

# RED WEEKLY

6 NOVEMBER 1975

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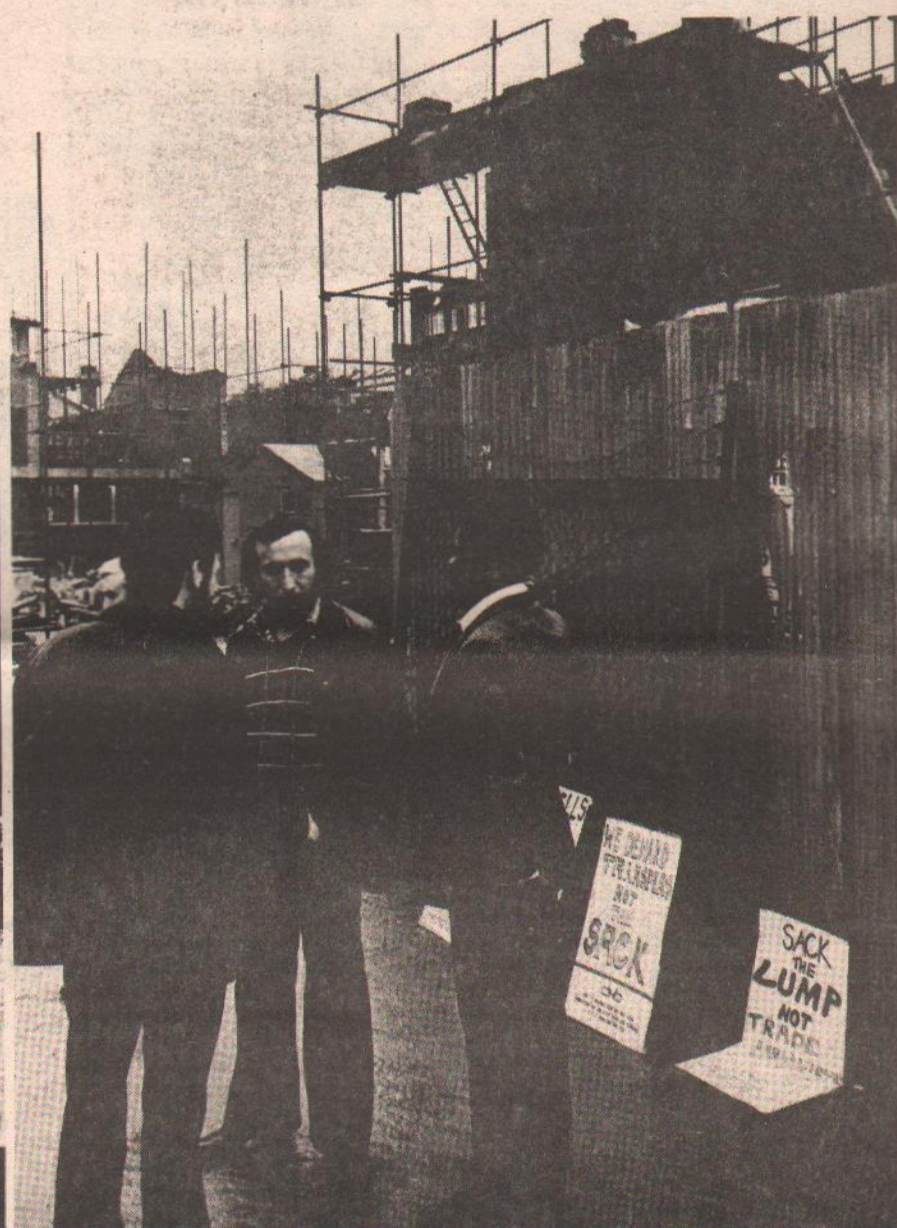
PRICE 10p

## ALL OUT AGAINST THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP!

DEMONSTRATION - Saturday, 15th  
November 1pm. SPEAKERS CORNER

Sponsors include Labour MPs Bob Edwards, Jo Richardson, Syd Bidwell, Judith Hart, Audrey Wise and Joan Maynard; Alan Sapper (ACTT); and London Student Organisation

# DEFEND THE RIGHT TO WORK



Fighting for the right to work: workers in occupation at the Personna factory in Glasgow; and Lovell's building workers—who have already voted to strike on 26 November—picketing against the use of lump labour

**TWO MILLION UNEMPLOYED BY AUTUMN 1977.** This shock figure was revealed in secret Treasury reports exposed last week.

Employment Secretary Michael Foot's claim that 'the main objective of Government policy is to get unemployment down as soon as possible by every intelligent means available' has been exposed as a cynical lie.

Against the lies of Foot, more and more workers are stepping up the fight for the right to work. Workers in occupation for eight weeks at Balfour Darwin have decided to spread their fight throughout the Sheffield labour movement with factory meetings and a demonstration.

On Monday a mass meeting of workers at the threatened Chrysler plant in Linwood, Scotland, endorsed a stewards' recommendation to occupy the factory if Chrysler pull out. Chrysler workers throughout the country will be organising a demonstration against American chairman John Riccardo when he arrives in London to discuss his carve-up plans with Harold Wilson.

Particularly important is the news from the nearly three week old occupation against redundancies at the Personna razor blade factory in Glasgow. The 320 workers are demanding no redundancies, voluntary or otherwise, and no reduction in hours unless full pay and manning are maintained. *By raising the demand for work-sharing with no loss of pay, the Personna workers are showing the way to the rest of the working class in the fight against redundancies.*

It is the workers from Personna, Balfour Darwin, Chrysler and other factories who are leading the fight against sackings. It is they also who must lead the giant jobs demo on 26 November. The lobby, called by the North West region of the TUC, must be seized as the opportunity to launch a solidarity campaign throughout the labour movement in support of workers striking or occupying to defend their jobs.

Massive support continues to roll in for the demonstration despite the sabotaging efforts of the General Council of the TUC.

The Eastern region of the building workers' union UCATT, Ford's Langley shop stewards, the Bristol district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, and a Coventry meeting of shop stewards called by the district CSEU have all added their support to the lobby.

The 1,500-strong Islington NALGO branch have joined a number of London building sites in voting for strike action on that day.

## OCCUPATIONS

Far from attempting to sabotage the lobby by telling trades councils not to participate, the TUC should be supporting all struggles against redundancies and should adopt as official policy the call for workers to occupy against threats of sackings.

The role of the 'lefts' in the Labour Party has been no better. A few have at last spoken in support of the lobby and against the TUC's position, but none have been touring the

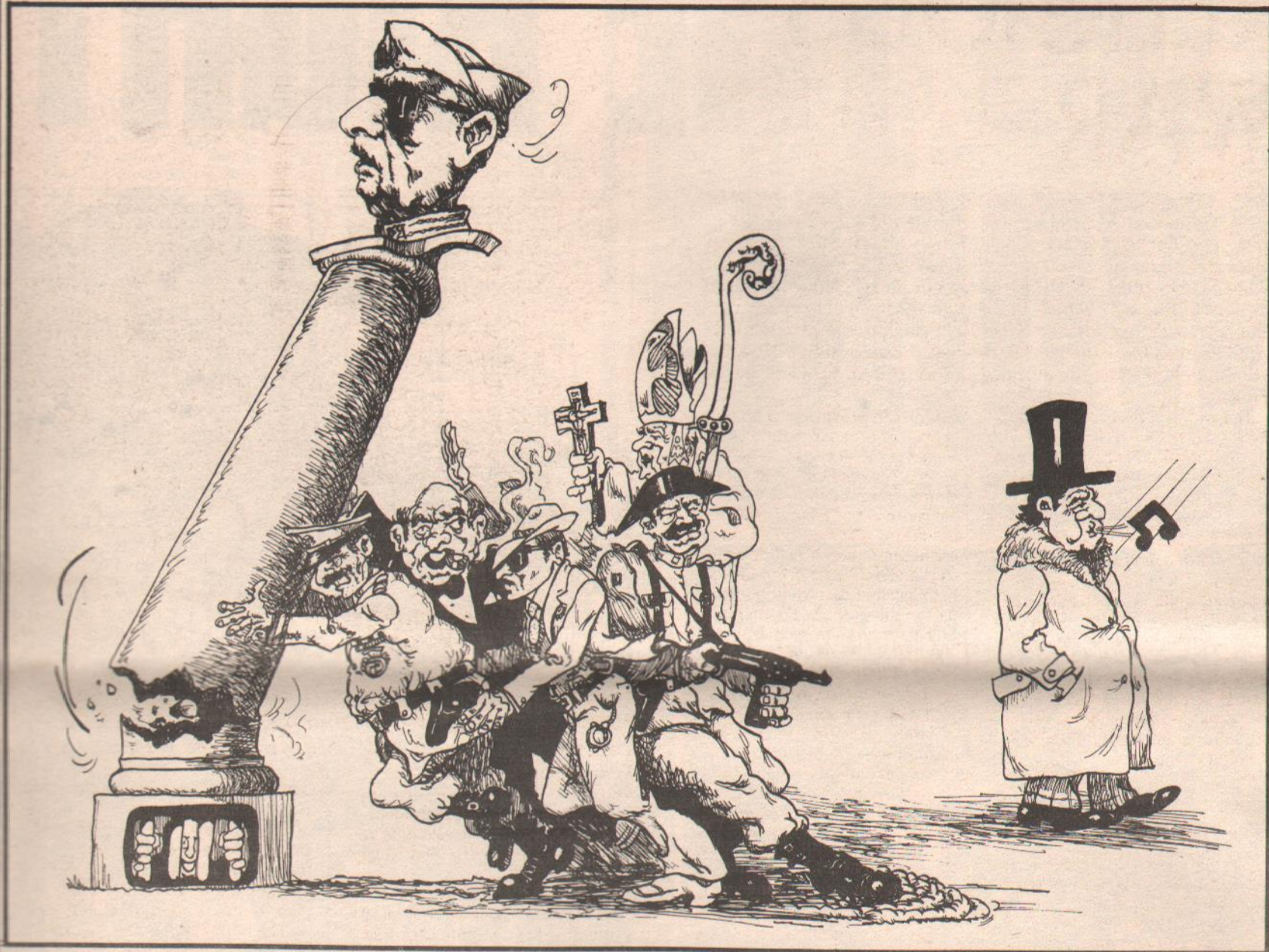
country mobilising support and building solidarity with workers fighting redundancies. The 'lefts' must be forced to take a clear position on Wilson's policies — either to mobilise the working class against them, or to show that they have no intention at all of launching any real fight.

The demand must also be raised for Benn — who had the cheek to speak in Bristol last Saturday at a rally against unemployment which supported the 26 November lobby — to resign from the cabinet and mobilise action against Wilson's Tory policies. If he does not, people will be able to draw their own conclusions about his left talk.

The militants brought together on the 26 November lobby can become the striking force to establish Right to Work committees in every area, with the aim of hammering out common jobs policies and actions to defend all workers against redundancies. *At the top of their list of priorities should be the mobilisation of mass support for workers in any area who go into strike action or occupation against redundancies.*

# ALL OUT ON NOV. 26

# SPAIN: the impossible reconciliation



Among the many repercussions of the present crisis in Spain, one of the least noted has been the harsh blow it has dealt to the perspectives of the Democratic Junta.

This body — which consists mainly of the Communist Party and opposition monarchists — was hastily created during the summer of 1974, when the dictator seemed to be nearing his end. It was basically oriented towards a perspective of 'national reconciliation' and of continuity at the level of the State apparatus. Here DANIEL BENSALD looks at the disastrous implications of this approach.

The Junta's first programmatic document contrasted the non-continuity of the regime with the necessary continuity of the State in no uncertain terms: 'Spanish society wants a complete change so that the national function of the State can be safeguarded without shocks or upheavals.' In brief, everything must change so that everything can remain as before.

The twelve points of this programme were in consequence devoted to a large extent to the maintenance and safeguarding of the State apparatus inherited from Francoism, as if the dictator himself was just an unfortunate wart on it. 'An absolute amnesty for all those responsible for acts of a political nature' was demanded.

## PAY DEARLY

Today the CP general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, has to admit that those 'who approved the executions — Franco, Arias Navarro, Juan Carlos — will pay very dearly for their crimes'. But what about the 200,000

who demonstrated in Franco's support, and the policemen who opened fire on the demonstrators in Zarauz — didn't they also approve the executions? And in that case, where do you draw the line on this 'absolute' amnesty, which is supposed to set the seal on the national reconciliation?

## GRIEF-STRICKEN

The Spanish Communist Party, when it talks about national reconciliation, wants to draw a sponge over forty grief-stricken years of history, wiping it from the memory of the workers. The platform of the Junta refers to the civil war as 'the victory of one section of the Spanish people over another', erasing its class nature and deploring — as reactionaries have always done — the tragedy of a fratricidal struggle.

The mind boggles at the thought that in a few years time the party of Corvalan could refer to Pinochet's coup in Chile as the victory of one section of the people over another, without being any more specific....

But the civil war will not let itself be forgotten so easily. Obstinate it runs through history and the generations to jog our memories. Indeed, it never entirely ended. Franco himself recognised this when he imposed the five death sentences in September. To talk about reconciliation in these circumstances is to give up without a fight; worse still, it is to disarm the workers in the face of the enemy.

## LEGALISATION

The Democratic Junta also envisages the 'legalisation of all parties without exception', thus giving guarantees to the openly Francoist sectors; 'the independence and judicial unity of the judicial function', thus ensuring that the Francoist penal code will be maintained; and 'the respect of international agreements', a reference to the maintenance of the American bases in Spain.

## UPRISING

The road of the peaceful transition is so narrow that already a year ago it envisaged a pre-emptive limitation on the democratic rights of the working class. The right to demonstrate was confined to 'peaceful demonstrations'. Today, even though he would like to ward off such a development, Carrillo cannot ignore the possibility of an armed uprising.

