Balfour expects articles he writes on the PCP to be taken seriously in future, then he had better start informing himself as to what the PCP's position actually is. A crude amalgam of unsubstantiated generalisations laced with the standard Trotskyist patter may

The situation in Portugal and *Red Weekly's* analysis of it continues to arouse controversy amongst our readers. This week we publish a further selection of letters covering varying viewpoints.

We believe such an open debate can only develop our understanding of the Portuguese Revolution and the tasks confronting us in building a solidarity movement with the Portuguese workers. The editors welcome further contributions for future issues.



Communist Party leader Cunhal speaking at a joint rally with his allies in the Popular Democratic Movement.

succeed in pulling the wool over a few people's eyes for a short period — but in the end it is no substitute for a genuine and reasoned analysis. PAUL FAUVET, Wallington.

Chris Balfour replies

Comrade Fauvet cites Cunhal to refute my contention that the PCP did not 'draw inspiration' from the results of the April elections. Well, let us admit it — Cunhal was 'inspired' by the election results to issue a politically vacuous statement heralding the outcome (which had the not incidental effect of glossing over the abysmal showing of the PCP). But does that contradict the point I was making in my article? No. What I said quite clearly was that a party dedicated to advancing the cause of the working class would have been inspired by the election results to call for the formation of a government of the workers' organisations.

No amount of scissors-and-paste work, comrade Fauvet, will produce a quotation from Cunhal saying anything like that — for, as I pointed out, the reaction of the PCP was quite the opposite. Once this course was rejected the PCP had no alternative but to develop its own class collaborationist plan, centred around its relationship with the Armed Forces Movement, which required a thoroughly sectarian stance towards the Socialist Party. No amount of verbal sugar-coating from Cunhal can cover over the blatantly sectarian political practice of the PCP in this period: typified by such measures as the exclusion of the SP leaders from the May Day demo held after the elections and the later attempt to physically obstruct the Socialist Party's national demonstration by setting up barricades on the outskirts of Lisbon.

If we look a little closer at Cunhal's statement, offered by Fauvet as a model of the PCP's anti-sectarianism, even the sugar-coating looks pretty thin. For what does it say? That PCP members should not adopt sectarian attitudes that would prevent cooperation with other sections 'once those sections show themselves genuinely prepared to combine their efforts with those of the Communists'. In other words, if non-CP workers come pounding on the door of the PCP headquarters begging to take part in PCP initiatives, Party militants should refrain from kicking them in the balls!

The problem was that PCP members were doing just that. Part of the PCP leadership's manoeuvres in this period was to use the prestige of their alliance with the AFM to try to drive a wedge

between the SP leaders and their membership. But the PCP ranks, not fully understanding the subtle dialectics of Cunhal's class collaborationism, often carried through the logic of their leadership's sectarianism and adopted a hostile stance to the SP ranks. (It is no coincidence that Cunhal should have chosen Vila Franca de Xira to deliver this lecture, for this is a centre where the SP has an important base among the industrial working class and where the local SP membership were known to be restless about Soares' rightward course.)

A revolutionary workers party would not have limited itself to passively waiting for converts from the SP ranks. It would have launched a fight for the leadership of the masses under SP influence by mounting a major campaign around clear and concrete demands on the SP leadership to unite around specific, practical measures. But the PCP never made such a move — because to do so would have flown in the face of its class collaborationist schemes.

The 10 August meeting of the PCP Central Committee is in fact the clearest evidence of its total political bankruptcy. Here was a major meeting of the highest body of the PCP — accompanied by the fanfare of a press conference to publicise its decisions and a special edition of the PCP paper *Avante* devoted to its proceedings. It took place at a time when the PCP and the revolutionary left throughout the country were facing a wave of physical attacks from reactionaries.

I offer a challenge to comrade Fauvet: produce a single statement from this crucial meeting of the PCP leadership which maps out a clear-cut initiative towards the SP leadership aimed at winning the ranks of the SP membership away from Soares' reactionary ploys. This would be a quotation worth reading.

If you can produce it I shall readily admit that my article was 'ill informed'. If you cannot, then you confirm out of your own mouth the impotency and bankruptcy of the PCP at this decisive juncture.

If one needed further evidence of this, we have only to look at the situation in Portugal today. The pro-capitalist forces are trying to assemble a concerted scheme to restore and stabilise capitalist institutions in the economy and the state. What is the PCP doing about this? At the moment it is simply debating whether or not to take part in this reactionary project!

'Republica' and 1917

Dear Comrades,

I have found your coverage of the *Republica* affair in Portugal very interesting, particularly the references to parallels with Russia in 1917. But it seems to me that some of your correspondents (eg. comrades Cunvin and Foster in *Red Weekly* 28 August) approach the question of the working class and the press in rather a formal way.

Comrades Cunvin and Foster say that there can be no direct comparison because the extract from Trotsky you printed (*History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol 1 — Sphere Books pp 227—28) dealt only with the suppression of the *Monarchist* press by the Petrograd Soviet — a body described as 'fully representative of the Russian proletariat' by Cunvin.

For a start, the Petrograd Soviet in early March was hardly 'fully representative of the proletariat'. The 'Executive Committee' which initially operated in the name of the Soviet was little more than a self-appointed group of what Trotsky called the 'radical intelligentsia' — who abstained from the actual struggle in February 1917, and then tried to harvest its fruit by cashing in on the prestige the Soviet had won in 1905.

Even when some sort of representative body came into existence it was, in Trotsky's words, 'obviously distorted'. For instance, although the Petrograd working class outnumbered the soldiers by at least four-to-one, there were only two worker-delegates for every five soldiers in the Soviet.

This merely underlines the fact that

it is necessary to look at each specific situation to understand whether any particular action benefits the working class, rather than attempting to lay down so-called principles about press freedom or the absolute sovereignty of soviets, or whatever.

Ironically enough this is graphically illustrated in an episode recounted by Trotsky just a few pages later (p 264) in the *History*. Compare his reaction to the vicious attacks by sections of the international workers' movement on the action of the *Republica* workers:

'Simultaneously with "Order No. 1", the Executive Committee [of the Petrograd Soviet, no less]....sent to the printer, by way of antidote, an appeal to the soldiers, which under the pretext of condemning lynch law for officers, demanded the soldiers' subordination to the old commanding staff. The typesetters simply refused to set up this document. Its democratic authors were beside themselves with indignation: where are we headed for?'

