

# RED WEEKLY

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SOLIDARITY  
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WORKING CLASS  
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## DEMONSTRATION

### Under the Wilson government -

# UNEMPLOYMENT UP REAL WAGES DOWN

Wage-cuts and dole queues. That is what the right-wing leaders of the Labour Government and the Trades Union Congress offer. One and a quarter million people are unemployed — the highest figure for 30 years. By Christmas it will be at least 1½ million. At the same time the real value of wages and social security benefits is slumping.

Even the Confederation of British Industry estimates that real wages have fallen by 7.3 per cent over the last nine months. As the £6 limit begins to bite, conditions will get worse. The five million poor who already live below the poverty line will increase. This is the price the working class is paying for the pro-capitalist policies of the Wilson Government and the betrayals of the TUC.

## OPPOSITION

When rank and file workers do fight back they face the stubborn opposition of the union bureaucracy. For seven weeks, workers at Swan Hunters ship yards in Newcastle have been on strike for £8 now and £2 in November. Ever since the introduction of the £6 limit their full-time officials have demanded they go back to work. Whenever workers fight to defend their jobs, they face the assaults of the police on their picket lines and the repression of the Courts.

At Cammell Lairds shipyard at Birkenhead, eleven pickets were arrested last week as construction workers in occupation or on strike for the last six months attempted to stop coaches carrying scab labour enter the yards. Meanwhile, in Newcastle ten pickets arrested at the Eldon Square site in January are now going for trial, charged under the notorious 1936 Public Order Act.

Barely 18 months after the miners' strike swept aside the Tory Government's incomes policy and ousted Heath from office, the working class faces another anti-working class government trying to put into practice an incomes policy. This time it is aided and abet-

by

**JAMES DRAKE**

ted by the TUC.

The fight back must be started now. Beginning with the coming TUC annual conference, the millions of workers whose votes will be cast against the £6 limit have to be turned into a fighting force to defeat Wilson's capitalist policies. There must also be a fight to remove the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party and the TUC. At every level from strikes and demonstrations, to votes in the Labour Party and the trade unions, united action must be forged amongst all those who oppose the Healey measures.

In the place of these capitalist measures, the labour movement must fight for socialist measures. This means a policy of work-sharing with no loss of pay, nationalisation under workers' control of all firms creating redundancy, and a programme of public works to fight unemployment. A sliding scale of wages and benefits and social expenditure is the only way to defend the real value of working class incomes against inflation.

## TWIN SCOURGE

By uniting in struggle to fight for these demands the working class can beat the twin scourge of unemployment and inflation. It can also throw back the offensive of the Labour traitors. At the same time it can open up the road to socialism. This is the only way to defeat the capitalist crisis.



Police drag pickets away at Cammell Lairds shipyard last week — a scene that is likely to become increasingly familiar as workers step up the fight for...



### TUC CONFERENCE

### PREVIEW

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**PORTUGAL - SOME  
QUESTIONS**  
pages 4 & 5





## 7 Days in the 6 Counties

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

In the Greenisland housing estate, just to the north of Belfast, Loyalists are continuing their campaign of sectarian violence to drive Catholics from their homes. Only 150 of the original 800 Catholic families now remain in the housing estate. Community leaders have been severely beaten, houses petrol-bombed, children at a local youth club attacked, and all this under the nose of a large force of British troops and Royal Ulster Constabulary allegedly sent to the estate to apprehend the Loyalist extremists. Similar events are taking place in other mixed estates in Belfast, and Catholic families have been under almost constant siege in the Loyalist strongholds of Lurgan and Portadown.

Meanwhile it is reported from Stormont that the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) are to recommend that the Convention (due to resume in September) presents a single report to Westminster in which the two will 'agree to differ' on the issue of 'power-sharing' in a new north of Ireland administration. Such an arrangement, while ostensibly putting the ball back in Westminster's court, in reality signals the capitulation of the SDLP to Loyalism and so-called 'majority rule'. It would mean nothing less than the return of a Stormont-type regime heralding mass repression of the Catholic working class and the silencing of all anti-Unionist protest.

This surrender by the SDLP to Loyalism is the inevitable result of the illusions they have created in the Convention and co-operation with the UUUC. In Derry, John Hume issued a joint call with UDA member Glenn Barr for action to deal with the city's economic problems. Other SDLP members issued joint appeals for an end to violence with their UUUC counterparts. And in the midst of the anti-internment protests, Gerry Fitt came out with one of the most

vicious attacks yet made on the resistance movement, surpassing statements made at the same time by Loyalists.

This is not to say that the SDLP are united on this course. Ivan Cooper earlier this year warned of the danger of civil war if the demands for power-sharing weren't met. And on the very day that his party colleagues Hume, Devlin and Currie were agreeing to differ with Bill 'Assassinations of Catholics is excusable' Craig, Ivan Cooper declared in a statement to the press: 'The SDLP cannot accept less than full-blooded partnership throughout the community in Cabinet, on statutory boards, and on local councils. We do not believe there is any other solution.'

### A NEW PARTY?

What the result of these differences of opinion inside the SDLP will be is not clear! But evidence of the strains on the SDLP and the Catholic middle class which it represents is already apparent. In its first issue, *Socialist Republic*, the new paper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, reported rumours that 'Catholic businessmen and members of the clergy among others had met in Belfast, Armagh and Mid-Ulster to discuss the setting-up of a (new) political party'. This would probably be on the model of traditional nationalist parties, combining a harder line on the Loyalists with stronger ties to the Catholic Church. The nature of such a formation re-emphasises that there is no alternative to working class leadership if the anti-Unionists are to successfully resist the Loyalist takeover.

In the coming weeks all anti-imperialist organisations will have to strive resolutely to unite the anti-Unionist working class in militant street demonstrations and protests against any restoration of the Orange state. In that way illusions of co-operation with the Loyalists and the collaboration of the SDLP can most effectively be combated.

# FREE SPEECH ON IRELAND UNDER ATTACK

Free speech in the workers' movement on the issue of Ireland is under a mounting attack.

In LIVERPOOL, a recent meeting of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was broken up by members of the National Front and the sectarian Ulster Defence Association. Liverpool Trades Council made a prompt response, agreeing to support a public meeting on Ireland at which a representative of NICRA will be asked to speak.

In NOTTINGHAM, supporters of the Troops Out Movement have been continually harassed by police. Firstly, a peaceful crowd of 80-90 people meeting in the Old Market Square - a traditional meeting place similar to Speakers Corner - was dispersed by police on the grounds that it was likely to provoke violence. In another incident, members of the Provisional Sinn Fein handing out leaflets publicising a meeting at which Seamus McCluskey, organiser of an incident centre in Belfast, and Pat Hickey of Birmingham Trades Council were speaking, had their leaflets confiscated.

The Nottingham Troops Out Movement promptly launched a campaign to protest against police action. Steve Evans, a local Labour Councillor, wrote to the Council demanding that TOM be given permission to use the Old Market Square. After a campaign which got extensive coverage in the local media, the application for use of the square on 20 August was granted.

In YORKSHIRE, there were even stranger goings-on on 19 August. A joint group of TOM-British Withdrawal from

'Annex 75' show at Harrogate which attracted 120,000 people from all over West Yorkshire. As soon as the TOM-BWNIC supporters turned up they were immediately 'detained' - not arrested - by police who were waiting with a van just inside the gates.

The troops out campaigners are now raising the issues involved with York Trades Council.

However, the worst denial of the right to free speech on Ireland has come from *within* the labour movement. **Brent Trades Council in London has banned a TOM meeting.** In a letter to TOM, the letting secretary Ken Spence states that the TOM cannot use the Brent Trades and Labour Hall because 'the policy of the Trades Council has been in the past not to support the TOM'.

In reply North West London TOM has pointed out: 'It is surely an established practice in the labour movement that letting rooms does not imply political agreement, but only the democratic right to put a particular point of view....As it stands your refusal represents a denial of our right to free speech.'

Informed sources tell us that such a ban would have had to have the prior approval of Jack Dromey - the architect of the expulsion of three delegates from the recent Greater London Association of Trades Councils' fact-finding tour to Northern Ireland. The North West London TOM is starting a vigorous campaign in the local labour movement to gain widespread

# TRADE UNION ROW ON TROOPS HOTS UP

One of the major issues facing the labour movement in Britain is the crucial question of the role of British troops in Ireland.

This question has been debated in the labour movement for some years now, and recently the Greater London Association of Trades Councils organised a 14-strong delegation to visit Belfast on a fact-finding mission. The secretary/organiser was Jack Dromey, of Brent Trades Council and the NCCL.

Prior to the visit, three of the delegates pointed out that the range of organisations and individuals selected to meet them was too narrow for the tour to be a genuine fact-finding mission. Their efforts while in Belfast to get the delegation to meet a wider cross-section of the community - for instance, representatives of Provisional Sinn Fein - were in vain. In fact, it became apparent that a 'conducted tour' had been arranged. Finally the three delegates were expelled from the delegation after further protests (see *Red Weekly*, 17 July).

### BOTH SIDES

Upon their return the three 'expelled' delegates - Mike Knowles (Hackney Trades Council), Gerry McMorro (Hackney Trades Council) and Rosemary Sales (Barnet Trades Council) - produced a brief report on the way the delegation had been run, which was widely circulated in the labour movement.

They are also appealing to trades councils and other groups holding report-back meetings to invite a representative from both the majority and the minority on the Belfast delegation. The Troops Our Movement is holding a major meeting in London on 1 September at which both sides have been invited to send speakers.

Both majority and minority have now produced reports on their visit to Belfast. The majority report comes out against the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland because it would 'cause considerable difficulties for the trade union movement in Ireland'. Instead they propose that the British Government should finance a whole variety of desirable social reforms - though quite how these are to be imposed, let alone implemented, is left unexplained.

The minority report, however, concludes: 'It is total political ineptitude to believe that the British Government - which has limited civil rights in Britain through the Prevention of Terrorism Act; which has made massive cut-backs in social expenditure, including housing; and has allowed the number of unemployed to climb above a million - will somehow adopt a totally different policy for Northern Ireland....'

### ARMY OUT

'We believe that the overwhelming mass of views expressed, and the facts we learnt on the delegation, point towards only one solution - that the British Army should be withdrawn from Ireland and the Irish people allowed to solve their own problems.'

Their report also contains an appendix on 'omissions and admissions' in the majority report. It is available from: M. Davis, Secretary, Trade Union Committee for Free Speech on Ireland, 18 Lordship Park, London N.16. Since this report had to be produced without any financial subsidies, they are appealing for donations from the labour movement and supporters of TOM.

The majority report is obtainable from: Jack Dromey, 13 Plympton Road, London NW6 7EH.

Originally the GLATC had decided that a report-back conference from the delegation would be an open meeting for all London trade unionists. Now they are limiting it to a delegate conference.

### REPORT BACK

It is especially important, therefore, that TOM supporters in the London labour movement make every effort to attend the report-back conference on 13 September in Unity House. The reformists must not be allowed to smuggle in the 'troops back to barracks line' as official labour movement policy by the back door. As Rosemary Sales says: 'It's not we who are afraid of a debate.'

Niall Nolan





# THE REAL DRUG FIENDS

Colin Spencer reviews *There's Gold in Them Thar Pills* by Alan Klass, a study of the drugs industry in Britain (Penguin Books, 75p)

Nearly everyone has taken a drug at some time or another, either as a medicine or a food additive. Invariably they will have had to pay through the nose.

The drug industry has made spectacular growth since the war. In 1971 drug sales were estimated at sixteen billion dollars; and those of the biggest drug firm, Hoffman La Roche, were estimated in 1974 as \$1.7 billion (£700 million).

In 1957 in the USA the rate of profit of the drug industry was the highest out of 15 major industries, with a rate of return almost double the average of all manufacturing sectors.

## USELESS

Although the pharmaceutical industry justifies its massive profits in terms of the financial risks, only 10-20 per cent of research results in a new drug with improved usefulness. This is not because of the difficulty of drug development as such, but because research is predominantly concentrated on relatively useless drugs (proprietary drugs), on chemical manipulations of the structure of existing drugs to beat the patent laws, on cosmetics rather than genuine medicine, and on producing new versions of old drugs which offer little advantage - planned obsolescence.

