

RED WEEKLY

11 SEPTEMBER 1975

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



DEMONSTRATION

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PORTUGUESE WORKERS

A touching little gathering took place in Downing Street last week. Hosted by Harold Wilson, social democratic leaders from all over Western Europe — François Mitterrand of France, Willy Brandt of West Germany, Olaf Palme of Sweden, and others — gathered to discuss the situation in Portugal. Solidarity was the theme. But it was not solidarity with the Portuguese workers.

The same 'leaders' who stayed silent during the years of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship and welcomed Portugal into NATO, were there to discuss how to crush the Portuguese Revolution in the embrace of the capitalist Common Market.

The economic sabotage of the multinational companies has already taken a terrible toll. Now these worthy gentlemen seek to turn the screw once more. By making Common Market economic aid dependent on the establishment of an acceptable capitalist 'democracy' in Portugal, they aim to destroy the living workers' democracy and the embryos of workers' power that have begun to flower in Portugal in the past seventeen months.

HYPOCRISY

All good sell-outs end with a communique, and this one was no exception. In characteristic Wilson double-talk, this document was full of fine-sounding phrases about 'the advance to Socialism' and the need for 'pluralist democracy'.

'The advance to Socialism'? Well we all know the contribution Wilson and his hatchet men have made to that end in Britain: wage-cuts for everyone, 1½ million unemployed and drastic cuts in the social services.

'Pluralist democracy'? Well again, we've seen the great benefits this has brought in Britain — to the Labour bureaucrats and their capitalist backers, that is. Why bother with working class power if the so-called leaders of the working class can have the occasional bite at the lucrative cherry of government office? After all, there's always the Labour-Tory knock-about — though even that's fading in these days of coalitionist policies — to stop

the workers looking too closely into the workings of the capitalist system itself.

Nor was the social democratic leaders' rhetoric exhausted in these phrases. There were others equally fine sounding about the need for a 'free flow of information' — although it is not thought that Wilson and company had Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, in mind. This fellow member of the 'Socialist' International has the nasty habit of throwing critical journalists in jail at four in the morning and keeping them there indefinitely.

'DEFEND NATO'

So what was this gathering all about? The game was given away at the subsequent press conference by 'honest' Willy Brandt, the chairman of this 'Committee of Friendship with Democracy and Socialism in Portugal'. He told assembled journalists that the position of Portugal was decisive for Western Europe because of its relationship to NATO. Quite what 'democracy and socialism' have to do with this counter-revolutionary military alliance even he didn't try to explain.

But if Wilson and his colleagues don't see the need to explain this relationship, the Portuguese working class certainly does. For 25 years NATO bolstered the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships and encouraged Portuguese colonialism to continue its wars of oppression in Africa. Similarly NATO engineered the colonels' coup in Greece in 1967 when even 'pluralist democracy' could not stop the workers getting restive. And today NATO's hand is all too clearly seen behind the anti-communist movement in the Azores — which just happens to be the key military staging post between the US and the Middle East.

SOLIDARITY

These social democrats now reckon to choke the Portuguese revolution through a co-ordinated display of capitalist solidarity. But there is another kind of solidarity which can and must stop them. That is the solidarity action of the international working class.

Portugal is in the news — often very inaccurately — because the people of Portugal are creating a socialist society. In this task they need the support of the entire British Labour movement and not the obstruction of those who during the long years of fascism were apologists for 'Britain's oldest ally.'

For this reason we urge the widest support for a mass demonstration to be held in London on Saturday, 20 September, organised by the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee. The main slogans

of the demonstration will be those used by this committee in its solidarity campaign in recent months: No economic boycott; Big business, NATO, CIA — hands off Portugal; Portugal must not become another Chile; Support the solidarity campaign with the Portuguese working class.

The demonstration will be held in Hyde Park near Speakers' Corner, preceded by a march starting at 2.30pm. Trade union, trades council and similar banners will be welcomed. Preparatory meetings are being planned in

many places, and speakers are available for these from the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee (18 Fleet Road, London NW3). The entire mobilisation cannot be achieved on goodwill alone; we urge readers and their organisations to rush donations to the committee now, and prepare their participation.

Ken Fleet
Ken Coates
Joan Maynard MP
Audrey Wise MP
Dennis Skinner MP

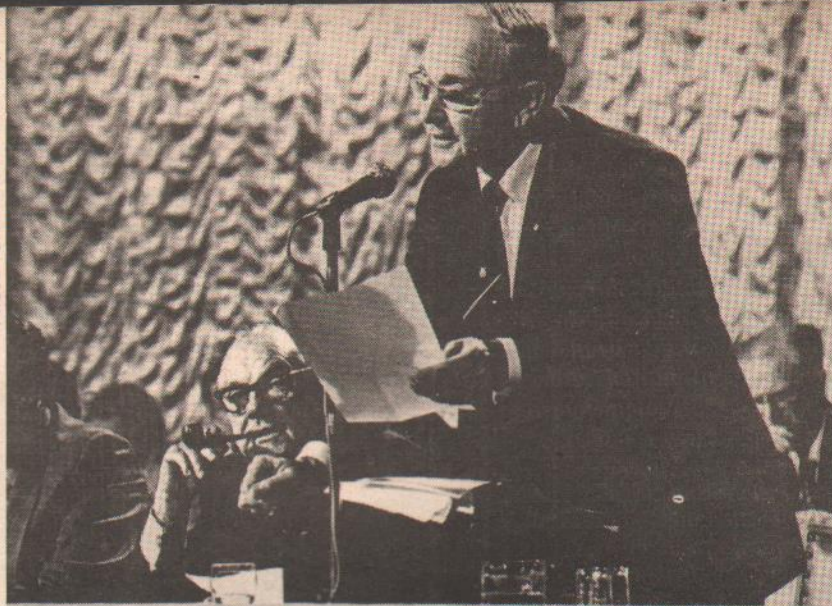


Partners in a pro-capitalist solidarity pact to crush the Portuguese revolution—Portuguese Socialist Party leader Mario Soares together with Harold Wilson

CHILE - Two years later Pages 6&7 CHILE - Two years later

A STAR IS BORN

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



RESS 1975

As if to underline this point, the discussion on unemployment failed to produce a single concrete initiative apart from a motion from the printing union SLADE, which called for the legalisation of factory occupations. Hugh Scanlon's major concern seemed to be that the 158,200 unemployed school leavers — a 'staggering increase of 283 per cent' on the figure for a year before — would flock into revolutionary organisations unless the Government got them jobs!

ALL-TIME LOW

An all-time low was reached by Bill Sirs, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. At a time when the British Steel Corporation is seeking 20,000 redundancies, Sirs said he *accepted* that the BSC had the statutory right to run the industry. All his union wanted was more consultation about how to carry out the cuts! It was hardly surprising that British Leyland chose Blackpool to announce to the unions in the car industry that another 20,000 to 30,000 jobs must go over the next year.

NEW STRUGGLES

All in all, it was a deeply satisfying week for Harold Wilson and his capitalist backers. The union block votes will now guarantee acceptance of his policies at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference. But with the economic crisis deepening, working class discontent will grow — and then the curtains will rise on new scenes of struggle.

James Drake

As the curtain came down on the 107th performance of the annual Trades Union Congress at Blackpool Opera House last Friday, tumultuous applause from the capitalist press rang out for the undoubted star of the show, Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers Union. Tears of gratitude in their eyes, many hacks are already hoping that the one year run of the '£6 limit' can be extended into another 'Mousetrap'. With 1¼ million registered 'extras' available, critics claimed that — but for the show-stopping intrusion of pickets demanding the release of Des Warren before the clock strikes midnight — this one could replace the Blackpool Christmas pantomime as the tamest show on earth.

Early on the conference continued its 87-year long tradition of hypocrisy on the subject of women's rights (see page 9). After this farce came the grotesque spectacle of the 'debate' on the £6 limit — if it can be called a debate. In moving the policy of which he is the architect, Jack Jones had the nerve to use the big stick of unemployment to gain acceptance. But the £6 limit is *adding to unemployment*, by cutting the real value of workers' wages, lowering demand, and so causing cut-backs in output.

In fact this was quite clearly pointed out in a 5,000 word policy statement issued by the National Union of Public Employees just before the Conference. But with the traditional two-faced attitude of the union bureaucracy, NUPE

general secretary Alan Fisher, promptly turned round after the debate and said his union *would* accept the pay curb: 'We have always taken the view that decisions made in Congress are binding.'

It was in the wake of the discussion on the £6 limit that Len Murray raised the question of a new national industrial plan. But rather than proposing a socialist plan to end the anarchy of capitalism, all Murray wants is more class-collaboration between the unions, the bosses and the Government in an effort to keep capitalism going for a little bit longer. This was clearly demonstrated when Jack Jones succeeded in getting conference to reject a motion from all three railway unions calling for an integrated transport policy and the nationalisation

of all forms of transport.

In the face of Jones' and Murray's strategy the remaining 'lefts' are powerless. Unable to offer a coherent anti-capitalist strategy, they were reduced to mouthing banalities about 'free collective bargaining'. *Tribune* (5 September) tries to blur over the defeat suffered by the working class at the TUC by claiming that many aspects of the resolutions for and against the £6 limit were similar. But the £6 limit itself

is the cornerstone of the Wilson Government's pro-capitalist policies, and so long as it exists the trade unions will be fighting the other aspects of Wilson's policies with one hand tied behind their backs.

Murray and Jones can go on talking about public works and selective import controls and opposing cuts in public expenditure, but Wilson knows that he has all the trump cards while the unions continue to police the pay laws.

PICKETS - TUC GIVES NO LEAD

The TUC bureaucrats last week managed to push through their £6 wage-limit. But in eight or nine months' time, faced with a massive drop in their standard of living and further increases in unemployment, we can expect more and more workers to challenge the £6 limit.

The employers have understood this very well and have begun their preparations well in advance. Ever since the 1972 miners' and building workers' strikes, mass pickets have been a large thorn in their sides. So police have obligingly attacked picket lines in Newcastle, Peterborough, Birmingham, Glasgow and now Liverpool. At the present time there are over 100 workers on trial for various picketing 'offences', while Des Warren remains in jail.

The response to these attacks on pickets has been far from adequate. In fact, if the trade union bureaucrats had been prepared to put a tenth of the energy into defending pickets that they put into selling the £6 limit, then the working class would be in a much stronger position.

PIOUS MOTION

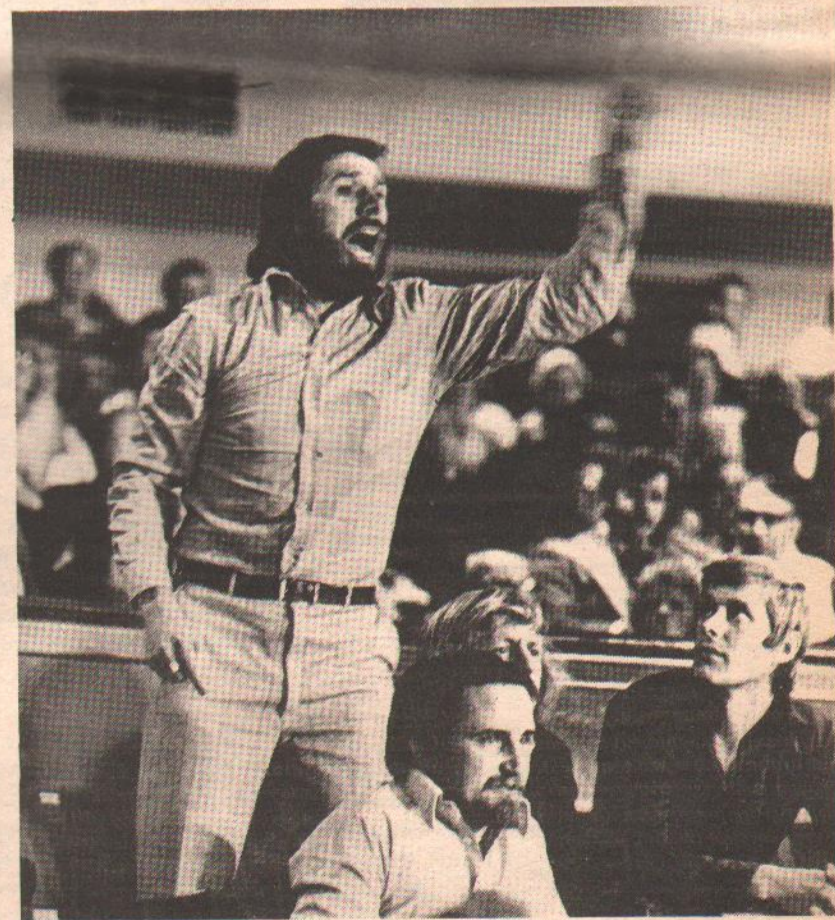
The TUC of course passed yet another pious resolution calling on the General Council 'to use the full strength of the British trade union movement' to secure the release of Des Warren. Mick McGahey of the NUM claimed that if Warren had been a miner he would no longer be in jail.

Bro. McGahey, if he is serious, should therefore be campaigning amongst the Scottish miners for strike action now. It is almost certain that he would win support from miners in other areas. And in Scotland many other workers could be brought into such a struggle because of the savage attacks on pickets at the National Front meeting in Glasgow.

However, the unwillingness of the TUC to organise any struggle can be seen in the ejection from the hall of militants opposing the slanders heaped on the Shrewsbury workers by the Electricians' delegate. Marie Patterson, chairing the Congress, even threatened to call in the police!

Moreover, not one trade union leader has yet called for any actions to defend the Eldon Square pickets in Newcastle, the Cammell Laird workers in Birkenhead, or the victims of the vicious police attack in Glasgow.