'It would be a mistake to imagine, however, that the typesetters were longing for bloody reprisals upon officers. The demand for subordination to the czarist commanding staff on the second day after the revolution, seemed to them to be merely opening the door to the counter-revolution. Of course, the typesetters exceeded their rights. But they did not feel themselves to be only typesetters. It was a question, in their opinion, of the life of the revolution.'

TOM MARTIN, London.



Soldiers on guard outside the offices of *Republica*.

'Republica' again... and the Socialist Party

Dear Comrade,

Before your correspondents leap to criticise *Red Weekly* for its support of the takeover of the Portuguese paper *Republica* they should, I think, relate the incident to experiences of the British working class.

It is worth recalling that what sparked off the 1926 General Strike was the refusal by printworkers on the *Daily Mail* to produce an edition containing

a particularly virulent editorial against trade unionism. The Government used this as a pretext for breaking off negotiations with the TUC General Council.

Up till now I have not read, at least from socialists, any criticism of the conduct of the *Daily Mail* printworkers. Would your correspondent, George Cunvin, describe them of being guilty of syndicalism, like the staff of *Republica*? Similarly would he condemn the printers on the London *Evening Standard* who, a few years ago — at a time when violence was being used against power workers during a work-to-rule — refused to produce



Labour Party General Secretary Ron Hayward welcomes Soares to Britain last year. Now imperialism hopes international social democracy will help save its bacon in Portugal.

Ford told the truth?

Dear Comrades,
I am concerned by what I see as a mis-estimation by *Red Weekly* of two linked factors in the Portuguese revolution: the possible roles of US and British imperialisms. In your issue of 21 August covering Ford's statement that the US was unable to intervene in events in Portugal, and that the 'safeguarding of democracy' was the responsibility of the European powers, you suggest that he was merely trying to cover up the filthy plots of 'nine CIA operatives in Lisbon' (nine!). I will argue that for once the old man was telling the truth.

About a week before Ford made his remark, Ernest Mandel wrote in *Inprecor* that 'American imperialism is now incapable...of playing the role of world policeman by sending troops to intervene in ongoing revolutions and civil wars', and stressed the new importance of 'economic pressure...of attempts at starving out the revolution'. The US adopted this technique in Chile combined with support for reactionary forces, using its considerable economic and CIA links with Chile. Such links, however, are not now strong enough for a similar intervention by the US into Portugal.

Until the coup last year, Portugal was a low priority for the CIA. The latter's only links were with a section of the state apparatus, the PIDE secret police, that was untouched by — and apparently ignorant of — the developing radicalism in the army. The PIDE spent most of its energies against the Portuguese Communist Party, which played no direct part in the preparations for the coup. When the PIDE was broken up and its agents jailed after the coup, the CIA was left without contacts, and was completely unable to anticipate the ambiguous attitude the Armed Forces Movement would adopt to the resulting mass upsurges.

At the same time, Portuguese capitalism has for centuries had its closest and most constant economic and political links with British capitalism. British investment in Portugal itself amounts to over £1 billion, and the links — particularly in the large and traditional port



Wilson gets the line from Ford at the Helsinki summit.

wine and cork industries — are very close as a result of generations of intermarriage. Thus as Kenneth Maxwell points out in a very informative article in the *New York Review* of May 29: 'According to well-placed British sources the CIA is now relying heavily on British intelligence for information about and contact with the new regime.'

Ford needed to use the platform of Helsinki to convince the social democratic leaders that things really have changed. Remember Wilson's declaration that he had been 'brutally frank' to the Portuguese delegation?

Ford knew that Wilson would be terrified of the effect his active sabotage of a European revolution could have on the working class base of his party, and that he had an over-full load of domestic problems on his plate. But with exposure in Chile and defeat in Vietnam, then pre-revolution in Portugal, the US part of world imperialism cannot at present police the world by itself.

Mandel pointed out that no other imperialist country 'is today capable of substituting for momentarily debilitated

American imperialism'. But this consideration does not prevent Ford — finding US imperialism uniquely impotent before what could be the biggest blow to its power since 1917 — from cajoling Wilson into the driving seat, backed by European social democracy and the US.

Portugal must not become another Chile. *If it does* we can be sure that as soon as the repression has died down to a steady rumble in the back-streets and prisons, several Portuguese capitalists will be slipping off to London to breathe their discreet but fervent thanks to their old friends over here.

The right-wing Tory 'Portuguese lobby', British imperialist interests and Wilson's Government will be horribly alarmed if, in response to their attempts to pull the fat out of the fire in Portugal, the far left succeeds in mobilising sections of the Labour left and its mass base against what they are doing. *Red Weekly* accordingly should sharpen its focus in its coverage of the role of Wilson and the right; agitation of deadly accuracy is called for!
PETER TUNNEY, Aberdeen.

an edition with a Jak cartoon depicting the typical trade unionist as a moronic criminal?

Comrades Cunvin and Foster should realise that there is a short step between refusing to publish lies and distortions on the one hand, and actually printing the truth yourself on the other.

The case of *Republica* has to be considered in the Portuguese context. It must be seen against the backdrop of the burning of the offices of trade unions and left-wing organisations in the north. Many of these crimes have been perpetrated by people purporting to be socialists. The Portuguese Socialist Party has taken no measures to stop what is being done in its name. Instead it has indulged in a smear campaign against the reds. It was because the staff of *Republica* refused to associate itself with these sinister activities that the paper was taken over.

While I am not accusing comrades Cunvin and Foster of accepting the traditional capitalist belief in the sacred rights of private property, they nevertheless are making genuflections in that direction. In a country like Portugal, where workers are seizing private property right, left and centre, they appear to be pleading: 'But leave these newspaper offices alone.'

Comrade Cunvin's characterisation of the staff of *Republica* as syndicalist is singularly inappropriate. Many of the staff, I gather, belong to revolutionary parties, and all of them understand the need to smash the existing Portuguese state. Indeed, the banner of *Republica* with the paper's staff marching behind it, could be seen on the most memorable demonstration I have ever participated in. This took place in Lisbon on 20 August, when 50,000 workers called for the overthrow of the Government and for power to be placed in the hands of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

The very real threat to Portuguese capitalism has sent shivers down the spines of all reactionaries. Small businessmen and fascists, whose political ideas have been discredited, find that they can operate openly by using the Portuguese Socialist Party for camouflage. Indeed, the PSP is at the present time one of the main props for the existing social order.