Also part of what is called research is in actual fact advertising and market research. Thus when Hoffman La Roche claim they spend £100 million annually on research, the actual amount spent on genuinely useful research is about 80 per cent less!

The aim of the drug industry is to sell more drugs - to get doctors to prescribe more drugs to their patients. Klass shows how the interests of the drug industry have penetrated all levels of the medical profession and its practice.

## DEFINITIVE

He explains how consultants will push certain drugs as the definitive treatment when teaching medical students, and how the supposedly objective journals of medical science and the various professional bodies are financed predominantly on the advertising of the drug industry. Therefore, with few exceptions, the information and views imparted to the rest of the doctors are invariably less than objective!

The drug industry exploits the failure of the profession and the state to provide adequate training for doctors, especially after qualification, in order to mix education with propaganda.

The results of all this for the health care of the working class are horrific:

1. They are prescribed drugs (always potentially dangerous) for which there is no need.
2. Powerful and expensive drugs are given for minor illness. Apart from the direct dangers to the recipients' health, this encourages the development of resistant strains of disease for which there is no certainty that an effective replacement will be developed.
3. The use of drugs both in humans and animals is always potentially dangerous. The effects of drugs need to be continually monitored, as their harmful consequences may not become obvious for years. No such adequate scientific monitoring service exists. Thus, for example the effects of thalidomide on unborn children was not noticed for three years and over 500 children were maimed as a result.

Registration forms and agendas for the Conference 'The fight against the cuts in the NHS' organised by MCAPP in London on 11 October are now ready. Write to Dr Paul Stern, 55 Bridge Lane, London N.W.11. for supplies

The conclusion that is obvious from Dr Klass's book is that the development, production and use of drugs is far too dangerous to be left to the anarchy of the capitalist mode of production and the hands of the medical profession. It is on these points that Dr Klass is at his weakest. His view of the *subversion* of an 'innocent, honourable' medical profession by the nasty profit-hungry drug industry is at best naive and at worst a deliberate mystification of the role of the medical profession. Klass is right about bourgeois medicine when he says: 'We define health in the mechanical terms of orderly working groups.' In other words, the ideology of medicine separates the physical factors in disease from social factors, and rejects the latter as insignificant.

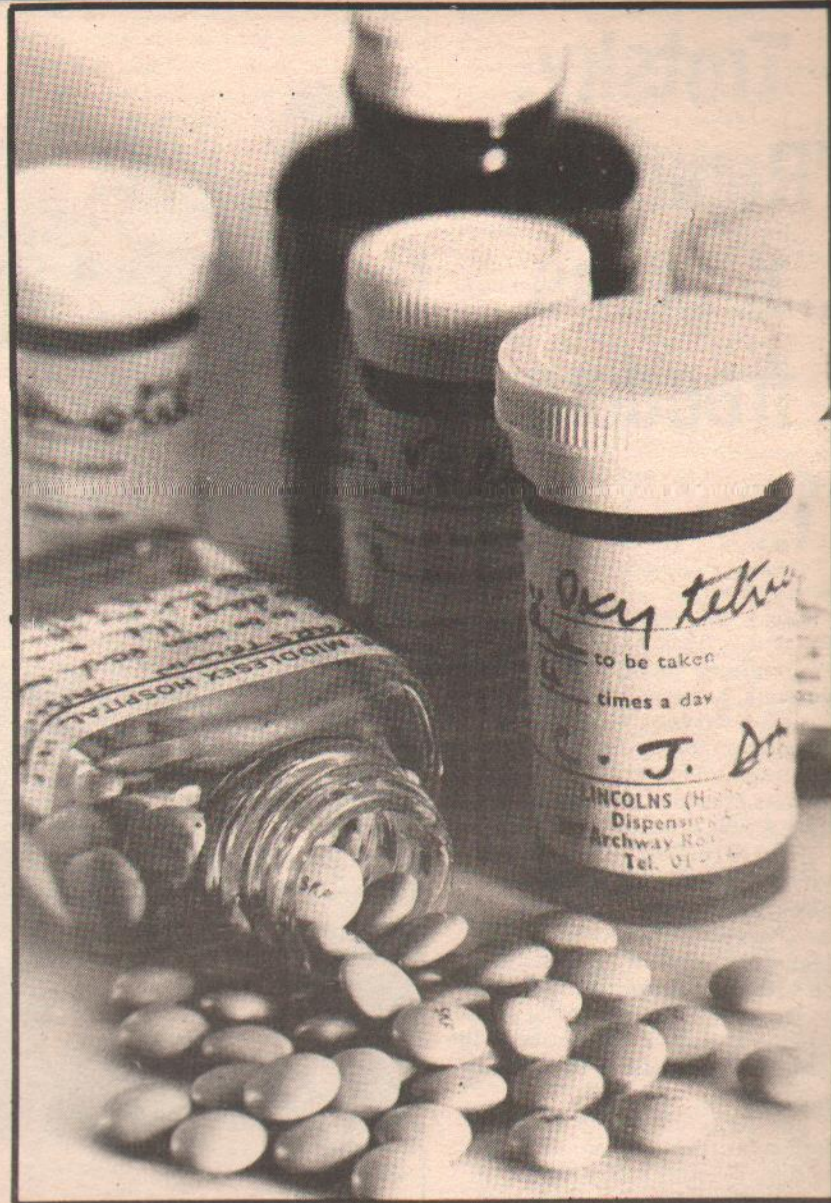
But for Klass, the reason for this is a mystery. For capitalism the predominant function of medicine is to provide a healthy workforce - sets of 'orderly working organs'. It is to this ideology and practice of medicine that the drug industry is geared. The medical profession, wedded as it is to the interests of capital, is incapable of treating more than the symptoms of the

effects of the capitalist crisis - nervous illnesses etc. Drugs provide the most convenient and profitable way of doing so.

Such a profession is incapable of defending the working class against the ravages of the drug industry's profit-mongering. This defence can only be taken up by the workers' movement both inside and outside the drug industry. This urgently requires nationalisation of the drug industry without compensation under workers' control.

Doctors, pharmacists and drug research workers who want to put an end to the present dangerous abuses should use their knowledge to inform, advice and educate the workers' movement on the role, nature and therapeutic use and danger of drugs. They have to identify themselves with the socialist movement, otherwise they are powerless to oppose the exploitation of the sick and infirm by capitalism's drug firms.

The conference organised by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice on 18 October in London offers them an excellent opportunity to do just that.



## FRANCO REGIME STEPS UP TERROR

The development of the economic and political crisis in countries on the fringe of the advanced capitalist block gives a valuable insight to trends in the more advanced countries. In Spain the capitalist class, like the working class, has learnt a lot from the Portuguese experience. It knows that the political parties and organisations of the working class emerge from underground with greater strength than those of a capitalist class accustomed to delegating its political role to a military dictatorship. Spinola's message to his fellow capitalists in Spain was 'prepare yourself while you can'.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is now anxious to rid itself of a military dictatorship which, although useful in crushing the onslaught of the working class in 1936-9, is today unable to provide a vehicle for political or economic development. But the depth of the economic crisis and the new revolutionary upsurge make any move in this direction extremely dangerous. It is the need for a strong military apparatus to repress the working class which keeps the senile dictatorship in business and consequently gives it its political power.

On the one hand there is a move towards the liberalisation of the State's institutions in order to pacify the masses - the Law of Associa-

tions which allows for an embryonic form of political party, the 'open' trade union elections, legalisation of a certain number of strikes, and a relaxation of press censorship. But the narrowness of these concessions is soon outflanked by the working class. Strikes to be legal must not be 'political', solidarity strikes or effect essential industries, and of course there is no strike pay or unemployment benefit. The Law of Associations allows for little more than the formation of political study groups, and clearly cannot be used to represent the interests of the working class.

### SUBTLE FORM

It is time now for the working class to show its teeth. With the failure of the proposed liberalisation, the regime has begun to prepare the organisational and legislative changes necessary to impose a subtle form of undeclared martial law in Spain. Last week a new anti-terrorist law was approved giving the police and judicial system almost unlimited powers in the fight against 'terrorism' (blocking a road with a car is now an act of terrorism).

The law is, of course, aimed at the most militant sections of the Spanish working class. The regime is considerably more afraid of the possibility of a revolutionary general strike than it is of the death of half-a-dozen policemen. The law will also serve the purpose of reassuring the repressive forces, who are coming under attack from a working class which has overcome the trauma of the Civil War.

As part of this 'reign of terror', the Franco dictatorship has set up a

tion amongst the working class and all those who aim to organise and represent its interests.

Last month saw the trial of 23 members of the clandestine workers' movement; the Workers' Commissions, from El Ferrol. All 23 were accused of terrorism, although the initial charge was 'non-peaceful demonstration'. During this demonstration police opened fire on the workers, killing two and injuring another fifty. One of the accused was seriously injured before any 'terrorist act' could have taken place.

### ON TRIAL

Today five militants of the Patriotic Anti-Fascist Revolutionary Front (FRAP) are already on trial, while on 28 August the long-awaited trial of two members of ETA-V, Otaegui and Garmendia, is due to begin. In both trials the prosecution is asking for the death penalty for all the accused.

The Franco dictatorship is showing that it is prepared to take any steps necessary to defend itself. The regime plans to execute these militants before the end of the summer period, while the likely working class response to such an outrage is at its lowest.

### REPETITION

Certainly the dictatorship does not want a repetition of its defeat during the 1970 Burgos trials, when mass action and international solidarity forced it to retreat and commute death sentences on a number of Basque militants to life imprisonment. This time, too, it is such an action alone which can save these comrades and at the same time impose a heavy defeat on the dictatorship.

Pedro Martinez



Following a 400-strong demonstration last Sunday, supporters of the united front Committee Against Death Sentences in Spain are mounting a daily vigil between 4 and 8pm outside the Spanish Embassy in Belgrave Square (opposite tube Knightsbridge/Hude Park



# Trotsky, 'Republica' & press freedom

1. ★★★★★★★★★★

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on the current issue of *Red Weekly* (14 August). The articles on Portugal are excellent. I do think, however, that it is just a little 'opportunist' to publish the extract from the *History of the Russian Revolution* as Trotsky's views on 'Press Freedom' and not his later article on the same subject.

After all, the situation in Russia in February 1917 was not exactly comparable to that in Portugal. There was an alternative to the Provisional Government in existence, the Soviets, fully representative of the Russian proletariat. Also, please note the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet closed up the monarchist press.

But this action by the Soviets, representatives of the whole working class, cannot be compared with the action taken by one tiny group of workers — the typographical workers in the *Republica* plant. The latter is an expression of syndicalism — which always appears to be more revolutionary than Marxism, but in fact turns into its opposite at the moment of crisis. It is very important that we fully understand this difference and do not blur the issues.

Apart from that, congratulations on a really fine issue. — GEORGE CUNVIN, London.

2. ★★★★★★★★★★

Dear Comrades,

The latest comment of *Red Weekly* on the *Republica* affair, which appeared under the headline, 'Leon Trotsky on "Press Freedom"', is the worst reflection yet of the muddled and equivocal position *Red Weekly* has adopted on the issue.

*Red Weekly* of 26 June, in an article headed 'Portugal — the Road to Workers' Power', gave uncritical support to the actions and demands of the *Republica* workers' Coordinating Committee: 'The demand of the Workers' Committee is simply for a newspaper which is not the sectarian organ of a single political party.' (Perhaps we should demand that *Red Weekly* be taken out of the control of the IMG and its columns opened to Stalinists and Labourites so that it would not be the 'sectarian organ of a single party!')

## PRINCIPLE

Your issue of 3 July carried an article by Ernest Mandel which, after outlining the origins of the struggle of the *Republica* workers, went on: 'We are staunch and principled supporters of freedom of the press. We are convinced that this should be a basic-principle not only under bourgeois democracy but in a workers' state as well. We are absolutely in favour of the Portuguese Socialist Party having at its disposal a daily paper of its own. We believe that the workers of the *Republica* printing plant made a serious error by creating the impression that they wanted to challenge that right.'