But some workers have begun to see the common nature of these attacks on the right to picket. The Eldon Square workers organised a meeting last week



'Des Warren is still in nick at the moment, and ten lads are up on trial in Newcastle. And then there's 76 lads up on trial in Glasgow for anti-fascist demonstrations. We've got to concentrate on the same sort of events and same tactics we used for the Shrewsbury lads in these trials, and for the lads that are now involved in the Cammell Laird dispute.'

'What they're doing now is not using conspiracy laws, but once again using the criminal law. At the present time there's over a hundred people involved in law suits arising from incidents that have happened on the picket line. I don't think the TUC have got any option other than to call for a one day stoppage.' — Ricky Tomlinson, Shrewsbury picket, after being thrown out of the TUC conference last week.

son, who brought messages of support from Des Warren and the Cammell Laird workers. One of the arrested pickets in Glasgow also spoke. After the meeting the stewards from Rover in Solihull who had come for the demonstration the next day in support of the Eldon Square pickets, promised a donation to the Glasgow defence committee.

The nationally organised one-day general strike which Ricky Tomlinson is arguing for would be a tremendous step forward in building a campaign

a campaign would have to take up *all* attacks on pickets, and not simply call for the release of Des Warren or — worse still — just the repeal of the Conspiracy Laws.

By uniting the struggles at Eldon Square, Cammell Laird and Glasgow with the fight to free Des Warren, we will be able to build the broadest possible movement to defend the right to picket. This will put the workers' movement in a much stronger position when it goes into battle against the £6 limit.

The campaign to defend the 10 scaffolders arrested at McAlpine's Eldon Square site in Newcastle has so far made considerable gains. All but two of the pickets have now been cleared of all charges. The judge ordered the jury to find all ten defendants not guilty of the charge of 'threatening behaviour', and the charge of possessing an offensive weapon against one of the pickets was dropped.

However, two of the men still face charges of assaulting the police. One of them Robert Henderson, has already been tried once but the jury failed to reach a verdict. So he was being tried again this week.

There can therefore be no let-up in the defence campaign. The scaffolders are still organising daily pickets of the court and there is to be a public meeting in defence of the pickets on Thursday 11 September at 8pm in the Newcastle Workingmen's Club.

The Tyneside Trades Unions 'Eldon Square Pickets' Defence Committee has organised meetings in local factories for the pickets to speak at and has also made contact with the pickets arrested at Cammell Laird in Birkenhead and the demonstrators arrested for picketing the National Front meeting in Glasgow. Such moves are extremely important and show a way forward for building a national campaign for the defence of all pickets.

All donations and messages should be sent to E.Brady, 86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle upon-Tyne 5 (Tel. 0632 32365).

Red Books News!

SCARGILL SPEAKS

The latest issue of *New Left Review* contains an important interview with Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' leader. The interview, which was given before the latest Healey measures, goes into Scargill's background and his attitude towards politics, trade unionism and trade union democracy, Labour Government, etc. It shows the political strengths and weaknesses of Scargill, and indicates some of the factors which went to make up his political formation. Other important material in this issue of *NLR* includes a key and comprehensive study of the role of state expenditure, by Ian Gough; a study of the Yenian literary opposition to Mao, by Greg Benton; and Lucian Goldman's 'Marxism and Literary Criticism'. Price

TRADE UNIONS & INFLATION

Do Trade Unions Cause Inflation has been re-issued with a new preface by Cambridge. The answer which the authors — Jackson, Turner and Wilkinson — give is a very qualified 'yes', but only to the extent that they have to defend their members' interests because of other factors. This effectively destroys the common bourgeois argument that the cause of the huge inflation rate in recent years has been trade union action.

The book's wealth of argumentation and statistics can be extremely useful for people engaged in propaganda work on this question. One thing becomes obvious: the Healey measures are really concerned with increasing the rate of exploitation and, therefore,

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

YOU CAN'T PERSUADE THEM, YOU HAVE TO FIGHT THEM!

by JEFF KING

This week we take a first look at the agenda for the Labour Party Conference. In subsequent issues we will write in some detail on the resolutions dealing with the economy, unemployment, the social services — particularly the National Health Service — abortion, and foreign policy.

The resolutions for the Labour Party Conference dramatise the politically traumatic conflict that is spreading like a bush fire throughout the Labour Party.

The rank and file are incensed at the way the Wilson leadership is running the Government. There is a plethora of resolutions calling for 'socialist measures'. One Labour Party after another has gone on record insisting that the crisis is not the responsibility 'of the working class'.

Wilson clique

But with few exceptions the resolutions restrict themselves to pleas for the leadership to mend their ways, or are simply aimed at exposing the Wilson clique. Resolution 26 from Brighton Kempton, for example, 'calls on the Government to take immediate steps to control inflation by a planned socialist control of the economy.'

And Gateshead West CLP demand: 'the Labour Government and the National Executive Committee must launch

an all-out campaign to mobilise the Labour movement to enable them to carry out the socialist measures necessary to solve the economic crisis and implement systematic lasting reforms.'

An excellent sentiment. But then the road to hell was paved with good sentiments. There is no chance whatsoever of Wilson and his colleagues being persuaded that 'socialist' measures are needed. They are firmly, and irrevocably committed to squeezing the guts out of the working class in order to save capitalism.

Crosby CLP is the only Labour Party to grasp this political bull by the horns. They say: 'This Conference views with alarm the increasing betrayal of socialist principals by senior members of the Government, including the Prime Minister....' They go on to demand 'that those members of the Government who cannot support the policies of the Labour Party Manifesto resign forthwith.'

Here is the key to the struggle for socialist policies. It is not just a matter of high-sounding declarations. Nor is it simply a question of defending some

'socialist' programme that maybe the Labour Party once had but lost on the way to 'power'. The Labour Party cannot serve the needs of the working class whilst it stays under the influence of the pro-capitalist politicians who now run and control the party.

The Crosby CLP are right. No change can be made without getting rid of that leadership. The weakness of all the other resolutions from the CLP left is that they concentrate exclusively on exhortation and demanding the impossible from the right-wing leaders. All of them fail to come to grips with how you actually fight for a socialist solution to the crisis.

'British' policies

Perhaps the biggest scandal is the absence of one single resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of troops for Ireland. Supporters of *Militant* have flooded the agenda with resolutions demanding the right-wing changes its ways. In general they have stayed in the 'safe' ground of 'British' policies.

But it is precisely in the 'unsafe' ground of Irish politics that the future of the British working class is being planned. It was on Ireland that the first coalitionist policies between Tories and Labour arose — unopposed by the 'lefts'. And it is in Ireland that the techniques of repression that will be used against British workers struggles in the future are being developed. The 'left' ignores Ireland at its own peril.

IN FOCUS

THE 'BENN LETTER'

Tony Benn's weekend letter to his Bristol constituency Labour Party reveals the deep divisions that are opening up inside the Labour Party. His denunciation of growing unemployment, and his insistence that 'we must use the crisis we have inherited as the occasion for fundamental change, not the excuse for postponing it', flies in the face of the main strategy and policies of the Wilson Government.

Benn's letter is clearly intended to rally the forces of the left at the Labour Party Conference, due to start in Blackpool on 29 September. His re-emergence from the shadows of discreet silence, and his entry into the main political debates that are raging inside the Labour Party and the trade unions, means a hotting up of the war between the pro-capitalist Wilson forces and the Labour and trade union left. Benn's insistent urgings that 'to cure the slump Britain will need nothing less than the major programme of social and industrial reform already set out by Labour' will fall on deaf and unresponsive ears in the leadership.

WILSON-HEALEY AXIS

The Wilson-Healey axis have no intention of implementing even Labour's woefully inadequate programme. They have deliberately embarked on a policy of creating unemployment, lowering living standards, and slashing the social services. It is the only road along which they can hope to save British capitalism.

But what Benn has failed to address himself to is, *how can the entire labour movement be mobilised to defeat such policies*. Not once in his letter does Benn declare his opposition to the £6 pay limit. But this is the touchstone of the Government's drive to make the workers pay for a crisis for which Benn says they should not be blamed. Does Benn imagine that in the unlikely event of the Labour Party Conference going on record against the Healey pay laws the Wilson Government would change course? A vote against the Healey measures at the Conference would be an excellent starting point. However, it would only be meaningful if it was used as a basis for mobilising a national movement inside the working class to smash the pay laws in action.

The failure of the parliamentary 'left' in general, and Benn in particular, to come out openly and campaign against these pay laws helped Gormley and the NUM right wing to win a majority inside the Mineworkers' Union for their acceptance. Last week's TUC vote for the pay laws also strengthened Wilson's hand, and more or less guarantees their acceptance at the Labour Party Conference. Again the 'left' MPs failed to mount any campaign inside the unions calling for their rejection.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Neither Benn nor his 'left' allies have come out and openly identified themselves with workers who have struck against the £6 maximum. The failure to do this means that the one force — the working class — which can smash the pay laws has received no encouragement and support from the 'left'.

Nor is it reducible, as Benn seems to think, to call for the implementation of the Manifesto. What is central to the Labour Manifesto is the Social Contract, which has provided Wilson and his allies with the justification for the £6 pay limits. Labour cannot keep the Social Contract if it is going to fight for the workers' interests and challenge 'the traditional economic and industrial system' which Benn correctly says has failed.

Inside the constituencies, rank-and-file party members are attempting to remove those MPs who most fervently oppose Benn's policies. To date Benn has remained silent on this issue. Nor has he defended the supporters of the *Militant*, who are being witch-hunted by the *Observer's* Nora Beloff. Unless the 'left' MPs do come out and categorically defend *Militant* the noose will next be tightened round the neck of *Tribune* and its supporters.

The ruling class and its agents inside the Labour Party are playing for keeps. They agree with Benn on the severity of the crisis, but they intend to make sure that it is solved at the expense of the working class. They have no intention of brooding serious opposition to their plans, and their aim is to silence the critics of ruling class policies inside the Labour Party.

Furthermore an alternative programme to that of the present Government cannot be constructed unless the left inside the Labour Party and the unions organise themselves, and extend that organisation into the mass organisations of the working class. The defence of working class interests and the extension of workers' democracy involves defending the right to organise of all groups and organisations which serve the aims of the working class.

'LEFT' ALLIES

The final conclusion that the Benn letter fails to draw is the need for the removal of Wilson and his allies from their positions of leadership. The price that the labour movement has to pay for that leadership is there for all to see — swelling unemployment, lowering living standards, decaying social services, the deliberate flouting of the decisions of the labour movement's organisations, and a reactionary foreign policy.

Labour MP Sid Bidwell, speaking about Benn's appeal to keep personalities out of the argument, commented: 'There are those who are collectively responsible for turning away from the Manifesto, and this means that the battle for the removal of the right-wing leadership must be intensified.' Bidwell is absolutely correct on this matter. There can be no serious opposition to the anti-working class policies of Wilson and company that does not include the fight for their removal. If Benn really wants to defeat the right-wing policies of the Government, he should resign forthwith and help to lead that essential fight.



... & from one who is fighting!

We are pleased to print below an interview given to *Red Weekly* in a personal capacity by John Clark, a member of the Executive of the Management Committee of Newham North-East Labour Party and a delegate from the Transport and General Workers Union to West Ham Trades Council.

What do you see as the significance of your decision to remove Prentice?
I think the main thing is that it is a sign that a local Labour Party is not prepared to put up with a Member of Parliament who has been effectively elected by that Labour Party but then disagrees continuously with them, and acts against what they see as the interests of socialism.

Do you see this in terms of a more general fight against the policies of the Government — eg. the £6 limit and against the right wing — or do you see it purely as a local constituency issue?

I can't see how you can divorce the three things. What happens at the local level is obviously part of what happens nationally, and in taking this decision we have been strengthened in our resolve by the views of people outside the Labour Party locally — trade unions, etc. — and also by what the Government is doing throughout the country, and the way in which people throughout the country are reacting to that.

Will you be campaigning in the whole of your constituency against Wilson's policies — in the unions and wider labour movement as well as the Labour Party?

It's certainly very useful for us in the Labour Party to have the support of the broad labour movement. I can't speak for others in the Party, but certainly where the opportunity arises I am speaking to other people in the labour movement — particularly trade unionists — encouraging them to support us and explain-

ing our actions. I think we have to do this because we are not just responsible to ourselves and to other Labour Party members, but to the community as a whole.

Are you in favour of the removal of the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party?

I can't see a group which has a sufficiently coherent set of policies and a sufficiently broad based place in the labour movement which could replace Wilson. I think the Wilson clique, if you like, have built up a very strong position within the whole labour movement, and it is only by campaigning continuously that we can prevent another clique coming to power. There would be no point at all in replacing the Wilson clique with another clique, even if initially it supported the policies which we support.

What do you think lies behind the witch-hunt of the *Militant* group which started in the *Observer* last Sunday?

Scare tactics. I don't see that it has any really valid part to play in this — I've never heard of the RSL in something like ten years of involvement in the labour movement, and I've been involved with various left-wing groups during that time. If it exists, and if the *Militant* group is supposedly infiltrating the party, they don't seem any different from other members of the party who were already there in the first place.

Are you in favour of the removal of bans and proscriptions from the Labour Party, and are you in favour of

groupings openly organising?

It depends on what degree of organisation one is talking about. The *Tribune* group seems a fairly acceptable loose form of organisation, around which people can gather and in which they can discuss their views. The Fabian group is similarly placed. I think it would be wrong for people to organise secretly within the party, and I think this applies to left and right.

As far as bans and proscriptions go, I think that organisations that consistently oppose the Labour Party electorally — particularly in local government, where I think this is very dangerous — ought not to be part of the Labour Party. I think that proscriptions of organisations which campaign electorally against the Labour Party is right, but there should be nothing to prevent groups joining the Labour Party and fighting within the Labour Party for what they believe. That is why I joined the party — that is presumably why most people join the party.