That is why President Ford, after expressing alarm over the situation in Portugal, went on to praise the efforts of Harold Wilson and other European social democratic leaders for coming to the aid of the Portuguese Socialist Party. At Helsinki, Wilson promised that the social democrats' contributions to the PSP would match those of the Soviet bloc to the Portuguese Communist Party 'pound for pound'. As he has since put the Soviet contribution at £4 million a month, one can only assume that the same enormous sum is now being sent to Mario Soares.

A simple mathematical calculation shows the magnitude of such assistance. Mario Soares has claimed that the PSP has 50,000 members, so that £4 million per month would be the equivalent of £80 per member. As the average Portuguese worker only gets a monthly wage of around £50, this would mean that Soares was receiving more per member as a subsidy than most Portuguese families have to live on! Probably never

before in history can there have been an example of political subversion on such a lavish scale as that apparently being carried out by Harold Wilson and his cronies.

A further intriguing question is: where is the money coming from? The Labour Party is currently in an acute financial crisis. Its general fund showed a £205,620 deficit last year. Could it be that Harold Wilson is acting as an intermediary, funding American money to support the side of reaction in Portugal? An interesting pamphlet, *The Labour Party and the CIA*, has been published by Radical Research Services. It revealed that politicians like Callaghan and Denis Healey have been active in CIA-front organisations. It also stated that American money has been used to back right-wing organisations in the struggle against the left in Britain. One can but wonder whether the same thing is now happening in Portugal.

But this, unfortunately, must remain merely speculation. What can be said, however, is that if Harold Wilson is really concerned about freedom, then he should free Des Warren, and if there is any spare cash floating about, he should send it to the Clay Cross councillors.

RAY CHALLINOR, Whitley Bay.

Chile used as cover by reformists

Dear Comrades,

Much as I agree with the views put forward in the article on 'Portugal — Will it be another Chile?' (*Red Weekly*, 11 September), I think you should also have explained why such comparisons are being made now, and why revolutionaries should be careful about how they use them.

Recently the Portuguese Communist Party — using its dominant position in the media and in the Fifth Division of the army (the propaganda unit) — seems to have deliberately exaggerated the extent of the counter-revolutionary violence in the north and the threat of a right-wing coup, which as your article points out is not on the cards. Why is this?

Faced with its growing isolation — due simultaneously to its sectarian antics in relation to the Socialist Party and its refusal to develop organs of working class power independent of the Armed Forces Movement and the capitalist state — the CP has taken a 'left' turn using the Chile analogy as a cover for its manoeuvres. While the 'united front' formed with the revolutionary left was allegedly against reaction, in reality the CP used this exercise to bolster Goncalves' Fifth Provisional Government and add weight to its crumbling strategy in relation to the MFA.

Rather than confront the reformist leaders of the Socialist Party — who are partly responsible for stirring up the violence in the North — through a clear call for a workers' united front against

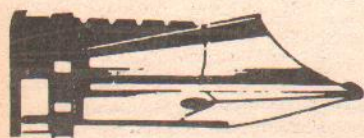
reaction, the CP was indulging in sectarian manoeuvres to strengthen its position with the dominant sections of the MFA over and against that of the Socialist Party. Sections of the revolutionary left seem to have got taken for a ride, for a time at least, in the course of this process.

It is also worth remembering what strategy the CP would put forward in Portugal if they were actually faced with the threat of a Chile-type coup. It would be for the *slowing down* of the revolutionary process. Indeed it has already said as much, and one of the few criticisms that various Communist Parties have made of the Chilean experience is that the move 'towards socialism' was too fast! In fact it was precisely the slowing down of the revolutionary process in Chile which led to hesitations and divisions inside the working class, and gave reaction the time to organise and prepare itself for the coup.

We should remember that the PCP and other Communist Parties, including the British, use the Chile analogy in Portugal today because in an immensely favourable situation they do not want to lead a struggle for power. By suggesting that the key task is to 'fight reaction', they aim for a multi-class alliance of all those forces that are supposedly prepared to defend 'democracy' regardless of their basic class interests. That is the sure way to create another Chile — and something revolutionaries must constantly explain.
MIKE GANSILLO, London



Right-wing violence in Chile prior to the 1973 coup. 'Slowing down the revolution' only gave the right more time to organise.



PORTUGAL FORUM



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)



PRO-ABORTIONISTS CHALLENGE SPUC DOCTORS

Representatives from National Abortion Campaign groups and hospitals throughout London picketed the headquarters of the Postgraduate Medical Federation last Thursday, demanding that the PMF come clean to all doctors and the press on the true nature of a forthcoming conference on abortion it is supporting.

This conference, due to take place in Birmingham this Saturday 20 September, has been organised by doctors masquerading as 'respects of human life', and is nothing less than a front for the leading medical lights of the anti-abortion organisation SPUC. With the collusion of the Birmingham Postgraduate Medical Federation, funds are now forthcoming from the DHSS to pay for any doctor who wishes to attend this so-called 'educational event'.

Encouraging such well-known anti-abortionists as Professor Hugh McClaren ('I despise doctors who do abortion on demand'), and Myra Sim ('There are never any psychiatric grounds for abortion') to organise against women's health rights in this way is a gross abuse of NHS funds. It will not go unchallenged, as NAC activists will be taking part in a mass picket outside the conference hall itself.

The political importance of such mobilisations by the National Abortion Campaign in the fight for free abortion on demand cannot be over-emphasised. Firstly, it is doctors such as these who take advantage of their powerful positions in hospitals



SPUC doctor Hugh McClaren—'despises doctors who do abortion on demand'

— based on their monopoly of medical knowledge — to impose their moralistic and backward ideas on women who need abortions, denying them help under the NHS and forcing them to suffer the consequences: private profiteers, back street bunglers, or unwanted kids.

No wonder their strongholds — like Leeds, Birmingham, and Glasgow — have the lowest NHS abortion rates in the country. Here too is the reason why the new out-patient abortion clinic opened in Cardiff some years ago has never been used.

A woman's right to choose will leave no place for them in the health service, unless they accept their true role as merely technicians placing their skills at the disposal of their patients. Demands for their sacking, as have already been raised at the Hammersmith Hospital, will bring this point home.

Secondly, the weight that doctors like McClaren lend to SPUC and its activities gives this anti-abortion and anti-working class campaign added credibility. In the trade union movement particularly, where SPUC organises through 'Catholic Action', there is a real danger of increasing the divisions that already exist on the questions of women's oppression.