The platform of the Junta, with its wish to ensure the continuity of

the State, only recognises 'the individuality' of the Basque, Catalan and Galician peoples within the framework of 'the unity of the Spanish State', thus excluding any form of self-determination. Finally, the platform includes no demands relating to the living standards of the working class (wages, jobs), and has not a word to say about the living conditions of the soldiers.

In a word, the struggles and trials of strength of the last year have shown that the platform of the Democratic Junta is impotent and useless as soon as it is a question of giving direction to concrete struggles. Preparing for reconciliation is hardly the best way of defending the working class against the effects of the crisis and the bosses' attacks.

## UNIFICATION

What Carrillo wants, what he is hoping for, is 'the unification of all the anti-Francoist forces, of the left and the right', and 'the intervention of the army to impose the will of the people'. This scenario is worth examining more closely in the light of recent events.

1. The unification of all the anti-Francoist forces. On this point, after the passage of a year, the balance sheet is distinctly thin. Far from having been able to extend the Democratic Junta to include other groups, the CP has seen the emergence of a rival coalition — the

Democratic Convergence, made up of the Socialist Party (PSOE), the Christian Democracy, the Basque National Party (PNV) and two important far left groups (the MCE and ORT).

Of course the recent crackdown of the regime has sharpened the social and political polarisation of the country, creating the conditions for a dialogue between the Junta and the Convergence. But the existence of two reformist groupings has a more substantial basis than simple tactical differences.

## IDEAL MODEL

In last spring, the minister Carro declared that the 'German social democracy constitutes the ideal model for Spanish political development'. At first sight this appears to be a rather bizarre statement, for one can hardly imagine German social democracy — viable in a country where the working class has still to recover from the blood-letting of the 1930s — being successfully transplanted to a country where the class struggle is among the most intense in Europe.

But he was really talking about something else entirely — the fact the Spanish bourgeoisie finds itself ill equipped after 40 years of dictatorial rule to enmesh the working class in manoeuvres on the parliamentary terrain.

The most enlightened fraction of the ruling class has understood the danger it will be in if, on the morrow of the fall of the dictatorship, it is up against a powerful and prestigious Communist Party which — with the exception of the extreme left — is the sole party with a base in the workers' movement. This means that between the modernist wing of the regime around Fraga Iribarne, which preaches 'constitutional reform', and the Democratic Junta with its 'democratic rupture', the Spanish bourgeoisie would like to insert a social democratic party, giving it time to establish its identity and take on a recognisable shape.

## MONARCHIST

The Socialist Party (PSOE) at first stayed outside the Junta, citing the haste of the operation and refusing to enter into a pact with reactionaries like the monarchist Calvo Serrero. But the real nature of this tactical disagreement was revealed in the full light of day with the creation of the Convergence, when the PSOE started to boast that it had attracted much more representative sections of the bourgeoisie than those which had joined the CP in the Junta.

The fact is that in the light of the Portuguese experience, the PSOE has all the advantages — even if Carrillo's party has been forced to go ahead and give the maximum guarantees to its own bourgeoisie. The emergence and eventual development of a social democratic party would allow the possibility of an alliance between the Convergence and the Liberals of the present regime, and a corresponding reduction in the weight of the CP. After all, whatever the latter's protestations of good conduct, it is still in the eyes of the ruling class a Communist Party capable of re-asserting its links with the USSR if the situation demanded it.

The most unhappy aspect of the affair is perhaps the involvement in this operation of two far left organisations which have played an undeniable role in the mass mobilisations, particularly in Euskadi (the Basque country).

## UNPRINCIPLED

The Convergence, a class-collaborationist pact if ever there was one, hasn't even adopted a programme or a platform — which speaks volumes about the tactical and unprincipled nature of the alliance. And when a pact is justified more on the very fact of uniting than on the basis of the unity, its meaning becomes even clearer: social democracy is a much

better bet than the Communist Party when it comes to bringing about national reconciliation via collaboration with the remnants of Francoism, even if the CP does hold out its hand to 'anti-Francoists of the right'.

2. The emphasis put by Carrillo on the intervention of the army to impose the will of the people. This might take one aback. But in fact it is highly revealing.

Carrillo is less and less able to believe in a surrender pure and simple from the bunker, and a peaceful hand-over. He knows perfectly well that the regime will not fall by itself like a rotten fruit — it will have to be shaken to earth, to break the back of the old Falangist and clerical apparatus. But to accomplish this deed, Carrillo would rather not base himself on the mobilisation of the masses, generalising and centralising strike movements like those in Euskadi.

The fact is that he fears the revolutionary dynamic — even more rapid than in Portugal — which could be unleashed by such a mobilisation, going beyond a simple democratic rupture and sweeping aside all possibility of national reconciliation. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to overturn the tottering regime: so once again he is back to the same impasse, or the same contradiction.

### PUTSCHIST

Carrillo resolves the question by becoming a putschist. The parties of the left are getting ready, creating the necessary conditions, offering the maximum guarantees via the largest possible alliance with the bourgeoisie....and the military, the young officers of the left (of course), all they have to do is to give things a little push by way of a limited and pre-determined coup. That's the kind of dangerous absurdities to which mistrust of the mass movement leads.

In fact, at a time when the whole world is speculating on the succession — the heritage and the inheritors — the problem still remains. It is not so much a question of *who* as of *how*. In an article in *Le Monde*, Calvo Serrer insists: 'We must forget Franco. In the present situation, it is up to the Francoists — and first of all, Juan Carlos.'

We reply: we must forget neither Franco, nor Juan Carlos, nor the Francoists, nor their crimes; but Franco must die and his regime must fall. The important thing is to determine *how* it will fall. The result will depend on the way it is accomplished.



CP general secretary Santiago Carrillo

To make a deal with the bourgeoisie, offering it national reconciliation, is to leave it with the initiative. To encourage a left-wing military coup is to subordinate once more the liberating action of the masses to a conspiracy which gives the trump cards to the bourgeoisie.

It is the working class of Euskadi which has heroically shown the way to finish off the regime — that of direct action, of the general strike. It has also shown the means to this: the united front, welding together the workers' organisations around the kind of concrete and anti-repressive demands which are entirely missing from the programmes of the Junta and the Convergence.

If the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship learns from this school, then nothing much will remain of Franco, Juan Carlos, or the petty combinations of Fraga, Ruiz Gimenez, Calvo Serrer and their like. Nothing much will remain of the petty manoeuvres of the reformists, either.

# LEBANON— CLASS STRUGGLE NOT RELIGIOUS WAR

The evening of 19 October saw the eruption in Lebanon of the latest round in a succession of escalating battles. These have enveloped Beirut ever since the militia units of the reactionary Phalangist party attacked a civilian busload of Palestinians and Lebanese Moslems in Ain Al-Rumanah more than seven months ago, killing 27 people. Since then there have been over a dozen official 'ceasefires'. The latest version was proclaimed while cabinet ministers and parliamentarians huddled together under a hail of machine gun fire and mortar and rocket explosions.

The armed opposition to the Phalangist attacks, which began with the Palestinian organisations, is now dominated by a left-wing and nationalist coalition of parties including the important reformist bloc around Kamal Jumblatt (a leader of the Druze community) and the Communist Party. There has also been an important shift in the character of the fighting. From early skirmishes it then moved to the consolidation of fixed fortress-like positions within the city, finally developing into what is now a fluid and critical all-out battle for control of the strategic suburbs and neighbourhoods of Beirut.

### SECTARIAN

The appearance of a sectarian civil war originates in the peculiarities of the Lebanese socio-political structure. Throughout its modern history, the most privileged section of the Lebanese ruling class has been drawn from the Maronite Christian minority, which collaborated first with the French and then with American imperialism following World War II. Political control was maintained in Lebanon by the institutionalisation of sectarianism in all aspects of public life.

As a result, political leaders tended also to be communal, regional or religious leaders and vice versa. The state guaranteed a large degree of autonomy to the various sects and important legal jurisdictions. Amongst these guarantees was an unusual constitutional structure which allocated political positions in accordance with a hierarchy of political power of the various sects. Thus the chief of staff of the army is always a Maronite, whereas the head of government is a Sunni Moslem.

However, in the late 1960s the original economic and social struc-

ture which provided the binding framework for the maintenance of such a political system began to fall apart. The opening up of the Arab world to imperialism, following the Nasserite era of relative isolation, has meant that traditional Lebanese hegemony over capital inflows to the Middle East in commerce, banking, and finance is gradually being undermined. Furthermore Lebanese agro-business exports to the Arab countries have been declining rapidly since 1971, at the same time as the costs of production have been spiralling upwards. Inflation is rampant in basic consumer good sectors.

As a cumulative result of all of these factors, the standard of living has been steadily declining. This has had an effect on all sectors of the working population regardless of confessional divisions. On top of all of these internal changes has been the growth of the Palestinian refugee population following the 1967 war and the Israeli scorched earth policy towards the south of Lebanon, including their numerous threats to occupy strategic parts of Lebanese territory in the south.

### PARALYSIS

This situation has led to numerous working class and student strikes, which have been given a tremendous push forward by the total paralysis of the state apparatus in the face of the Israeli threat. The growing presence of the Palestinian resistance has also underlined the weakness of the regime, especially after the inability of the Lebanese state to resolve the dual power situation in the refugee camps in its favour in the major confrontation that broke out in May 1973 with the Palestinian movement.

In the face of such developments, the time-honoured method of the Lebanese ruling class of dealing with



Left-wing militiamen in Beirut prepare to repel a Phalangist assault. The unity of Moslem Arab workers with the Palestinian commandos has so far defeated the onslaught of the Lebanese bourgeoisie and CIA-financed 'Christians'.

social discontent — a government shake-up and selective sectarian repression — was proving increasingly ineffective.

The Phalangist party — which recruits mainly from discontented sections of the Maronite Christian petty bourgeoisie — has been acutely conscious of the growing impotence of the capitalist state in Lebanon. It is a well organised and heavily armed party with a strong Lebanese nationalist programme that uses chauvinism and religious sectarianism to maintain the privileged position of the Maronite wing of the ruling class.

It is therefore primarily interested in ensuring that the battle lines in Lebanon are drawn purely on religious confessional grounds, because it is only in this way that it can extend its social base to the whole of the Christian community and thereby hope to inflict a decisive defeat on the left wing and Arab nationalist organisations.

### BALKED

The Lebanese ruling class has so far balked from backing the Phalangists all the way. This is not only because it is itself divided between a Moslem and a Christian faction, but also and primarily because even the top Maronite bourgeoisie are aware of the dangers of the possible intervention of the full force of the Palestinian resistance movement, the Arab regimes and even Israel into the military situation. Such development would mean a complete loss of any semblance of political independence for the Lebanese bourgeoisie. The Lebanese army is therefore being held in check, although it is cooperating with the Phalangists in numerous under-

cover ways.

At the same time the right wing of the Palestinian leadership is trying to exert its authority over the more militant wings to stop their intervention in the situation.

The reformist left and the Arab nationalist organisations are fighting this war without a clear alternative perspective. While they have correctly fought against the establishment of a military government, they have instead supported the so-called 'patriotic' wing of the Lebanese bourgeoisie (i.e. the Moslem wing, which has historically been oriented towards the various Arab ruling classes rather than having a direct relationship with Western imperialism). This has of course played directly into the hands of the Phalangists, because it reinforces the confessional rather than the class character of the present war.

### ASSISTANCE

However, it seems unlikely that the Phalangists will be able to accomplish their reactionary project without the full and undivided assistance of the Lebanese army. Even then, the military relationship of forces would not be decisively in their favour. In either case what we are witnessing is the rapid disintegration of the Lebanese state as it has existed since the Second World War. The precise nature of what will replace this state — and, indeed, the effect it will have on the whole Middle Eastern arena — is still buried in the uncertainty of the outcome of the present battles.

— by —  
M. Jaafar



It has been a rather slow week for our Iberian Fund Drive, particularly so in comparison with the rapid tempo of events in Spain and Portugal. The coming months will place heavy responsibilities on both the LCR-ETA(VI) in Spain and the LCI in Portugal; help us to provide them with the material resources necessary for the Fourth International to play its full role in the unfolding Iberian Revolution.

The total so far collected stands at £221.23. Our thanks in particular to 'African Trotskyist' £25, Swansea IMG £7, York IMG £2. Please send all monies to: Red Weekly, (Iberia), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

# COUNTER-REVOLUTION THREATENS IN ANGOLA



The revolution that has threatened the entire stability of imperialist strategy in southern and central Africa is today faced by a reactionary onslaught that is determined to bring it to its knees.

Last week South African troops, having already occupied the Cunene River basin (the site of the hydro-electric dam), advanced further into Angola supported by helicopters and the forces of the fascist Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) in an offensive that was directed specifically at ousting the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) from the regions under its control.

Needless to say, they were fully aided in this task by the puppets of imperialism — the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). This reactionary alliance advanced northward to seize control of Sa da Bandeira and then moved on the port of Mocimedes — the seizure of which now allows the supply of arms, so far prevented by the MPLA, to reach the FNLA and UNITA in the south.

Nor is this offensive confined to the south. The FNLA, heavily supported by Zairois troops, and Belgian, Portuguese and French mercenaries, are advancing towards Luanda in an effort to take the city before 11 November — the official date set by the Portuguese in the Alvor Accords for 'independence' — whilst in Cabinda, a Zairois offensive is being launched against the MPLA.

## Offensive

What lies behind this reactionary offensive? First, it is obvious that the anti-capitalist dynamic contained in the mobilisations at the base of the MPLA could not be confined to the borders of Angola, not least because of the economic links that it has with the neighbouring regions. This clearly poses a threat to the stability of all the neighbouring neo-colonial regimes — even as far afield as Kenya — and has already severely disrupted the economy of at least one of them, namely Zambia.