Mandel goes on to distinguish real from merely formal press freedom, and to explain how workers' control in this field can only be exercised by a centralised representative organisation based on workers'



# PORTUGAL ~

A number of readers have written asking us to clarify our analysis of certain important aspects of the situation in Portugal. Some of these letters are printed below together with our comments.

We would like to make it clear that we welcome such contributions to a debate which can only enrich our understanding of the need for solidarity with the Portuguese working class in their hour of need. We hope to publish further selections in future issues.

in a single plant.

But your comment in *Red Weekly* of 14 August appears to imply that you think that the suppression of *Republica* as an organ of PSP opinion by the print workers supported by COPCON can be seen in the same terms as the suppression by the Petrograd Soviet of the monarchist press in February 1917.

For a start, the method of debate used by *Red Weekly* is bankrupt. It is a mockery of the Marxist approach to political judgement to cite quotations from the classic writings of Lenin or Trotsky as if these constituted some sort of timeless noly scripture. Yet *Red Weekly* parades 'Trotsky on "press freedom"' without any reference to the specific circumstances it refers to — ironically, a method which Trotsky attacks in the very passage quoted.

## NO COMPARISON

A moments' attention to the circumstances of Trotsky's polemic against Sukhanov shows that there can be no direct comparison with the *Republica* affair.

— Trotsky is speaking of the suppression of the Monarchist press in the circumstances of a life and death struggle against czarist reaction. The only comparable situation in Portugal now might be the suppres-

sion of the press as a focus for the preparation of armed counter-revolution, which certainly would be justifiable in the terms used by Trotsky about February 1917. But *Republica* was the *de facto* organ of a

is to say, by the centralised, democratically constituted, representative organisation of the working class of the entire city, not by the press workers, far less the workers in particular plants, who 'took orders

To say that, despite their justified grievances, the action of the *Republica* workers was wrong is in no way to endorse the way Soares and the PSP leadership exploited the issue to launch an anti-communist campaign, which has helped to give open reaction a new confidence in Portugal, with the consequences we have seen in recent weeks. But it is impossible to understand how the PSP was able to mobilise tens of thousands of workers on the *Republica* issue, unless we see that the majority of these workers saw themselves as defending the elementary right of the party they voted for and support to express its views freely in a daily, mass circulation newspaper, in a situation where the rest of the mass circulation papers form a chorus of uncritical support for the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement.

## CONTRADICTORY

If the revolutionaries fail to grasp the contradictory character of the PSP mobilisations and depict them as the hordes of reaction trying to stifle workers' control, they will not be able to find a road to the thousands of militant workers who are at present taken in by the demagoguery of the Soares leadership.



party that commands the votes and the active support of the majority of the working class in Portugal, and not just the more backward sections at that.

— Trotsky argues for the control of the press and the suppression of one of the weapons of czarist reac-

from the Soviet.' As *Red Weekly* has often and correctly pointed out, such centralised, representative organisations do not yet exist in Portugal, though the elements of such a structure are starting to be established in an embryonic form, in the workers', soldiers' and neigh-



# The united front & the Constituent Assembly

Dear Comrades,

In April millions of workers and peasants voted for the Portuguese Socialist Party. Since then, demonstrations of tens of thousands have turned out to support the Socialists' demand for representation in the Government, based on the Constituent Assembly elected in April.

Whatever the intentions of the Socialist Party leadership, it seems true that large sections of Portuguese workers back this demand. In doing so, they are dragged in behind the SP leaders' right-wing strategy.

Is it possible to break these workers from the hold of the SP just by holding out to them the promise of workers' democracy through popular assemblies, when these assemblies at the moment have no mass implantation in the working class? Isn't it necessary to have some position on the Constituent Assembly, which so many workers still look to? Obviously the creation of workers'

councils is absolutely central to the success of the revolution. But in practice, isn't the movement for workers' councils under the sway of the Armed Forces Movement? And don't many workers distrust it for that reason?

How should revolutionaries handle this situation? What has the Fourth International got to lose if it's precisely through the experience of the SP in government carrying out reactionary policies that will get rid of this misplaced trust from numbers of workers, and if it's in the fight against these reactionary policies that a united front of CP/SP and revolutionary workers will be formed. A united front that can give an immense boost to the movement for workers' councils. — KEN JONES (NUT), ROBERT McCRAE (AUEW, Ford's Dagenham), STEVE HARPER (AUEW, Ford's Dagenham).

## Martin Meteyard replies

Comrades Jones, McCrae and Harper raise some important points on one of the key problems facing the revolutionary vanguard in Portugal today.

However, the comrades make some important factual errors which must be cleared up first:

1. The SP leaders do not demand 'representation in the Government, based on the Constituent Assembly'. Even they cannot easily slide over the fact that they signed a pact with the Armed Forces Movement before the elections limiting the Assembly's role to the drawing up of a constit-

ution, and recognising the AFM's overriding authority (a pact which only the revolutionary left groups participating in the elections refused to sign).

Nor is there any indication that 'many workers look to' the Constituent Assembly as such. What both they and the SP leaders argue (and it is an argument which has to be faced), is that having won 38 per cent of the votes in the Assembly elections, the Socialist Party must be recognised as an important factor in the present political situation.

2. It is not entirely true that the popular assemblies and similar bod-

ies 'have no mass implantation in the working class'. While they are clearly still for the most part in an embryonic stage of formation, and limited to the area around Lisbon, those that have already emerged undoubtedly have a mass base. The first meeting of the Pontinha assembly, for example, was attended by delegates from 45 workers' and neighbourhood commissions, themselves elected by mass meetings of workers and residents, as well as delegates from the RE 1 regiment — also democratically elected.

of their leaders? The first point to make is that it will not be through an abstract demand for SP representation in the Government — not merely because this implies acceptance of the pro-imperialist conditions laid down by Soares & Co. for such participation, but because emphasis on such a demand in practice coincides with the project of the openly reactionary forces which have been using the SP as a cover for the present wave of anti-Communist violence.

What is correct, however, is to



General Fabiao and General Carvalho discuss Goncalves' uncertain future

Another sign of their developing implantation was the huge size (estimated at up to 50,000) of the demonstration in Lisbon on 20 August called by the adherents of the assemblies.

3. Nor is it true that this movement is 'under the sway of the Armed Forces Movement'. The involvement of 'democratically elected regimental delegates in a number of the assemblies, for instance, goes directly against the terms of the project laid down by the AFM. What cannot be denied is that the movement for popular assemblies has a dangerously *ambiguous* attitude to the AFM, and in particular to that wing led by General Carvalho.

## LARGE SECTIONS

How, then, will it be possible to win the large sections of workers and peasants who voted for the SP away from the reactionary policies

demand the participation of the SP leaders — allegedly so concerned for the interests of the workers and peasants who voted for them — in a *government of the workers' organisations independent of all ties with the bourgeoisie*.

This is why the question of the AFM is so important, and why the acceptance of its leading role by both the CP and the SP (even if they place their confidence in different sectors within it) is so criminal. The Portuguese Army remains a bourgeois army, and the AFM represents (despite a token representation of NCOs and soldiers) the *officers* of that army. While a few of the latter are undoubtedly sincerely committed to the revolutionary interests of the working class, the majority are simply riding the storm. As the *Economist* (23 August) so astutely comments: 'Many serving officers, never wholly won over to the slogans of the left, are now reverting to

the view that the country needs a period of "discipline" to put it right.'

Any perspective to win the rank-and-file of the SP away from the reactionary leaders must therefore have a clear position of no reliance on any section of the AFM. Apart from anything else, this would rapidly expose the demagoguery of Soares's warnings against a 'military dictatorship' as he hurries to fall in behind the Antunes group of officers.

This must obviously be coupled with a strong emphasis on the organisation of the soldiers, sailors and airmen at the base. Destroy the hierarchy of the bourgeois army and replace it with the authority of the workers and peasants in uniform! With the soldiers but not the AFM!

A second important emphasis must obviously be on the need for a united workers' response to the present wave of reactionary violence. Here again the policy of the Communist Party has been the opposite of that which would have been adopted by any revolutionary workers' party.

## JOINT CAMPAIGN

If the CP, instead of indulging in a series of sectarian manoeuvres, had issued a clear-cut call to the SP along with all other workers' organisations for a joint campaign against the reactionary threat — including the establishment of united workers' militias — that would have placed the SP leaders on the spot, and drawn the line quite clearly between their reactionary policies and the revolutionary aspirations of many of their rank-and-file adherents.

A third emphasis, however, must obviously be on the elaboration of a workers' programme to resolve the economic crisis. Inflation is spiralling and thousands of workers are losing their jobs each week as a result of capitalist sabotage from within and without combined with the general effects of the worldwide recession. It is no accident that the document circulated by the Antunes group laid great stress on this aspect of the situation. Yet all the Goncalves Government can come up with is the re-opening of the stock exchange and a new code for foreign investors!

To resolve the crisis in the interests of Portuguese working people would mean the institution of a planned economy, requiring such measures as the wholesale expropriation of industry without compensation and under full workers' control (not through the medium of AFM-appointed overseers); the complete protection of wages and benefits against inflation through the establishment of a sliding scale; generous provision of credits to small-scale enterprises; a monopoly of foreign trade; and a thorough-going programme of agrarian reform.

## TREACHEROUS

It is only by counterposing such a programme of *socialist* economic measures to the bankrupt policies of closer links with the EEC etc. put forward by Soares & Co. that the ranks of the SP can be won away from their treacherous leaders. And it is only within the context of such a workers' solution to the crisis that the popular assemblies can be seen to have a universal relevance. For who is to *implement* such a programme? The SP leaders won't, and nor will the AFM.

Such a programme can only be carried through by the *workers themselves*, organised in their own bodies of working class power coordinated at the highest level in a National Popular Assembly — the embryo of a new state power of the workers. All attempts to exclude members of certain workers' parties — notably the SP — from the right to represent *bona fide* workers' organisations in such bodies must be strenuously resisted. 'Left' talk of such bodies as being 'above parties' is dangerous nonsense; informed decisions can only be made on the basis of an organised discussion in which the parties have a vital role to play in presenting thought-out alternatives.

# SOME CENTRAL QUESTIONS

## The editors comment

Our purpose in reprinting the article from Trotsky was not to make an equation between the circumstances in which Trotsky wrote and the situation in Portugal, but to demonstrate that the question of 'freedom of the press' was not some abstract principle divorced from concrete situations.

What was posed in the *Republica* struggle was *not* (as the Socialist Party leadership would have it) the right of the SP to an instrument of party propaganda. They already have such an instrument in their weekly paper, *Portugal Socialista* (and there are two Lisbon dailies which reflect their view point).

## UNFOUNDED

Comrade Foster's claim that *Republica* was a 'de facto organ of the SP' is unfounded. That was certainly not the character of *Republica* prior to 25 April 1974. Nor did the *Republica* editors ever see fit to describe their paper that way until after Mario Soares had turned the dispute into a major political football.

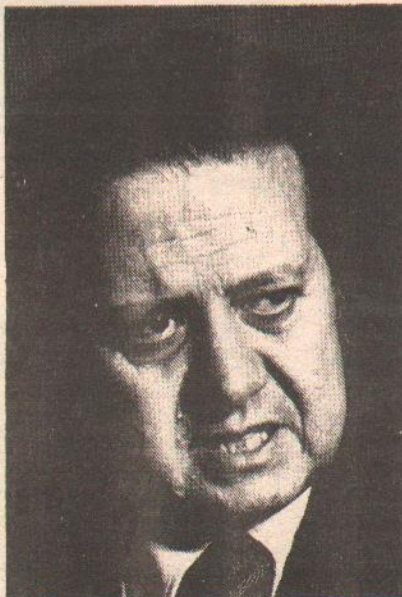
The fact of the matter is that a pro-SP clique took over the editorial direction of *Republica* after 25 April

partly through a series of bureaucratic manoeuvres, and sought to capitalise on the prestige which *Republica* had acquired through its association with the anti-fascist opposition to boost the cause of the SP.