Doctors on SPUC platforms play a part in winning more backward workers to an anti-abortion position. At all times it is important to take up the fight for women's rights within the labour movement, but it is even more necessary now at a time of increasing attacks on the working class from all sides. These attacks can only be resisted by uniting the whole working class against them, a struggle which can be aided by strengthening the labour movement against SPUC's propaganda, with an understanding of why free abortion on demand is so important.

HEALTH CARE

Thirdly, by taking action against the use of NHS funds for an anti-abortion conference, NAC is moving towards questioning all aspects of the financing and running of the health service. In the present situation of massive cut-backs in all health facilities, especially those for women, the fight for money and services to meet the real needs of the working class won't just be a struggle over what happens to a few thousand pounds here and there. It will involve developing a socialist strategy for health care that can be implemented through the activity and organisation of the local labour movement.

Only by linking up with such campaigns can supporters of free abortion on demand in NAC have a real prospect of success in the face of future parliamentary manoeuvres by the Wilson Government. The invitation to NAC groups to participate in the forthcoming MCAPP conference on the NHS cuts can be a first step in forging such links.

Berry Beaumont
Details of the mass rally against the SPUC doctors' conference on 20 September can be obtained from Birmingham NAC — phone 021-429-1154.

Energetic Campaign to Build NAC Conference

Preparations for the National Abortion Campaign conference are really getting under way as a result of initiatives being organised in the areas.

David Young, MP for Bolton West, has consistently voted in favour of the restrictive measures of the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill. But Mr Young found that he had a fight on his hands with his local party. Every ward in his constituency has gone on record in opposition to restrictive legislation. Young is now muttering about the fact that he may have to change his position.

Such action — taking the fight into the so-called domain of the right-wing MPs — obviously lays the ground for building real support, based on action, for the conference on 18-19 October.

In Sheffield Brightside Constituency Labour Party the campaign is also hotting up. A member of the Brightside Party reports: 'The discussion around abortion has been one of the most major debates that we have held inside the CLP for years.' Supporters of the NAC conference are taking the issue into the local labour movement and are expecting to get representation not only from Labour parties and women's groups but also from shop stewards' committees and trade union bodies.

PICKETS

In Leeds a picket has been organised at the General Infirmary, where the domination of certain Roman Catholic gynaecologists has made sure that abortions at this hospital are few and far between. The pickets are demanding that the hospital administration carries out the terms of the 1967 Abortion Act.

Nor are actions lagging behind in Newcastle. A teach-in has been organised in a working class district for Saturday 4 October, and Labour parties and union branches have

been mailed to attend. NAC will also be active in the conference called by the Newcastle Trades Council on the Working Women's Charter, and will be urging support there for the NAC conference.

Supporters in Nottingham have organised a public meeting accompanied by street theatre for 4 October. A film show is being held at the University on the same date, and the campaign is supported by the Market Ward of the Nottingham Labour Party and the Calverton branch of the National Union of Mineworkers.

T.U. SUPPORT

Donna Hart, an activist in the Birmingham NAC, reports: 'Birmingham are holding a local conference on 20 September, and we will be picketing the doctors who are fronting for SPUC when they hold their conference on "Respect for Human Life".' Among those supporting the campaign are the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions shop stewards at Rover (Solihull), who will be sending two delegates to both the Birmingham and London conferences.

Scotland has also not been slow to take up the campaign. Not only will groups be attending the 18-19 October conference from Scotland, but Scottish NAC groups will be holding their own conference later.

These are just a few of the examples of the energetic campaign being waged to build the conference. They show the way that such a conference can be rooted in the labour movement and can be built not just by making propaganda but by taking actions which show the way to fight for a 'woman's right to choose'.

Conference to decide on demo

Following an intense debate in the National Abortion Campaign groups throughout the country, a national planning meeting on 6 September decided that the call for a November demonstration first put out by the International Socialists would not be the best way to take the campaign forward. The vote at the meeting was tied, 29 groups voting each way. It was clear to all that with such deep divisions in the campaign, it would not be possible to build a successful demonstration.

Supporters of the position arguing against the November demonstration — including the International Marxist Group — put forward the following resolution to the meeting introduced by Penny Cooper of the NUS Executive:

'That any decision concerning a mass national action should be made by a

national conference of NAC. This meeting therefore submits the following resolution to Conference:

"This Conference notes the success of the 21 June demonstration where 25,000 marched against the Abortion (Amendment) Bill. This kind of action is essential in building NAC. Although the White Bill, as such, will almost certainly fall, it is clear that there will be more moves in the next parliamentary session to further restrict a woman's right to choose. The campaign resolves to resist such moves and to fight for the implementation of the 'Woman's Right to Choose' demand. Conference therefore agrees to discuss the most suitable date and focus for the next national demonstration, setting in motion the necessary campaigning activity to ensure a success even beyond that of 21 June."

—WHAT'S ON—

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Crisis in Angola'. Tues 23 September, 7.30pm, Conway Hall.

NEW N.A.C. HEADQUARTERS: now at 30 Camden Road, London NW1 (tel. 485 4303).

N.A.C. CONFERENCE: 18-19 October at Imperial College, London. Registration £1.50 for students, claimants, one-parent families, etc. Write to 30 Camden Rd., London for registration forms.

NEW NEWSPAPER: published by NAC will be available by 21 Sept.—10p each, pre-paid bulk orders of 50+, 8p each. Make sure you place your order now — write to NAC at above address.

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.

DEFEND THE 14+ Liverpool Support Group public meeting—including Pat Arrowsmith on 'The Trial and its Implications'. Stanley House, Upper Parliament St, Sun 21 September, 2pm.

SOUTH LONDON Support Group of Solidarity Campaign with the Portuguese Working Class public meeting Thurs 18 Sept, Brixton Town Hall, 7.45pm. Chair: Ted Knight (Norwood CLP). Speakers include Judith Hart MP, Basil Davidson, Portuguese worker, and member of Spanish Solidarity Committee. Entry free.

MERSEYSIDE Association of Trades Councils International Women's Year Committee conference: 'Women's Struggle in Chile, Portugal, Ireland and Vietnam'. Speakers include Carmen Castillo (Chile), Carmen Miranda (PWCC), Ann Speed (Dublin shop steward), and Vietnamese woman. Sunday 5 Oct., 10.30am-4pm. Creche. SOGAT Hall, 254 County Road, Liverpool 4. Tickets 25p and other details from: News from Nowhere, 48 Manchester Street, Liverpool 1.

ABORTION CAMPAIGN Benefit Festival, Sunday 21 September on Tooting Common, SW17, from 2.30-10pm. Top bands (including Soft Machine), theatre groups, speakers, etc. More information from 870-1487.