Secondly, a concurrent explosion of the Rhodesian situation, which seems imminent, will quickly be linked to the dynamic of the Angolan revolution — a link that could

## by Julius Karanja

well develop into the spark that could light the South African powder keg.

It is in the light of these factors that the present situation in Angola must be seen; for the purpose of imperialist intervention in Angola is clearly aimed at preventing the possibility of such developments...and that must clearly mean *smashing the MPLA and its base*.

## No surprise

It is therefore no surprise that US military aid to Zaire — openly admitted as being for use in Angola — has recently increased fivefold to a figure in the region of \$80 million; that France has given Mirage F1-11 fighter bombers to Zaire; and that Kenya has also received (though not unrelated to its own domestic situation) arms from the USA and Britain. Nor should the provision of West German technical assistance to South Africa in the development of its nuclear capacity be taken lightly, for it poses a significant threat to the future of the African revolution.

In this explosive situation, all the stops have been pulled out: African diplomacy in the form of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has been mobilised to attempt a 'reconciliation of the three movements'; while the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Melo Antunes, is seeking UN backing for his government's declaration that it will only recognise a 'tripartite' government in Angola.

The response of the MPLA to all these has correctly been to say that they will accept no compromise with the other pro-imperialist movements, and come what may will 'seize power' on 11 November. This was a realistic enough threat at a time when the MPLA controlled the most significant regions of Angola; but with the present full scale intervention by the various imperialist fractions, it could very quickly be turned into a myth.

After a year and a half of rotten compromises with the agents of im-

perialism — FNLA and UNITA — the MPLA leadership has thus been forced to take a more correct position towards these movements. But it has completely disregarded the fact that the present unfavourable balance of forces is precisely a result of these compromises. The leadership has continued to offer the masses a moralistic analysis that speaks of 'wicked people who refuse to keep their word'.

## Implicit

Implicit in such analysis was the acceptance of the Alvor Accords, from which the MPLA leadership feels that FNLA and UNITA have 'broken'. But it was the Alvor Accords that were responsible for conferring formal equality on the three movements, for attempting to drag the MPLA into a neo-colonial solution, and for attempting to establish a bourgeois neo-colonial government in Angola.

One consequence of these accords was that the MPLA leadership signed an agreement to disarm the masses. Fortunately, however, they were unable to carry this out, and so were subsequently able to inflict significant defeats on UNITA and FNLA.

Every member of the MPLA leadership must know that unless the MPLA can consolidate the support of the masses, it could be rapidly eliminated physically by the FNLA and its present allies. It is clear, therefore, that in order to lead its struggles to a successful conclusion, its policies and action must be oriented precisely to win the overwhelming support of the masses. But the MPLA leadership has shown itself unable to do this.

## Alliance

Even to talk of an alliance with, for instance, UNITA does not educate the masses as to the reactionary nature of this movement; on the contrary, it does no more than confuse the masses by giving added credibility to UNITA. And even when rejecting an alliance with UNITA, the statements of the MPLA leadership are sufficiently imprecise to leave the door open for new rotten negotiations for future alliances: 'UNITA is following the same road as the FNLA, and there is no poss-

ibility of our working together with the government.....we still hope that UNITA will take the path of conciliation, the path of real peace' (interview in *Sempre Fixe*, 3 May 1975).

It is also worth looking into the meaning of MPLA's declared intention to 'seize power'. Its continual reference to 'people's power' has been broadly ambiguous in that it defines people's power as simply having a practical function, and not as a strategy for the development of self-organisation and self-defence as the first form of state power of the working masses. The relationship between the MPLA and the state apparatus remains especially obscure because respect for the Alvor Accords is asserted repeatedly, and that means respect for a form of bourgeois government.

It is this fundamental contradiction that injects the worst illusions into the mass-movement, and confirms clearly the leadership's own characterisation of its politics as 'progressive nationalism'. Such politics, no matter how 'progressive', can only disarm the masses when faced with the present civil war and the intervention into it by the forces of imperialism.

## Zig-zagging

But already in Luanda, elements have appeared in the ranks of the MPLA that define themselves in class struggle terms, who are agitating for a clear orientation for the Angolan revolution against the zig-zagging of the MPLA leadership, and who are struggling today to arm the masses politically to defend themselves and to advance the revolution in Angola and southern Africa as a whole. It is from these elements that leadership of any successful revolution must eventually come.

Today, however, it is the task of all socialists world-wide to mount

the broadest possible campaign against the intervention of imperialist forces in Angola, in solidarity with the MPLA, and in solidarity with the Angolan revolution. The victory in Vietnam has demonstrated the indisputable value of a worldwide mobilisation against the intervention of American imperialism.... this must be done again against imperialist intervention in Angola today!

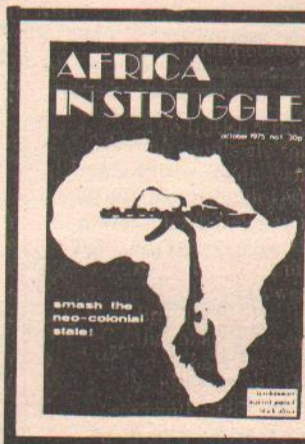
## Refused

This Sunday the Anti-Apartheid Movement has called for a demonstration against the Smith regime in Zimbabwe. It has refused, however, to broaden the base of the demonstration to include mobilisations in solidarity with the MPLA, in spite of the massive intervention by South Africa into Angola.

Against this isolationist view of the struggles in southern Africa, the International Marxist Group is calling for a mobilisation in support of this demonstration that will specifically include solidarity with the Angolan revolution. The two struggles are indissolubly linked with each other, as indeed they are with the entire revolutionary process in southern Africa; and with the present developments in both regions, it is essential that we demonstrate our solidarity for both struggles.

The IMG will also be calling on the Labour Government to take a stand. Although it officially supports the MPLA it has been totally silent in the face of the intervention by South Africa.

The Labour Government must be forced to take a stand against the intervention of South Africa in both Angola and Zimbabwe, and to come forward immediately with material support for the MPLA and its 'popular commissions'. The gains of the Angolan revolution cannot be defended by fine words alone.



New journal from IMG Africa Commission. Includes articles on Angola; Zambia—crisis for neo-colonialism; Zimbabwe—saga of 'detente'; Nigeria after the coup; and the problem of neo-colonialism.

Available price 30p plus 8p p&p from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

## —WHAT'S ON—

**END THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP!** North London IMG public meeting with speakers from PWCC and IMG, and showing of film 'To Die in Madrid'. Entrance 30p. Weds 12 Nov, 8pm, Barnes Library, Camden Road (nr Holloway Prison).

**DEFEND THE RIGHT TO WORK:** North London IMG public meeting with speakers from local labour movement and 'Red Weekly' editorial board. Weds 19 Nov, 7.30pm, Mother Red Cap pub (opp. Camden tube).

**URGENT:** West London Theatre Workshop requires ACTOR/PIANIST/GUITARIST for plays on hazards of work and women. £35 a week. Please phone 969 2292 (11 Acklam Road, London W.10).

**PORTUGAL Theatre/Music Benefit—**to raise money for Oficina Samba, a revolutionary theatre group working in Portugal. Those taking part include: Belt and Braces; Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre; Red Ladder; Rough Theatre; Women's Theatre Group; and speaker from Solidarity Campaign. Mon 10 Nov, 8pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1. Admission £1.

**BIRMINGHAM IMG public meeting:** 'Fight for the Right to Work'. Sun 23 Nov, 7.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall.

**BIRMINGHAM Centre for the Arts, Aston University.** 4 Nov—6 Dec, Socialist Theatre Season. 13-15 Nov, 8pm, 7.48 Theatre Company in 'Yobbo' and 'Lay-off'.

**LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM:** 'Ten years of the Smith regime—the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe' Tues 11 Nov, 7.30pm, at Conway Hall. All welcome.

**REGIONAL TEACH-IN** on abortion—York University. Sat 8 Nov, 10.30am—6pm. Speakers include Labour MP, member of NAC steering committee, doctors, etc. Plus film and workshops.

**CRITIQUE SEMINAR:** Chris Goodey on 'What socialists can learn from science'. Thurs 13 Nov, 7.30pm, LSE St Clements Building (Room S117), Houghton St.

**IBERIAN 19:** Will anyone who was a witness to the occupation of the Iberian Airlines office on Wednesday 10 September in Regent Street, which led to the arrest of 19 people on conspiracy charges, please contact the Iberian 19 Defence Committee, c/o 3 Salisbury Court, Salisbury Avenue, London N.3.

**AN EVENING** with the United Farm Workers: Fri 14 Nov, 7.30pm, Friends House, Euston Rd (opp Euston stn). New film 'Fighting for our Lives' plus speakers, music, poetry and theatre. Tickets 75p from UFW, 29 Gt James St, WC1 (242 6440) or at door.

**WORKERS FIGHT readers' meeting:** 'The current situation in Ireland'. Speaker: Sean Matgamna. Sun 16 Nov, 8pm, at the 'George', Liverpool Rd, N.1.

**ACCOMMODATION** in London urgently needed by IMG full-timer. Phone Robin, 278 9526.

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

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

# 6th Government runs into trouble

As the days go by, the Sixth Provisional Government appears more and more fragile. Its two key operations — 'to re-establish order, authority and discipline' in both the media and the army — seem to be turning sour.

The occupation of the Buraca radio transmitter on Tuesday 21 October by 10,000 demonstrators (including a thousand soldiers) means that Radio Renascença can now broadcast music again; a full service will depend on completion of the repairs necessary after the sabotage caused by the Amadora commandos, who had muzzled this revolutionary station since 30 September.

The Government, unable to realise its broad project for an immediate return to order inside the army and the media, so that it could then go onto the offensive against the workers' struggle, is now guarding against the most pressing threat by trying to launch a new repressive force 'at the service of law and order'. Since the army has shown little taste for maintaining order, the Government has decided — even while the top brass still have their plans for turning it into a professional rather than a conscript army — to construct alongside it a second army more thoroughly devoted to the capitalist cause.

## MERCENARIES

The military units who were originally seconded to join the AMI (Military Intervention Group) refused to co-operate, so now it is recruiting mercenaries, for the most part veterans of Angola, for 8,000 escudos (about £145) a month. This compares with the ordinary soldier's pay of 250 escudos (about £4.50) a month.

The PSP (Public Security Police) and the GNR (National Republican Guard) have once again been equipped with G3 sub-machine guns, and their command has been entrusted to officers who fully agree on the need to 're-establish authority and the hierarchy'. General Pinto Ferreira, appointed after the failed coup of 11 March, has been removed from his responsibilities at the head of these two bodies — which he was supposed to be 'democratising'.

But if the workers' and popular militancy still continues to block the plans of the bourgeoisie, there can be no doubt that a third army will then come to reinforce the second. The ELP (Portuguese Liberation Army) and Spínola's MDLP are already recruiting their first detachments under the watchful eye of the reactionary brass, who no longer even bother to make a secret of their assistance. General Pires Veloso, the northern military commander, has even unblocked the bank

accounts of some bosses involved in sabotage and fascist attacks, so that they have the resources to continue plotting on the other side of the border.

But not all the military hierarchy have their eggs in the same basket. Reactionary officers like Charais, the commander of the central military region, now speak openly of an 'armed confrontation to finish off disorder'. But others — more 'political' — understand that a new 11 March, given the present relationship of civil and military forces, would probably end in catastrophe for what remains of the Armed Forces Movement; while at the same time provoking, like its predecessor, a new step forward for the mass movement — which this time could result in the generalised arming of the workers.

## CARROT NOT STICK

This latter section of the hierarchy (Fabiao, Carvalho, and some of the 'Nine') still prefers to brandish the carrot rather than the stick. Faced with the massive development of SUVs (groups of 'Soldiers United Will Win'), they have begun to suggest that they should be legalised. In this way they hope gradually to reintegrate the soldiers' movement within the framework of the bourgeois army, and thus to use it as a pressure group to reinforce their own position in the army hierarchy and the AFM.

It is this which explains Fabiao's trip to Oporto to meet the struggle commission of the soldiers from the RASP regiment, and his declarations in favour of legalising the SUVs. At the RASP headquarters he was playing to keep his position as Army Chief-of-Staff. With the SUVs legalised and integrated, he reckons that he could avoid being kicked off the Revolutionary Council, where places are rather hard to come by.

## 'AFM-PEOPLE'

On 20 October, the SUVs held a press conference to make clear their rejection of these advances by Fabiao, Carvalho and others of the same ilk — to whom the Communist Party is giving strong backing with its demand for 'the return of the revolutionary officers to the Revolutionary Council'. This stand by the SUVs was the more important in that the CP, after many hesitations, has been trying to turn the SUVs to its own advantage by organising its own demonstrations in the southern towns where it is most influential (Faro, Beja, Evora) — called by the 'SUVs', on the national slogans of the SUVs, but discreetly adding references to the 'AFM-People'

alliance and other such things.

The SUVs have reacted by intensifying the campaign for soldiers' commissions elected and recallable in all the barracks, independently of any hierarchical structures of the army or AFM (such as the Assemblies of Unit Delegates). Today their audience is larger than ever; and the CP and the Maoists of the UDP, who previously stood aside, have now been pulled in behind them.

At the press conference, the representatives of the SUV secretariat put out a document which stated: 'Our platform is a clear platform of class struggle, which seeks to unite all the soldiers around the defence of their class interests, against reaction in the barracks, and against the militarist discipline constituting the framework of an army which was used in the colonial war and which, in most of its aspects, has not changed. We will never be drawn into the game played by clique interests or sections of the professional army. But we are always ready to welcome into our ranks all revolutionary soldiers, sergeants and officers.'