How do you see the struggle for socialism being taken forward in the present crisis?

The most heartening thing is the way in which trade unions, tenants' associations and other working class grass roots organisations are now organising, and organising together. As you may know, there is a meeting in the Theatre Royal on 21 September when organisations from Newham will be considering the jobs crisis in Newham and the way in which public spending can be increased in Newham to improve housing and jobs. I think it's that sort of organisation where socialists can play a part and can make a contribution.

BRITISH TROOPS ACT AS COVER FOR LOYALIST MURDER SQUADS

The heightened activity of Loyalist assassination squads over recent weeks is a reflection of the growing confidence of the Unionist organisations since the Ulster Workers Council strike last year.

Over the last three years some 13 Loyalists have been arrested and charged with involvement in sectarian attacks — a period in which nearly 300 Catholics have been murdered. At the same time all Loyalist internees have been freed from Long Kesh.

As a result of these attacks, Catholics have been driven out of areas such as Rathcoole in North Belfast. They have been forced into tighter, more besieged ghettos, and out of some places of work.

A recent example was at the Scottish & Newcastle Brewery in East Belfast. Last year a Catholic was shot at while at work in the plant, and in June this year a Short Strand man, Hugh Duffy, was shot dead on his way home from work there. In this climate the Catholics at the brewery have now decided they must all leave for their own safety.

These are concrete effects; others such as on the general level of confidence within the anti-Unionist pop-

ulation, cannot be estimated.

With the assassination campaign intended by its perpetrators to have such an effect, it might be expected that the British Army and the Unionists' own forces, the RUC and UDR, would not make a serious effort to halt the murders. And indeed the response of the Paratroop Regiment to the murder of Tony Molloy in Ballymena Street, Oldpark, last month was to come in and lift a neighbour, much to the disgust of local people. This typified British Army policy.

BLIND EYE

Some assassins have been stopped by passing patrols but many more — and the Oldpark murder was such a case — have passed by the 'averted gaze' of the British Army. Their overall role has been to disarm the Catholic working class, thus breaking up attempts to build defence against



Representatives of Loyalist murder squads announce their future plans

attack.

The Ulster Defence Regiment's complicity with Loyalists is well known — a considerable number of UDR soldiers have dual membership in the Ulster Defence Association or Ulster Volunteer Force. This ensures that members of the para-military organisations receive military training and access to weapons.

Two incidents show how useful the UDR is to the Protestant para-

militaries: (1) the attack on the Miami Showband on 31 July when the band's van was flagged down by bogus security forces, the musicians were ordered outside, a bomb exploded prematurely killing two UVF men, and three members of the band were machine-gunned to death; (2) the murder of two Catholics on 24 August near Newtownhamilton at a fake UDR road-block.

The UDR was originally set up by the British Government as an attempt on the one hand to appease the Catholics by disbanding the hated B-Specials, while on the other giving the Unionists an alternative to the B-Specials (but supposedly under the direct control of the Army). The result was to provide Loyalists with the opportunity for military training and spectacular 'losses' of army equipment, backed up with the steady disappearance of ultra-modern rifles in ones and twos.

EXCUSE

As for the RUC — 90 per cent composed of Protestants, many of whom also have dual membership in the para-military organisations — it stands to gain from the assassinations by using them as an excuse to build up strength to re-enter Catholic areas.

The 26 June announcement of a special 'anti-assassination' force is part of the attempt to reintroduce the RUC. It is to be a unit of the Special Patrol Group, a heavily armed, mobile anti-riot squad (the SPG has been used in Britain in defence of the fascist National Front). The most significant aspect of the announcement was the appeal by Chief Constable Flanagan for more recruits to the RUC and RUC Reserve, and for 'public cooperation', especially from the Catholic popula-

tion.

The growth of the Loyalist para-military organisations since the UWC strike has been accompanied by a steady build-up of military activity. The formation of the Ulster Army Council, composed of the six main para-military groups apart from the UVF, reflects the moves towards open attacks on the Catholic minority as a way of giving them greater autonomy to defend the institutions of the Orange statelet against the 'threat' of any concessions to the Catholics. The UAC is intent on forging a united Loyalist army capable of controlling the North for a limited period. Its members calculate that 20,000 men should be enough to do the job.

The latest retaliatory campaign by the 'South Armagh Republican Action Force' would appear to be a reaction to the sectarian killings carried out by the Loyalist gangs. But the Loyalist organisations have seized on this excuse to put pressure on Rees by threatening industrial action and an escalation of para-military attacks.

Rees's reaction has been to draft at least a thousand more troops into Northern Ireland, and police and extra troops into South Armagh. He explained that the security forces would be extending the scope of their activities 'in a manner not to be specified'. The moves by the security forces seem to be so secret that a BBC reporter was able to travel around in a car for an hour without meeting a single Army patrol!

The Loyalist coalition's boycott of the Rees meeting on law and order with the SDLP, Faulknerites, Alliance Party and Northern Ireland Labour Party; Paisley's demand for closure of the border and a Home Guard organised under the Crown; along with the Loyalist calls for

7 Days in the 6 Counties

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

The Northern Ireland Convention has been postponed yet again. It will now meet on Thursday 11 September, two days after the first postponement date. The official reason given for this further postponement by Sir Robert Lowry, the Chairman of the Convention, was that 'the parties were making a determined effort to solve very difficult and complex issues and need more time for this purpose'. What these 'difficult and complex issues' are no one is saying, but it is sure that power-sharing between the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) has finally been laid to rest.

Ian Paisley, one of the triumvirate that heads the UUUC, declared on the eve of the Convention elections back in May that the outcome would be 'no power-sharing, no Irish dimension and the return of the B-Specials'. This is the exact same position that they have outlined to the SDLP over the last few weeks in their secret talks.

The Constitutional Convention was just one more in a long line of 'British solutions' to the problems of the Irish people, and like its predecessors it was doomed to failure from the start. Only last week Merlyn Rees acknowledged the point when he spoke of continuing direct rule from Westminster.

But direct rule is hardly an option that remains open to the British Government. It has been rejected by every single one of the Loyalist factions who are united in seeking an 'Ulster' solution. This can only be successful through increased repression of the Catholic minority; and on that issue there is little difference between the UUUC call for martial law in South Armagh, Paisley's call for the formation of a 'home guard', and the 'preparations for the inevitable onslaught' made at the meeting of the Ulster Loyalist Central Co-ordinating Committee (which links the main Loyalist para-military organisations) last Saturday.

The Ulster Volunteer Force have already let it be known that their battalions are engaged in widespread assassination of 'persons connected with Republican and Communist organisations'. The UVF in the past have demonstrated their inability to distinguish between revolutionaries and the minority population in general and only a fortnight ago gave the green light for the murder of workers who happen to be members of the

Irish Congress of Trade Unions, describing them as 'enemies of Ulster'. Catholic workers at the Belfast meat abattoir have already suffered at the hands of the UVF gunmen, and last week took strike action, threatening to close the abattoir if the killings continue. The situation is therefore one of intense gloom for the nationalist community in the North of Ireland — intimidated from their homes, harassed by the British Army, and murdered by Loyalist extremists. The Loyalists are growing in confidence as they put the finishing touches to their plans for a takeover, confident that the British Government will not move against a mass movement that has so often been its ally in the subjugation of Ireland.

While mass resistance to the Loyalist takeover needs to be organised, the SDLP continues to collaborate in the Convention and to barter the lives of the minority for crumbs from the Loyalist table. Some elements within the anti-Unionist population retaliate to the assassination of Catholics by the assassination of Protestants — actions which have been repudiated by all the anti-imperialist organisations and the anti-imperialist population as a whole. As the Revolutionary Marxist Group pointed out in a recent press release, the only way to defeat the Loyalist murder gangs and the Loyalist takeover is for the anti-Unionist population to rely on its own struggle, democratically organised in the nationalist areas.

It was for this reason that the RMG participates in the United Anti-internment Committee along with the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the People's Democracy. The Committee organised a number of protests during the fourth anniversary of internment, and has laid plans for a further series of street protests culminating in a conference open to all anti-imperialist organisations and individuals. This will discuss the formation of a united resistance movement capable of mobilising the mass of the anti-Unionist population against the Loyalist takeover and for the end of British domination. The building of such a united resistance is the prime responsibility of anti-imperialists in the North of Ireland.

Whatever the outcome, however, Irish revolutionaries look to their comrades in Britain to intensify their efforts in building solidarity in the British labour movement.



Craig (left) and Paisley — pressuring Rees



Photo: PETER HARRAP (Report)

The BWNIC 14 after one of their earlier court appearances

ANTI-MILITARISTS FACE CONSPIRACY CHARGES

On 29 September, 14 supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign will appear in court in London on conspiracy charges. Other BWNIC supporters also face charges as a result of activity against the presence of British troops in Ireland.

Over the past few months a defence campaign has been mounted, to which we urge all readers to give their full support. The following information on the latest developments in the campaign is taken from the 20 August newsletter of the 'Defend the 14+' Campaign.

The 14 are charged with conspiring to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act (in ordinary language — wanting to try to communicate with soldiers). Most of them are also charged with one or more substantive offences under the Incitement to Disaffection Act (possessing a leaflet called *Some Information for Discontented Soldiers* in most cases). Two are also charged under the 1955 Army Act with helping soldiers who were absent without leave.

Since they were all charged last year, Andrew Lloyd, a supporter from Leeds, has been charged with an offence under

the Incitement to Disaffection Act; also now with an offence of attempting to incite civilians to incite soldiers, because of the distribution of a political leaflet to civilians! Another supporter, Alix Otten of Manchester, is charged with attempting to incite to incite too — in her case because of involvement with a complicity statement in support of the 14.

Two more people have also been summonsed to appear in court to answer charges under the Army Act, concerning helping AWOLs — Howard Clark and Penny Strange.

Rees's resignation, the closure of the the incident centres manned by the Provisionals, and an end to the release of internees — all these moves are designed to put pressure on Rees to allow the Loyalists to 'get at' the Catholics even more.

ACCOMPLICES

But if it is the RUC and UDR which benefit from the assassination campaign, members of the SDLP, the Free State Coalition Government, and the British Government must stand in the dock alongside the thugs who pull the triggers. For while they choose either to ignore the campaign or to issue hypocritical calls 'for an end to violence', Messrs. Fitt, Cosgrave, Rees and Wilson follow policies which support the forces behind the assassinations and leave the Catholic working class defenceless against them.

Cosgrave and the Southern Coalition Government are pushing forward the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill to give active support to the Loyalist-supporting security forces in stifling opposition to the threat of a Loyalist takeover.

Fitt and the SDLP have dropped demands for an 'Irish Dimension' and power-sharing, and are collaborating with the UUUC, thus giving the Convention and a resulting Loyalist-controlled administration a

The British Government are happy to use the assassinations as an excuse to back the RUC and demand their acceptance in all areas. The reintroduction of this force to Catholic areas would be a major step forward in the direction of giving local control back to the Loyalists.

All these elements are supporting the restoration of 'law and order' in a re-vamped Unionist regime — Loyalist 'law and order' based on repression of the Catholics. It means support and cooperation between them and politicians such as Paisley, who played an active part in the formation of Loyalist military groups in the late Sixties. The UUUC as a whole retains close links with the para-militaries.

VULNERABLE

And it means disarming the anti-Unionist working class, politically and militarily, leaving it open to increased harassment by the Loyalists and a continuation of the murder campaign. This makes it increasingly important to build a movement in Britain for the immediate withdrawal of troops. The Army is both acting as the protective umbrella under which the Loyalists are regrouping, and at the same time ensuring that the Catholic minority is left largely disarmed and defenceless from the Loyalist attacks. It must be pulled out, completely.

The national mailing address through which to contact the defence campaign is: Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1. (tel. 01-837-9794). There are open meetings of *London* defence campaign supporters every Friday, 8pm, at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. There are also local groups in many places — contact national address for details.

Meanwhile money is urgently needed for the campaign — for the welfare of defendants during the trial, to send out information, produce leaflets, etc. Donations should be made payable to the BWNIC Defence Group.

Finally a diary of events:

Monday 15 September: Andrew Lloyd's trial starts 9.30am at Preston Crown Court. There will be a picket of the court, which is between the bus station and the market (contact Andrew Sidwell, tel. Preston 729127). A coach will be going from Manchester in the morning.

The same evening at 7.30pm there will be a labour movement meeting in London at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube). Speakers include: John Miller (T&GWU); Joan Maynard MP; Eric Tomlinson; Paul Foot; Wendy Butlin (defendant); Lawrence Daly (NUM); Alastair Renwick (ex-soldier); Jack Dromey (NCCL); and George Anthony (AUEW).

Saturday—Sunday, 20—21 September: Liverpool weekend of action. Contact Liverpool Defence Group, Box 1934, News from Nowhere, 48 Manchester Street, Liverpool 2.

Tuesday 23 September: Start of committal hearing of Alix Otten. Picket outside Manchester Magistrates' Court (Crown Square, off Deansgate) from 9.30 am (contact Manchester Defence Group, tel. 061-225 0103).

Saturday 27 September: Demonstration in Nottingham (contact Andy Fay, tel. Nottingham 53587).

The same day sees start of weekend of action in London, to include assembly at 3pm outside the Home Office in Whitehall.

Monday 29 September: Start of trial of the 14 at the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, London E.C.4. Mass picket from 9.30am. At 11am those involved with the complicity statement will go to the Home Office to hand in their statements at 11.30am. The picket is

POEMS FROM PRISON

Breakout by Pat Arrowsmith
(Edinburgh University Student
Publications Board, 30p)

It would be a mistake to judge the poems in *Breakout* simply by their political 'line'. As poetry, some are better than others; some are exciting, vivid and musical. But Pat Arrowsmith — nine times a political prisoner for her work against the bomb and the wars in Vietnam and Ireland — does manage in a short poem intitled 'Prison Reform' to utter a contempt for British liberalism which surpasses anything that could be written in several pages of prose:

In the bad old days
no watches were permitted.
We did out time
not knowing what the time was.
Now watches are allowed
we have the satisfaction
of knowing how slowly
the time passes.