PORTUGAL: The Building of Popular Power. Big Flame open meeting, Sat 20 Sept, 7.30pm, The Rugby Tavern, Rugby St (off Lambs Conduit St), Holborn, WC1. PWCC speaker, and worker just over from Portugal. Slides. Drinks. Admission free.

JUST OUT: Portugal Special 2 (5p + 10p). Also 'Portugal: A Blaze of Freedom' (20p + 10p post) now reprinted. Big Flame, 79c Anerley Rd., London SE20 (01-659 3895).

WORKERS FIGHT readers' meeting: 'The Collapse of the Fourth International and the Tasks of Workers Fight'. Speaker: Sean Matgamna. Sun 21 Sept, 7.30pm, at the 'George', Liverpool Road, London N1 (Angel underground).

— Red Books News! —

MARX-ENGELS SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE

This covers a selection of the voluminous correspondence between Marx and Engels, and some from them to other people.

Lenin considered the correspondence to be very important. As he put it: 'The extremely rich theoretical content of Marxism is graphically revealed, because in their letters Marx and Engels return again and again to the most diverse aspects of their doctrine.' Price £2 (post 37p).

LENIN'S SELECTED WORKS

These three volumes cover practically all the important writings of Lenin: 'On Karl Marx'; 'What is to be Done?'; 'One Step Forward...'; 'Two Tactics...'; 'Lessons of the Moscow Uprising'; 'The Right of Nations to Self-Determination'; 'Imperialism...'; 'The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution'; etc. are all in Volume One.

'Letters from Afar'; 'April Theses'; 'On Slogans'; 'Lessons of the Revolution'; 'The Impending Catastrophe...'; 'State and Revolution'; 'Marxism and Insurrection'; 'Can the Bolsheviks retain State Power'; are all in Volume Two.

'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky'; 'A Great Beginning'; 'The State'; 'Economics and Politics in the era of Dictatorship of the Proletariat'; 'Left-Wing Communism'; 'Theses for the

2nd Congress of the Comintern'; 'Once a Again on the Trade Unions...'; 'Better Fewer, But Better'; etc. are among those in Volume Three.

The volumes cost only £1.25 each. Post per volume is 46p; post on all three volumes costs 62p.

MARX-ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS Number four in this series contains two entire books (*The Holy Family* and *Condition of the Working Class in England*) plus a large number of smaller items.

The Holy Family, which has not been available for some time, is important because it marked the definitive break by Marx and Engels with the Young Hegelians (and, therefore, Hegelianism). In it Marx and Engels go over the entire spectrum of philosophical questions, and systematically develop the materialist conception of history.

Condition of the Working Class in England is very important because Engels was able here to demonstrate that the working class, despite its then squalor and misery (ie. the surface appearance) is the historically progressive class upon which falls the task of taking humanity forward by overthrowing the capitalist system (ie. the revolutionary essence). Price £3 (post 46p).

RED BOOKS, 97 CALEDONIAN ROAD, LONDON N.1.

DEEP CONCERN IN LABOUR RANKS OVER HEALTH SERVICE

The resolutions that appear on the agenda for the Labour Party Conference indicate the deep concern in the labour movement over the crisis inside the National Health Service.

The resolutions take up almost every aspect of the crisis in the NHS, from private practice to the role of the drug companies. Many of them call for policies that the left should be fighting for to defend the NHS against the attacks of the Wilson Government.

The demand for an end to the cuts in NHS expenditure, and the immediate injection of funds into the NHS, is the most common theme. As the resolution from the Socialist Medical Association points out, these steps are necessary to 'recruit new staff and resurrect the building programme'. They add: 'In future, health expenditure should be linked to price and wage indices to protect the NHS from further cuts.'

Such a policy is essential if inflation is not to eat away any increase of funds put into the NHS. Equally essential is the nationalisation of the drugs and medical supply industries, which comes up time and time again in the resolutions.

The problem, however, is that these resolutions do not spell out how to fight for such policies. A typical example is the resolution from Southampton Test CLP. This starts off: 'This conference notes with dismay the growing inadequacy of the NHS through lack of money, bureaucratic organisation, and leeching by the forces of profit.'

Nowhere in this resolution, nor in most of the others, is the blame for this put on those responsible. There is not one word of criticism of the Wilson Government which has imposed the cuts in spending, and carried through the re-organisation and rationalisation of the NHS by such 'bureaucratic organisations' as the Area Health Authorities.

No Private Practice

The resolutions in general give implicit endorsement to the Castle proposals on private practice, ignoring the fact that these proposals, whilst phasing out private practice inside the NHS, allow private medicine and the building of private hospitals outside the NHS. The cuts and resulting deterioration of the NHS in itself also gives a shot in the arm to the plans of the insurance companies to create a national private health service.

Even in strong union firms, management can get away with 'perks' such as private health insurance, simply because many working class people realise that this is a way to get treatment at the time it's needed — something a run-down NHS cannot do. The answer to this type of class-collaboration is given in the Croydon Central CLP resolution which says, 'nationalise without compensation all private hospitals and dental clinics', thus opposing all private practice.

Just 'exposing' the Government is not enough. The class-collaboration of the Government's policies on health runs right through their policies on incomes, unemployment, education, abortion, and most recently on Portugal. Any real fight to defend the health service from the capitalist policies of the Wilson Government has to be taken up as part of the fight to remove the Wilson leadership and smash all those capitalist policies.

The resolutions to the Labour Party conference do little to mobilise within the working class for this. Quite the opposite. All the resolutions rely totally on the Labour Government to implement these

— by
Rich Palser

policies. Very few resolutions so much as mention the need for solidarity with workers struggling for such policies. Yet a resolution passed at conference calling for the opening of the books of the drug companies, for instance, would be a big step towards mobilising the working class around the need for the nationalisation of these firms. If the workers' movement were to begin to examine the way in which research is carried out according to what is profitable and expose before

the gaze of the whole of the working class the anarchy of the pharmaceutical industry under capitalism, a gigantic step forward would have been made in organising whole sections of the working class in the fight for the nationalisation of the drug companies and for workers' control over that industry.

The members of the Labour Party who support the resolutions defending the NHS against the Wilson-led attacks can help to put bite into these resolutions by building for and attending the MCAPP Conference — 'Fight the Cuts in the NHS' — being held in London on 11 October. The Conference aims to lay the basis for a broad united response in the workers' movement which will not only resist the cut-backs in the NHS, but will advance the fight for a health service based on the needs of the working class.