The Government is in rather a bad way. The right has withdrawn its confidence and is regrouping around radical solutions, for which Sa Carneiro, the secretary-general of the PPD, is the current spokesman; and the civilian workers and those in uniform are not sparing their blows against the Government. However, it still exists, at least for the time being, because the forces opposed to the Government and the bourgeoisie are as yet dispersed.

## STAY OF EXECUTION

Certainly the popular assemblies are still multiplying, the co-ordination between the workers' commissions and the neighbourhood commissions is being strengthened, and the first soldiers' commissions have issued a joint appeal for support for Radio Renascença. But a real centralisation of the organs of workers' and popular power is still far from existing.

The absence of this has given the bourgeoisie a stay of execution, and allows the reformist apparatuses to manoeuvre in order the better to control the workers' and neighbourhood commissions to their own political advantage. The CP, for example, is promoting a co-ordinating committee of commissions from the industrial belt of Lisbon which called the demonstration on 23 October; while the MES (Movement of the Socialist Left) has responded to this co-ordinating committee by setting up its own, limited to 24 commissions in the capital, under the title TUV (Workers United Will Win).

This dispersal of forces, which militants



Pinheiro de Azevedo

must do everything in their power to overcome, is a real danger. It divides the forces of the workers' and popular movement, spreads sectarianism among the advanced workers towards the 'sectarian initiatives of others', and in the last instance eases the way for bourgeois and reformist manoeuvres to recompose a stable State power. To the latter the industrial and agricultural workers' commissions, the neighbourhood and soldiers' commissions, and the village councils do not yet provide any mass, united and centralised alternative.

## ALTERNATIVE

To the manoeuvres and discussions around the possible formation of a Seventh Provisional Government must be counterposed an alternative perspective: the calling of a National Popular Assembly composed of delegates from these commissions throughout the country, to defend the conquests of the workers, to protect them through the arming of the proletariat, and to extend them so that they become irreversible.

It will be up to us to do everything possible so that such a first government of the workers in Western Europe is not provisional, but opens the way to others in Spain, Italy, France.....

CHARLES MICHALOUX

## SUPPORT REPUBLICA

Along with Radio Renascença, the worker-controlled newspaper *Republica* has been a continual thorn in the side of the Azevedo Government. This vital instrument of working class struggle is, however, facing a serious financial crisis following the Government's attempt to suppress it by cutting off all further credits.

Many working class organisations in Portugal have been quick to rally to the aid of *Republica*. The disabled ex-servicemen's association ADFA, which had been occupying the Tagus toll-bridges to publicise its own struggle, decided to ask passing motorists for a contribution to *Republica*—and collected £5,000 in a single day.

Now the *Republica* workers are spreading their struggle—and that of the whole Portuguese working class—internationally. A special French edition of the paper has already been produced, and next Monday should see the appearance of an English version. It will be available price 25p (including postage) from 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2.

A *Republica* worker will also be touring Britain shortly in a visit arranged by the Solidarity Campaign with the Portuguese Working Class. Among the meetings he will be addressing will be a rally in London on Thursday 20 November at 7.30pm at Friends House, Euston Road. This will follow a picket of Bush House at 5.30pm to protest against the BBC's sacking of two Portuguese journalists.

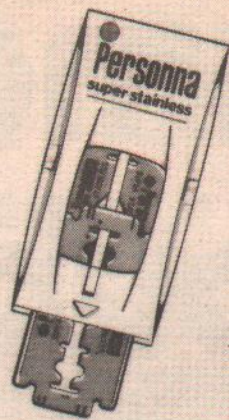
Meetings are being held every Friday at 7pm at St Bride's Institute, Bride Lane (off Fleet Street) to organise the picket etc; or ring the PWCC (439 3006) or Adrian (837 9987) for further details.



Masked Portuguese soldiers who helped to win back Radio Renascença for the use of the working class

Report from Stewart MacLennan  
and Joanna Haynes

**Personna**  
SUPER STAINLESS



# THE FIGHT STARTS HERE!

Clydeside is once again reaping the whirlwind of massive unemployment. In the last six months, Healey's programme for mass unemployment has thrown thousands of young Glasgow school-leavers straight onto the dole and sent the local unemployment rate up to 9 per cent – nearly twice the national average. Throughout 1975, the multinationals – which hold such a massive stake in West of Scotland industry – have time and again raised the spectres of closure and mass redundancy to knock their workforce back down the economic line. But now the resistance is growing.

Last week, 6,000 Chrysler workers at Linwood responded at a mass meeting to threats of closure and withdrawal by Chrysler by voting to set up a national Fighting Fund. John Carty, the Convenor, stated that any threat of closure by Chrysler boss John Riccardo, in his talks with Labour leaders next week, would be met by the demand for nationalisation without compensation.

And on the massive Hillington industrial estate, on the outskirts of Glasgow, 320 AUEW and AUEW/TASS members at Personna Razor Blades occupied their plant on 18 October. Personna is a subsidiary of the American Philip Morris complex, which owns American Safety Razor Inc., New York, and Marlboro's Cigarettes, Lausanne, Switzerland, and last year recorded profits in excess of \$1.75 million.

The company had already this year persuaded the workers to accept 112 voluntary redundancies in three waves, on the basis of full production and manning until at least November 1976. The lightning visit of two Philip

Morris executives from the USA, however, brought rumours of further redundancies. The Shop Stewards Committee demanded a statement of intent from management and were immediately faced with management's demands in return:

- 40 more redundancies;
- 12.5 per cent increase in productivity;
- multi-manning of machines;
- total flexibility of labour.

The Personna workers went on strike immediately against this savage attack on their jobs and rights and, after three-and-a-half weeks of management intransigence, a mass meeting took over the factory and threw out the 15-strong management. The occupation is standing firm for:

- No redundancies, 'voluntary' or otherwise;
- No to work-sharing and shorter hours without full manning and pay;

The Personna Shop Stewards Committee as a whole has no illusions about 'keeping polit-

# OCCUPY TO F

## FULL SUPPORT FOR PERSONNA!

The Personna occupation deserves the support of the whole labour movement. The IMG will be raising funds for the occupation during its nationwide tour to build for the 26 November lobby.

Ruby Duncan, Personna Occupation Treasurer, points out the urgency of financial support: '£100 to us is a week's food to keep this factory going. It would also do for about a week's bus fares for the occupiers. Today (31 October) we have only £274 in hand. Quite a few factories which have sent money say they will send more. We hope that they and others will.'

Messages of support, requests for speakers, and the largest possible donations should be rushed to: Ruby Duncan, 27 Bowfield Crescent, Penilee, Glasgow, G.52.

Details of the IMG speaking tour will appear in next week's *Red Weekly*.



ics out' of their struggle. The Committee was among the first organisations of the Glasgow labour movement to protest against the police riot against anti-fascists at Kingston Halls in May; and they have now arranged to send a delegation to the demonstration on 16 November in protest against the raid on the WRP education centre. Commenting on the recent proposals for a drastic extension of police powers of search, detention and interrogation in Scotland, and the pending legislation against squatting and occupation, Convenor Phil McBride had this to say:

'It's obviously necessary for workers in struggle to combat this. It's going to happen that police just go into a factory and pull



SUPPO

Convenor PHIL McBRIDE described to *Red Weekly* the support which the occupation has received:

'I am a member of the Paisley District Committee of the AUEW and we've had untold support from them. We haven't had any contact from the Glasgow District Committee yet. There's to be a meeting of all Paisley & District shop stewards in the occupied factory on Monday 10 November, and there we'll try to arrange a weekly levy going round the factories for us.

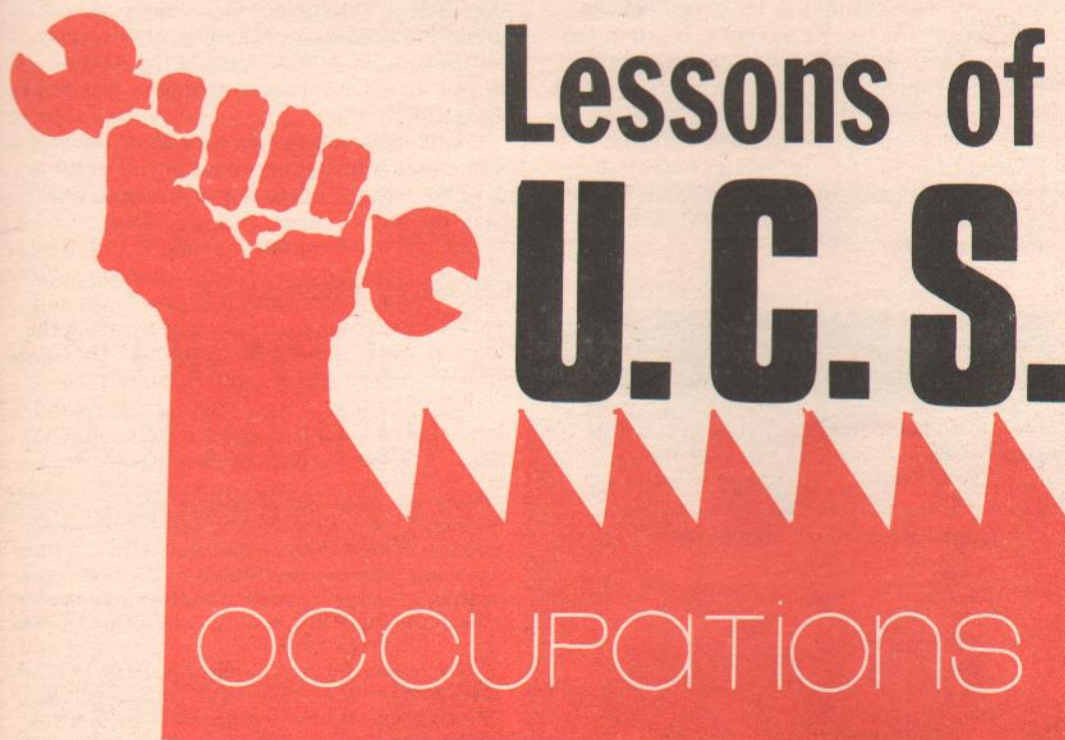
'As far as support at a national level is concerned the AUEW's Executive Committee holds its meetings every Tuesday and it's only them that can do this. This Tuesday, they all troloped off to Brussels to Common Market meeting. We'll now have to wait

people out by the hair of the head. They should keep their noses out of political and industrial situations.'

McBride has no doubt about where the blame for rocketing unemployment lies:

'Labour are doing what they said they wouldn't do. They said they wouldn't beat this crisis by using unemployment. They're now doing just that. The figure of 1 1/4 million is quoted, but I'm sure it's much higher. If you take into account people, especially women, paying the small stamp, who don't bother to register, there's probably another quarter or half a million on top of that.

'They keep blaming wages for this, but it's the exact opposite. Something's obviously



The collapse of the *Scottish Daily News*, the most publicised of the so-called workers' co-operatives, confirms that no islands of workers' power can last within capitalism – that even if the workers themselves assume responsibility for a failing enterprise, it cannot escape the economic laws governing society.

Increasingly the most advanced workers are understanding that in the present economic situation, struggles against redundancy and unemployment cannot be based solely on traditional trade union demands limited to one firm. To be effective the struggle must be turned outwards to whole layers of the working class, mobilising them in united action on the basis of political demands which effectively challenge the capitalists' right to govern in the old way.

With this article, *Red Weekly* begins a series outlining the development of the occupation as a means of industrial struggle. They will also deal with the key role of the left social democracy in confining the dynamic of this development to channels safe for capitalism – the co-operative.

The mass occupations by French workers in May-June '68, and the following series of campus occupations in British universities, revived in the British working class ideas of industrial struggle hardly seen for over half a century. These new ideas were given substance by the workers in the yards of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS).

The period immediately after the '68 events was a time when newly radicalised young workers – no longer dominated and controlled by Stalinism and Social Democracy, but inspired by the French events, the example of the Vietnamese national liberation struggle and the international solidarity campaigns, and the struggles of blacks and women – were discussing and considering new forms of industrial action. The social, economic and cultural conditions were such that industrial actions instead of remaining within the traditional forms could be taken to a new threshold. This happened in July 1971 when the workers at UCS staged a work-in.

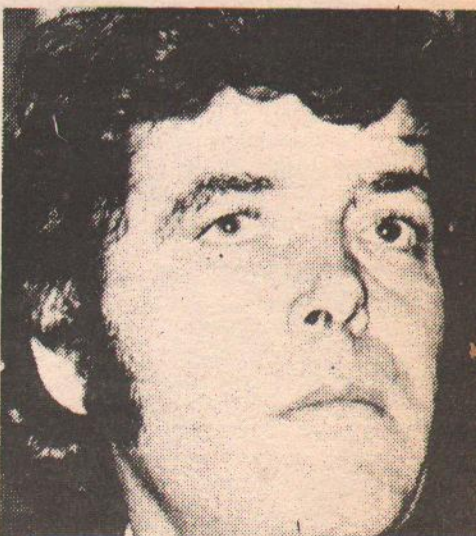
The UCS work-in, and the other work-ins and occupations that followed, have powerfully advanced the self-confidence of the British working class and have, objectively, raised the level of industrial struggles. But the lack of a viable revolutionary current in the trade unions has also meant that such actions have developed in accordance with British trade union traditions, firmly tied to strong reformist assumptions as to the scope and limit of trade union actions.

## NEW STAGE

The election of the Tories in 1970 on a union-bashing programme marked a new stage in the growing class confrontation then taking place. Despite the previous Labour Government's policy of rationalisation of industry through Government-financed mergers and productivity deals, which pushed up the unemployment rate by over 50 per cent, typical strikes prior to the election lasted three days and involved a few hundred people. After 1970, with the old enemies of the working class in office, every major union had to

prepare to call out hundreds of thousands in strikes that would last an average of three weeks.