She marks the bitter gulf which exists between those outside prison and those inside, the prison visits by 'foreigners....from a well-fed, civilised country'. Women's prison lives in particular emerge in vivid form as a theme of this collection. A prisoner explains:

My real life is commonplace
I choose to conceal it
and offer to my fellow inmates
something more exciting.
For outside I am nobody, just a
housewife who went shop-lifting.

Consequently the poems create a whole image of women — lonely, waiting for letters and promising fidelity to their husbands/boyfriends, who when their women emerge will be 'two-timing' them. Perhaps her most quoted poem, 'Steel Womb', describes both the toughness and fragility of its female inmates. Many women live on a constant knife-edge; this poem captures that near-hysteria:

Ultra-cheerful voices,
yet shrill, somehow, or hoarse.
Strain the pitch a note higher,
drag it a tone lower,

and the voices would rasp, crack;
content became a splintered shell
around a vacuum of unhappiness.

Her poem about her hunger strike in solidarity with the Price sisters is one of the least powerful in the book; both as poetry and as political statement. Similarly another poem with an overtly political theme, 'Sailing to Belfast to attack the War', does tend to fall on its face — the title alone saying more than the entire poem.

Her last poem, 'Escape', is more difficult — the individual witness is almost too strong, although the 'I' does finally change to 'we' when she speaks of the prisoners' union. Rhythmically follows the phrase:

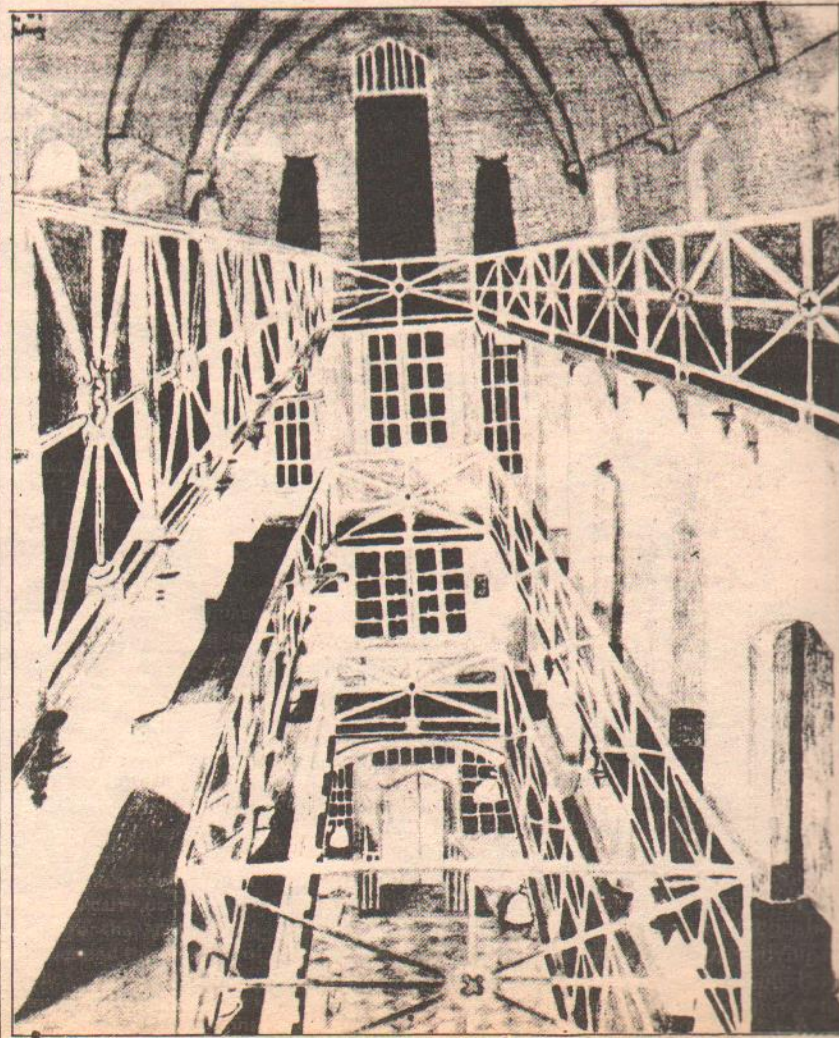
For freedom isn't in the heart or head;
it's in the deed,
the choosing.

But not all her lines have that rhythmic sound. Some stanzas read merely like well-written prose, and again we are faced with the difficulty of separating the art-form from the clear, philosophical statements. That is one problem; the other is to judge the poems according to one's estimation of the writer's political actions.

Despite Diane Easby's generally sympathetic review in the *Morning Star*, she had to end with a back-handed compliment: 'Impetuous and maybe even politically inopportune though Pat Arrowsmith's actions may be sometimes, her sincerity is never in doubt.' Which is more than can be said for the Communist Party's lip-service to the Irish revolution. (Currently much of Pat's time is devoted to building the 'politically inopportune' Troops Out Movement.)

Besides her pioneering work on Ireland, and her recent association with the women's liberation movement, comrade Arrowsmith has in this collection of poems and drawings made an important contribution to art and honest politics.

Anita Bennett



THE TERRIBLE PRICE

by Gerry Hedley

- * Living conditions lower than in the 1930s;
- * Unemployment at over 20 per cent;
- * 30,000 killed;
- * Thousands detained in concentration camps;
- * Over 2,000 simply 'missing';
- * The price of bread up by 140 times;
- * Total sales of food down by over 25 per cent.

These are a few of the statistics that give an idea of the terrible price that the Chilean workers and peasants have had to pay for two long years since the bloody military coup of 11 September 1973. To them can be added the use of the most modern torture techniques — including the widespread torture and sexual abuse of women, the armies of beggars that cram the centres of the cities, the children who die of malnutrition, and not least, the awesome atmosphere of fear that pervades the whole country. The list of the sufferings that have been imposed is seemingly never ending, and reveals in a graphic way the horrors of life in the Chile of the generals.

The junta has exacted a mighty price from those who dared to threaten the capitalist way of life in Chile. But in doing so it has begun to encounter increasingly serious problems. When it came to power it set about applying an economic policy that was designed entirely to benefit imperialism and those sections of the Chilean bourgeoisie most closely tied to imperialism. It hoped to be able to stabilise the economy, create conditions for the super-exploitation of the workforce, and on that basis to draw in foreign capital which could then be used to finance an export-orientated consumer durable goods industry.

Chile was to be a repeat of the Brazilian 'miracle' — but times have changed since the Brazilian gorillas came to power in 1964, and the junta's strategy was doomed from the start.

In the first place, they have not even succeeded in stabilising the economy. Inflation, for example, ran at over 527 per cent for the

12 months preceding April 1975. Secondly the world recession militates strongly against big investments in the consumer durables sector by imperialist capital — particularly in countries with raging inflation. Added to this have been other factors, such as the fall in the price of copper (the linchpin of the Chilean economy), the necessity for Chile to import 75 per cent of its oil, and the growing economic and political isolation of the regime which culminated in the refusal of most of the capitalist nations in the 'Club of Paris' to renegotiate the junta's debts.

As a result, the necessary foreign capital has not come in and the junta is left with the immediate social consequences of its policies — unemployment and mass poverty.

The failure of its economic measures has stimulated those sections of the Chilean capitalists who had least to gain from the junta's policies to come out into open opposition to the military. Recently the whole of the bourgeois Christian Democrat party, which represents those Chilean capitalists whose profits depend on the internal market — a market which has been decimated as a consequence of the economic policies — announced that it was against the junta. A year ago only small sections of this party, which played a major role in preparing the coup, were willing to oppose the regime.

NO ALTERNATIVE

But no matter how strong the opposition and how complete the failure of its economic strategy, the junta still has one trump card to play. It can claim to be the only force which can control the working class, albeit by the most brutal and sustained repression. The Chilean big bourgeoisie will not consider any alternative to the junta unless it can guarantee its ability to contain the workers and peasants.

The Christian Democrats have therefore decided to approach the matter from a different angle. They have launched a campaign to win the support of the Chilean workers and peasants in which they seek to pose as the defenders of 'liberty' and 'social justice'. This has been taken up in alliance with the hierarchy

of the Catholic Church, and involves such things as soup kitchens where food is freely distributed, and sermons which denounce the torture and arbitrary arrests.

What of the organisations of the working class? How are they shaping up to the situation? Unfortunately it has to be recorded that of the major parties only the Communist Party and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) exist even now in any real sense as organised structures inside Chile. The MIR has been the main target of the junta's repression, especially over the last year, and has lost many courageous militants. Nonetheless, it has managed to survive and is now re-organising and regrouping.

The CP, on the other hand, has set itself the task of being the best allies of the Christian Democracy. They have drawn the conclusion from the coup that the main error of the Popular Unity period was that they did not form a unity with this bourgeois party earlier (or at least with important sections of it). Evidently they have been engaged in negotiations with Frei to see if terms for a joint agreement can be reached. They have even been working hand-in-hand with the Christian Democrat forces in their efforts to re-organise the workers' movement.

NO MISTAKES!

Outside the country, the parties of the Popular Unity all exist in exile. They met together jointly for the first time since the coup this August, and decided to reconstitute the Popular Unity. A statement issued after the meeting announced that 'errors of leadership were partly to blame for the defeat', but 'that in no way detracts from the general correctness of the process begun by the Popular Unity'.

In other words, after two years of suffering, after the greatest defeat ever inflicted on the Chilean workers, the leaders of the reformist and Stalinist organisations can only proclaim that they were right all along — and indeed, given half a chance, will apply again the strategy of the gradual and peaceful road to socialism.

In the meantime they urge that all democrats in Chile should unite against the junta and that the army should now seize the opportunity to vindicate (sic) themselves and take action against the generals. In this way the parties of the Popular Unity fall in behind and add their weight to the attempts of the Christian Democracy to win the support of the working class.

Revolutionaries must oppose these machinations. They must ensure that from the blood of the Chilean defeat the lessons are drawn which will ensure that never again does a working class have to suffer the 'peaceful road' to extinction. It is now an important task to form a united front of the revolutionary left inside Chile — a task which our comrades of the Liga Comunista de Chile have set as an important priority in their activities.

Such a front would form a clear political pole inside Chile — a means by which revolutionary politics could stand clearly opposed to the class collaboration of the Popular Unity, a means by which fresh forces from the left Socialists, from the MAPU, even from the CP could be won to the revolutionary road.

It is important to see that the Chilean workers and peasants do not stand in isolation. The solidarity campaign that has been waged must be extended, and must increase the scale of its activities so that they can really weaken

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the junta.

Most vital of all is to understand that the Chilean workers and peasants do not stand in isolation from the rise of world revolution. In Latin America this has taken a particularly dramatic form with the outbursts of the general strikes in Argentina; while in other countries, not least among them Brazil, a rise in the mass struggle is clearly discernible. There is no doubt that these events will immeasurably increase the resistance of the Chilean workers and peasants against their military tyrants.



'They receive instructions against Chile'

(Pablo Neruda, 20th century Chilean poet. This prophetic poem was written in the late 1940s).

But we have to see behind all these, there is something behind the traitors and the gnawing rats, an empire which sets the table, and serves up the nourishment and the bullets. They want to repeat their great success in Greece. Greek playboys at the banquet, and bullets for the people in the mountains: we'll have to destroy the flight of the new Victory of Samothrace, we'll have to hang, kill, lose men, sink the murderous knife held to us from New York, we'll have to use fire to break the spirit of the man who was emerging in all countries as if born from the earth that had been splashed with blood. We have to arm Chiang and the vicious Videla, give them money for prisons, wings so they can bomb their own populations, give them a hand-out, a few dollars, and they do the rest, they lie, bribe, dance on the dead bodies and their first ladies wear the most expensive minks. The suffering of the people does not matter: copper executives need this sacrifice: facts are facts: the generals retire from the army and serve as vice-presidents of the Chuquicamata Copper Firm, and in the nitrate works the 'chilean' general decides with his trailing sword how much the natives may mention when they apply for a raise in wages. In this way they decide from above, from the roll of dollars, in this way the dwarf traitor receives his instructions, and the generals act as the police force,



CHILE



rs later

ERIC HEFFER - Tasks and Lessons of Chile

Eric Heffer was the first Minister to break the pro-capitalist solidarity of the present Labour Government when he publicly denounced its decision to furnish warships to Chile in April 1974; more recently, he was sacked from his post when he openly defied the Wilson leadership again over the Common Market campaign. For this reason we are pleased to print the following interview with him on the tasks of solidarity and the lessons of Chile today.

It goes without saying, of course, that we by no means endorse everything said by Brother Heffer. Our own views on such questions are spelt out elsewhere on these pages — particularly on the need for independent organs of workers' power which alone could have blocked the capitalist offensive which reliance on the parliamentary road was so tragically unable to hold at bay in Chile. Nevertheless, we feel it is important that the pages of *Red Weekly* should be open to such an exchange of views, in order both to establish the ground that exists for common action and to clarify the nature of our differences on the fundamental questions of the transition to socialism.

● What can be done today in solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants?

The first thing is for the trade unions in this country to ensure that everything possible is done to make sure Chilean goods and Chilean materials coming into this country are not handled. And I think the same sort of thing must apply to anything going to Chile. While the junta is there, I think the trade union movement must continue to act as they have done, and in certain cases much more strongly than they have done in the past, by blacking and refusing to handle Chilean goods.