Days of Hope

'I'm no pacifist. I'll fight in a war. But I'll fight in the only war that counts — the class war.' These are the words of the revolutionary unknown soldier in the first of four historical films entitled *Days of Hope* being shown on television (18 and 25 September, 2 October at 9.25 on BBC1).

The films promise to be more than a view of decade of working class history. They are not just about the working class. They are of the working class. They cover the turbulent years from 1916 to the 1926 General Strike when Britain was closer to socialist revolution than at any time before or since. And the issues they raise — the 1914-18 imperialist war, the Irish rebellion, the miners' struggles, the capitulation of the first Labour Government, and the General Strike — are of burning relevance to the problems facing the working class today.

The producer Tony Garnett explains: 'We start with the idea that history is contemporary, and that each generation invents its own history — that history is not some final fixed thing — and we therefore pick out a historical situation which, in the tension between present and past events, may throw a useful and positive light on the future.'

The style of the first film, '1916 — Joining Up' was tight and spare. There was no flashy camera work, no didactic statements of principles, just the camera rolling and cutting away in documentary style from one scene to the next — a technique already perfected by Allen, Garnett and Loach in previous films like *Cathy Come Home*, *Kes* and *Family Life*. Nevertheless, the message was dramatically brought home.

CONSCIENCE

Set in a Northern rural community in the period immediately after the Act introducing conscription, the major figure is Philip Hargreaves, a Quaker. The Quakers, like most members of the Independent Labour Party, opposed conscription solely on the grounds of individual conscience.

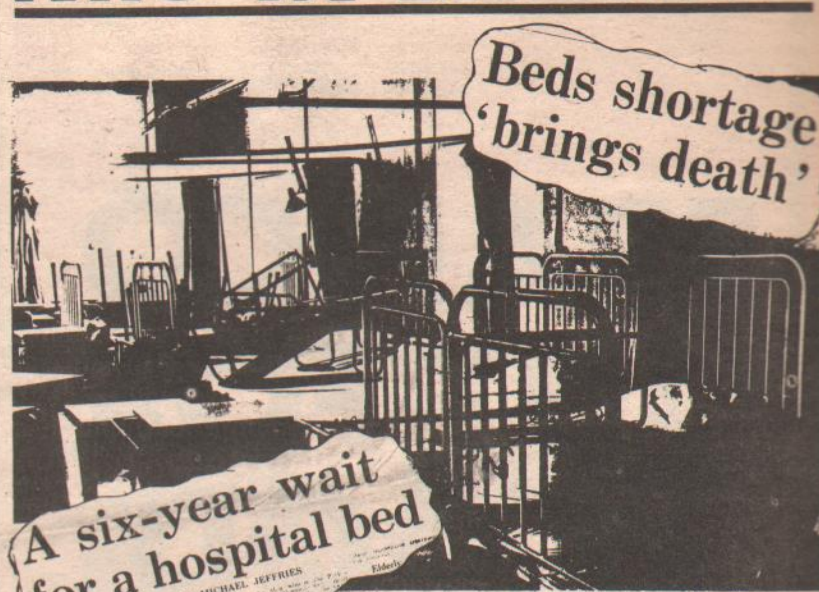
Right through the film, Hargreaves is faced with the question — 'What makes you so bloody special?' His father-in-law tells his son Ben, who though only 17 is anxious to join

the Army, that Philip's 'brain's a bit too active — that's what comes of reading too many books'. But the judge who sends him into the Army is not so sympathetic. He says: 'Conscience makes cowards of us all. What you need is discipline'.

Whilst the judges, the priests and the trade union officials who bless the war sit at home in safety, Hargreaves is subjected to the stupefying brutality of the British Army — dragged through an assault course at home, then tied with others to posts in no-man's-land at the front because they have refused to act as auxiliaries.

Compared with the sheep-like response of most workers, Hargreaves' response is undeniably brave. This is beautifully expressed when

NHS IN DANGER!



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

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

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

New sponsors for the MCAPP Conference include the Socialist Medical Association, the Greater Manchester Branch of the SMA, Frenchay Hospital Joint Stewards' Committee (Bristol), West Ham Trades Council, ASTMS Bristol Health Branch, and COHSE Branch Stafford Hospital.

New delegates have been elected from Bethnal Green & Stepney Trades Council, Battersea & Wandsworth Trades Council, Sheffield Health Students Union, Bath Trades Council, South West Region of the Trades Union Congress, Oxford COHSE, Cardiff COHSE, Eastbourne Labour Party, NALGO Kings College Hospital and Sheffield ASTMS Steel Branch. With over four weeks to go, 51 delegates have now been elected.

the camera moves back from the platform at the recruitment rally to linger on a pen full of real sheep.

However it is this individual moral conscience, divorced from the class position held by the revolutionary soldier, which proves Hargreaves' undoing. When ideals begin to fade — Hargreaves thinks there is 'something of the divine in every human being' — moralism is replaced by cynicism; and this is to be Hargreaves' fate later on when he becomes a Labour MP. He is in fact typical of many of the early Labour pioneers, who are often said to have owed more to Non-conformism than to Marxism.