## TRADITION

The majority of *Republica* workers, however, did not think that the tradition of the paper which had been produced with their labour was reducible to the party line of the SP. They felt that this tradition was best preserved through a paper which identified itself with the cause of the working class as a whole and sought to provide it with the sort of information and forum for debate necessary to solve its political tasks.

The fight for the unity and independence of the Portuguese working class was and is absolutely central in the present situation. True, that requires the rejection of all forms of bureaucratic and sectarian measures. But it also requires an uncompromising struggle against the sectarian and divisionist manoeuvres of the SP leadership. In our view it was that struggle which the *Republica* workers were waging, and both their



Soares — turned the *Republica* affair into a major political football.

aims and methods were completely compatible with the principles of workers' democracy.

Of course this unity and independence — in any sphere — can ultimately only be won and defended by independent bodies of working class democracy: by soviets. But the *Republica* workers were quite correct to start the struggle by using their own democratic organisation to speak out on behalf of the whole working class and to create a paper which would be an *instrument for*

establishing this sort of mass workers' democracy.

The most that could be said against the *Republica* workers is that they may have made a tactical mistake in under-estimating the political capital the SP leaders would make out of this. But we should recall that the SP leadership's reactionary offensive did not begin with the *Republica* affair.

What is more, *Republica* today, far from being part of any 'chorus of uncritical support' for the AFM, is a far more independent spokesperson of the working class than it ever was under SP influence. It is, for example, currently spearheading the opposition among newspaper workers to the plan of the AFM Minister of Communications to reintroduce censorship (which the CP has been prepared to accept in its essentials).

## GRIEVANCES

We must recognise the fine line between the need to avoid fuelling the the legitimate grievances exploited by the SP leaders to rally their base, and the equally important need to avoid capitulating before their reactionary offensive. In our view the *Republica* struggle was entirely on the correct side of this line.



# TUC

# A not very COMIC

The Trades Union Congress, meeting at the Opera House, Blackpool, next week, will be do

**UNEMPLOYMENT** is at a thirty year high. One and a quarter million are officially registered as out of work — 5.2 per cent of the working population. In industrial heartlands like Tyneside, Wearside and Merseyside the shadows of the Thirties have taken on a stark reality with unemployment running at over 10 per cent. 165,000 school leavers are without jobs.

**INFLATION** is now outstripping earnings even according to Government figures. The Retail Price Index rose 26.3 per cent in the year ended mid-July, while average earnings showed an increase of only 25.4 per cent. When taxation and insurance payments are taken into account, the fall in the real value of wages is far higher. Even the Confederation of British Industry calculates a 7.3 per cent fall in real incomes over the last nine months.

**PRODUCTION** itself is now running at a level below that during the three day week.

The response of the Labour Government has been the Healey measures and the launching of a vicious propaganda campaign against trade unionists who oppose the £6 limit. Wilson set the tone of the £2 million 'anti-inflation' campaign last Wednesday night on television with a call to 'resist the militants', latter twentieth century devils who 'seek to cash in on the difficulties every family, every industry, every factory will face'.

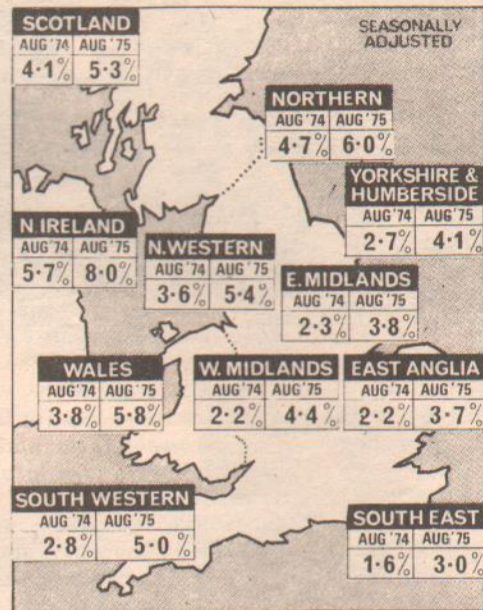
As for the leadership of the TUC, they have backed the Government right down the line. Not content with watching living standards fall and jobs disappear, the TUC claims the credit (!) for the £6 plan and 'will oppose any settlement in excess of this figure'.

With an acute sense of irony the TUC's August information broadsheet, *Labour*, is headlined 'TUC plan leads the fight to save jobs'. But the only place the £6 limit and the Healey measures are leading the working class is to the greatest cuts in its living standards for forty years.

## SERIOUS DEFEAT

Unless these measures are defeated and incomes policy smashed, the working class will suffer a serious defeat. The result will be the return of a Tory Government so reactionary that it will make Heath's last administration look benevolent by comparison (see page 8).

That is the sorry state to which the bureaucratic misleaders of the labour movement have led the working class — a movement that successfully smashed the Tory Government's incomes policy and ensured the return of a Labour Government in February 1974 through their solidarity with the miners' strike. Now it looks as if the miners themselves will vote to accept their executive's recommendations



Unemployment distribution, on the eve of the TUC conference.

— in other words the £6 limit.

But though it is disoriented, the working class is far from defeated. The possibility of a fight back being launched exists even at the Trades Union Congress. As many as three million votes could be cast against these wage-cut plans, including the votes of the second largest union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. On top of this hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers know Labour's measures are a fraud, and millions more could be won to active opposition through a campaign in the workers' movement for an alternative, socialist way to deal with the crisis.

## OPPOSITION

Indeed, several motions submitted to the TUC by the annual conferences of unions supporting the £6 limit point in that direction and are in flat opposition to Government policy. The National and Local Government Officers' Association, the National Union of Public Employees, and the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions amongst others all have motions down opposing any cuts in public expenditure. Yet Healey has lopped hundreds of millions off social services spending already. NUPE also has a motion down for a £40 minimum wage. If the unions launched a serious campaign for such a figure, low as it is, it would both destroy the £6 limit and show in practice that the best way to improve the position of the low paid is not by 'sacrifices in the national interest' but by independent working class

action.

The possibility of united action against Wilson's Tory policies is there. But it is Murray and Jones, not Scanlon and the 'lefts' who will make the running at the TUC conference.

This is because even when the 'lefts' do argue for a different programme such as Scargill's call for an integrated energy plan, Buckton's stress on a fully nationalised integrated transport plan, or all the general demands for an end to cuts in the welfare services and a crash house building programme — they nowhere spell out how and by whom such plans are going to be drawn up, and how the workers are going to force their implementation in the face of opposition from any pro-capitalist government — including the present Labour Government.

## NOT INTEGRATED

These 'plans' are not integrated into the day-to-day struggles of the working class to defend jobs and living standards, but are nice ideas to be accepted by a more amenable capitalist government some time in the future and to be implemented by the capitalist state apparatus. 'Planning' for the lefts remains a futile attempt to knock the crises off capitalism without challenging capitalist rule itself.

But the question of planning, of an altern-

ative programme to that of Wilson, is decisive. In the absence of a clear alternative around which to organise action, Wilson's demagogic statements will have an impact.

It is undoubtedly true that in the present situation a decisive struggle against Wilson's capitalist policies would have the effect of unseating the Government. In this situation the workers' movement has to develop a concrete alternative to the present Government; and the present crisis is so serious that no alternative will convince anyone or actually stimulate struggle unless it comes to terms with the fundamental organisation of capitalist society.

## HUFF & PUFF

If the TUC was a class struggle body, it would be precisely these questions that this week's Congress would be discussing. As it is, various right-wing leaders will make speeches defending incomes policy — ably supported by Jack Jones — while the 'lefts' threaten to huff and puff and blow down Wilson's policies without giving off anything but hot air. A few useful motions which militants can use to good effect may emerge, but in general the bourgeoisie won't be losing too much sleep over next week's theatrics at Blackpool Opera House.

MICK GOSLING



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

**DEMONSTRATE TO DEMAND**  
the dropping of all charges  
against the Eldon Square pickets  
Monday 1 September

Eldon Square Site, Haymarket, 9am,  
march to Crown Court, Market St.

Further details from: Eddie Brady,  
86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle 15 (0632 32365)



One of the solidarity demonstrations during the Eldon Square strike

## New attacks on pickets

Another eleven pickets have been arrested. This time it's at Cammell Laird shipyards in Birkenhead, Merseyside, where 200 construction workers have been in occupation or on strike for six months.

The arrests came last Thursday and Friday when police charged the picket lines to make way for two coaches of Wimpey's building workers. The picketing workers had originally occupied the site in February after it was announced that their employer, Peter Lind and Simon Limited, had lost the contract. The men demanded that they should be allowed to keep their jobs whoever won the contract. They only moved out of occupation a few weeks back following a High Court injunction.

## MASS PICKET

Because they demanded the right to work eleven of them now face charges, including assault on police. With 7,000 building workers unemployed in Liverpool alone, the Trades Council has called for a mass picket on 27 August.

The concerted attack on picketing, occupations and other forms of workers' struggles will intensify as the economic crisis deepens. But the TUC has no policy to defend pickets.

Once again this year's TUC will simply pass a motion from the Engineering Section of the AUEW calling on the General Council to 'use the full strength of the British trade union movement' to secure the release of Des Warren.

The same happened last year, and despite countless resolutions and delegations to the Home Secretary, Ricky Tomlinson remained in prison till paroled, while Des Warren is continually harassed by the prison authorities. Why? Because the General Council did not attempt a single serious mobilisation of the 'full strength' of the trade unions.

More Shrewsburies are now in the making. The ten pickets arrested at McAlpine's site at Eldon Square in Newcastle last January are at last being brought to trial on 1 September. Eldon Square was the first major attack on pickets since the infamous Shrewsbury trials.

Since then there have been major attacks on printworkers' pickets in Peterborough, and on journalists picketing the offices of the



# OPERA

ated by the worst crisis to sweep Britain since the war.

Congress declares that further cuts in public expenditure concerning these services will be regarded as an intolerable attack on the living standards of working people and a fundamental breach of the Social Contract.

National & Local Government Officers' Association

## 68 PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Congress expresses its firm opposition to any reduction in the level of social and public services and calls on the General Council and affiliated unions to resist any cuts in public expenditure which will lower the standards of these services.

National Union of Public Employees

## 69 CUTS IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Congress is totally opposed to cuts in public expenditure on social services. It declares its conviction that the fabric of the education, health and social services must not be regarded as affording a means for exercising economies.

# HOW TO FIGHT BACK

A number of motions going to the TUC conference do offer an alternative to the policies of the Wilson Government, dealing with cuts in education and other sectors of public expenditure. These will almost certainly be passed — but will they be acted on?

To fight the cuts it's not enough to protest after they have happened and demand the Government change its policy. In every local government department, hospital and school, investigatory committees of workers can be set up to monitor any cuts.

In response to a national circular, NALGO members in Manchester have been doing this already. In the same way social workers in Tower Hamlets used such information to back up recent strike action against under-staffing. In hospitals, evidence is continually coming to light of grossly out-dated and under-staffed buildings and declining standards of treatment.

In education there is the ridiculous situation of the Government cutting back the number of places in teacher training colleges, and of teachers being unemployed, at a time when class sizes of 40 and over are still common. The National Union of Teachers has a motion to the TUC calling for 'the elimination of all classes over 30'. It is a relatively simple matter for these unions to gather all this information together and demand no reduction in staffing-levels.

But the problem is bigger than this. Often it's a case of out-of-date equipment or dilapidated buildings. It is not sufficient for a single union to monitor the staff cuts in its own particular backyard. It is necessary for all the unions involved in the public sector, and everyone concerned about the value of the 'social

wage' — that is, every single member of the working class — to organise in defence of the gains of the welfare state.

In some cases it will be inter-union committees; in other cases, action committees — such as the East London Committee Against the Cuts — have been established which monitor the cuts throughout an area, involving the people affected by the decline in the services as well as the union members working in them. Trades councils, which often have a wide sponsorship from the local labour movement, can also be suitable instruments to launch such bodies.

Through such self-organisation, the workers can build up a comprehensive picture of what is going on. Having done this they can go about finding the resources to remedy the situation. Medical technicians can't build hospitals, and teachers can't build schools. There are however 200,000 unemployed building workers who can.