The Heath Government continued the rationalisation of British industry in a more extreme form with its so-called 'lame duck' policy – the refusal of Government loans or grants to backward sectors of the economy not necessary for the economy as a whole. In June 1971 the Government decided to withhold financial assistance from UCS and allow it to go into liquidation. In the Clydeside area unemployment had risen between 1966 and 1971 to 10 per cent. If UCS went into liquidation the 8,500 redundancies would have pushed that up to 17 per cent. In addition there would have been a further 2,000 redundant in the industries supplying the shipyards.



UCS workers' leader, Jimmie Reid

On 23 June the UCS shop stewards, led by Jimmie Reid and James Airlie – both members of the Executive Committee of the Scottish Communist Party – called a demonstration and a one-day strike in the militant Clyde/Glasgow area. About 100,000 workers struck shutting down most local industry. Thirty thousand marched through Glasgow led by

# FIGHT FOR JOBS



## T GROWS

till next Tuesday to know whether money will be paid to us or not.

'But support from other workers locally has been excellent. The busmen sent up groceries and quite a sum of money. They're arranging for us to tour all the depots to raise support. We're going to see if we can arrange speakers at the pits and get financial support there.'

'We also had the shop stewards of Albion Motors up today. They've given us money and promised physical and moral support — that means action along the lines of the flying pickets. If there's any threat of evictions, after next Monday's meeting, it'll just be a matter of a phone call and a couple of hundred guys will stamp out of their factory and that'll be it!'

got to be done about it. As Jimmy Reid said, if one man's unemployed, he's 100 per cent unemployed. That's just the point we're trying to make here — it makes no difference whether it's 2 per cent or 10 per cent — if you're unemployed, it's 100 per cent.

'We'll be sending a delegation on the 26th to the big unemployment demo. This is the most important one — it should be the biggest demonstration London or Parliament has ever seen. The unemployment threat is against everybody and the time to fight is when you're in a job, not when you're on the street corner.'

During the interview, a pile of management briefing charts on the situation were discovered.

## WOMEN WORKERS LEAD FIGHT

Personna had a prime target in their massive redundancy programme — the militant women workers, who form the majority of the workforce and had won a battle for equal pay earlier this year. The great majority of redundancies hit the 4-10 pm shift. Vice-Convenor Joan Brown explained why this was no coincidence:

'Three years ago, we started on the road for equal pay. We got one third in the first year, then two thirds in the second year and that really bumped women's wages up. We had good wages, and once equal pay came in, it really made it an expensive shift for them to have, so it was the first shift they tried to get rid of.'

The women of Personna are not only well organised, but understand from their own experience the need to fight all forms of restrictions on women's rights. A performance by the West London Theatre Workshop of their play in support of the National Abortion Campaign was enthusiastically watched by over forty Personna workers — the majority of them women — and was the subject of lively discussion in the canteen afterwards.

Most of the women would agree fully with shop steward Ruby Duncan, who said: 'Of course it's the right of any sensible person to choose to have an abortion.' Ruby also knocked on the head the myth that 'women should be the first to go, they only work for pin money':

'There's quite a number of women in here who are on their own — the mainstays of their own homes. It makes them more militant, there being such a big percentage here. They need the work, they're householders on their own. They don't have anyone at their back, they've not got husbands. They're not working for luxuries, they're working to live, they have to work.'

Before being scuttled, the managers had been working out the 'options' open to them. Scrawled sheets headed 'Musts and Wants' (No. 1: Be acceptable to AUEW and TASS; No. 2: Satisfy management objectives — save 1,600 man hours; etc) and 'Options' ('Work-sharing' with a cross against it; 'Close plant' ticked; etc.) made clear the management's real plans.

One rejected option prophetically concluded: 'Management would not be allowed to manage'. Too right! The Personna workers are saying that their jobs come first — and to hell with capitalism's problems. In doing so they are showing the way to the whole of the working class in the fight for the right to work.

## MASSIVE SUPPORT

On 29 July the Government announced that two of the four UCS yards were to be closed and sold off. The next day the UCS workers seized control of the gates and began the work-in that was to transform the nature of the struggle against redundancies in Britain. Jimmie Reid announced to the press and TV: 'This is the first campaign of its kind in trade unionism. We are not going to strike. We are not even having a sit-in. We do not recognise that there should be any redundancies and we are going to work-in.'

On 18 August a second demonstration of support was called in Glasgow. Over 70,000 marched, representing virtually every section of the British labour movement. For the first time ever, Labour MPs produced their own banner saying 'Scottish Labour MPs support UCS'. The demonstration was supported by a virtual general strike in the West of Scotland.

The speakers after the march were Raymond Macdonald (Chairman of the Scottish TUC), Robert Fleming (Provost Clydebank), Tony Benn, Vic Feather, Hugh Scanlon, Jimmie Reid, Dan McGarvey (President, Boilermakers' Society), and two leading members of the Scottish National Party, William Ross and Billie Wolfe. Thus the platform represented the traditional labour and trade union organisations of the Scottish workers together with the newly emerging SNP.

In the yards the workers of all grades imposed a veto over the declared redundancies

through the shop stewards' committee, which 'employed' those workers declared redundant. The monies to be paid as wages were raised by mass collections throughout the labour movement at home and abroad. Such was the response that over £500,000 was contributed to work-in funds. On 1 September the liquidators declared the first 160 workers redundant. However, most of them followed the decision of the mass meeting by refusing to accept the redundancy notices and reporting for work as normal the next day.

There was, however, an overlap in interest here between the workers and the liquidator, since the shop stewards committee in employing (at no expense to either the liquidator or the UCS) their redundant colleagues were ensuring the speediest possible completion of the ships under construction. In this sense, the more successful the work-in the faster the work force would be declared redundant!

Following a six month campaign in which the leaders of the work-in became among the best known and most popular of television personalities, formal endorsement of the work-in was even gained from Harold Wilson when he visited the yards to declare: 'On behalf of the British labour movement I am here to assert the right of the shipbuilding workers of Upper Clyde — the right to work.'

## RETREAT

In February 1972 the Tory Government was sent reeling by the miners' strike and class-wide solidarity actions which were threatening to escalate out of the control of the reformist trade union leaders. The continued existence of the UCS work-in, however, was still a focus and example. Thus in February 1972 the Government announced a £35 million grant towards the reconstruction of three of the four yards, which would become operational on 1 July. Under pressure from Dan McGarvey, the shop stewards committee accepted the splitting up of the yards. They thus retreated from the central demand of the work-in that all jobs be guaranteed.

On 10 October 1972 Marathon Manufactur-



Balfour Darwin convenor Derek Simpson addressing a mass picket on 24 October in support of the occupation

## ... & AT BALFOUR DARWIN

The strike and occupation of the tools warehouse by engineering workers at Balfour Darwin in Sheffield is now in its eighth week.

The strike committee has now started to organise speaking tours of local factories and engineering union branches. Derek Simpson, convenor of Balfour Darwin, has continually stressed that their struggle must be seen as part of the fight going on throughout the Sheffield labour movement in defence of the right to work and against redundancies created by rationalisation.

This is why the strike committee has now taken the important step of calling a mass demonstration against unemployment in Sheffield and in support of the militants who are sitting-in. It is now up to the District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to set a firm date for this and launch a campaign to build the demonstration.

At a rally called outside Balfour Darwin on 24 October, all speakers emphasised the role the occupying workers could play in building the unemployment lobby on 26 November. However, the Communist Party-dominated District Committee of the AUEW — the strongest union in Sheffield — has refused to call for a stoppage on the 26th. District president Albert Knight claims that 'the mood of the workers isn't right'.

## BAD JOKE

With unemployment soaring towards 1½ million and the working class being attacked on all fronts by the Wilson Government, — and with the Balfour Darwin workers giving a lead in the fight back to workers throughout the country — it is hard to see when Bro. Knight thinks the 'mood' of the shop floor will be right. Perhaps it will be when Wilson's policies have led to the return of another Tory Government!

The District Committee has decided to rely on the 'well organised factories' to turn out for the

lobby, leaving it to the Trades Council to organise other sections of the working class. But as many militants inside the Sheffield labour movement already know, the Trades Council and its executive are rapidly becoming a bad music hall joke.

After passing a statement of intent on unemployment, the Trades Council executive have done nothing to organise a campaign in the broad labour movement. For the lobby they have simply circulated affiliated bodies and ordered the coaches!

No special transport for the unemployed has been arranged — they will be expected to cough up £1.60 for the coach like everyone else. The International Marxist Group has decided to leaflet the main employment exchanges so that the unemployed are at least mobilised for the demonstration.

## OTHER CUTS

Other sections of the Sheffield labour movement are also suffering from Wilson's cuts. The Trades Council should be co-ordinating the activity of teachers, hospital workers and women workers — inevitably the first to be sacked — into a common fight against Wilson's Tory policies.

The role of local notable Labour 'lefts' has been no better than that of the Trades Council. Neither Martin Flannery nor Joan Maynard, both prominent 'left' MPs, have publicly stated their support for the Balfour Darwin struggle or become actively involved in the struggle and the local right to work campaign.

The 26 November lobby must not be seen as an end in itself. In Sheffield and other areas common jobs policies must be thrashed out to safeguard the living standards of working people. In Sheffield itself one central demand must be for the nationalisation of the private steels industry, of which Balfour Darwin is a part, and which is the most profitable section of the Sheffield steel industry. The mobilisation for 26 November must see the launching of a real fight for the right to work in Sheffield, not be a substitute for the campaign.

ing, a firm building oil rigs for the North Sea, took over the fourth yard and the work-in was finally terminated. However, again under pressure from the Labour and trade union bureaucracy, the shop stewards conceded a non-strike agreement and increased flexibility in manning which if they cannot be reversed will undermine traditional trade union controls within the yards — the most important single trade union area of the Clyde.

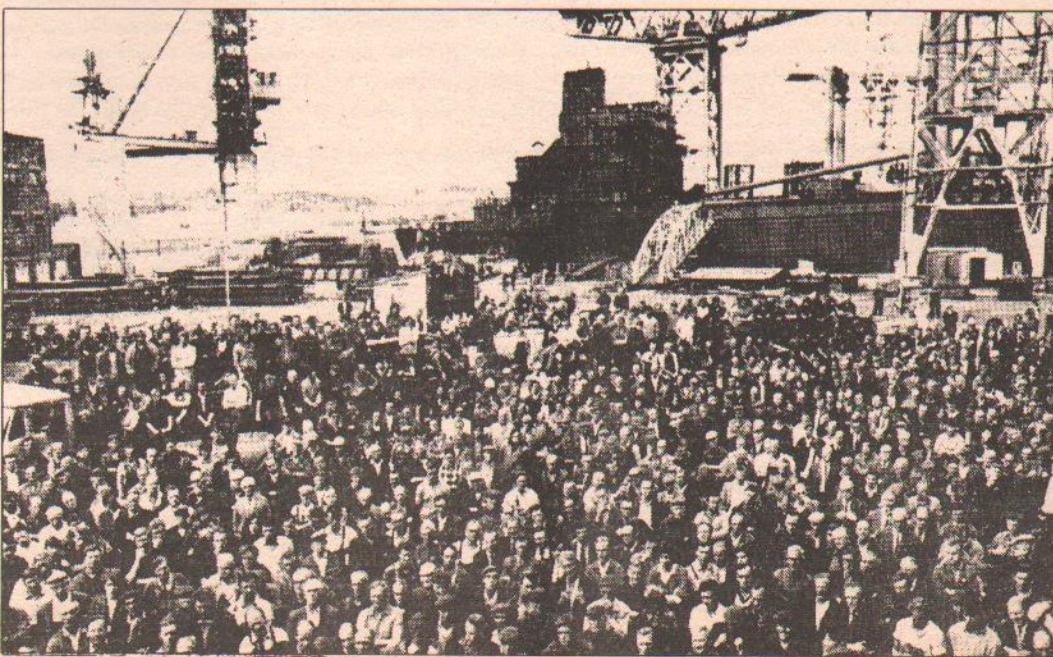
There were two major achievements of the UCS work-in. The first was the way in which it fired the imagination of the working class and youth, bringing about a change in consciousness that would in future be quite ready to accept the occupation and/or work-in as an acceptable tactic in industrial disputes. Secondly, it forced the Tories to abandon their 'lame duck' policy of allowing ailing and failing capitalist enterprises to go the wall.

But the CP led shop stewards committee

was committed to rescuing as many jobs as possible through a policy of demonstrating the 'efficiency' and 'responsibility' of the UCS workers in capitalist economic and social terms. Thus the UCS experience, where the shop stewards ended up negotiating redundancies and worse working conditions, was nothing less than a disaster as an exercise in workers' control.

The jobs that were saved at UCS — and in purely trade union terms this was no mean achievement — were saved because of the depth and extent of the support UCS obtained from the mass of workers in Britain. Through UCS they found a focus for their opposition to their traditional enemies the Tories, and the stand taken in the yards had its own political dynamic. The great failure of the CP leadership was their complete inability to present a course of action that would assist this development.

JOHN ROBERTS



One of the many mass meetings at UCS in 1971. The struggle here became the focus for a general working class response to the Tories' attacks.

# No to abortion Select Committee - build the Week of Action!

Two days after the anti-abortion demo in London organised by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, Barbara Castle capitulated to their demands by accepting - without even a vote in Parliament - the restrictive recommendations in the Third Special Report of the Select Committee set up to discuss the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill.

Among other things, the Labour Government has agreed to increase the administrative burdens on doctors who carry out abortions, impose quotas on the number of foreign women attending private clinics, tighten up the registration of private clinics and referral agencies, and limit abortions after 20 weeks to those places where special resuscitation equipment for the foetus is available.

Far from correcting the so-called 'abuses' of the 1967 Abortion Act, these moves will lead to further delays and restrictions on the number of women who can obtain safe early abortions, and will drive wo-

men to illegal dangerous methods of abortion, or to the burden of unwilling motherhood. The major abuse, that of the total inadequacy of the NHS to provide the necessary facilities for abortions under the Act, still remains. All Barbara Castle could say was: 'In difficult circumstances, I shall do my best to provide a uniform service.'