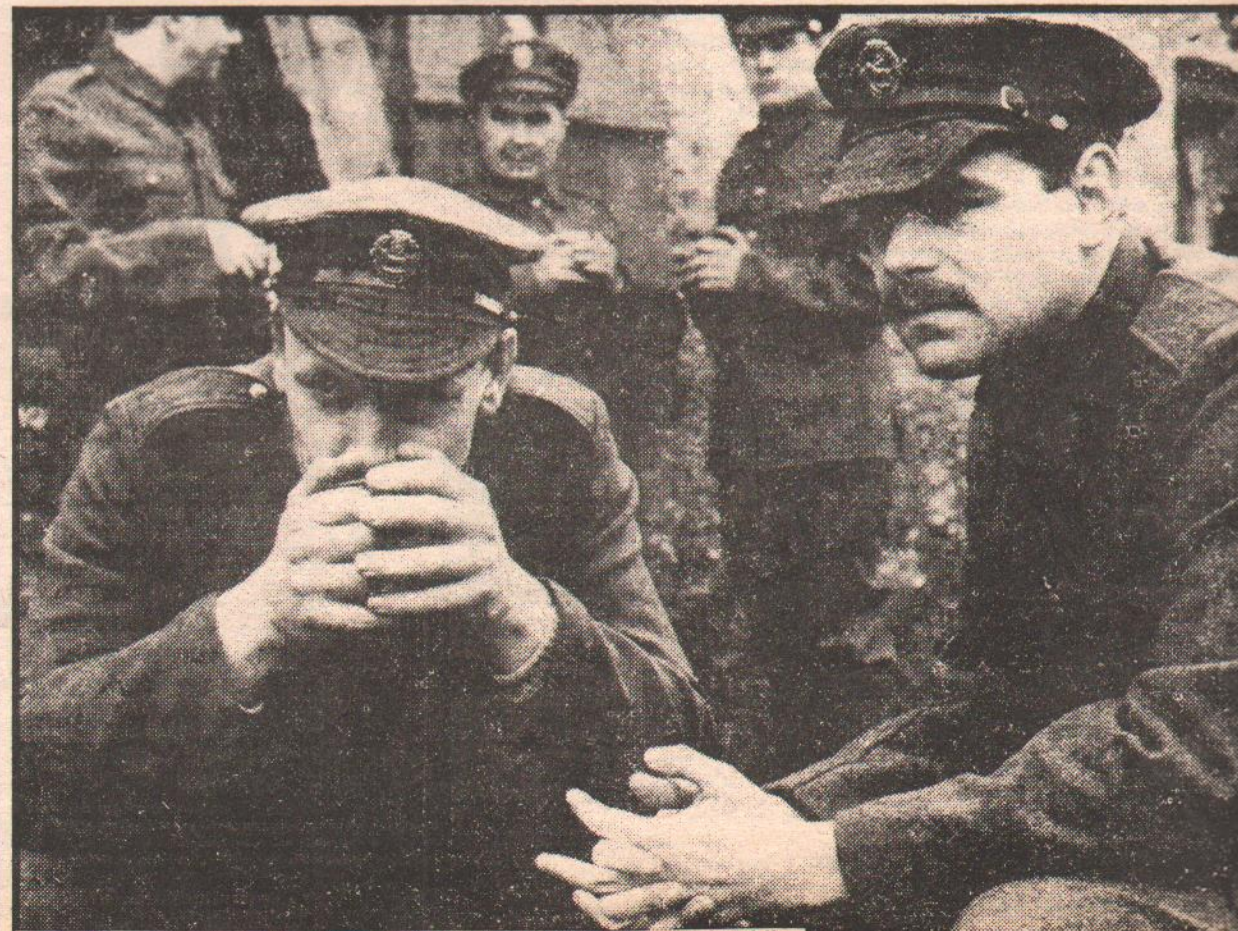
Hargreaves' brother-in-law Ben Matthews, on the other hand, completely lacks any such individual religious commitment. Along with millions of other working class people he is thus open to a much more thoroughgoing radicalisation by the experiences of the war, the

Russian Revolution, and the post-war struggles of the working class. Already the first film shows the contrast between his aspiration — to fight the Germans — and his actual assignment — to repress the Irish.

The British Army, then as now, comes over clearly as an army of occupation in Ireland, resented by everyone from the girl who puts the groping soldiers to shame by singing a rebel song, to the 10-year old boy who leads a soldier over a land mine. For the first time Ben is being forced to think about his actions and his experience.

Hopefully the remaining films will help us to learn why those 'Days of Hope' for British labour, which were born in the radicalisation of millions like Ben, never reached fruition in the British socialist revolution — and the lessons those experiences hold for us today.

James Drake



Philip Hargreaves (right) meets up with the revolutionary unknown soldier.

RED WEEKLY

FRANCO OUT FOR BLOOD

The Franco regime in Spain is out for blood. Three more militants — members of the Patriotic Anti-fascist Revolutionary Front (FRAP) — have been sentenced to execution on charges of killing a policeman. They join the two Basque militants Garmendia and Otaegui, in the death cells.

The trial of the five FRAP members — two others were sentenced to 30 and 25 years in jail — followed a well-worn pattern of black farce. All five retracted their 'confessions' when they appeared before the military tribunal, claiming that they had been extracted under torture. But the tribunal overruled all defence accusations of irregularities.

EXPLOSION

It also refused to hear any of the 28 defence witnesses, including some who claimed to have seen the shooting. The murder pistol was not presented as evidence, nor were ballistic or fingerprint reports allowed.

It appears, however, that the regime may now be manoeuvring to extricate itself from the tight corner in which it finds itself — faced on the one hand with the hard-line capitalists baying for blood, and on the other with the dangers of an explosion inside the workers' movement if the death sentences are actually carried out. This impression is strengthened by the decision of the Supreme Council of Military Justice to 'review' the trial of Garmendia and Otaegui before the case goes to final appeal.

This may well mean that the regime is hoping to murder the FRAP militants first — relying on the organisation's comparative lack of implantation in the broad workers' movement to mute the response — and then commute the sentences on Garmendia and Otaegui to life

imprisonment. Such a manoeuvre must be vigorously resisted by the international workers' movement. There must be not a single further victim of Franco's executioners!

Already a number of international actions have taken place in protest at the FRAP sentences. In Geneva, demonstrators immediately occupied the St Pierre Cathedral and hung a 35-ft high banner with the words 'No to death sentences' from the north tower. In London hundreds of people joined a protest demonstration on Saturday. In Strasbourg, scuffles erupted in the cathedral after anti-Franco demonstrators unfurled a banner denouncing the Catholic Church for doing nothing to stop the trials. In Marseilles, groups of militants disrupted traffic and burned an effigy of General Franco.

ATTENTION

Such actions are important in focussing attention on the present wave of terror in Spain. But they are not enough. The whole weight of the broad workers' movement must be brought to bear on the Franco regime.

It was mass action that saved the Basque militants from death in 1970. It can have the same effect today. But if it is not strenuously mobilised, we can be sure of one thing: the FRAP militants will not be the last to die under the screws of Franco's garotte.

John Marston



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Last week 19 socialists were arrested and charged with 'conspiracy to trespass' for occupying the offices of Iberia Airlines in London in protest against the death sentences passed on Basque militants Garmendia and Otaegui.

Despite the seriousness of the charge — it was the 'conspiracy' catch that got Des Warren three years — and its similarity with the charge of conspiracy levelled against 21 Iranians for occupying their own embassy earlier this year, the capitalist press has seen fit not to report the case. Its coverage of recent events in Spain has been equally sparse.

What is even more unacceptable is that this conspiracy of silence has been aided by the *Morning Star*, the

paper of the Communist Party. The *Star* has printed nothing on the occupation and resulting charges at the time of writing, although it ran a front-page lead on Spain last Saturday.