The local labour movement should take over the building stock-yards to get the necessary materials. It should also demand that local councils and the Government provide the necessary finances. Only the self-organisation of the working class will guarantee that any policy is implemented in the interests of the working class.

The demand for a sliding scale of public expenditure, giving automatic protection against inflation to all social services, combined with this self-organisation would kill two birds with one stone: unemployment would be massively reduced and the services improved to the benefit of the whole working class.

*Birmingham Mail.* These attacks took place because of the failure to free the Shrewsbury pickets. But because of working class opposition to the Shrewsbury trials, the employers and their state protectors have changed their tactics. The Eldon Square pickets are not being tried under the notorious Conspiracy Laws, but under the Public Order Act of 1936.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The State has further tried to reduce the amount of support for the Eldon Square workers by delaying the announcement of the date of their trial. The men were originally sent for trial at the Crown Court back in March.

The decision to send the pickets to the Crown Court was taken by the police. By taking the Court to a higher Court and by delaying the date of the trial to the last possible moment, the police and McAlpines hope to carry out their attacks without any opposition. It also means that the sentences may be much higher.

The attacks on these workers have been greatly helped by the attitude of the Eldon Square scaffolders' union, the T&GWU. The local T&G officials refused right from the start to make the strike official — it began after 14 scaffolders were victimised for clocking off after a site union meeting on

safety. They can now be very proud that they managed to defeat the workers after over six months on strike — during which time one worker was killed on the site because of inadequate scaffolding on a job.

However, despite their defeat, the scaffolders are still confident. Though they failed to get the 14 reinstated, the site is still blacked by their branch and there will probably be a stoppage of all scaffolders the day the trial takes place.

The Eldon Square workers have had to fight alone. As with the Shrewsbury pickets at first, it was left to the small organisations of the revolutionary left to organise opposition to this new attack on pickets, as well as building support for the strike.

## REMOBILISE

We must learn from the Shrewsbury trials. We must not let any more brothers join Des Warren in prison. The most important step now is to mobilise all possible support for a demonstration in Newcastle on 1 September.

By fighting to defend the Eldon Square pickets we can begin to remobilise forces to fight for the release of Des Warren. That is the message that must be given to the TUC. The Newcastle demonstration should be raised immediately in every organisation of the labour movement.

LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

# Tribune

## TRIBUNE'S CHALLENGE?

In early August the Tribune Group of MPs finally sounded the tocsin. Coming out against the Labour Government's strategy the Group said: 'Having worked for years to secure a Labour majority, we are desperately anxious to avoid mistakes like those of the 1968-1970 period which inevitably lead to our defeat at the polls.' The Tribune MPs aim to organise a campaign to muster opposition to the Government's pay laws, and hope to win majorities at both the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference.

Clearly it is the responsibility of every socialist to encourage the most widespread opposition to the capitalist policies of the Wilson Government. The fight against these is the great divide inside the labour movement. The Wilson Government has created a situation of mass unemployment. It has deliberately set out to cut working class living standards and has placed itself unreservedly at the service of the capitalist class.

The attempt to impose a £6 wage limit is only one aspect of the Government's drive to slash living standards. It will be accompanied by even bigger cuts in public expenditure, and the already declining and inadequate social services will as part of calculated Government policy be allowed to run down even further. The workers' movement has to use its great strength to defeat these attacks and develop a strategy which will not only lead to the removal of the right-wing leaders in the Labour Party, but will unite the working class around the struggle for a socialist programme.

## DRAWING THE LINES

The decision of the Tribune MPs to challenge the Government's policies is therefore of great importance. It is a way of drawing the lines inside the labour movement — although the Tribune group has so far failed to expel Michael Foot from its own ranks. Despite this it is sure to attract the support of large sections of the workers' movement who are seeking an alternative to pay laws, unemployment and the ravages of inflation.

But at Swan Hunters ship yards in Newcastle, where a section of workers have been on strike for seven weeks for an increase over the £6 limit, the Tribune MPs have failed to identify with that struggle. The MPs have not been on the picket lines. They have not addressed either meetings in Newcastle or other parts of the country urging support for the strike. Nor have they issued a public statement from the Tribune Group expressing solidarity with the strike.

And at the British Leyland truck and bus plant in Leyland, the workers have decided to challenge the pay laws and threatened an all-out strike following management's rescinding of an agreed pay deal. But so far the Tribune Group has remained silent on this significant challenge to the Government.

Whilst it is correct to try and mobilise the biggest possible vote against Wilson at the Labour Party and TUC conferences, that in itself is insufficient to budge the right wing. Just as Wilson ignored and blatantly snubbed the majority decisions of the Labour Party and the TUC on the EEC, so will he do the same if these bodies reject the pay laws. He is well aware that Tory and Liberal support is there for the asking.

Majority votes at the TUC and the Labour Party Conference against the pay laws are important in that they can encourage and act as a stimulus to the trade union struggle to break in practice the £6 limit. But by restricting the opposition to the internal structures of the Labour Party, the Tribune campaign will remain simply at the level of protest. A mass campaign aimed at united action to break the £6 limit is necessary to defeat Wilson and his ruling class allies.

This means building a united movement inside the labour and trade union movement which has a programme that can offer a socialist solution to the problems of inflation, unemployment, the chronic housing shortage and the other problems in the various social services. That programme has to show in practice how the working class can go beyond simple wages militancy and begin to construct the socialist alternative to Wilson's policies through their own actions. The problem with all Tribune's proposals is that their starting point is the internal rhythms and structures of the Labour Party. The fight for their 'programme' is not seen as an integral part of the present struggles of the working class.

## WORKERS' SOLUTION

The International Marxist Group considers that united action around the following essential measures is the key to the imposition by the working class of its own solution to the crisis:

- \* Opposition to any form of incomes policy, statutory or voluntary, within capitalism. Solidarity with all workers opposing the norms. End the TUC-CBI-Government talks on incomes policy.
- \* A sliding scale of wages and benefits to protect all working class incomes against inflation.
- \* Automatic increases in public expenditure to compensate for inflation and protect the value of the 'social wage'.
- \* Opening of the capitalist books and imposition of workers' control of industry to enforce work-sharing with no loss of pay instead of redundancy.
- \* Nationalisation of the banks and finance system to create conditions for control over industry and destroy the currency speculation. Abolition of capitalist defence expenditure and confiscation of all incomes over £10,000 a year to release resources for investment.
- \* A massive programme of public works to soak up inflation, nationalisation without compensation of all firms creating redundancy, and development of an economic plan to expand production based on the takeover of the leading industrial and financial firms.
- \* Free abortion and contraception on demand, equal pay for women, free 24-hour community controlled state nurseries.
- \* Opposition to all forms of racism.
- \* Immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland.
- \* Solidarity with the Portuguese revolution and with the workers' struggle in Spain.

Therefore whilst supporting the struggle of the Tribune Group against Wilson's policies, the IMG will fight inside the trade union and labour movement to develop the struggle as outlined above. It will also campaign for the adoption of such a programme.

The IMG will of course fight on any single aspect of the programme in order to build working class unity in struggle. However we would argue that only by the adoption of such an overall programme can effective fighting unity be established and the struggle for socialism advanced.

Bob Pennington



# OUT OF THE CAVES

Review of *Second Thoughts on Full Employment Policy* by Samuel Brittan  
(Centre for Policy Studies, £2).

It is now becoming clear to many in the labour movement that the policies of the Wilson Government are not simply the harshest attack on the living standards of the working class since the war, but are leading the Labour Party to electoral disaster. Wilson is preparing the way for the return of a Tory Government.

Just what type of Government that will be is made clear in the first work to emerge from the Centre for Policy Studies — the Tory 'think-tank' established by Sir Keith Joseph with the support of Margaret Thatcher. Samuel Brittan, author of the present pamphlet, is one of the Centre's main economic advisers.

The basic theory of the Joseph school of Toryism is the economic policy of 'monetarism'. For the monetarists, the key to salvaging British capitalism is the restriction of the volume of money in the economy. By carrying through a savage deflationary policy — public expenditure cuts, cuts in aid to nationalised industry, restriction of credit and other measures which cut the real value of wages — the monetarists seek to produce a streamlined, competitive British capitalism. The key to the success of this 'pruning' operation is the creation of mass unemployment.

Milton Friedman, for example, one of the most 'eminent' of the monetarist school and an adviser to the military dictatorship in Chile, calls for a 'fairly protracted period of economic recession or slowdown and of relatively high unemployment' (Friedman, *Monetary Correction* p9). At the same time Brittan makes it clear that he regards trade union strength as 'one of the greatest threats — both political and economic — we face today' (p19). Brittan's formula for dealing with this 'greatest threat' is exactly the same as Friedman's — the creation of mass unemployment.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

His argument is simple. Mass unemployment is inevitable, and the best the working class can do is accept large cuts in its living standards which might allow a tiny amount of relief from the dole. Brittan is a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary, but in essence this argument is also accepted by the trade union bureaucracy with its claim that the present £6 limit is the only way to stop workers 'pricing themselves out of a job'.

The stupidity of this argument is revealed when Brittan argues 'a lower real wage will make it profitable for employers to offer more jobs — always assuming other things remain unchanged' (p32). In fact, 'other things' are very far from unchanged when wages are cut. The working class has less money to purchase goods, demand for production falls, and consequently less output requiring less workers is required. The logic of monetarist policy is a permanently high level of mass unemployment — all else is window-dressing.

In the same way, acceptance of the £6 limit — a significant wage cut at present rates of inflation — doesn't save jobs but loses them. For Brittan to advocate wage cuts is perfectly logical — he is in favour of mass unemployment. But for the TUC to falsely allege that the £6 limit will save jobs is a betrayal of the working class.

Where even Brittan does not dare spell out the logic of monetarist arguments is in relation to their political conclusions. It is no accident that the great examples of 'success' held up by monetarist economists are countries like Brazil, where a ruthless military dictatorship has held sway for a decade.

## DISTORTION

However, the real inspirer of the monetarists dates back even further than that. There is only one person in history who has successfully carried through the monetarist programme of massively cutting real wages and then claiming credit for a temporary halt in unemployment afterwards. His name was Adolf Hitler. When the monetarists Keith Joseph

by Robert Mossgeil



Pinochet, head of the Chilean military dictatorship, and the Brazilian police. Just the people you need to carry out 'monetarist' economic policies.

the birth rate amongst the 'lower' classes and of the superiority of British blood and the white race, they are treading in well worn footsteps, as are also the 'monetarists' of the National Front.

Brittan himself has made one 'outstanding' contribution to capitalism's interests. Using a finesse developed over many years as the main economic journalist on the *Financial Times*, he embarks in this pamphlet on the task of systematically covering up the gravity of the unemployment situation in Britain. This particular exercise so perfectly reveals the racist and reactionary character of the monetarist school of thought that it is worth looking at in some detail.

The first way in which Brittan 'cuts' unemployment is to exclude Northern Ireland from the figures altogether — presumably it doesn't matter if the mere Irish are unemployed. Next to go are the 100,000 unemployed over 60, clearly of no use in the competitive capitalist economy Brittan envisages.

Then unemployed school leavers are excluded. According to Brittan: 'A worker who has

# ENTERPRISE



Keith Joseph collecting the Aims for Enterprise award from Margaret Thatcher at Free Enterprise Day on 1 July. The prophets of mass unemployment — who turned up in 29 chauffeur driven Rolls's not to mention the Jags and Daimlers — had a nice lunch: mousse de saumon, selle d'agneau rotie, tarte à l'orange grand marnier avec crème fraîche. The party's really over.

offer available. It will pay him to spend time searching through the labour market rather than take the first job that turns up....search effort and experiments with different jobs are particularly important for young people at the start of a career, so it is not surprising that teenage 'unemployment' tends to be higher than for adults' (p33). So the most demoralising form of unemployment — going straight from school to the dole queue — isn't really an evil at all but a splendid opportunity to search for a career!

## PLENTY OF JOBS

By these and other similar miraculous calculations, Brittan succeeds in 'proving' that in March 1972, when there were over a million on the dole, unemployment was 'really' only half that. As for July 1974, when there were over 600,000 on the dole, Brittan claims that there were really 'two unfilled jobs for every unemployed person'!