The second point is that the Labour Government must make it absolutely clear that we are not going to give any aid of any kind to the Chilean junta. This means, of course, that as far as loans are concerned, there should be no loans — and certainly no giving them more time to pay back loans they've already had. There must also be no question of any further military material of any kind going to Chile.

The point about Chile as far as I am concerned is that here was a Government democratically ruling, trying to bring about socialism through peaceful means, and its leaders and their supporters in the rank-and-file were murdered, cut down by fascist elements. Because of that we've got to be absolutely tough in every direction. I think that the row kicked up by myself and others in the Labour Party when I was a Minister has had some effect. The Labour Government has been more positive in this direction than they would otherwise have been. But we've got to keep the fight up.

I also think that as a trade union and Labour movement we've got to do what we've already been doing — but on a bigger scale — in giving support and solidarity to those Chilean and anti-junta forces who have had to flee for their lives, giving them protection and support in this country.

● What lessons do you think we can draw from the coup in Chile, particularly given current developments in Portugal?

I don't think that the situation in Portugal today is by any means absolutely identical to that which existed in Chile, where there was a Government which had the support of all the left wing. This was an elected Government which was overthrown by military fascist forces with the connivance and support of the CIA.

In that sense there is a different situation in Portugal, because what had been a fascist dictatorship was overthrown by the military itself, which has contradictory forces within it.

I don't believe in military dictatorships of the right or the left. I believe we need to see the ending of the military dictatorship in Portugal at the earliest possible moment. But the picture there isn't the

picture being drawn by the British capitalist press, who are trying to suggest that the danger of military dictatorship is only from the left. I think that there is a very real danger of a restitution of some kind of fascist military dictatorship.

The other thing is that we must make certain that there is no outside intervention. The situation is not quite as simple as some people think. I remember the experiences of the Spanish Civil War — we all supported the Spanish Government and the Spanish Republican forces, but we have to remember that the role of the Communist Party in Spain was not one which we would want to see repeated, because they were instrumental in many respects in helping the destruction of the democratic forces in Spain. But I would say that we have a duty and a responsibility in the labour movement to support all those forces in Portugal who wish to push forward the democratic processes even further.

I think the most important lesson we have to learn from Chile is that whilst we should try to use the democratic machinery in order to bring about a socialist society, the forces of reaction may not let you do it in that way even if you get a democratic majority and you get the parliamentary machinery

used in your direction.

This is the danger. I could see us with a very left-wing government in this country — not immediately, because we are not in the majority, but at a certain stage — really determined to carry out its programme through the parliamentary procedures, and beginning to carry out that programme, and the forces of reaction just refusing to allow us to do it, by taking up arms themselves and trying to bring about its destruction.

We have to understand that reaction, the Establishment, capitalism, are not ever going to allow us to transform society in a socialist direction just because we do it through the democratic process. On the contrary, they are going to fight most strongly against it, and that's the major lesson we have to learn from Chile today.

Chile was in a sense like Britain is today. It had only once in its 200 years as a nation had any sort of violence and a movement away from the parliamentary system. But when the parliamentary system is going to be used in a positive socialist direction, then we need to see what happened, and that's the biggest lesson we have to learn.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

BOYCOTT ALL CHILEAN GOODS!

Harold Wilson has boasted that the British Labour Government will not give any aid to a dictatorship. This must really have gratified the Chilean workers and peasants.

But any such gratitude would be misplaced. Mr Wilson was referring to Portugal, where he has lined up behind SP leader Mario Soares in promoting an imperialist blockade against the country.

In the case of Chile, matters are different. Chile is undoubtedly a dictatorship. If Mr Wilson was having trouble on this matter General Pinochet has helped him out. The General has explained that no elections will be held in Chile either in his lifetime or in that of his successor!

However, Mr Wilson's recently discovered distaste for dictatorships has not stopped him proposing to allow the two submarines and one destroyer being worked on in Britain for Chile to be sent to the junta.

Nor, despite the fact that the

junta simply refuses to pay its debts, has he ordered an end to all trade with the military junta and expelled their representatives who use the embassy as a base from which to spy on Chilean exiles.

It is clear that those who seek to give solidarity to the struggle of Chile's workers and peasants will need to look a good deal further than Mr Wilson's high 'moral' values. Indeed, it will only be through a mass campaign of independent action that Wilson will be compelled to take any steps that might be remotely against the interests of imperialism.

The Chile Solidarity Campaign is calling a Trade Union Conference on 25 October which is an important opportunity to plan just such actions. The conference is sponsored by AUEW-TASS, ACTT, and NUPE among others. Evidently the conference should be in a position to propose serious steps forward in the solidarity campaign.

Foremost amongst these must

be the attempt to develop a working class blockade of the Chilean regime. Boycotts of Chilean goods have taken place in Australia, Holland, Sweden, USA and Italy.

In Britain there have been numerous boycott actions ranging from those at the Liverpool docks to the blacking of Chilean wine in Bristol. The Chilean CUT has urged that selective boycotts of Chilean trade should be imposed where possible.

The conference will have to discuss how to implement these sorts of measures if it is to be a really meaningful step forward for the solidarity campaign, and if it is going to be able to bring home to Wilson and the Labour Government that their cringing collaboration with the junta will not be tolerated.

Credentials for the Conference which will be held in London, can be obtained from: Chile Solidarity Campaign, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N.7.

PORTUGAL - WILL IT BE ANOTHER CHILE?

Will Portugal become another Chile? That is a question that is being increasingly asked as the right-wing offensive gains momentum inside Portugal. But how valid is the comparison?

It is possible to say at once that the Chilean form of coup is completely unlikely in Portugal at present. The distinctive feature of the Chilean coup was that despite the three years of mobilisation by the working class that preceded it, the coup was totally successful in less than three days. What resistance there was, was only spasmodic and disorganised. The main reason for this was that the parties of Popular Unity had consistently peddled the illusion that the workers of Chile could place all their faith in Parliament and the armed forces.

In Portugal, on the other hand, the CP and the reformist organisations have not been so successful in this manoeuvre. Indeed, it has now become an important part of the consciousness of large sections of the working class that the gains they have made can only be defended by the working class — gun in hand if necessary. Furthermore, the armed forces are at the moment too deeply divided to be able to carry out a Chile type coup. In addition the Portuguese bourgeoisie, still smarting from their experience in March, are not united and convinced that the next step should be a coup — and they certainly do not have the ability to initiate one.

But if a Chilean style coup is not likely in Portugal, there are still important similarities that can be drawn between both the offensive of the capitalists and the response of the workers' movement in Chile and Portugal. In this respect an understanding of the real lessons of the Chilean experience is vital to the success of the Portuguese revolution.

The most obvious similarity can be seen in the imperialist intervention that was directed at Chile and is now focusing with full force on Portugal. Chile was prevented from receiving virtually any economic aid throughout the whole of the Popular Unity period (1970-73), a blockade was imposed on spare parts for machinery, money was poured by the CIA into the purses of the Christian Democrats and

the right-wing forces who organised the reactionary lorry owners' strike. These measures were, in the words of the CIA, aimed at 'de-stabilising' the country — in other words, at creating the conditions in which a right-wing offensive could take hold.

Today the same game is being played in Portugal. NATO and US troops hover in readiness to enter Portugal. No doubt the Church and the right wing parties have been the grateful recipients of CIA handouts. And worse still the ruling class of Western Europe has turned to the social democratic leaders — foremost amongst them Harold Wilson — to organise and promote an economic and political blockade of Portugal.

There are also other resemblances between the two countries. For example, in Chile the ruling class embarked on a strategy of sabotage of production. Factories were closed, stocks were hoarded, capital was rapidly sent out of the country.

ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

Now in Portugal exactly the same things are being done. The US-based multinational ITT has followed up its infamous role in preparing the ground for the Chilean coup by announcing that it is cutting off all finance from its subsidiaries in Portugal. The ITT bosses apparently don't like the way in which their absolute control has been challenged by the workers' committees.

Nor are they alone in this. A key role in Portuguese industry is played by British-based multinationals, and they too are playing an active part in economic sabotage. The Lisbon bus garage, for instance, is being forced to cannibalise old buses and even forge and cast its own spares because it can't get them from its British suppliers — British Leyland, Gardner's, Lucas and CAV. Yet these same firms are threatening British workers with the dole 'because there isn't enough work'.

As for ICI, it is apparently demanding cash in advance for all Portuguese orders, according to the workers' commission at its Portuguese subsidiary TINCO. This practice is

unheard of in normal trading within a combine.

Perhaps most serious of the similarities is that the leaderships of the working class — the Popular Unity in Chile, and the CP and SP in Portugal — have all in their different ways sought to contain the struggle of the working class within the framework of the capitalist system.

In Chile this created a situation in which no effective steps could be taken against the internal and external sabotage that was paralysing the country. To be sure workers in many areas began to break in practice with their leaderships. They formed independent organs of workers power — the Cordones Industriales — that began to take on the control of the factories and the self-defence of the working class. The tragedy is that these bodies, which could have united the whole of the working class against the capitalist offensive, were formed too late and were still too weak when the coup came.

In Portugal, however, such bodies have already been formed and even at this stage they have developed much further than they had in Chile. The Workers and Soldiers Committees are the only bodies which because they rely solely on the united strength of the working class, organised democratically and independently of the capitalist state, can meet the economic sabotage through workers' control, and block the reactionary manoeuvres of the capitalists by organising workers' self-defence.

But time is short. In Chile the political vacuum created by the inability of the Popular Unity to solve any of the urgent problems facing the working class was the ideal breeding ground for the forces behind the capitalist offensive. Today in Portugal there is a similar crisis of political perspectives — a crisis that will only be resolved in favour of the Portuguese working class if a generalised system of organs of workers' power, surmounted by a national popular assembly, can emerge to fill the vacuum.

If the Portuguese working class can learn this lesson from the Chilean experience, then they will not only ensure the success of their own revolution but they will also have done much to wipe the slate clean of the bloody defeat in Chile.



THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS POWER IN PORTUGAL

Declaration by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

The pre-revolutionary situation that opened in Portugal with the beginning of 1975 has gone through an exacerbation marked by the governmental crisis, the growing division of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), and the fascist attacks in the North of the country, but *above all* by the massive emergence of the autonomous movement of the masses, as revealed by the 20 August demonstration, the impact of which has begun to make itself felt on the reformist organisations.

1 The division of the MFA, triggered by the rise of the class struggle, makes it impossible to stabilise the army, which has been profoundly undermined by the crisis of the hierarchical system and by the political debates and divisions (especially around the COPCON document and the 'document of the nine'). In the short run, this breakdown of the army, which is occurring in a context of generalised social crisis, makes it impossible to launch a reactionary coup d'état without running the risk of civil war. In the face of the MFA's incapacity to stabilise its Bonapartist function, the bourgeoisie has moved to counter-attack on several fronts: * internationally, through blackmail threats of economic strangulation on the part of the European imperialist powers (whether with or without social democratic governments) and through the financial and military pressure exerted by American imperialism on Portugal and the Portuguese dependencies (the Azores, Madeira, Timor and Angola). * nationally, through the *de facto* junction of the terrorist attacks, the anti-communist mobilisations exploiting the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie of the North, and the civilian and military political offensive combining the orientation of the SP leadership with the great manoeuvres of Melo Antunes and sections of the military hierarchy.

2 The 20 August demonstration, which drew 50,000 people, more than a thousand of whom were soldiers, revealed the maturation of the combativity and the elevation of the level of consciousness of important sections of the working class, especially in the workers' bastions of Lisbon and the southern region. The radical character of the demands advanced by these sectors — for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, workers' control, and the reconversion of production — objectively place on the agenda the necessity of a centralisation of the autonomous organs of the workers (workers' commissions, popular assemblies, neighbourhood commissions) in order to respond to the need for socialist planning of the

economy.

Nevertheless, the present geographical limitation and uneven development and functioning of these organs must be stressed.

3 The situation is thus characterised by an increased polarisation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, although this does not imply that there will be an immediate qualitative modification of the relationship of forces between the two fundamental classes.

With the accentuation of the economic crisis, which will provoke an intensification of workers' struggles that will run up against the Government's inability to meet the workers' demands, the possibility of the current pre-revolutionary situation being transformed into a real revolutionary crisis emerges.

For this, it is important that all initiatives be taken so that the autonomous organs of the workers are developed, coordinated, and centralised, thus permitting a real response to the demands of the toiling masses and to the division of the working class that has been accentuated by the leaderships of the SP and CP. Toward this end, it is necessary that the autonomous organs take charge of the defence and generalisation of workers' control, the expropriation of the capitalists, the arming of the proletariat, and the enactment of measures to establish a monopoly of foreign trade, to deepen the agrarian reform, and to institute planning.

In face of the attempts of the 'group of nine' to re-establish discipline in the army, to put an end to the beginning of the emergence of workers' militias, and to stabilise the MFA as an instrument of the hierarchy, it becomes all the more imperative to forge links between the revolutionary soldiers and officers and the workers' commissions, neighbourhood commissions, etc., and to generalise the election of officers by assemblies of soldiers.

Likewise, it is necessary to advance adequate measures (selective price support, moratoria on debts, credit, direct liaison between consumers and small-scale producers, etc.) in order to neutralise reaction's utilisation of layers of the petty bourgeoisie, the *minifundistas* of the North among others.

Finally, the centralisation of the autonomous organs of the workers in order to carry out these tasks will take the form of the convocation of a National People's Assembly composed of delegates of the workers' commissions, the neighbourhood commissions, the assemblies of military units, and the popular assemblies.

4 The essential obstacle to the realisation of this strategic objective lies in the policy of division followed by the leaderships of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

The policy of the social democratic leadership, which manifestly aims at halting the revolutionary process, is beginning to meet the first signs of resistance from the SP's rank and file workers, in spite of the sectarianism and bureaucratic methods utilised against the SP by the CP leadership.