Now that the White Bill has fallen, the Select Committee should also fall. But Barbara Castle has promised to allow Parliament to debate its re-establishment in the coming session - much to the delight of the anti-abortionists like Leo Abse, who see this as a further chance to introduce

restrictions. Furthermore, she proudly announced that MPs would once again be allowed a free vote.

'I think that the record of this Government in recognising that this sensitive subject is a matter for individual conscience is unparalleled', she said. Certainly it is an unparalleled *disgrace* for a Labour Government not to take up the issue of abortion as a political and social issue demanding a clear class position. By allowing individual Labour MPs the right to choose how to vote, women themselves are automatically denied the right of choice about abortion, an elementary democratic right for the working class.

## NO COMMITTEES!

If the Select Committee is set up with the same composition - a majority of well known anti-abortionists - its answers will always be the same, against the interests of women. The chances are, however, that the Government will recommend that the composition of the Committee is changed in a more liberal direction and that it should consider some of the more progressive ideas in the Lane Report, as well as the reactionary proposals it has studied up till now.

In this way the Wilson leadership hopes to be let off the hook, with the abortion issue tidied away in some backroom in Westminster for another year, and both the pro and anti-abortion lobbies fobbed off with promises of yet more reports. But supporters of the National Abortion Campaign must be absolutely firm against any Select Committee of MPs, group of lawyers or bunch of doctors deciding who should or should not have abortions. This decision must rest with the woman alone, as working class representatives recognised by the overwhelming votes for free abortion on request at the TUC and Labour Party conferences.

## ANOTHER BILL?

Even if the Government fails to get the Select Committee set up again, it has other cards up its sleeve. Last week David Owen announced that they would be working out how to get the legal time limit for abortion reduced from 28 weeks to 24 weeks in pregnancy. It is also clear that pro-SPUC MPs are hoping to introduce another Private Member's Bill along restrictive lines, which could well get official Government backing.

In this situation it is vitally important that members of the trade union and labour movement begin now to force the TUC and Labour Party to act on their conference decisions, to fight back against these attacks by the Wilson Government, as a first step to implementing the demand for free abortion on request.

In the next few weeks, supporters of NAC in the workers' movement will be stepping up this fight against the reconvening of the Select Committee. At a local and national level, trade unions and the TUC will be urged to pressurise sponsored MPs to vote in accordance with conference decisions against the establishment of any new Committee.



Jo Richardson MP, supports in words the pro-abortion lobby but failed to make any challenge to Castle's proposals.

Constituency Labour Parties and the National Labour Women's Advisory Council will be approached along similar lines.

Up and down the country, preparations are going ahead for the Week of Action beginning 17 November to coincide with the opening of the new parliamentary session. At a meeting of all NAC activists in London last Saturday, the following plans were discussed for actions in the London region:

- Local activities throughout the week, including motorcades, pickets of MPs' surgeries, public meetings, protests outside SPUC offices, pickets of hospitals, community health councils and DHSS offices, a rally at the AUEW headquarters against the reactionary positions of AUEW-sponsored MPs on abortion, street meetings and street theatre, and mass leafleting and posterling of shopping centres and housing estates.
- A huge lobby of Parliament on Thursday 20 November at 2pm for those free during the day like women with small kids, and students, and again at 6pm for people leaving work. On the same day, the petition calling for free abortion on request with thousands of signatures will be presented.

- The culmination of the week's activities will be a mass rally in Trafalgar Square on the afternoon of Saturday 22 November, with speakers from the trade unions and labour movement, prominent doctors and other well known names who have given their support to the campaign. It is hoped that several thousand people will come from London and surrounding areas to join this protest against the reconvening of the Select Committee.

By building support for these activities in the labour movement, as well as amongst women not yet involved in working class organisations, the message can be brought home to the so-called representatives of the working class in Parliament that free abortion on demand will not be achieved by reconvening the Select Committee. Nor will it be won by cuts in the NHS. It can only be won through the struggles of the mass of the working class against the reactionary policies of the present Wilson leadership.

**JUST OUT! 1976 Women's Calendar.** The ideal present. 12 x 8 inches, printed on six different shades of cartridge paper, depicting various historical moments in the struggle for women's liberation over the last century. Only £1 (inc. postage) from: Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.



# October - we made it!

## DON'T JUST SIT THERE - HELP US BUILD A SCOTTISH CENTRE!!

Socialists have grown used to reading headlines about the political situation in Scotland over the past few years.....the UCS and Plessey occupations, the use of troops against strikes by firemen and dustcart drivers, and recently the police riot against anti-fascists at Kingston Halls. But beneath the headlines there are political processes at work which are not so visible or dramatic as the demonstration of 100,000 workers in August 1971 or the arrest of 60 trade unionists in May of this year.

The Scottish working class is one of the best organised in Europe, with even previously weak sectors of the class - like lorry drivers and teachers - thrown into struggle, using

flying pickets, elected strike committees and democratic mass meetings over the last year. Despite that level of trade union strength the massive political legacies of capitalist exploitation are only too clear: the housing shortage in Aberdeen, the migration and poverty of Glasgow and the unemployment of Clydebanks are daily visible examples of both the horror and brutality of capitalism and the bankruptcy of the reformists' solutions.

In the massive convulsion of European class warfare after the First World War, Scotland and the Scottish working class made the name of John McLean, the Clyde Workers Committee and the George Square riots famous throughout the European workers' movement. The first skirmishes of our contemporary 1919 have already taken place in Scotland, only this time we have to make sure that the result is not the defeats and hunger of the 1920s.

One of the factors in making sure that this time the working class is not defeated is the construction of a strong revolutionary organisation which is part of the unfolding battles on a regional, national and international scale. A small but vital section of these battles have in the past and will continue to be fought out in Scotland.

To transform the IMG in Scotland needs sober, patient political work - but it also needs money. We make no apology for asking for sizeable donations from our readers for use in Scotland. Our aim is to have by January a functioning political centre in Glasgow complete with the technical equipment necessary to build the organisation.



Last week we asked supporters to rush their Fund Drive money in to meet our OCTOBER TARGET of £1,500. Well we made it! The bulk of the money came from a single comrade, who donated £1,000 he had inherited saying that the IMG needed it more. This together with other contributions made a total of £1,897,90. Our thanks to this comrade and also to:

Anonymous donation	£30	Health worker	£5
Supporter in Preston	£55	Bus worker	£5
H. Jones, Wales	£3	L. Hodges	£3
East London IMG	£13.50	L. McDougal	£5
Anonymous donation	£2	Anonymous donation	£9
Engineering worker	£5.40	North London IMG	£12
IMG Stall at Rouge Fete	£700	Birmingham teacher	£50

We would like to thank all those people who see the need to support the fight against capitalism not just with words alone, but with hard cash! However, we are still waiting to hear from most IMG branches. Their contributions will be vital if we are to make our next target of £4,000 by the end of November.

If you have no money - then make something for us to sell. Also, we are still looking for those rare people who inherit money, but support the fight to overthrow capitalism, to donate larger sums than ordinary people could do. We need at least 10 supporters to donate a minimum of £250.

Rush all donations to: Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. (please make cheques/POs payable to 'The Week').

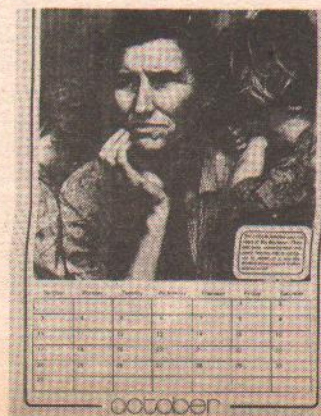


Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



# 'Anyone who disagrees with British policy in Ireland is ... likely to be picked up at any time'

PATRICK BREEN is chairman of Nottingham Sinn Fein. Last week he was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act — which is due to be renewed later this month — and held for more than two days before being released with no charges against him. His experiences cast a vivid light upon the real purposes behind the Act, as he explained to *Red Weekly*.

On Tuesday 28 October, four of us from Nottingham were returning from the Sinn Fein annual conference in Dublin. The ferry arrived at Liverpool at about 7am. We were just about to drive off in our van when we were stopped by four plain-clothes policemen. They snatched the keys out of the ignition and told us to get out of the car and follow them. No reasons were given at this stage.

## SEPARATE CELLS

We were pushed into the back of a Land-Rover and taken to Bridewell Prison. Still no explanation. When we got to Bridewell, all our belongings were taken and we were shoved into separate cells.

Mine was in a filthy basement about 12 feet by 8, with no heating or ventilation. In one corner was a broken toilet, full to the brim with excrement. The stink was terrible. In the other corner was a piss-soaked mattress with a piece of horse blanket on top.

I complained about the smell from the toilet but was told that its contents were suitable company for an Irishman. I was left alone in the cell for about two hours; then a couple of Special Branchers came in and started to question me.

## 'FOR EVER'

They said I was being held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and that I might as well get used to it, because they could keep me for ever if they wanted to. They refused my requests to phone my wife and a solicitor.

The questions they asked me were always the same. That they knew my friends were involved in the bombings in Britain, who were they, and where did they live? How long had I been involved in Sinn Fein, who were the other members in Nottingham, where did we meet, what pubs did we use?

They also asked me about the Troops Out Movement — how strong was it in Nottingham, who was in-

involved, where they held their meetings, etc? These questions were repeated over and over again.

After they had gone I was taken out to be photographed and fingerprinted. It was at this point that I was beaten up. Three policemen held me while another did me over. They were obviously experts at this — they knew how to hurt without leaving any marks.

I was then taken back to another cell which again had a broken toilet, and it was in this cell that I spent the remaining three days and two nights. There were no washing facilities in the cell at all, and I had to use the broken toilet with no paper.

I didn't move from that cell the

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★  
The Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee, formed to build for a massive demonstration on 1 February 1976, is already beginning to attract broad support. Joan Maynard MP, William Wilson MP and Pat Arrowsmith are among those who have agreed to sponsor it.

The Committee meets each Tuesday at 7.30pm in the University of London Union, Malet St, WC1:

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

whole time. It was terrible. The questioners came back four or five times during the three days and repeated the questions. They also threatened me with deportation, and I said that I wasn't really bothered if they deported me or not. I think this was a good tactic to use, because it seemed to take some of the steam out of them.

## DISGUSTING

Apart from the cell, the food was disgusting. At 7.30 or so, I would be given half a slice of toast with a few beans and a cup of cold tea. At about 1pm I'd have one portion of instant mash and a meatball, with no drink. It wasn't until 5pm that we were allowed another drink. Again it was cold tea — sometimes with a spam sandwich. If we asked for water, we were told that there was plenty in the toilet. Finally, at about 12 o'clock on

the Thursday, I was told I was going to be let go. They finally let three of us out at about 5pm. They gave us back our things — minus my Parker pen, which they denied they had ever had — and told us that our van was at the Lower Lane police station about six or seven miles away, and that we had better start walking. Their parting comment was to 'step carefully lads, for you'll be coming this way again before long'.

The fourth member of our group wasn't released until the Friday, along with two from Luton who had been picked up the day after us. As far as I know, two of the Luton people — Jimmy Reilly and Maureen Higgins — are still being held.

## COMPLAINT

The National Council for Civil Liberties have agreed to take up our case, and we've also lodged an official complaint with the Irish Embassy. It's absolutely disgusting that innocent people can be picked up like this, kept in filthy conditions with no charges ever being laid, for the simple reason that we're Irish and open supporters of Sinn Fein.

The fact that they also questioned us about the Troops Out Movement is ominous as well. As long as the Prevention of Terrorism Act is on the statute book, anyone who disagrees with British policy in Ireland is automatically labelled as a criminal and likely to be picked up at any time. We must do everything we can to ensure that this Act is repealed without delay.

## AN IRISH SPECTACULAR

An action packed evening full of entertainment of all sorts, featuring: folk music; speeches; drink; dance; poetry; discussions; snacks; disco; street theatre; raffles; surprises.

Saturday 15 Nov, 6.30-11.30pm  
Central London Poly SU, Bolsover St, W.1. All proceeds to Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee.



## BELFAST TROTSKYISTS SPEAK OUT ON FEUD

The following statement was issued by the Belfast branch of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (Irish section of the Fourth International) on 1 November. It should be noted that the Dublin leadership of the Officials has appealed for no retaliation, and has denied responsibility for the murder of Seamus McCusker — a leading Belfast Provisional — last Friday.

The Belfast branch of the RMG strongly protests at the campaign of violence directed against Republican Club members by the Provisional IRA over the past week. We call on the Provisional IRA to desist immediately from these attacks on members of another Republican organisation.

The RMG condemns these attacks not because it supports the activities of the Official Republican movement, but because we believe that violent conflict between anti-imperialist groups benefits no-one but imperialism itself. For the same reason, earlier this year we denounced the Official IRA for physically attacking the Irish Republican Socialist Party and attempting to prevent it from organising.

We pointed out at the time that such activities will achieve nothing but to

'cause confusion and demoralisation, and alienate support not only for the groups involved but for the Republican and left-wing movement as a whole'.

The RMG regrets that it is necessary to reiterate these sentiments and to direct them at an organisation that has played such a major role in the struggle against British imperialism. The RMG is not in a position to weigh the claims made by the Provisional IRA that it struck against 'criminal elements only'; neither is the anti-Unionist population as a whole.

If the Provisional IRA has evidence to substantiate its claim, then it should present it to the nationalist people and allow the latter to decide on the rejection of this group. The Provisional IRA has no mandate to usurp this right of the nationalist people and to set itself up as prosecutor, judge and executioner within the nationalist community.