All this would seem merely the ravings of a madman if it were not for the fact that Brittan proposes in all seriousness that unemployment should be calculated on this basis in the future. What is more, there is every chance that the next Tory Government will indeed adopt a method of 'calculating' unemployment similar to the Brittan model — Sir Keith Joseph has already publicly endorsed it. In such an Alice in Wonderland world, mass unemployment will never be able to exist — by definition.

## NO ANSWER

Faced with the reactionary economic arguments and politics of the monetarists, the liberal and reformist economic advisers of the labour leaders have retreated in confusion.

These people never adhered to Marxism. Instead, they preferred the 'theories' of Keynes, whose essence was that the way to



tackle the mass unemployment of the twenties and thirties was not through wage-cutting, but through boosting the purchasing power of the mass of people — for example, through higher wages and benefits and programmes of public works, which would increase the demand for industrial production and so create jobs.

But the disease of Keynesianism is inflation. Such a policy could work in a time of continued overall expansion of the capitalist world market. None of the post-war recessions faced by individual capitalist countries turned into anything like the depression of the inter-war years, each was met by a policy of credit relaxation and increases in government spending which provided the basis for another bout of inflation-based growth. When inflation got out of hand, each country would apply its own anti-inflation policy.

But as soon as inflation accelerated simultaneously in all imperialist countries, all capitalist governments were forced to apply anti-inflationary policies at the same time, leading to the present generalised world recession.

## INCOMES POLICY

To continue to inject vast amounts of money into a capitalist economy in this changed situation can only lead to an even bigger wave of speculative and unproductive spending, causing inflation to spiral still higher. The channelling of vast public funds into productive investment without inflation could only be guaranteed in a democratically planned nationalised economy — in other words, in a workers' state. And that is one thing our Keynesian labour leaders do not want.

Consequently, on the question of inflation, the monetarists — while not understanding the root causes of inflation — can knock the Keynesians all over the place. Faced with a crisis of their economic formulae, the Keynesians simply resort to witchcraft, blaming the working class for inflation and calling for incomes policy.

This is the line of the Labour leadership. They pose this as an alternative to mass unemployment, but the reduction of living standards — whether it is initiated through mass unemployment or through incomes policy — will itself lead to further prolonged mass unemployment. That is the extent of the choice that bourgeois economics and the capitalist system offers the working class — unless it imposes its own solution to the crisis.

## WORKERS PLAN

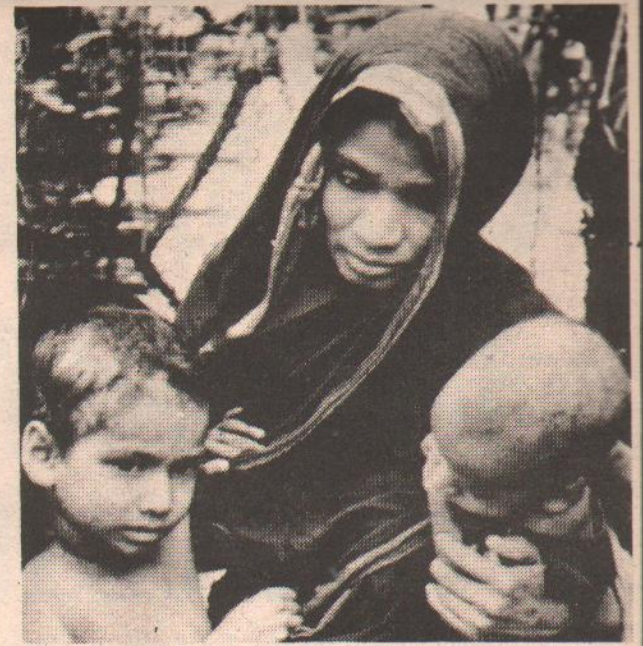
Such a solution would have to include extensive measures of nationalisation under workers' control; the boosting of public spending to defend and extend the welfare services; and the protection of living standards against inflation through a sliding scale of wages. But although these and similar measures are the only way jobs and living standards can possibly be defended in the capitalist crisis, no talk of how to achieve them through the independent mobilisation of the working class will be heard at this week's Trades Union Congress.

This is because the leaders of the TUC, the 'lefts' and the Communist Party stand in awe of the power of the capitalist class and its state machine. A successful fight to defend jobs and living standards would bring about a confrontation for which these traitors are not willing to prepare the working class. But as the Brittans, Friedmans, Josephs and Powells come out of the cave, the choice is starkly





# THE WEAK LINK GETS WEAKER



When Sheikh Mujibur Rehman returned from captivity in Pakistan in 1972 he was awarded a hero's welcome. Three million people turned out to line the streets of Dacca, and Mujib was to tell journalists: 'I love my people and my people love me.' But when he was shot dead by young army majors a fortnight ago there was no sign in Bangladesh that his people still loved him. The death of Mujib was accepted. The reasons for this are not difficult to grasp.

The task which confronted Mujib and the Awami League after independence was not an easy one: in a country of 80 million — the highest population density in the world — and under-developed into the bargain (90 per cent of the population live in the countryside) they set about attempting to construct a capitalist state. But despite Indian help and Soviet aid, the Awami League failed to tackle the social crisis.

## Gang Warfare

This was not surprising, as to solve the problems of the Bengali masses required a social revolution. The Awami League started instead to lay the basis for a bourgeois state. Overnight many of its leaders became rich. The lust for money resulted in scenes reminiscent of the Wild West. Gun battles took place between rival gangs of Awami Leaguers on the docks where foreign aid had been unloaded.

For a period Mujibur Rehman could posture as the 'Father of the Nation' and appear to be above the contending gangs inside his own party. But the smell of corruption soon spread to his own family, and his personal position began to be increasingly challenged. In desperation earlier this year he banned all political parties and instituted a one-party state supported by Moscow and the pro-Moscow groups. The latter dissolved their parties and liquidated themselves into Mujib's party. The other parties went underground.

## Favouritism

But despite the one-party state, unrest continued, and the blatant favouritism which was exercised by Mujib on behalf of his family provided the immediate cause for his overthrow and killing. Let us examine this favouritism more closely:

1. His younger brother, Sheikh Nasir, was the Godfather of North Bengal, and accumulated vast amounts of wealth under his brother's administration by currency smuggling. When the army was trying to curb smuggling, a Major Salahuddin got too close to Nasir. Some days later a group of gangsters entered the Major's office in Jessore and shot him dead. They were not apprehended. Sheikh Nasir is reported to have been killed.

2. Mujib's nephew, Sheikh Moni, also killed, used to be a staff reporter on a weekly paper earning a monthly wage of 300 Taka (£1 = 30 Taka). Under his uncle's administration he became the owner of two daily newspapers worth more than 10 million Takas. Moni was the unofficial boss of many ministries and directorates, and secretary of the country's only legal political party.

3. Another nephew, Sheikh Shahidul Islam, was boss of the student wing of the party. Islam used to regularly terrorise the women's hostels in Dacca, and was well-known as a rapist. He abducted at gunpoint and forcibly married the thirteen-year-old daughter of a senior State Bank official. Presumably to hide the stench of his other activities, he became the boss of the perfume

4. Mujib's son, Sheikh Kamal, was involved in smuggling and looting. In 1973 he was shot at by police while looting because the police were unaware of his identity. The police officers in charge of the operation lost their jobs. He used to count bribe-money by weighing it on his special scales. He too is reported dead.

5. Kamal's younger brother Jamal was recently trained at Sandhurst, but was better known for being involved in a smuggling racket with a group of Hong Kong businessmen. He was also killed.

## Serious Crisis

The young army officers who killed Mujib are now confronting a serious crisis. They carefully avoided a bloodbath of the Awami League leadership as such, though why they appointed a well-known CIA politician, Mushtaq Ahmed, as President is unclear. In any case it is unlikely that Mushtaq will remain in power for long.

In previous articles on Bangladesh we have pointed out that the distinguishing feature of Bangladesh was the weakness of the State as such. This gave Mujibur Rehman a special place. Without him the bureaucracy and the army will find themselves weakened, as will the Awami League.

The Bangladesh Army is a relatively new entity and from the point of view of imperialism not at all reliable. Its Commander-in-Chief, General Shafiullah, is only 38 years old, a veteran of the 1971 war and reputedly a liberal-minded officer. The second-in-command is Major General Ziaur Rehman, also a veteran of the 1971 war and reputedly 'left-minded'. The rest of the army is run by the young colonels and majors who were clearly the force behind the recent coup.

Amongst the colonels are Moinul Husain Chaudhry, Motiur Rehman, Nasim, M.H. Khan and S.A. Bhuia, who were all leaders of sectors during the 1971 war. Together with Majors Azizur Rehman Chaudhry, Ijaz, Ibrahim and Murshed, they developed an opposition to the Awami League. The sentiment of 'We fought to free our people, not to see these Awami League bastards get rich' was widespread in the army and even within the much-hated Rakhi Bahini (Security Force) which was used to repress all opposition.

However the new leaders, civilian and military, will be confronted with the same problems which finally resulted in the overthrow of Mujibur Rehman: social and economic chaos compounded by famine conditions in large tracts of the countryside. We can therefore expect continued instability for some time. What of the left? The pro-Moscow groups

Left, the rapturous welcome when Mujib returned from captivity; and right, the tragic consequences of his policies.

were solidly behind Mujib — some of their leaders even claimed at public meetings that 'he is the Lenin of the East'. When Mujib's police opened fire on pro-Moscow students demonstrating against the Americans in 1972 and killed two of them, the pro-Moscow groups remained silent.

## Opposition

The largest oppositional force in the country was a split-off from the Awami League, the JSD (National Socialist Party) led by Major Jalil and Abdur Rab. They posed a real threat to the Awami League for a certain time but were brutally repressed. After Mujib's death, however, it is not impossible that the JSD could play a major role. Bhashani's NAP (National Awami Party) is virtually marginalised, however, and the old peasant leader himself is hopelessly confused and compromised.

There are three main groups in the Maoist underground:

1. The Peoples Revolutionary Party of East Bengal has the largest trade union and peasant base of all the far left groups. During the war it established its own training camp, and its armed units fought against the Pakistan army.

2. The Proletarian Party of East Bengal was the main armed struggle group after the war. On a totally ultra-left position, it decided to continue the war against the Awami League.

3. The Communist Party of East Bengal, led by the veteran Maoist leader Toha, was also on an armed struggle position. But after suffering a major setback in the Rajshahi district in 1974 they withdrew from the armed struggle.

## Armed Struggle

These groups differ from their counterparts in India in that some of them have real experience of mass armed struggle. During the war they fought in close collaboration with many of the young majors and colonels of the Bangladesh army. Of course they all remain to varying degrees within the framework of Maoist orthodoxy. But when China recognises the new Bangladesh regime they may well discover that they will receive no political or material help from Peking, and may even be denounced as 'Lin Piaoist deviationists'.

Meanwhile the situation in Dacca remains confused and it would be premature to discuss the orientation of the new regime. Reports that it had become the 'Islamic Republic of Bangladesh' have been vigorously denied by Dacca, much to the embarrassment of the Pakistan Foreign Office, which had awarded it instant recognition. However a drift away from the influence of India and the Soviet Union remains likely and if a civil war breaks out socialists will have to demand that all hands stay out of Bangladesh and that we do not have a renewed Indian intervention.

## Instability

What events in Bangladesh mainly stress, however, is the continued instability which continues to prevail in the South Asian sub-continent since the 1971 explosions. The extent of the social crisis is such that this instability will continue, although unevenly. Mrs Gandhi should learn some lessons from Bangladesh before she decides to institutionalise the emergency in India.

# EGYPTIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ARRESTED

According to the Egyptian daily newspaper *Al-Akhbar*, of 3 August 1975, the Egyptian intelligence 'have succeeded in arresting a communist organisation with international connections in France and Lebanon'.

'Twenty members of this organisation, including five young women, have been arrested. The name of the organisation is 'International Communist League', and its goal is the overthrow of the economic and political system in this country, and the installation of a communist 'trotskyist' extremist regime. The internal security agency followed the organisation's activities from August 1974 until the arrest of its members in July.... This communist organisation was in contact with the Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon and the Fourth International of France (which is an extremist communist group).'