Concurrently, the zigzags of the Stalinist leadership of the CP have provoked disorientation among the CP rank and file at a time when a workers' vanguard is forcefully emerging onto the political scene.

Thus, it is not only necessary but also possible to carry out an audacious policy of workers' united front directed at both the SP and CP in order to consolidate a response by the working class as a whole to capitalist reaction, to defend the gains of the workers, and to spur on the development of the revolutionary process. The autonomous organs of the toiling masses are the bodies that are best suited to realise this united front, for in their present form they already group together Socialist workers, Communist workers, revolutionary workers, and workers who belong to no political party.

5 The unitary accord of 25 August testifies to the shift of the relationship of forces between the workers' vanguard and the reformist apparatuses.

In the present conjuncture, it was politically correct to seek a united front accord with the CP. But the accord of 25 August did not respond to the actual requirements of the situation.

(a) The accord in effect sanctioned the CP's policy of supporting the Government and maintaining the unity of the MFA, precisely at the moment that the MFA was being ripped apart by the pressure of antagonistic class forces.

(b) The accord mentioned no concrete objective that would permit the unification of the working class and the actual stimulation of workers' self-defence and self-organisation.

(c) Because of this absence, and because of the lack of proposals to the SP (a party that currently groups together nearly half of the proletariat), the accord sanctioned the present division of the workers' movement and did not contribute to surmounting this major obstacle to the development of the revolutionary process.

(d) Furthermore, the 'unitary accord' envisaged the formation of a 'front' in which the MFA is included on the same footing as the autonomous organs, parties, and revolutionary organisations of the workers' movement. This not only appeared as a stamp of approval of the CP's project of creating a 'democratic and socialist popular front', but

also fell within the framework of the perspective of integrating the autonomous organs in opposition to their real independence of the institutions of the bourgeois state.

(e) Thus, the accord could easily serve the objective of the CP (as it did during the 27 August demonstration), which is to utilise the weight of the workers' vanguard to negotiate compromises on the level of the state apparatus, the government, the army, and the MFA under the best possible conditions.

Now, the relationship of forces permitted revolutionaries to seize this opportunity to lead the CP to take a position on the implementation of the essential tasks necessary for the progress of the revolution. Here, again, the lack of concrete objectives and the concessions made to the CP's political orientation prevented the lessons of the policy of the CP leadership and the rupture of the 'front' from being clearly drawn before the masses.

6 In the workers' and people's counter-offensive based on the real dynamic of the mass movement, the Trotskyist militants of the LCI will stand in the front ranks of all initiatives fostering the extension, generalisation and centralisation of the autonomous organs of the workers and the self-defence of the workers.

It is through the capacity of revolutionary Marxists to fulfill these tasks that the revolutionary party, indispensable for the victory of the Portuguese socialist revolution, will be able to develop.

The Fourth International and all its sections and sympathising organisations will support the comrades of the LCI by all means at their disposal and will press for all mobilisations of solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Portuguese workers. 2 September, 1975

LCI APPEAL

The Internationalist Communist League (LCI — sympathising section of the Fourth International) had barely twenty members in Portugal at the time of the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship. Since then it has grown to several hundred militants due to its ability to put forward a revolutionary line of advance for the Portuguese workers and peasants.

But whereas the Portuguese Socialist and Communist Parties are receiving massive amounts of help from their well-placed supporters abroad, the LCI has to rely on the comparatively small forces of the international revolutionary vanguard for support. *Red Weekly* is therefore launching a public appeal for money to enable the LCI to carry out still more effectively its campaign for the development of the organs of popular power and the creation of a National Popular Assembly.

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



argumentation provided a left cover for the real reason behind the TUC rejection of the Charter. Audrey Prime explained to the conference that 'a sizeable minority of unions do not consider that readily available abortion facilities is an appropriate matter to be within a Charter for the whole trade union movement.'

The summer months have seen the leadership of the working class turn its back on the thousands of militants who have looked to them to oppose restrictions on women's rights.

SADISTIC

This is not due to some 'bout of summer madness or because the 'leadership' gains sadistic satisfaction in (mis) leading the working class up the blind alley to defeat. Many militants in the NAC campaign have seen that Labour MPs like Helene Hayman, Gwyneth Dunwoody and Joyce Butler are prepared to put their names to a campaign against the White Bill and travel country-wide to win others to the campaign. However, their inability to lead the campaign to a successful conclusion and their 'mistakes' like supporting the Select Committee report, derive from their commitment to the parliamentary system.

The left social democratic MPs involved in the NAC campaign see the demonstrations, the meetings and other activities simply as means of pressuring Parliament. The 'left' MPs are rarely seen on the picket lines outside condemned hospitals. Nor have they made themselves conspicuous in supporting strikes and bans imposed on private practice. Instead they choose to work within the institutions of the capitalist state. They are therefore forced to manoeuvre and compromise in order to get agreement with the most reactionary members of the Select Committee, thus shoring up this body whose main function is to attack the rights of women.

'Left' leaders cave in on abortion

The June demonstration against restrictive abortion legislation marked an important stage in the fight for free contraception and abortion on demand on the NHS. During the summer when most people's attentions were far from the tedium of parliamentary committee rooms, an interim report was produced by the Select Committee on the James White Abortion Bill.

The 'safeguards' suggested in this report serve only to smooth the path of the anti-abortion crusaders.

The Committee was prevented from proposing major legislative changes because the parliamentary session was nearing its end. It could however propose administrative changes within the framework of existing legislation.

No positive suggestions were made to ensure that the 1967 legislation (with all its inadequacies) is implemented to improve access to safe abortion facilities on the National Health Service in the early stages of pregnancy. The report simply catalogues a list of restric-

by Celia Pugh

tions. In the place of information and provision of abortion and contraception facilities we get only 'sources of guidance'. These sources are to be vetted and abortions will only be given to women who are referred for operation by these recognised agencies. Whilst recognising that this could provide certain safeguards against private racketeers, such stipulations can only serve to undermine access to abortion in a situation where provision is so

pitiful.

While abortions are delayed through the refusal of consultants to carry out the 1967 Act, the stipulation that two doctors must inspect a woman, and - with the nonexistence or disappearance of National Health provisions - the stipulation that abortions over 20 weeks must only be performed in specially equipped hospitals, can only lead to further restrictions in provisions.

The report also opens the door to reactionaries who wish to deny foreign women the use of abortion facilities in this country. It recommends 'steps to avoid foreign women being the majority of the women treated at any one place'. With the case of the American doctor Edelin in the news, many British doctors might well be apprehensive about Committee proposals that 'any information furnished to the Chief

Medical Officer in pursuance of the Regulations (is) to be disclosed to the General Medical Council for the purpose of investigation whether there has been serious professional misconduct by a practitioner'. (Edelin was witch-hunted into the courts by anti-abortionists who claimed he performed an abortion after the legal limit of 23 weeks.)

APPALLING

With the present appalling lack of abortion facilities and the possibility of the Government introducing its own restrictive replacement to James White, this report, which contains only restrictions, should be rejected out of hand by supporters of the abortion campaign. Many activists in the National Abortion Campaign will therefore be surprised to see that the report is signed by the women MPs who try to convince us of their commitment to lead a real fight for adequate abortion facilities. It is in these MPs that Renee Short asked the 25,000 June demonstrators to place their faith to defeat the restrictive legislation and fight for a woman's right to choose.

Little assurance can be gained either by turning to the 'leadership' gathered at Blackpool for the TUC conference. On Tuesday 3 September a composite motion was passed opposing the White Bill and calling for, 'a campaign for free abortion and contraception on request for all women and restricting any changes in the 1967 Act deemed detrimental to health and welfare'. That such a resolution should be debated at all, let alone passed at a TUC Conference is certainly a step forward and indicates the impact of the abortion campaign over the past year.

SNEERING

We might however be forgiven for sneering at the seriousness of this resolution, if we note that, on the same day, the very same delegates rejected the Working Women's Charter. Audrey Prime for the General Council of the TUC opposed the Charter demand for a minimum wage (designed to resist the low pay of the two thirds of women who are not covered by the Equal Pay Act) on the grounds that 'a national minimum wage for women would be certain to have statutory overtones which make it unacceptable'. Coming close on the heels of the £6 norm, this position might seem confused, to say the least. As the debate proceeded, the reason for this 'confusion' became clearer. Such



These 'left' MPs and trade union leaders must not be given the confidence of the thousands who have mobilised to fight for a 'woman's right to choose'. If they are allowed to dominate the strategy of the anti-abortion campaign that campaign will remain impotent - subordinated to the institutions of the ruling class.

Of course we are in favour of uniting with them whenever they take any steps that lead to an extension of abortion and contraception facilities. This unity must however be based on the understanding that it means a fight against the policies of the Wilson Government. That Government is now spearheading a direct onslaught against the social services and the National Health Service.

There can therefore be no extension of abortion and contraception facilities unless one fights the Government and its pro-capitalist policies. The fight for free abortion and contraception on demand is an integral part of the programme for a socialist solution to the crisis. We must demand of the 'left' MPs that they support this fight. We must not however rely on them to lead the campaign.

On 18 October the National Abortion Campaign will be holding a national conference. In discussing the strategy of taking the campaign forward it is important that the lessons of the Select Committee vote are understood.

SOUTH AFRICANS STRAFE ANGOLA

Statement by South West African People's Organisation

South African military forces have now begun to strafe and attack villages and more remote areas in southern Angola, according to reliable reports reaching SWAPO at the weekend from Angola, Zambia and Namibia.

Simultaneously repression inside Namibia in the last month has reached a new level of ferocity, and there are signs that South Africa is preparing to outlaw SWAPO inside the country.

In early August, South African troops - already occupying Namibia in defiance of UN and OAU Resolutions - invaded Angola and seized installations of the Cunene river scheme. Now, recent Angolan refugees to Zambia tell of strikes into Angola by low-flying South African military aircraft.

SWAPO is also receiving almost daily details of the recent massive repression inside Namibia itself. Over the last fortnight, almost all the leaders of internal SWAPO have been arrested and are being held incommunicado at places throughout the country. None has been charged.

Those arrested include: Axel Johannes, SWAPO National Secretary; Aaron Much-

imba, SWAPO National Organiser; Othniel Kaakunga, SWAPO Organising Secretary and Publicity Officer; Eliphas Munjaro, SWAPO Secretary of Foreign Affairs; Zondagh Kanguuehi, Chairman of the Namibia National Convention (a grouping of parties allied to SWAPO); Alpheus Naruseb, member of SWAPO Windhoek branch; Reverend Jeremiah Kameeta, Principal of the Paulinum Theological College, Otjimbingwe, and a SWAPO member; Reverend Festus Naholo, Secretary of Walvis Bay SWAPO branch; Lazarus Guiteb, Secretary of Otjivarongo SWAPO branch; Skinny Hilundwa, Chairman of SWAPO Northern branch; Reuben Hauwanga, SWAPO Publicity Secretary in the North.

But these are only some of the names. In the north of the country, which has been under vigorous martial law for three years (the notorious 'R17'), arrests are continuing nightly and the gaols are reported to be overflowing. Nobody there knows how many patriots have recently been taken. But it is known that one of the victims is a 15-year old girl, Marita Matthias, a schoolgirl at Odibo.

Our National Chairman, David Meroro, hideously tortured a year ago, has 'disappeared'.

When SWAPO and other patriots have been arrested in the past, they have been subjected to inhuman torture. Our National Secretary, Axel Johannes, for instance, in 1974 was so abominably tortured that he attempted to commit suicide in the Windhoek police cells.

SWAPO believes that South Africa, with characteristic deceit, is pretending to be the honest broker in the Rhodesian situation, hoping that the world will not notice what 'peace-maker' Vorster is up to in our country which he is continuing to occupy illegally.

South Africa is determined to hold on to Namibia at any cost - even of aggression against a neighbour. Anyone opposing its ploy of imposing bantustans upon Namibia through which South African control can continue is smashed down in the greatest internal show of force for many years.

Peter H. Katjavivi
SWAPO Representative in the UK and Western Europe



BRITAIN 1975 -

NO HOMES - NO JOBS - SOCIALIST PLAN NEEDED

A motion calling for a massive housebuilding programme in both the public and private sector, based on annual completion targets and utilising the full resources of the construction industry, was overwhelmingly carried by last week's Trades Union Congress.

Moving the motion George Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, pointed to the 30,000 registered homeless families in Britain and the 7,000 children in local authority care as a direct result of homelessness.

To this appalling situation can be added well over a million homes unfit for human habitation; hospital conditions that have not changed since Victorian times; and school buildings lacking essential repairs or being kept in use long after they were scheduled for demolition.

However by mid-July of this year, 166,862 construction workers were without jobs - over 12 per cent of all building workers. More than one in seven of the registered unemployed (seasonally adjusted) is a building worker. The response of the Wilson Government to such desperate social need and waste of human

resources has been to introduce a £6 wage-curb which will further increase unemployment, and systematically cut back public expenditure.

SWEEPING

Only 10 per cent of the sweeping cuts of £1,200 million made by Tory Chancellor Barber in December 1973 were restored by the Labour Government. Since then the Healey budget has cut public expenditure by a further £300 million for this financial year and the prospect for 1976-77 even more dismal. 1. Public expenditure is then to be slashed by another £900 million at 1974 prices (equal to more than £1,100 million at current prices).

New orders to building contractors for educational building had already fallen from £484 million in 1972 to £380 million in 1974 (at 1974 prices) - a drop of 39 per cent. Similarly new orders from the health service have dropped over the last two years by 22 per cent, while only 268,000 houses were completed last year compared with 400,000 in 1968.

The cuts extend to petty penny-pinching. A Ministerial circular from the Department of the Environment published last week tells local authorities to cut down on the staffing of parks, refuse collection, administration and town and country planning. At the same time rents and fares are to rise and a standstill put on all improvements of standards in education.