In order to build a broad-based campaign to demand the release of Spanish political prisoners it is vital to defend British militants when they take action against the hated Franco regime. This Friday, 19 September, a meeting starting at 7pm is being held at the St. Bride Institute, Bride Lane, London EC4 to discuss a defence campaign for the arrested militants. All working class organisations are invited to send representatives. Meanwhile, we print below the press statement issued by the 'Iberian 19' after they had been released on bail:

POLICE BACK FRANCO - 19 ARRESTS

Two Basque militants, Jose Antonio Garmendia and Angel Otaegui, are presently in jail in Spain awaiting imminent execution by the barbaric method of 'garrotting'.

After a peaceful demonstration in the Regent Street offices of Iberia Airlines calling on the Spanish Government to grant immediate clemency and halt the planned execution, 19 British socialists were arrested and charged with 'conspiring together and with other persons to enter as a trespasser the premises of the Iberia Airlines, 169 Regent Street, London W.1.

The nineteen, arrested at about 7.00 pm, Wednesday 10 September, were not charged until the early hours of the following morning. We wish to make it known that we consider the use of conspiracy laws in this case — as

in the recent cases of the Shrewsbury building workers and the Iranian 21 — to be a serious threat to the democratic liberties of the British working class.

The real 'conspirators' in this instance are not ourselves but the Franco regime in Spain, a regime which condemns political prisoners to death; has hundreds of political prisoners locked up in jail; does not permit the right to strike, to organise, or the freedom of expression; which in the last few weeks has closed down five newspapers whose views it did not like; and which, in the last few days, has shot five workers demonstrating in support of Garmendia and Otaegui.

Further, we must ask whether the British state and police are not also part of this conspiracy. The charge of conspiracy can only be meant to prevent further actions against the vicious policies of the Franco regime.

We demand that the Labour Government take a stand. We call on the Labour Government to:

1. publicly and unilaterally oppose the death sentences on Garmendia and Otaegui and all other Spanish political prisoners;
2. give its full backing to the resolution passed overwhelmingly at the recent Trades Union Congress, which called for 'support for those in Spain fighting for an end to Fascism and the establishment of democracy';
3. drop the charges on the Iberian 19, and end the use of the conspiracy laws.

Further we wish to state that the charges upon us will not deter us from fighting for the final overthrow of Franco's regime of fascist conspirators. We will continue to struggle within Britain for full solidarity to be given to the struggle of Spanish workers and in defence of all Spanish political prisoners.

HELP US CATCH THE BUS

Red Weekly is not the only one to be feeling the financial pinch. Last week three IMG members queuing for a bus found they had a strange companion in the queue. It was none other than Tory 'caveman' Sir Keith Joseph.

After trying to get three very full buses to stop — using the technique that the 'better class' normally uses for taxis — Sir Keith decided 'slumming' was over for the day. Out went the imperious hand and off he and his friends went in a taxi. Austerity is fine for the working class, but obviously too much of it is bad for Joseph and his ilk.

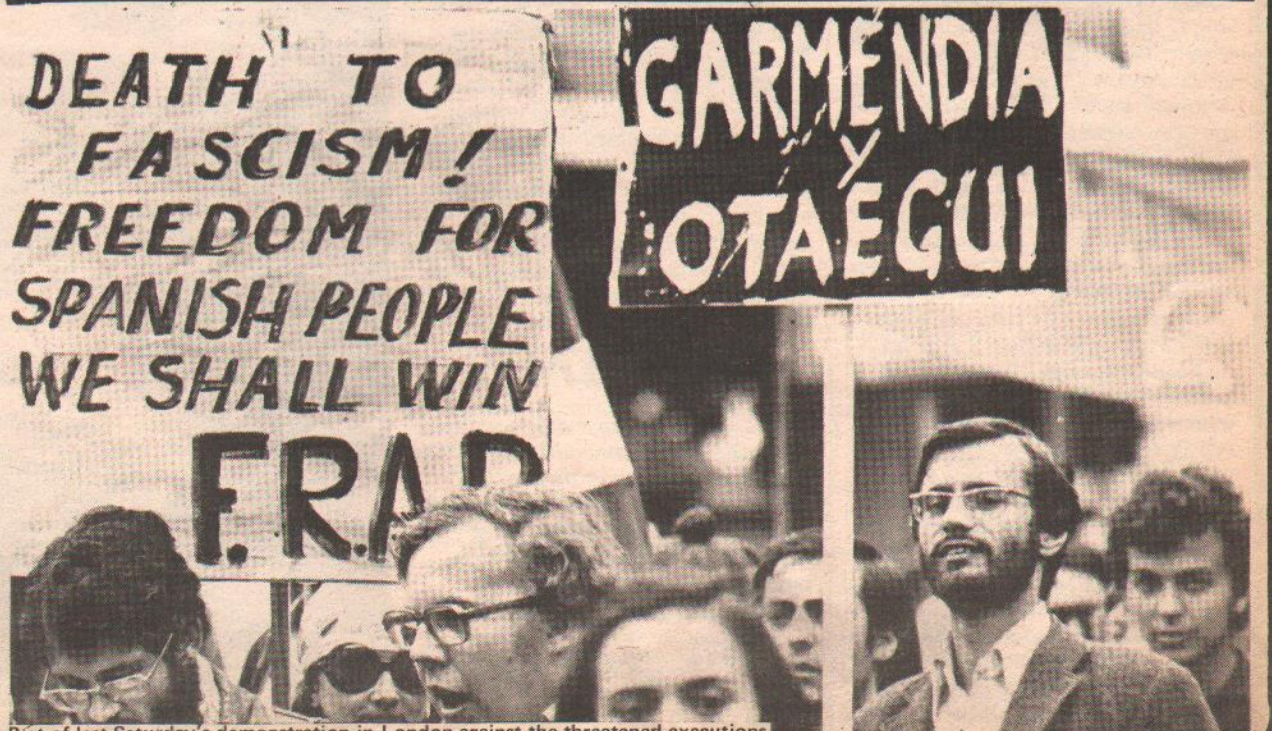
The problem for *Red Weekly* is that we cannot afford the 'taxi'. Our bills mount. Costs constantly rise, and our creditors insist on payment. We cannot raise an imperious, well-bred finger to hail a capitalist bank to bail us out. Only you, our readers, can make sure we don't miss the bus.

That is why we again appeal to you for every single penny you can afford. You know the address — 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. Address the envelope and enclose the money.



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

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



Part of last Saturday's demonstration in London against the threatened executions

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)