The article in *Al-Akhbar* goes on to quote the prosecutor, Abdel Magid Mahmoud, who said in the course of an appeal made by one of the accused, Randa Al-Baasi: 'This League is attempting to form a secret destructive communist organisation, not of the traditional kind, but an extremist marxist, trotskyist organisation that has contacts with foreign communist organisations. This organisation, therefore [?], has willingly accepted to be the agent of exterior forces opposed to our convictions.'

The inability of the prosecutor even to reason logically reflects the hysterical atmosphere which the Egyptian regime is trying to whip up around the trial — due to begin sometime between 15 and 20 September. Furthermore, it is not accidental that this new wave of arrests and the frenzied atmosphere which is being created by the regime coincide with the latest stage in the Henry Kissinger 'shuttle diplomacy' drama. Repression of the revolutionary left and an imperialist 'peace' settlement

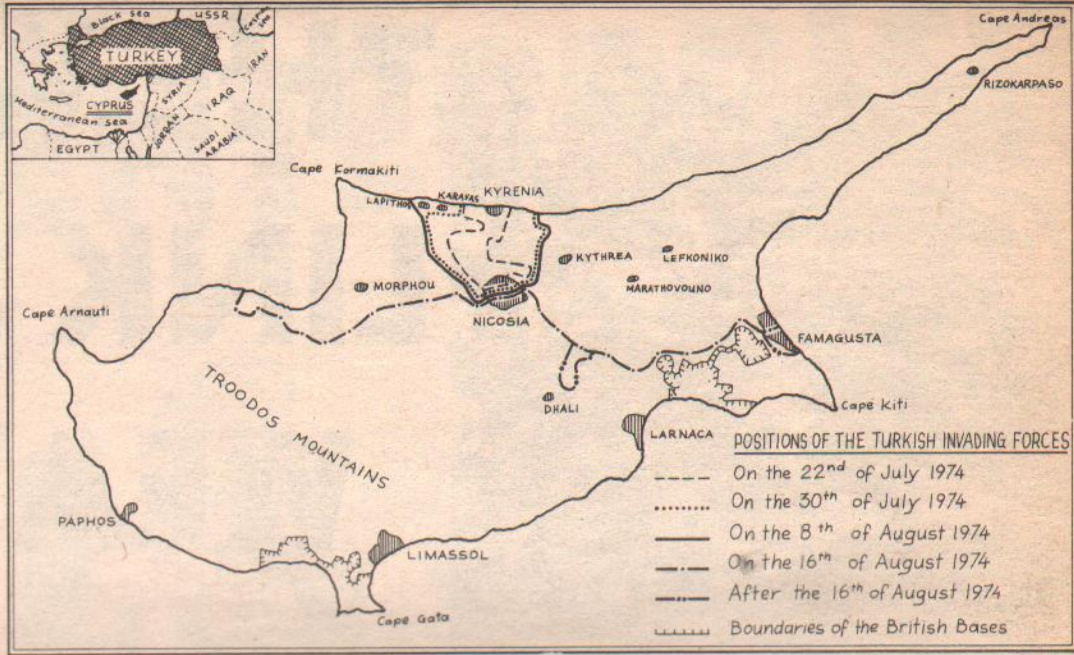
*Red Weekly* will provide further information on the arrests and the development of the Middle East political situation in its next issue. For the time being it is imperative that all readers should spread the news and send off letters of protest to the Egyptian Embassy in London.

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

**THE ARAB REVOLUTION Its Character, Present State, And Perspectives**



# CYPRUS - the carve-up continues



Leading Greek-Cypriot politicians have an enormous problem on their minds — how to sell the dirty deal concocted with Turkey at Vienna to the Greek-Cypriot community?

Clerides and Denktash, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives respectively, agreed that Cyprus should be divided into two federated zones. In return for this Greek-Cypriot concession, it was accepted that the Turkish area should be less than the 40 per cent of the island at present under Turkish military occupation. The immediate refugee transfers forced by Turkey are an indication of the weakness of the Greek side, and hence their necessity to come to a quick agreement with Turkey — even when this means the division of the island.

Provided that Turkish prime minister Demirel can restrain his generals from occupying the whole of the island, the package deal will be presented by the Turkish side at the fourth round of talks due to be held in New York on 8 and 9 September. Selecting New York as the venue for formalising the carve-up of Cyprus is a rather touching tribute to the success of American foreign policy—only 10 years ago President Johnson, with the Acheson Plan, first made public America's desire to partition the island.

Even over the question of partition, President Makarios can only follow lamely behind Clerides. He is caught between his demagogy on the one hand—calling for an unceasing struggle to oppose occupation and partition—and on the other hand his denunciations of any notion of armed struggle, hoping bloodshed can be avoided by the UN implementing its Cyprus resolution. This means that Makarios is doomed to follow the 'more realistic' Clerides.

## 'REALISTIC'

Clerides clearly recognises that Makarios is nothing more than a travelling floor-show, completely unable to organise on the basis of his demagogy. In an interview with the Cypriot paper *Apogermatini*, Clerides ridiculed the ideas of a long-term struggle often suggested by President Makarios in the past. Such a struggle, waged in speeches at international gatherings and the UN, will not solve the Cyprus problem. Of course Clerides is not arguing for an armed struggle and a workers' solution—he is pointing out that the only 'realistic solution' is partition i.e. legalising the de facto situation.

The Archbishop is not totally removed from the real world—indications are that he will now soon publicly support Clerides on this issue. At Helsinki, Klaus Bolling, a West



Makarios—doomed to follow Clerides

German Secretary of State, reported that Makarios was now prepared to make concessions to settle the Cyprus problem. Makarios 'would now accept a smaller territory than envisaged' for the Greek Cypriot community in a federated state, but he wanted the territory still to be 'quite large'.

The Cypriot Communist Party, AKEL, has come out in support of Clerides and the agreement concluded in Vienna. Only the Socialist Party of Vassos Lyssarides, the EDEK, has opposed these preparations for a carve-up. Virtually alone, they have organised demonstrations in Nicosia against

the refugees' transfers and the division of the island into two zones.

To understand how this massive defeat of the Cypriot working class came about it is necessary to understand the nature of the AKEL. Although having proportionally the strongest support of any Communist Party in the capitalist world, AKEL has never had a strategy for seizing state power. Basically it is a reformist party tied to the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin. Consequently AKEL has never fulfilled the tasks of a real workers party in providing a revolutionary leadership for the Turkish and Greek Cypriot workers.

During the struggle against the British in the 1950s, AKEL sat on the sidelines allowing the fascist Colonel Grivas to harness the anti-colonial aspirations of the masses. In the same period, AKEL ditched its Turkish members who were being attacked by the fascists of both communities in order to avoid provocations'.

## 'LOYAL OPPOSITION'

The net result of AKEL's inability to lead the Cypriot workers on a class-wide basis in the struggle for socialism was twofold. Firstly, imperialism's control was never removed from the island—neither politically, economically, nor militarily. Secondly, the ethnic divisions fostered by the British and Grivas were to provide the basis from which imperialism could work towards the eventual partitioning of the island.

During the years after the achievement of independence' in 1960, the Turkish Cypriot workers faced a rapidly declining standard of living and a ghettoisation forced on them by their repressive ruling clique—all to the indifference of AKEL. AKEL was more concerned with proving itself the 'loyal opposition to his Beatitude'.

Far from being a revolutionary party trying to bring about socialism through the seizure of state power, AKEL suffered from the most acute form of parliamentary cretinism ever diagnosed. Not wishing to stand against the bourgeois parties in the 1970 elections 'for fear of causing friction' AKEL was eventually forced to when its plea for standing only in mutually agreed unopposed seats was turned down. Feverishly AKEL had to work out *how not to win*. Eventually the Communists stood for only a quarter of the seats, although still obtaining 42% of the vote!

## NO EFFORT TO ARM WORKERS

It was not completely surprising then that they made no effort to arm and mobilise the workers against the imminent coup. Instead they proclaimed that on the one hand Makarios's Tactical Reserve Force was capable of containing the 650 Greek officers sent to the island by the junta, and on the other hand that the Soviet Bloc would not sit back idly in the event of a coup. Characteristically they were wrong on both counts.

Despite the coup and the invasion AKEL remains true to its reformist policies. It still trails behind the Archbishop in his efforts to make the UN implement its own Cyprus resolution.

Within Cyprus it calls for a patriotic Government of National Unity pledged to Makarios and argues that 'the main pillar of our people's struggle is the immediate implementation of the Government's emergency economic plan for the reconstruction and revitalisation of the Cypriot economy'. Hence their recent attempts to break the strike at the Coca-Cola factory where the Cypriot workers were opposing wage cuts.

Cyprus after last year's invasion — now Greek Cypriot 'leaders' seem set to accept a permanent partition.

Clearly the revolutionary leadership so desperately required in Cyprus cannot come from the AKEL. What then of the Socialist Party of Vassos Lyssarides, the EDEK?

## 'NO CLASSES NOW'

Although the EDEK is a relatively new party it contains elements who have understood and broken from the reformist politics of the AKEL. The party, though, is essentially centrist with a left social-democratic leadership. To date it has had a good record on many points—initially mounting an armed offensive against the Sampson regime after the coup, being centrally involved in the Coca-Cola strike, mobilising against the Vienna carve-up, generally opposing Clerides, rejecting the UN as a solution to the Cyprus problem.

But the basic unevenness and reactionary aspects of the EDEK were most clearly shown when Dougis HJ Demetriou, General Secretary of the EDEK, addressed a public meeting in London recently. Revolutionary socialists in the EDEK must have been embarrassed at his chauvinistic rallying-point of Hellenism, his slavish devotion to Makarios, and his refusal to mention the Clerides/Denktash deal. What must have made revolutionaries in EDEK really squirm though, was his national unity line—'there are no classes in Cyprus now; there are only those opposed to the Turkish occupation'.

## CLASS STRUGGLE

Revolutionaries must fight against positions like this. A real workers' party cannot obscure the basic feature which has bedevilled Cypriot political life for the past 25 years—that racial conflicts are both a manifestation and mystification of the underlying class struggle. Without this understanding EDEK will follow the same path as the AKEL—the Cyprus situation will repeat itself endlessly, and the ethnic divisions will deepen, until the workers' movement organises politically on class lines.

## E. Medcom



IMG Cyprus pamphlet available in Greek, Turkish and English from RED BOOKS 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. — price 20p & 6p p&p



Greek Cypriots in action against the Turkish invaders





Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

## Build NAC Conference

The Select Committee set up to examine evidence on James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill have been unable to make a final report to Parliament, and the most likely fate of this Bill is that it will therefore be dropped by default.

However, the restrictive nature of the recommendations in the third special report of this Committee, and Wilson's letter to the Women's Right to Choose Campaign (see *Red Weekly*, 17 July), indicate that the ground is being prepared for the introduction of new restrictive legislation in the next Parliamentary session.

It is a foregone conclusion that such legislation — in all probability sponsored by the Government — would not make the same stupid mistakes as White made in his Bill. The aim of new legislation would, however, be the same — to restrict the grounds for abortion. We will therefore be faced with a situation in which the campaign is in danger of being divided by this legislation into those who would be content with apparent 'improvements' in the current abortion legislation, and those who see the need for a

fight against all restrictive legislation and the establishment of 'a woman's right to choose' and 'free abortion on demand on the National Health Service'.

A way to avoid this division is to make sure that all those active in the campaign, and under its influence, understand what is meant by 'a woman's right to choose' and how this fight is an integral part of the fight against women's oppression.

This is why the NAC conference 18-19 October at Imperial College, London is so important. It will be the Campaign's first real chance to get to grips with problems of its aims, policies and strategy at a national level.

The conference is being billed as an action conference, and is not just a forum. It will try to plan out the strategy of the campaign which will take us from a situation of impending further restrictive legisla-

tion along the road towards an end to all restrictive legislation and the provision of the material resources needed to enable women to exercise a free, informed choice.