COMBINATION

Not surprisingly the combination of mass unemployment and cut-backs has increasingly led to demands for a programme of public works - 66 per cent of all work in the construction industry is state financed. The successful UCATT motion on housing rounded off a week in which the TUC passed motions opposing cuts in most areas of social expenditure, and both the composite resolutions for and against the £6 curb called for a programme of public works.

But other than ritual delegations to 10 Downing Street and the gnashing of teeth amongst the Labour 'left' in Parliament, nobody has proposed how such a programme is to be carried out. In fact appeals are being made to Wilson to launch such a programme, when it is his Government which is the architect of the present attacks on the welfare state!

A major problem in fighting back against the cuts and unemployment in the building industry is the nature of the industry itself. The majority of workers in the industry work for small contractors on small sites - averaging less than 50 workers. Only a quarter of the industry is unionised, and 'self-employment' is widespread. There is little in the way of plant and produce that building workers can hold and occupy in the fight for jobs, and 'lump' working is still a major problem.

All this means that a simple sectoral response from building workers will be inadequate. A class-wide response and organisation

required are immense, and the only possible source is central state expenditure. That means that any campaign against the cuts must be directed against the whole economic policy of the Wilson Government, particularly the £6 curb and the Healey package. The aim should be not just one or two concessions - which is what the trade union bureaucrats and the 'left' MPs will be content with - but the complete reversal of Government policy and the removal of the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party.

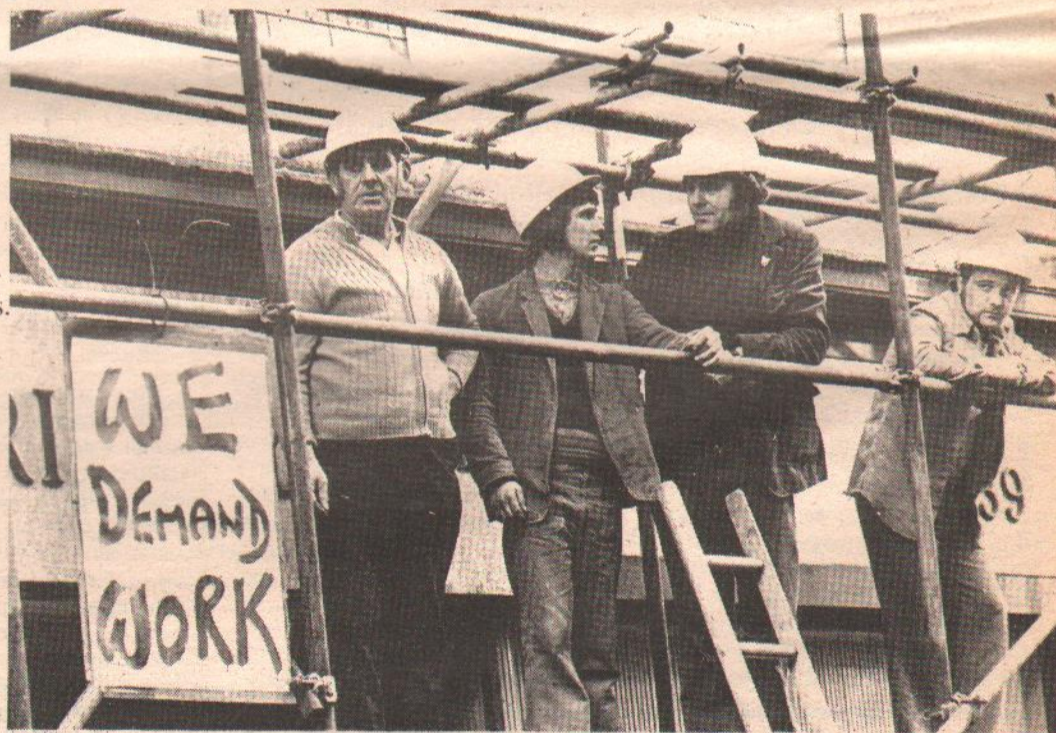
This could lay the basis for providing the necessary finances, by attacking the vested interests of private industry and the City of London to which the Wilson leadership capitulates. The power of the financial institutions over public spending is immense. The Greater London Council, for example, currently pays 85 per cent of all its rents to the City in the form of interest repayments. As council houses are amortised over a period of 60 years, interest rates are by far the biggest item in the costs borne by housing revenue accounts, and supported by subsidies. Inflation has put interest rates through the roof.

It is largely because of this that the past decade has seen the current account deficit of local authority housing increase tenfold from £150 million to £1.5 billion. In some local authorities not even a complete end to building would cancel their housing deficits, as refinancing continues. The immediate cancellation of all local authority debts to the financial institutions and the state provision of interest-free loans is needed to finance a programme of public works which will benefit the working class.

FAR-RANGING

Furthermore, the construction industry itself is dominated by a few giant firms which take all the major contracts, combined with inefficient, small-scale firms which really act as labour suppliers. To carry through the extensive measures envisaged, the total nationalisation without compensation of development land and the building industry is required.

To guarantee the success of these measures, it will be necessary to extend and co-ordinate the committees which draw up the lists of public works required on a national scale. The need for such a national workers' plan to



against the cuts is required, and no amount of trips to Downing Street and speechifying in the House of Commons will create that.

meet in this instance the housing crisis is recognised in a motion from Rushcliffe Constituency Labour Party to the forthcoming Labour Party Conference.

After noting the 'abject failure of capitalism to solve the appalling housing crisis', and calling for the Government to take the building industry into public ownership, the motion calls for the 'establishment of a "National Building Council"....made up solely of elected trade unionists in the industry and tenants associations' representatives to implement a workers' plan for housing.'

ALLIANCES

The first crucial step is to build alliances between building workers, teachers, students, health workers and other public sector workers who are also on the receiving end of the cuts. Local labour movement conferences against the cuts and unemployment can create the necessary structures. Such bodies can provide the focus around which the whole of the working class in a particular area can unite in defence of the gains of the welfare state.

In every local government department, hospital and school, investigatory committees should be set up to monitor the cuts and draw up a list of the projects required to maintain and improve the standards of the services. It is only through gathering this information that it will be possible to draw up a programme of socially useful public works - rather than the handing down of odds and ends from various government departments as stop-gap measures to buy off widespread working class discontent with the decline in the value of the 'social wage'.

How is such a programme for schools, hospitals, houses and public amenities to be financed and executed? The sums of capital

SABOTAGE

A workers' plan for a wide-ranging programme of socially useful public works would meet with the bitter opposition and sabotage of the capitalist class. But if the slogan of 'public works' is to be more than a hollow cry from the reformists - who don't want to lead a serious fight against unemployment because it would bring them into head-on collision with the Wilson Government - then it is such a bold plan for socially useful public works that the working class needs.

MICK GOSLING

WHAT'S ON

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Chile since the coup' - speaker Gerry Hedley. Tues 16 Sept., 7.30pm, Conway Hall.

FOR CHEAP, RELIABLE IBM typesetting with fast turn-around phone Steph or Martin on 01-837 6954.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHILE SOLIDARITY DEMO: organised by Humberide CSC in Hull, Sat 13 Sept., assemble 2pm in Kingstons Square for 2.30 start. **LARGE & SMALL ROOM** (£8 and £5) in small community for comrades (with school child). Phone 883 5927.

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

TOM PICKET outside trades councils report-back meeting on Ireland to demand right for minority delegation to speak. Sat 13 Sept. 1.30pm, outside Unity House, Euston Road.

BATTERSEA & WANDSWORTH Trades Council public meeting: 'Defend the Portuguese Revolution'. Tues 16 Sept, 8pm, in Battersea Town Hall, Lavender Hill. Speakers: Stan Newens MP, E. Guedes (PWCC), and speakers from CP and Spanish-Solidarity Committee.

NEW N.A.C. HEADQUARTERS: now at 30 Camden Road, London NW1 (tel. 485 4383).

N.A.C. NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE: 18-19 October at Imperial College, London. Registration £1, 50p for students, claimants, one parent families, etc. Write to 30 Camden Road, London NW1 for credentials.

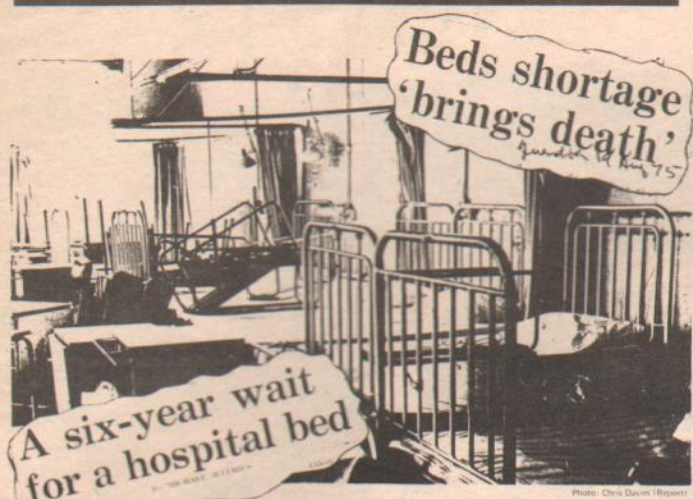
NEW NEWSPAPER published by N.A.C. will be available by 21 Sept. - 10p each, pre-paid bulk orders of 50+, 8p each. Make sure you place your order now - write to NAC at above address.

A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE/Free Abortion on Demand. Badges available from 97 Caledonian Rd, London N1 - 10p each plus s.a.e., bulk order reductions on request.

BIRMINGHAM Portuguese Solidarity Meeting: Digbeth Civic Hall, 7.30pm, Weds 17 Sept. Speakers include Tom Litterick MP, Paul Foot, and speakers from the PWCC and PRP.

CHARTIST PUBLIC MEETING: 'After Newham - What Next for Labour Left?' Speaker: Tony Kelly (Newham N.E. CLP in personal capacity). Thurs 18 Sept., 8pm, Hulme Labour Club, Borsall Street, Manchester. Admission 10p.

NHS IN DANGER!



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

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

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

MCAPP conference gathers momentum

Building support for the Conference called by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice 'Against the Cuts in the National Health Service' requires a real campaign inside the labour movement.

A spokesperson for MCAPP explained: 'We do not simply want to get resolutions carried in support of our demands. What is needed is a campaign that can win over hundreds of thousands of workers to fighting for those demands.'

She added: 'Swansea have set the kind of example which should be followed up in other areas. Ken Price, who led the struggles of the NUPE branch at the Morrision Hospital against private practice - at the Morrision all the ancillary workers came out on strike against the presence of one private patient in the hospital - is doing meetings to build support for the Conference.'

'He is speaking to shop stewards' committees and urging them to elect delegates to the 11 October Conference. Other local militants are working with him on this campaign. This is the way that Ken and his fellow members of the NUPE branch managed to get solidarity strike action from the South Wales miners during the nurses' pay claim.'

'They are also organising a local conference following the MCAPP Conference against Government cuts in social expenditure, especially in the NHS.'

Massive complex

In Cardiff and Newport area she reports: 'Activity is being organised in the massive Heath Hospital complex - one of Europe's largest hospitals. This is being organised by the supporters of the National Abortion Campaign.'

'A committee has now been set up in Sheffield which is supported by the ASTMS district committee, Laycock's Shop Stewards' Committee, Brightside Labour Party and members of the National Union of Students who are in its health section. This committee is running a drive for delegates to Conference will organise activity in Sheffield against local cuts.'

'The Hammersmith Hospital Joint Shop Stewards' Committee which sponsors the Conference has

have banned work on two wards. Although the management have claimed that they are causing injury to NHS patients a petition signed by over half the NHS patients supports their action. This week the ban will be extended to other wards.

Women's groups

'In a whole series of towns, supporters of the Conference are organising speaking tours, addressing shop stewards' committees, trades councils, Labour Parties, women's groups etc. But they are doing more than just getting delegates to the Conference. They are also laying the basis for a united movement in these towns that can make a real fight against local cuts.'

New sponsors to be added to the already impressive list are the North London Divisional Committee of the AUEW, Warley East Constituency Labour Party, Nottingham National Abortion Campaign, Womens' Liberation NAC Oxford, COHSE Staffordshire and the T&GWU 0965/08 branch Norfolk. AUEW (TASS) Division No. 12 and Solihull AUEW (ES) branch have also voted to support the Conference.

Amongst further organisations that have elected delegates are ASTMS Steel Branch Sheffield, Bath Trades Council, and Charing Cross Hospital.

Red Weekly announced some weeks ago that Dr Berry Beaumont - a member of the Medical Practitioners Union, a section of ASTMS - would be moving the resolution on abortion at the Trades Union Congress. But although the MPU has no rule on the question of eligibility of people to attend the TUC, ASTMS insists that only people with three year's membership can attend the TUC as delegates.

As comrade Beaumont did not have the three years' qualifying membership, ASTMS refused to sanction her election, despite protests from the MPU that they had elected her and had every confidence in her ability to argue and present the pro-abortion case. She was therefore

Fred Jarvis, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, was right for once when he said at the Trades Union Congress: 'No matter how you dress it up the education service is facing its biggest threat since the war.' The motion put by the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of Schoolmasters and carried by the TUC, calls on the trade union movement to resist any attempts by local authorities to make teachers unemployed.

But it will bring little comfort to the already unemployed teachers, and the teachers, school students and college students who start the new term having to face ever-worsening conditions. Almost one-third of newly-qualified teachers are still without jobs, or have to be content with part-time teaching, whilst at the same time teachers are losing their 'free' periods in order to take extra classes to avoid the added expense of the much needed additional staff.