Faced daily with the repression of the British Army and assassinations by the Loyalists, the nationalist community requires urgently a militant unity of all anti-imperialist groups. It cannot afford the events of the past week.

# 7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast



Loyalist para-militaries with their political mentors Paisley and Craig in background

'The British Army could never control South Armagh because the people are solid Republican — anti-British or pro-Irish however you want to take it.' That is what Paddy Short, unofficial spokesperson for the people of Crossmaglen, told Bob Purdie in an interview with *Red Weekly* two months ago. Since then the people of Crossmaglen have had ample opportunity to prove just how right Paddy Short was.

Only a few weeks ago Crossmaglen was invaded by the British Army — indeed the invasion forces far outnumbered the inhabitants, and widespread arrests and harassment followed. The exercise was clearly designed to cower Crossmaglen's population and impress the Loyalist 'mine the border' merchants. To the British Army's disgust, however, neither objective was really achieved. Anything less than the public execution of a few Crossmaglen citizens is unlikely to impress people who for four years now have been calling for martial law to be imposed in this area; what is more, the people of Crossmaglen have once more entered with gusto into the 'hole in the road game'.

The Ulster Loyalists have never felt very happy about the security of the border. There have always been those amongst them who have felt that some sort of Berlin wall should be erected along the winding frontier with the 26 Counties. After all, they 'reason', if such a barrier — manned of course by 'stout Orange blades' — had existed in the 1960s then they might have been able to stop Fenians such as Sean Lemass from driving up to see O'Neill in Stormont. And isn't that the real root of the present trouble?

## SOME LOYALIST SUCCESS

The Loyalists have had some success with this campaign. The British Army weren't too keen on a wall or a fence (had not the rebels got out of Crumlin Road and Long Kesh despite the concrete and barbed wire?) No, the British Army thought the best policy would be to blow up the roads that criss-cross the border. So a couple of years back, early in the morning, groups of British Army sappers arrived on the border and proceeded to gelyignite the roads. But the local people weren't really all that keen on the idea, and no sooner had the Army blown a hole in the road than dozens of lads and lasses would fill it in again. And this would happen maybe a dozen or more times until the Army desisted.

Anyway, some months ago, there was a rash of sectarian assassinations in North Armagh, in the notorious murder triangle. These were carried out by Loyalist para-military groups, and Loyalist politicians in the area responded by proffering as the solution the enforcement of martial law in South Armagh and the mining of the border roads. Ever ready to please, the British Army once again started to dynamite the roads and the people of Crossmaglen filled them in again.

This has currently been going on for about a month now, but it seems that the Army are finally getting the message. In the *Irish Times* (29 October) it was reported that the Army's view now was that the situation should 'be allowed to die down'. Perhaps there is some truth in the old saying: 'It's never too late to learn.'

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The canonisation of Oliver Plunkett in Rome, and the kidnapping of the Dutch industrialist Herrema, has given the media and press here the opportunity to push the activities of the Loyalist para-militaries into the background. However, though it may no longer be getting the headlines, the sectarian murder campaign of the UVF and its affiliated groups continues unabated. Last week the mid-Ulster battalion of the UVF reiterated its commitment to the slaughter of 'innocent Roman Catholics' and received immediate support from two other UVF battalions.

This lays to rest any theory that the recent change of leadership within the UVF will lead to a 'turn to politics' and the end of the assassination campaign. Indeed, on Monday 27 October the following events took place.

Belfast: a 23-year-old Catholic was shot in the neck, stomach and leg while visiting his brother-in-law's home on the Somerton Road.

Larne: two cylinder bombs were thrown into Catholic homes at Victoria Road and Linn Road.

Newry: a Catholic was shot in the thigh in North Street. Portglenone: two armed and masked men raided Ballin-eese Catholic Hall and forced a man to drive a bomb into the town.

The same night a 40-year-old Protestant man was shot on the Shankill Road, probably as a punishment shooting by a Loyalist para-military group.

# LABOUR'S SHOCK PLANS FOR HEALTH CUTS

BOB PENNINGTON reports on secret plans to carve up the National Health Service

Behind closed doors — its discussions kept exclusive to top civil servants and Mrs Castle — a body called the London Coordinating Committee has been plotting for two years how to carve up the NHS in Inner London. The Committee consists entirely of state health officers, and no elected members of Regional and Local Health Authorities are allowed to participate in its proceedings.

Details and rumours of the Committee's intentions have however leaked their way down, causing disquiet amongst various Community Health Councils. Caroline Langridge, secretary of Wandsworth & East Merton Community Health Council, wrote to Sir Philip Rogers (Permanent Secretary of State) asking for representation on the Committee. Miss Langridge met a bland refusal. The titled aide to Mrs Castle wrote back saying that 'any additions would make the Committee too unwieldy to do its job properly....'

## DEPENDENT

The health service unions and the local communities who are dependent on the hospitals have also been kept in the dark as the Com-

mittee works out its schemes to 'achieve stringent economy in revenue'. To do this it favours 'closure of small and ineffectively used accommodation' and 'any rationalisation of hospital resources which can be achieved without significant expenditure.' In an inflation wracked society with costs mounting, such a hope is either stupid euphoria or cynical recognition that its job is to cut costs at the expense of people's health needs.

As the document begins by stating that 'in the present economic situation it would be sensible to assume that there would be no increase in the total capital and revenue resources available to the NHS for several years', there are no prizes for guessing that the Coordinating Committee members are not suffering from an overdose of euphoria.

The Coordinating Committee makes no bones about the fact that hospitals like the Royal Waterloo and the Grosvenor (both in South London) will have to close. Despite the fact that the area has never had sufficient beds to meet local needs, these closures are 'justified' on the ground that St Thomas's will provide over 400 beds. So this part of South London will be lucky if it maintains its present inadequate facilities; but as the Committee is also speculating about closing Lambeth, it will most likely suffer a decrease.

## AMBITIOUS

But the Coordinating Committee is nothing if not an ambitious body, and has its eyes fixed on even more sweeping proposals. The Temperance Hospital in Camden, which has already had its accident department closed, looks an inevitable candidate for the axe according to the Report.

The Great Portland Street branch of the Royal Orthopaedic Hospital, it is suggested, 'might be relocated at St Stephen's Hospital' thereby

depriving another working class area of a local hospital. The bait here is that 'part of the present accommodation at St Stephen's' could be distributed to 'the Westminster and Charing Cross Hospitals'. When you have done all the sums, that means a cut back no matter what distributions and re-allocations take place.

## REPLACEMENTS

In carefully worded language, the Report talks about 'long-term recommendations', which one might have thought would have concentrated on replacements and expansions, in view of the fact that its 'short-term recommendations' essentially concentrate on cuts. But that is not the case. The Report says that its proposals on Inner North West London 'do not exclude the possibility of eventually reducing by one the six hospitals listed in Kensington, Chelsea, Westminster, Camden and Islington.'

Last week the BBC ran five programmes on the NHS, finishing with



Mrs Castle speaking to a panel on Friday evening. On Thursday night night's programme MCAPP member Dr Dominic Costa revealed the existence of the document, but Mrs Castle remained tight-lipped about its savage plans for cutting up the London Health Service. She remained equally tight-lipped when MCAPP organiser Janet Maguire accused the Labour Government of attacking workers' health standards.

## INSISTENCE

Maguire's insistence that the cuts can only be fought by the whole workers' movement and her rejection of a Royal Commission in favour of a Workers' Enquiry were not to Mrs Castle's taste. But they are the only way forward to smash the attacks of the Labour Government and break down its secret deals.

## DOCUMENTS SEIZED

Workers in East London are setting the pace in the fight back against Labour's cuts in the NHS. A few weeks ago workers at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital intercepted a secret document which had been prepared by the City and East London Area Health Authority (Teaching).

The document contained extensive plans for reducing the medical services available in the predominantly working class East End. The City/Hackney Health District is served by seven hospitals: St Bartholomew's, St Leonard's; the Metropolitan; the German; the Mother's; the Eastern; and Hackney. All told, they provide only 2,500 beds for an area which has one of the largest rates in the country of infant mortality, chest diseases and nervous conditions.

The document seized by the health workers admits: 'Some of the hospitals have had very little spent on them in recent years, anticipating that they would become redundant'; and 'The condition of some buildings is very poor.' This gloomy picture is reinforced because the document confesses: 'The present financial stringency suggests that money is not likely to be allocated for any significant rebuilding.'

## 'INTERNAL STREAMLINING'

The only hope that the City and East London Authority can hold out 'for growth' is 'by internal streamlining and rationalisation'. Its solution is simple enough. It proposes to close two of the hospitals in the district and sell them off. This means that Eastern Hospital and the Metropolitan are to be put on the market, with an inevitable reduction of beds in an area which is desperately in need of more beds. Whether it will raise the necessary revenue is debatable — that it will

add to the waiting list is certain!

The London Borough of Hackney has come forward with a 'solution'. It might be prepared to take over the Eastern Hospital Site and some time in '15 to 20 years time, should the health service require it', it would 'make available a suitable, more central equivalent site'. That must be very cheering news to the chronically sick and old people who happen to need treatment now and who in 15 years time — providing the NHS can afford it — will be able to rise from the cemetery to go to this 'suitable, more central.....site'.

## 'MATERNITY WORK'

The document suggests that 'maternity work' in the 'Mothers' Hospital could be transferred to an upgraded block at Hackney', and boldly proposes that 'the existing Mothers' building could be adopted for mentally handicapped patients....'

Past experience suggests that such a suggestion is no more than an excuse for closures and economies. Nine years ago, plans were made to close the Poplar Hospital and replace it with a new hospital at Newham. Next week the Poplar closes down, and not one brick has been laid towards building the Newham Hospital.

It is little wonder that the enraged health workers at the Queen Elizabeth staged a lightning strike when they got hold of this document.

At a local meeting when the Area Health Authority tried to justify their closures, they were shouted down by an audience of over 600 which was made up of workers and old-age pensioners. A big campaign headed by the East London Action Committee Against the Cuts is now under way as a result of this widespread resistance.

The City and East London  
Area Health Authority (Teaching)



1243 Chert Street, London N1 6EF  
Telephone 01-253 3020

PROPOSALS FOR THE  
RE-ARRANGEMENT OF  
HOSPITAL SERVICES  
IN THE  
CITY AND HACKNEY  
HEALTH DISTRICT

A CONSULTATIVE PAPER

**'This shows  
what's going on  
behind our  
backs!'**

COLIN SMITH, a member of MCAPP and the National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the NHS, told *Red Weekly*:

'These two documents — a further document has been found in South Wales which is also plotting similar drastic cut-backs — show what is going on behind the backs of the working class.

The document of the London Coordinating Committee was uncovered by London members of the Campaign to Fight the Cuts in the NHS launched at the MCAPP Conference. They show very clearly that the demand raised at the Conference 'to open the books' is a vital demand in the present campaign.

## EXISTENCE

This London Coordinating Committee, which was set up by the Tories in 1973, has been kept in existence by Mrs Castle. Clearly all those promises in the Labour

Party Manifesto meant nothing. If Labour had been serious about improving the NHS, then the first thing it would have done was to sack this Committee.

## BIG CAMPAIGN

If these attacks are to be fought this will mean a really big campaign in the London area. This London Coordinating Committee represents four areas in London — they stretch in the South-East, for example, from Lewisham to Dover. They are insisting that a plan be introduced for the rationalisation of this 'London' area. We cannot fight that unless we mount a response right across the area and unify all that activity.

We will be fighting to build a class-wide response to meet this

latest offensive. That means going into the hospitals, factories, onto the building sites, the housing estates — into every area where working class people are to be found.

It is the working class that will suffer if these proposals are put into practice. We have to make them aware that it is a matter of life and death for them. What is more, they are the only force that can beat back this offensive.

## MUST RESIST

We must resist every single closure. OK, if the Government says a hospital is too old, we should reply: 'Yes, that is probably true. However, we have no intention of letting you close it until you have built a new one that can replace it and provide

# CAMDEN CUTS - WORKERS SPEAK



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

The National Temperance Hospital in Camden, which is part of the University College Hospital Group, looks as if it will be one of the first to go under the axe of the London Coordinating Committee.

Red Weekly asked George Peters, a COHSE shop steward in the UCH group whether he thought that the labour movement should demand that all plans be made public?

'Most definitely', he replied. All facts must be made public. The unions must not blindly accept such plans.'

Asked if he agreed with the campaign launched by the recent MCAPP Conference, he replied: 'Absolutely. We need any action that can bring to the notice of the general public the real condition of the NHS. The cuts and bad pay conditions in the NHS will mean that patients suffer. If you do not keep pace with inflation with money for the service, the NHS will simply get worse.'

'The heads of department here have been asked to make economies. This also means cuts in staff and overtime in the hospital.'



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

Mrs Roberts is a civil servant who lives in the area served by the Temperance. She told us: 'It is wrong to close the hospital. It was bad enough when they closed the accident department. When you had an accident you could get treated just down the road. Now you have to go to the UCH which is much further away. Services for women will also be hit.'

'The Labour Government is cutting all the things that it should not do. They should stop wasting money on things like Concorde and put money into health.'

John Green, a local building worker commented:

'I am against closing the hospital. I have been waiting for five months already for treatment. Mates of mine on this estate have waited for ages to get treated. They could have been bloody dead by the time they got in. Cuts will make it even worse and if they try to close the Temperance, we all have to try and stop that.'

# BUT WORKERS FIGHT BACK

Health workers in Portsmouth have beaten back an attempt by the local hospital management to slash the nursing staff.

Sixty nurses at the Royal Portsmouth and St James Hospitals who had just finished their three-year training were told that no jobs were available for them. So Ron Pearson, a leading NUPE steward and a member of the National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the NHS - a body set up at the MCAPP Conference - organised a mass meeting of all workers in the Royal.