The morning session will have a report from the steering committee, and a discussion around resolutions for future activities. This will be followed by workshop discussion on these proposals with the voting on these closing the Saturday session. Sunday will then be spent working out how to implement the decisions taken the previous day. Saturday evening will be a public hearing of the International Tribunal of Crimes Against Woman.

### NO SUBSTITUTE

In the controversy over a November demonstration, it has been implied that the IMG is counterposing the conference to a demonstration and trying to substitute the one for the other. This would clearly be impossible. A conference could not mobilise for or extend the campaign in the same way that a demonstration could.

The opposite also holds good. A demonstration is no substitute for the conference. Unless clarity is established around what a demonstration is about the campaign will not go forward. The conference must therefore be seen as and fought for as a priority. It is only a democratically organised conference which can determine the policies, strategies and tactics which can advance the campaign.

So far Scotland, Tyneside, Bristol and Birmingham are holding regional conferences and teach-ins to build for the national one. All over the country activities are being organised including factory gate meetings, and leafleting, preparations for freshers weeks, street theatre, and public meetings. Approaches have also been made to trade unions, trades councils, Labour Party wards etc.

These actions combine building the campaign with building for the conference. If we really work between now and 18 October we can not only build a very big conference, but we can effect a real transformation of the Campaign. This could prepare the way, not only for defensive action against restrictive legislation, but also for a very aggressive fight to win support for free abortion on demand.

### PICKET SPUC DOCTORS

SPUC doctors are organising an anti-abortion conference on 20 September in Birmingham. This is being paid for by the DHSS because the Postgraduate Medical Federation has sanctioned it as 'educative'. As a build up to the massive opposition being mounted nationally by NAC on the day of the conference, health workers and members of London NAC groups will be picketing the offices of the Federation at 11, Millman Street, London WC1 on 11 September from 12-2 pm to protest at this misuse of NHS funds.

## TUC MOTION ON ABORTION

The unanimous decision of the TUC women's conference to support the campaign for free abortion on demand on the NHS will be followed up at next week's Trades Union Congress by a motion sponsored by the Medical Practitioners Union and the Tobacco Workers Union.

The motion, which will be moved by National Abortion Campaign activist and International Marxist Group member Dr Berry Beaumont, recognises that the 1967 Abortion Act has not been implemented in many areas, and is itself restrictive as it leaves the decision in the hands of the doctor rather than the woman concerned. It calls on all affiliated trade unions to oppose any attempts to introduce further restrictions on abortion legislation, and to actively campaign for the right of all women to free contraception and abortion on demand on the NHS.

If the motion is passed it will be a great step forward for the pro-abortion campaign which after being formed only six months ago is now putting its positions to the TUC. *Red Weekly* urges all of its readers who are delegates to the conference to vote for the motion and ensure that the workers' movement gives its full support to the fight for free abortion on demand.



Photos: ANDREW WARD (Report)

# HOW AND WHEN TO BUILD A DEMONSTRATION

At the national planning meeting of the National Abortion Campaign a fortnight ago, a resolution was put forward for a demonstration on 8 November. This came hard on the heels of an article in *Socialist Worker* which had initiated the call for an early November demonstration independently of the NAC.

At the meeting there was agreement over the timing of possible government legislation and the importance of a national demonstration in building the movement, but the voting on the exact timing of a demonstration was tied 33-33. A recall meeting will be held on 6 September after local NAC groups have discussed the question on the basis of two documents to be circulated by NAC outlining the arguments. The main points they make for and against a demo on 8 November are quoted here:

### FOR 1) THE TIMING

'It is no good just waiting for new legislation and then reacting. That would be falling into the hands of our opponents. They hope that NAC will have disappeared by the time of the next session so that when the Select Committee meets (under the influence of SPUC) they can bring in major changes.'

### 2) FOCUS FOR DEMO

'The November demonstration will provide a national focus for all our work in the localities, at the same time it will strengthen local groups after the summer lull. We know that in the coming period we are being threatened by further restrictive legislation. How about "No return to the back streets", "A woman's right to choose" for the demonstration slogans?'

### 3) THE FIGHT AGAINST SPUC

'Come the autumn the anti-abortionists will be campaigning like mad. SPUC already has a demonstration planned for 19 October. That is why we have to go on the offensive. The last demonstration was organised in two months. From 6 September we have time to organise an 8 November demonstration

The document against the demonstration was signed by IMG members on the steering committee, together with independents working in NAC locally and nationally, and representatives from the NUS and ALRA. Signatories to the other position were members of the International Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

We emphasised the importance of consensus within the campaign in building mass actions if these are to be really successful. Without this unity in action NAC could become fragmented and weakened. If a sizeable majority do not support a proposed action, we suggest the proposal be withdrawn and alternatives considered around which agreement can be reached.

We feel that the conference is very important for NAC groups to be able to discuss and decide democratically tactics and timing of actions in the future, to carry the campaign forward with the maximum forces involved. The fight for free abortion on demand is too important to risk failure on the basis of tactical disagreements within the campaign.

Articles on this page compiled by: BERRY BEAUMONT, PHYLLIS DUNCAN, LINDA SMITH and WENDY FOREST, IMG members of NAC Steering Committee.

## WHAT'S ON

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

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

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

**DROP THE CHARGES** Against the BWNIC 16! Public meeting Monday 15 September, 7.30pm, in Conway Hall—speakers include: John Miller (T&G), Joan Maynard MP, Eric Tomlinson, Paul Foot, Alastair Renwick (TOM), Jack Dromey (NCCL), George Anthony (AUEW), Laurence Daly (NUM), Wendy Butlin (defendant).

**'BANGLADESH—The meaning of the coup'**: public meeting, Friday 29 August, 7pm at the Roebuck, Tottenham Court Rd. Speakers from Bangladesh and India. Organised by Asian Socialist Forum.

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

**THE FIRST EDITION** of Marxist Bulletin, quarter-

ted to the Organising Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, is now on sale at 49p inc. postage; annual subscription £1.98. Send your cheque/PO to Business Manager, Marxist Bulletin, c/o Unit 6C, 8 Green Lane, Fordingbridge, Hants. SP6 1HT.

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

**WATFORD NAC** Day of Action, Sat 30 August, midday onwards in Watford High St. Leafletting, petitioning, street theatre.

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

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



# RED WEEKLY

## VICTORY IN LOBITO

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has scored a victory striking deep into the heart of neo-colonial southern Africa. Following a series of victories in the north, east, and central regions, the MPLA has smashed the combined forces of FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) at Lobito.

With the crisis within Portugal, the international bourgeoisie have been frustrated by the inability of the Portuguese to make an effective intervention in Angola; so the task of smashing the anti-imperialist mobilisations of the Angolan masses behind the MPLA has been bestowed upon UNITA and FNLA.

But the fight for the control of Lobito was by no means a 'regional' struggle; Lobito, the second largest port in Angola, provides an important export route for Zaire and at least half the copper of Zambia (99 per cent of whose economy rests on copper). As such, the victory in Lobito effectively cripples the already crumbling economy of Zambia, and with the anti-working-class legislation in June which met with widespread resistance from Zambian workers, the present dilemma is likely to spark off further crises for the Kaunda regime. Moreover, since the Tan-Zam railway leading to the already inadequate Dar-es-Salaam port (Tanzania) is incomplete, the only route available is through Rhodesia, and thereby to Beira (Mozambique).

The political implications of this in the current developments in southern Africa are crucial coinciding as it does with the 'constitutional conference' at Victoria Falls where Kaunda is putting heavy pressure on the African National Council of Rhodesia to make some sort of deal with Smith. Imperialism's need for a rapid neo-colonial solution for Zimbabwe is now vital, and all-out pressures will be brought to bear on Mozambique to open up the route to the sea for Zambia - and naturally Rhodesia.

Since Zaire has already been forced to use the Rhodesian route, the victory of the MPLA at Lobito confronts imperialism with the dilemma of the collapsing economies of its neo-colonies - a dilemma that can only be solved by effectively smashing the MPLA and its base, and urgently restoring the Angolan road to neo-colonialism. The intervention of South African troops around the Cunene basin hydro-electric dam is therefore not to be taken lightly; nor the recent sales (in return for cheap copper etc.) of Mirage F-1 fighter bombers to Zaire by France. If a major intervention within Angola is not possible, then certainly the oil-rich Cabinda enclave will be torn away with the balkanisation of Angola.

Lobito is an important prize for the African revolution; but a prize that will be grudgingly given.  
Julius Karanja



This map shows how Lobito controls the Western export route



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# 50,000 MARCH FOR POPULAR ASSEMBLY

The Portuguese Government headed by Prime Minister Goncalves continues to mark time, incapable of doing anything about the acute economic, social and political problems plaguing the country. It lives only because no one can come up with anything to put in its place.

Of course capitalism has its 'solution' to Portugal's problems - the wiping out of all the gains won by working people since the 25 April and the crushing of the most class-conscious sections of the working class in a Chile-style repression.

But anyone who stood up today and urged such a solution would find himself up against the entire Portuguese working class, supported by the majority of the rank-and-file of the armed forces. The defenders of capitalism in Portugal have therefore to dress themselves up as 'socialists' and 'moderates'.

They have to try to sow dissension among Portuguese working people by raising the hypocritical banner of 'defending freedom' while allying themselves with the most reactionary forces inside and outside the country. They have to try to drive the capitalist wedge in by the thin end, talking about the need to get aid from the capitalist Common Market to bail Portugal out of the straits that capitalism has got it into, and about the need to 'strengthen the state' in order to solve the political problems that the bankruptcy of the capitalist state has created.

The Socialist Party and the 'moderates' in the armed forces, backed by reactionary and imperialist allies, can sow chaos and violence in the country, but they do not have the power to impose their pro-capitalist schemes alone.

Thus we have the bizarre spectacle of the 'moderates' trying to cobble together some sort of compromise with the opportunist General Carvalho, associated with the most left-wing current inside the armed forces. This reflects one fact: the immensely strong position of the Portuguese working class, despite the divisions sown by the pro-capitalist forces.

### ONE SOLUTION

Indeed, there is only one force in Portugal today that can solve the country's problems - the working class. Neither the Goncalves Government, nor a 'moderate' Government, nor a 'moderate-Carvalho' Government, can take the sort of action necessary to meet the crisis. Only a *Workers' Government* - composed of the mass workers' organisations and based on independent organs of working class power - can develop and implement a planned economy and impose proletarian order in place of the anarchy and chaos that capitalism is sowing throughout the Portuguese economy and society.

This is why the fight for the creation of a National Popular Assembly, based on the grass-roots organs of working class struggle, and for a Government of the mass workers'

organisations responsible to this Assembly and implementing its decisions through it, is the key task in Portugal today.

The proposal for such an Assembly, first put forward by the Trotskyists of the International Communist League in the recent elections, has captured the allegiance of the most advanced sections of the working class and the armed forces. It has been incorporated into a recent policy document drawn up by officers of the left-wing dominated COPCON security forces, and was recently supported by a 50,000 strong demonstration of workers and soldiers in Lisbon.

While the vanguard of the Portuguese working class works to rebuild the unity of the Portuguese mass movement and take its struggle forward on this basis, reaction and imperialism will be doing everything in their power to obstruct this. It is the task of the international workers' movement to start building the sort of international movement of solidarity that can tie the hands of imperialism and aid the victory of our class-brothers and sisters in Portugal. The 20 September demonstration in London can be an important first step in building such a campaign in Britain.  
Pages 4&5: Portugal - central questions.



Scenes of violence as right-wing reaction steps up its offensive, not only in northern Portugal but even in Lisbon (right)

PORTUGAL  
WHERE IS THE  
REVOLUTION  
GOING?

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM  
CONWAY HALL CLUB ROOM  
Red Lion Square W.C.1.  
(Nearest Tube Holborn)  
TUESDAY 2ND SEPTEMBER 7.30pm

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Red Weekly is the only paper that carries in-depth analysis of the struggle for power in Portugal. It is the only paper on the left that attempts to come to grips with the crisis in the Labour Party and put forward a basic programme around which the working class can unite to smash Wilson's policies.

To help us improve our coverage and our analysis we need material resources. So please rush us in that money now. There's four days left in August and we need every penny we can get. All donations to Red Weekly, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.