Bureaucracy

It is little wonder that motions such as this cannot be taken seriously when the NUT leadership has made no real attempt to fight the massive cuts which have already taken place in the education service. But what can you expect from a leadership which fails to recognise that the cut-backs in education are only a part of the attacks being made on the living standards of the whole of the working class?

Only recently the NUT leadership has shown which side of the class line it stands on by giving its blessing to the Healey package. Yet in the next breath these same 'leaders' were asking the whole labour movement to help defend teachers' jobs. If any serious fight against unemployment is to be waged by the labour movement, it is essential that a campaign to defeat the Healey measures and the £6 limit is waged, because these measures are designed to create unemployment.

Class lines

However, within the NUT bureaucracy itself we are unlikely to see this happen. Following the recent defeat of the Communist Party and social democrats within the NUT bureaucracy over the question of Healey's proposals, the 'lefts' are now only too willing to toe the line in a desperate attempt to maintain their base within the union.

This will mean that the fight against the cutbacks will be presented in a purely sectoral way, capitulating to the right within the union who are concerned that the standards of the teaching 'profession' should be maintained.

Unfortunately, large sections of the left fall into the trap of the 'teacher knows best attitude' and see the struggle against the cut-backs being carried by teachers, not by the whole labour movement.

JOBLESS TEACHERS TOTAL ROCKETS

As the crisis in the education system deepens, the leadership of the National Union of Teachers has retreated in the face of the Government cuts. Next month the Socialist Teachers Conference meets for the second time to develop a strategy linking teachers with other workers to defeat the attacks on their jobs, living standards and the education system as a whole. As a run-up to the conference, Red Weekly, will be carrying a series of articles by teacher militants explaining the International Marxist Group's attitude to the conference and the issues it must take up.

The lobby of Parliament on 21 October, called by the South East Region of the TUC and supported by the NUT Executive, is a step in the right direction - but we must not stop at this. Instead, teachers should use this initiative to involve the whole trade union movement to build a campaign, similar to the Medical Committee Against Private Practice, to defend and extend the education system.

The International Marxist Group, teachers will be fighting for such a

campaign within the NUT and at the forthcoming Socialist Teachers Conference. At the Conference, the IMG will be arguing for discussions on how the fight against the cuts in education and Healey's measures can best be carried out.

Carole Regan

SOCIALIST TEACHERS CONFERENCE, Nuflo Hall, Jockeys Fields, Theobalds Road, London WC1, Saturday-Sunday, 4-5 October, 1975.

Teachers fight smear campaign

Over the past few weeks, teachers at William Tyndale Junior School in Islington have been refusing their managers access to the school. They have been forced into this action because of a vicious political campaign by Labour councillors, managers and the right-wing press accusing them of 'political indoctrination' of the children at Tyndale.

These allegations were started by a part-time teacher who produced a 'Black Paper' on the school which she distributed amongst parents, at the same time informing them that their children were being taught by 'Reds'. School managers took up these allegations and with the help of Islington Labour councillors instigated a petition against the teaching staff.

Parents started to remove their children from the school and as a result the managers called for a special inspection into the school to 'restore public confidence in Tyndale'. They have succeeded in this request as the Chairman of the ILEA Sub-Committee, Harvey Hinds, has now had the approval of his commit-

tee for a General Inspection to precede a public inquiry into the school. The panel of this 'public inquiry' is to consist of four members of the Sub-Committee plus one other - possibly a legal person from the educational disciplinary Tribunal.

But the inspection is a patently manipulative manoeuvre by the managers and the ILEA to do what they want with the school. A recommendation as a result of an 'inspection' that the school should be 're-organised' would give the authorities the chance to rid the school of its socialist teachers - not sack all the staff, just divide them. It could also set a precedent for carrying out the Labour-imposed cut-backs in education: teachers must 'go' because they're not 'satisfactory' - a neat cover up to convince parents that a cut-back by another name will smell 'sweeter'.

A campaign has been set up to support the Tyndale staff and call for a full independent inquiry into the activities of the managers over the past 18 months. Until this has taken place, and until the staff have been allowed to get on with their job without harassment, there can be no accurate assessment of the school or its educational policy.
MARGARET FORD
(Secretary, The Support William Tyndale Junior School Campaign)



RED WEEKLY

VICIOUS FINES ON GLASGOW ANTI-FASCISTS

John Reidford, Glasgow Trades Council Secretary - £50; Hugh Wyper, Glasgow TGWU District Secretary - £50; Keith Stoddart, TGWU branch chairman - £30; Alex Campbell, AUEW convenor - £25; Charlie Montgomery, former EPTU Executive candidate - £20; Norman Bean, AUEW shop steward - £20; James Brown, student activist - £20.

These savage fines, totalling £215, were meted out to the first seven defendants in the continuing trials of 76 anti-fascist pickets in Glasgow. They are the first in the battery of hammerblows which the Sheriff Court plans to rain on those who massed to bar the road to the National Front at Kingston Halls on 24 May.

Far more serious than the fines themselves, however, is the judgement on which the penalties are based. For the findings of guilt were based on an interpretation of the law on breach of the peace which directly threatens the right of free demonstration. This ruling is effectively that the police have the right to arrest anyone associated with any demonstration which they deem to have changed in its purpose from its original objective to one which they consider creates an unlawful assembly.

How widely the resulting prosecutions can be defined is revealed in the conviction of Charlie Montgomery. Montgomery was convicted of breach of the peace, obstruction, and shouting and swearing, solely on the testimony of two plain-clothes policemen. One of these, Cullen, identified Alex Campbell as Montgomery, and both stated that they had merely put him in a van after he was handed over to them by two uniformed officers. Neither could state what Montgomery had been doing, and the second cop, Robb, could not even say that he had been part of the crowd. Of 29 other prosecution witnesses, not one gave further testimony against Montgomery.

The credibility of the remaining 12 sergeants and constables who gave evidence may be judged from the following facts. Constable MacAdam, who claimed to have arrested Hugh Wyper, is well

known by many defendants to have been on duty at Govan Police Station as they arrived in custody. He was seen to approach the driver of the first police van and ask, 'What's going on at the Kingston Halls?' Constable MacKenzie, who appeared as the second arresting officer for Hugh Wyper, identified John Reidford as Wyper in court.

The evidence of the three fascist witnesses can best be judged by the fact that the main one was NF boss and racist demagogue Kingsley Read. Sheriff-Principal Lord Wilson, however, has given the fascists a far greater prize than witness-box credibility. For the first time in the NF's existence, a fascist provocation is on the verge of succeeding in the objective sought for it by the state apparatus - the strengthening of police powers and repressive legislation.

It is for precisely these rewards that the state apparatus launched police riots in defence of fascists both at Red Lion Square and at Kingston Halls. Those in the labour movement who believe such attacks can be combated merely through anti-fascist propaganda, 'good' lawyers, and stiff-upper lip collections for fines, will continue to reap the whirlwind of Glasgow Sheriff Court. The campaign which is so urgently required in Glasgow today is one which organises the workers' movement for active self-defence against the growth of the 'strong state' and for the destruction of the extreme right whose activities act as a 'litmus test' for such moves.

Sheriff-Principal Wilson made clear early in the trial that, for him, the verdict was a foregone conclusion. He interrupted defendant Hugh Wyper's description of the mass picket tactic to state that he knew quite well what a picket was, and had crossed one before. He then instructed all lawyers in the case to cease reference to the mass picket as a picket. In his summing up, he speculated on the desirability of sending some defendants for 'a period of political education'.

Whether the Glasgow labour movement can give Wilson the 'political education' he needs, whether it chooses to be hammer or anvil, will be decided by the mobilisation to smash the Kingston Halls frame-up this month.

James MacAllister



Notre Dame cathedral in Paris, occupied last week by militants campaigning to save the lives of Garmendia and Otaegui

SUPPORT MOUNTS FOR BASQUE MILITANTS

Last week the Trades Union Congress overwhelmingly carried a motion proposed by Mick McGahey (President of the Scottish Miners) calling for 'support for those in Spain fighting for an end to Fascism and the establishment of democracy'. And hundreds of trade union delegates - including Jack Jones (Gen. Sec. TGWU), Alan Fisher (Gen. Sec. NUPE), Joe Gormley (President NUM), Mick McGahey (Scottish NUM), Jack Collins (Kent NUM), Bob Wright (AUEW), and Jimmy Reid (AUEW) - signed a petition calling on the Spanish Government to grant immediate clemency and halt the planned execution of Basque militants Jose Antonio Garmendia and Angel Otaegui.

As the petition pointed out:

'Heard before a military tribunal, lasting a little over five hours, with no substantial evidence against the defendants, and one of them, as the prosecution admitted, mentally deficient because of a brain injury sustained during his arrest, their trial was a total travesty of justice. Their execution would be a purely political act - an attempt by the regime to intimidate all those Spaniards fighting for a free and democratic order'. The petition will form the basis for a press conference next week to give a further boost to the campaign.

International action is also beginning to build up to stop the hand of Franco's executioners. Apart from protest telegrams sent by a number of governments and Socialist and Communist parties in Western Europe, there have also been mass mobilisations in a number of centres - notably in Paris, which has so far seen two large demonstrations organised by the Eva Forest collective and an occupation of Notre Dame cathedral.

Shot dead

Meanwhile the repression in Spain continues. Demonstrations against the death penalties in many places have been broken up by the police (Guardia Civil), and a young militant - Jesus Garcia Ripaldo, aged 23 - was shot dead in Bilbao. At least five other demonstrators have also been shot over the past few days. These militants never even had a 'trial'. They were simply shot down in cold blood for demonstrating.

But even in the face of such vicious repression the Spanish workers are defiantly keeping up their fight against the dictatorship in a determined effort to free Garmendia and Otaegui and thus call a halt to the regime's wave of terror. More than 280 political prisoners in eight Spanish jails have gone on hunger strike. In Algorta, an industrial suburb of Bilbao, more than 1,000 workers demonstrated through

the streets; and there are still 15,000 workers in Vizcaya province and 30,000 in Guipuzcoa province on strike.

Such courageous actions demand an international movement of solidarity on the scale of that mobilised during the Burgos trials in 1970. In London, demonstrations have been held and there has been a continuous picket of the Spanish Embassy for the last two weeks. The picket is continuing and still needs as much support as possible - particularly trade union banners etc.

In York a picket was organised last Saturday of the surgery of local Labour MP Alex Lyon, who agreed to raise the matter with the Foreign Office. A large number of passers-by also signed the petition.

Many British trade unionists have pledged their solidarity with the struggle in Spain against the dictatorship - what is needed are more practical ways of showing the dictatorship what is meant by that solidarity. This means more than passing resolutions and signing petitions, valuable though these are. It means fighting for an embargo on Spanish goods. It means organising demonstrations and meetings in factories and trade unions to build a massive solidarity campaign for our brothers and sisters in Spain.

Every blow struck against the fascist order in Spain and its imperialist backers hastens the socialist revolution not only in the Iberian peninsula but also in the rest of Europe.

A TOUGH FIGHT

We only scraped home in August by extending the deadline. That means that we have already dug into September and our fight to get £500 must be a real tough one.

Readers are faced with a simple choice. Without the Red Weekly who would continue the campaign on Ireland? Who would fight for revolutionary politics in the working class? Who would wage the struggle for workers' control and raise the banner of internationalism?

The answer to those questions is very simple - no one. That is why you cannot afford to be without your newspaper. That is why every pledge has to be met in full. Every penny you can get is needed. Your intentions are appreciated - and we know that they are socialist. But without your money they mean nothing.

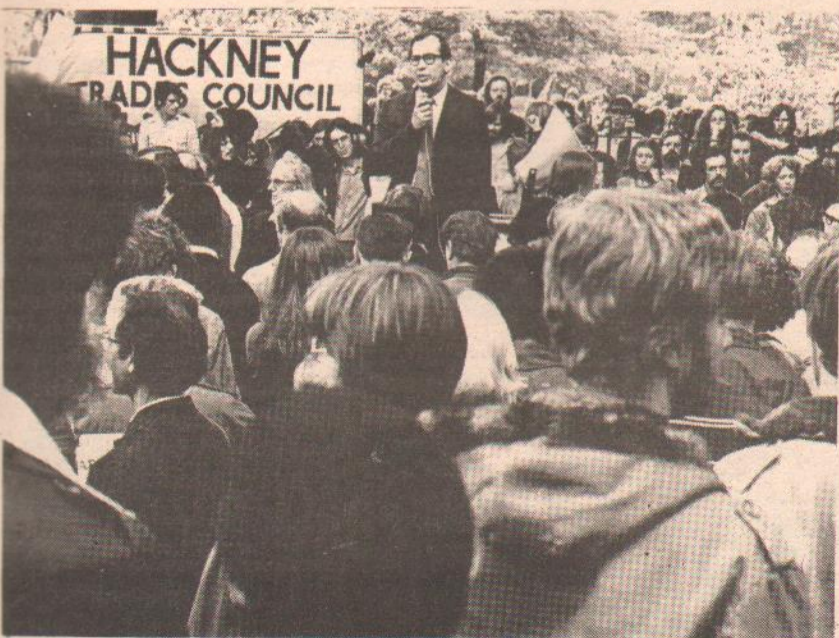
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... meanwhile in London



More than 3,000 anti-fascist militants staged a counter-rally against the National Front's march through Hackney last Saturday. The counter-rally, organised by Hack Hackney Trades Council and the Hackney Committee Against Racism, was supported by a large number of trades councils, union branches, and a delegation from the shop stewards committee of Yarrows shipyards in Glasgow. Large contingents from the various left organisations also marched together with several Labour Party Young Socialist branches. The large number of speakers included Sid Bidwell MP, two local councillors, Stewart MacLennan - who spoke on behalf of the defendants arrested following the police riot at Kingston Halls, Glasgow - and Julian Atkinson for the IMG (shown speaking in photo).