The meeting, which was attended by both nurses and ancillary workers, decided to organise a work-to-rule, banned overtime and called for a workers' enquiry. Faced with this tough resistance - which also precipitated action in the St James Hospital - the management climbed down and 'discovered' an extra £40,000 in the kitty. This, they say, will be used to retain the 60 nurses in hospitals in the Portsmouth area.

They hastened to add, however, that they were already £250,000 in the red on their nursing bill. And as the Wilson/Healey measures involve a fixed limit of cash for spending in the various sections, this means that the management can only try to overcome their spending 'problem' on the nurses by a quicker turn-round of patients, cut-backs in other sections, or planning future redundancies.

Recognising that further cuts are on the way, health workers and other trade union militants in the Portsmouth area are beginning to organise now. They are holding a public meeting and inviting delegates from local trade union bodies to attend. The aim of the meeting, according to ad hoc committee secretary Aileen Mitchell, is to 'set up a broad based Action Committee which can organise united working class action to defend and extend the NHS.'

even better facilities.'

The Labour leaders will reply that the 'country is in trouble', but we must say we do not care about a bankrupt capitalist system - we are not prepared to sacrifice the health and living standards of the working class to that system.

The measures proposed by the Coordinating Committee are made to save money for capitalism.

ing of the books - if we do not insist that a Workers Enquiry decides what should be the priorities - then we can neither meet the present attacks, nor can we ever change the NHS from one that is subordinated to the needs of capitalism into one that is based on the interests of the working class.

## SUPPORT

We are holding a meeting later this week of people in London, called by the Committee to Fight the Cuts in the NHS. This will be discussing how to fight for the above demands and how to organise really big working class support to put them into practice. ☛

## RELEVANT

This is why the MCAPP demand for a Workers' Enquiry is so relevant. Either the priorities and needs are to be determined by the capitalist state, or they are going to be decided by the workers.

If we do not smash the secret negotiations and demand the open-

# SOCIALIST TEACHERS START THE FIGHTBACK

Every day brings new stories of the cuts in education. Last week was no exception. The Education Secretary, Fred Mulley, reported that 25 local authorities have abandoned either all or part of their nursery school building programme for 1975-76. And the Association of County Councils is calling for an increase in charges for school meals, perhaps by as much as 3p. If this is agreed, it will mean that school meal charges have increased by 50 per cent this year alone.

Local authority after local authority is drawing up plans to implement the cuts in education spending. Whilst teachers are often the first to face the brunt of these attacks, they cannot hope to defeat these moves on their own. Only a campaign which bases itself on winning broad support in the labour movement can hope to succeed in fighting existing and future cuts.

The conference of Socialist Teachers, meeting on 25-26 October, took this as a starting point for its discussions on fighting the cuts. It passed an 'action resolution against the cuts' which laid out a clear strategy based on the need for unity of 'workers both inside and outside the education sector against the implementation of the cuts'. The teachers at the conference began to hammer out the ways in which such a policy could be implemented, and declared their intention of working to establish representative education action committees based on delegates from workers' organisations and other bodies of the labour movement.

## CONTRAST

The conference contrasted with the Rank & File conference on the cuts held earlier in the month, not only for its lack of sectarianism and manipulation - which dominates the International Socialists' front organisations - but because those present faced seriously the task of how to combat the inadequate policies put forward by the trade union bureaucracy for fighting the cuts.

Henry Clother, Secretary of the Council for Educational Advance (CEA)

told the conference that his organisation welcomed the participation of the TUC in the fight against the cuts. However, like the NUT leadership, he sees the fight as a non-party-issue and argued that if more money is needed for education, then perhaps it should come from increased rates.

These policies are of course a recipe for disaster. The Tories are not interested in the education of the working class. They want to cut all public spending including education. They are not allies but enemies.

A proposal for increased rate charges is equally wrong. Once again, like Healey's £6 wage limit, it means the working class would have to foot the bill for the present economic crisis.

## DEFEND GAINS

The CEA, however, does not always mirror these ideas. In some localities it has drawn together trade unionists and members of the labour movement who are concerned to organise a fight to defend the gains won by the working class in the field of education. At the moment it satisfies itself with parliamentary lobbying and rallies. Its effectiveness as a body fighting the cuts will be determined by whether it mobilises the forces which at the moment are only represented on the Council by trade union officials.

Some advances have already been made. In Birmingham, building workers from UCATT and members of the ASTMS planning support for a demonstration against the cuts have won support from the traditionally right-wing Birmingham NUT. Such a move could encourage those in education to fight back, and by laying the basis for representative education action committees, help to take that fight to the rest of the Birmingham working class.

The problem, however, is not - as the IS seem to think - just one of working class solidarity with teachers fighting the cuts. It is essential that the working class develops its own programme of demands to fight on. At the core of the present fight back must be the demand for educational expenditure to be protected against inflation through a sliding scale of public expenditure.

## RIGHT-WING

The right-wing knows where to lay the blame for the crisis - on the 'left-wing' teachers' lack of 'discipline', and on 'progressive' education. Whilst no socialists should be uncritical of any aspect of education, we should recognise these attacks (on comprehensive education, the William Tyndale staff, Chris Searle, etc.) for what they are - an attempt to cut off militant teachers from the working class, the only force which can resolve the present crisis facing the schools without returning to a privileged system of education for the few.

The unanimous decision by the Socialist Teachers conference to direct its efforts to developing action by the whole of the class against the attacks on education represents a modest but valuable advance from the dead-end politics of Rank & File. The task now facing those who took part in the conference is to turn this resolution into reality.

Bernard Regan

The co-ordinating body elected from the conference hopes to distribute and publicise the decisions of the conference. Anyone wishing to be involved in the committee or requiring further information should contact: B. Regan, 24 St. Agnes Close, London E.9.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Tower Hamlets social workers, members of NALGO, went on strike last Friday in protest at the Council's policy towards the homeless. Some of the workers face the threat of disciplinary action because they have refused to send any more homeless families to hotel accommodation and are putting one such family up in their own offices instead.

# RED WEEKLY

## Not so much politics, says BWNIC trial judge

The fifth week of the trial of the 'BWNIC 14' saw the end of the evidence which the prosecution is bringing against the defendants. The prosecutor - ably and often enthusiastically assisted by the judge - has outlined his case: that the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign is an organisation primarily formed to seduce soldiers from their duty or allegiance, in particular by means of two leaflets 'Some Information for Discontented Soldiers' and its predecessor 'Some Information for British Soldiers'; as such anyone found to be in association with it can therefore be regarded as guilty of a criminal conspiracy to attempt such seductions.

Equally certainly they have outlined what, as far as they are concerned, the trial is *not* about: (1) Government policy in Northern Ireland; (2) the conduct of the Army carrying out that policy; (3) the way the Army treats its employees (private soldiers); (4) the rights and wrongs of the Incitement to Disaffection Act and the law of conspiracy.

It is the third of these about which the prosecution are most defensive, as was shown when they called Colonel Hearne, the officer in overall charge of the Strand and Great Scotland Yard recruiting offices.

### 'OBEY ORDERS'

Colonel Hearne was asked by Michael Wescott: 'If a soldier is given an order to do something that he believes to be wrong...has he a right in any circumstance to refuse to obey that order?'. Colonel Hearne replied: 'In my experience, if a soldier is given an order he carries it out.'

Michael Wescott then asked whether Colonel Hearne remembered the Second World War and the Nuremberg trials. Judge McKinnon intervened at this point to say: 'Volumes have been written upon this topic. We have all heard of My Lai and the unfortunate Americans who got into trouble there.' 'I would have thought it was the unfortunate Vietnamese', replied Michael Wescott.

### DISASTROUS START

Our October Fund Drive fell £100 short of the £500 target we need. What's worse, our November Fund Drive has also got off to a slow start. Only £67.32 came in, including £37.52 from North London IMG, £15 from West London IMG, and various individual donations.

We are in a desperate situation, comrades. Every day brings further developments in the class struggle which demand that the IMG and its press lay out more resources. This week alone we are printing 4,000 copies of a national right to work poster, a special pamphlet to mobilise for the 26 November unemployment lobby, as well as preparing a series of national meetings against unemployment.

In all this activity the use of the *Red Weekly* in putting across our ideas to militants and in building a revolutionary socialist wing in the workers' movement is invaluable. But we can't do this without money. So we appeal again to every reader and seller to rush in every penny they can afford so that we can improve and expand the *Red Weekly* to meet the extra pressures put on us at the present time. The address: 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

When Major Berret, in charge of the Recruit Selection Centre at Sutton Coldfield, was cross-examined by defendant Ronnie Lee about a film showing recruits the jobs that are on offer in the army, he asked whether this film showed soldiers doing the 'jobs' of riot control, house-to-house searches and the taking of people and placing them in internment camps. Major Berret was not prepared to comment, and the judge interrupted, yet again, a line of cross-examination which had become 'too political'.

### DISCONTENT

Several of the servicemen who have given evidence for the prosecution have clearly shown that there is an effective economic conscription in operation, that they are not adequately or consistently informed of their rights, particularly of discharge, and that there is considerable discontent in the army. The defence are planning to call more servicemen who are likely to corroborate this, but in the meantime it is significant that there are so many discontented soldiers who have been called by the prosecution.

Defence evidence is likely to take several weeks, particularly as most of the 14 will be going into the witness box. Support, both in the public gallery of Court 12 and outside the court, will be much appreciated. There will be a mass picket on 20 November by trade unions and labour movement groups, and others at various times. Please contact the Defend the 14+ Campaign at 01-837 9794 for details.

Six members of the Bolton Libertarian Street Theatre Group were charged with possessing leaflets under the Incitement to Disaffection Act when they appeared in court in Manchester on 27 October. They claim that the leaflets were planted on them after police arrested them for 'behaviour liable to cause a breach of the peace', while they were performing an anti-military play outside an army tattoo in July. Committal proceedings have been fixed for 6 January.

# WORKERS' ACTION CAN TOPPLE JUAN CARLOS



Any lingering illusions that the replacement of General Franco by Prince Juan Carlos as head of the Spanish state would produce any serious change in the Spanish regime were thoroughly dispelled this week when the Prince agreed to take over 'temporarily' from the dying dictator. Juan Carlos has thus taken on full responsibility for the policies of the Spanish regime while the semi-corpse lingering on in the Pardo Palace continues to place his stamp firmly on them.

As if to stress this, Juan Carlos's first major act was to fly to the Spanish Sahara and review the infamous 'foreign legion' - the force Franco commanded in the brutal suppression of both the Moroccan nationalists and the Asturian miners during the 1930s.

### THREATS

However, some elements of the regime seem to doubt that Juan Carlos, whatever his intentions, can be as reliable as the old General - and so are planning their own moves against the regime's critics. A number of prominent liberal businessmen and public figures have already received letters warning that they will be murdered within 24 hours of Franco's death unless they leave Spain. Such threats are far from idle, as the violent actions by a secret organisation of off-duty policemen ('Guerillas of Christ the King') in the Basque country have shown.

### GRAVE DANGER

Threats of a similar nature have been received by the leaders of the workers' commissions in Madrid's Carabanchel Prison, and the lives of all political prisoners are in grave danger at this present time.

The two main class-collaborationist opposition bodies in Spain - the Democratic Junta, led by the Communist Party, and the Democratic Convergence, led by the Socialist Party - have issued a joint statement calling for the 'peaceful' establishment of a democratic order. This declaration leaves out certain important demands necessary for the scrapping of the regime - such as the dismantling of the main repressive police forces and the purging of the regime's hirelings from public positions.

More seriously, since these bodies contain within them openly cap-

italist political groups (including monarchists and Christian Democrats) they blur the fact that the struggle for the destruction of the Franco regime can only be led by the working class, and lay the basis for the mass movement being led into the blind alley of trying to replace Juan Carlos with a capitalist coalition government. They are also unable to agree on anything more than the vaguest calls for action.

### WORKERS' FRONT

As the Spanish Trotskyists of the LCR-ETA (VI) are arguing, instead of building their separate alliances with pathetic little bands of capitalists, the Socialist and Communist Parties should be joining with all other workers' organisations to forge a *workers' united front*.

In this respect a much more important move has come from the Coordinating Committee of the Madrid workers' commissions. While still holding illusions about the need for a 'broad, united democratic front' based on uniting both the Junta and the Convergence, the Coordinating Committee spells out clearly the sort of action required in the present crisis. They call for mass meetings in all places of work and mass street demonstrations to back up the demands for democratic rights.

### DEMONSTRATION

If such a call is actually put into practice by the workers' movement, it will set into motion the immense power of the Spanish working class, which can readily topple the regime, send its reactionary thugs running for safety, and place on the order of the day a social transformation going far beyond the class-collaborationist schemes of either the Communist or Socialist Parties.

The current situation in Spain makes the building of the forthcoming London demonstration in solidarity with the struggle against Francoism a major responsibility throughout the workers' movement. Latest sponsors of the demonstration include Emlyn Williams, President of the South Wales Miners; Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW; the Hull dockers' shop stewards committee, who will be sending a delegation to the demonstration under their banner; and Birmingham Selly Oak Constituency Labour Party, which calls on 'all trade unionists and Labour Party members to back this demonstration'.

## Protest Trial of Australian Blacks

On 13 October, the criminal hearings began in Brisbane against two leading black militants and a white supporter. This frame-up trial is an attempt by the reactionary Queensland government to destroy the militancy of the black movement, particularly the campaign to smash Queensland's racist Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islanders Acts.

A protest in the form of a picket and leafleting will be held at the Rugby Union match between Australia and the London Counties at Twickenham on Sat 8 Nov.

All interested meet at 12 midday at the entrance to Cole Park Recreation Grounds, nr Twickenham Stn (British Rail).

For further information about the campaign, write to: Committee in Defence of the Brisbane 3, 9 Greencroft Gdns, NW6.

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