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Phoenix Club

Internal Bulletin

No.38 November 1975

Contents

1. 3rd Congress of the Communist International-
Theses on women.
2. IS and Portugal- 2 articles from their IB and a
reply.
3. Minutes of Left Faction/Phoenix Club joint Women's
fraction meeting.

Methods of Work Among the Women of the Communist Party.

1. The Third Congress of the Comintern in conjunction with the Second International Women's Congress confirms the decision of the First and Second Congresses on the necessity for increasing the work of all the Communist parties of the East and West among proletarian women. The masses of women workers must be educated in the spirit of Communism and so drawn into the struggle for Soviet Power and into the construction of the Soviet Labour Republic. In all countries the working classes, and consequently the women workers, are faced with the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The capitalist economic system has got into a blind alley, for there is no room for the further development of industrial forces within that system. The general impoverishment of the workers, the impotence of the bourgeois to revive production, the development of speculative enterprises, the decay in the production system, unemployment, the fluctuation of prices out of keeping with wages—all this leads inevitably to the deepening of the class struggle in all countries. This struggle is to decide who shall conduct, administer, and organize production, and upon what system that should be done—whether it should be in the hands of a clique of bourgeois exploiters, and be carried on, on the principles of capitalism and private property, or in the hands of the producing class and carried on on a Communist basis.

The newly-rising class, the class of producers, must in accordance with the laws of economic production, take the productive apparatus in its own hands, and set up new forms of public economy. Only in such a way will it be possible to create the necessary impetus for the development of the economic forces to the maximum and for the removal of the anarchy of capitalist production.

So long as the power of government is in the hands of the bourgeois class, the proletariat has no power to organize production. No reforms, no measures, carried out by the democratic or socialist governments of the bourgeois countries are able to save the situation. They cannot alleviate the unbearable sufferings of the working women and working men, sufferings which are due to the disorganisation of the capitalist system of production, and which are going to last as long as the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Only by seizing the power of government will the proletariat be able to take hold of the means of production, and thus secure the

Possibility of directing the economic development in the interests of the toilers.

In order to hasten the hour of the decisive conflict between the proletarian and the degenerating bourgeois world, the working class must adhere to the firm and unshakable tactics outlined by the Third International. The most fundamental and immediate goal determining the methods of work and the line of struggle for the proletarian of both sexes, must be the dictatorship of labour.

As the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the vital question before the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, and the construction of Communism is the important task of these countries where the dictatorship is already in the hands of the workers, the Third Congress of the Communist International maintains that the conquest of power by the proletariat, as well as the achievement of Communism in those countries where the capitalist state has already been overthrown, can be realised only with the active participation of the wide masses of the proletarian and semi-proletarian women.

On the other hand the Congress once more calls the attention of all women to the fact that without the support of the Communist parties in all the tasks and undertakings leading to the liberation and enfranchisement of the women, this task is practically impossible of achievement.

2. The interest of the working class, especially at the present moment, imperatively demands the recruiting of women into the organised ranks of the proletariat, fighting for Communism.

The economic ruin throughout the world is becoming more acute and more unbearable to the entire city and country poor. Before the working class of the bourgeois-capitalist countries the question of the social revolution rises more and more clearly, and before the working class of Soviet Russia the question of reconsecrating the public economy of the land on a new Communist basis becomes more and more vital. Both these tasks will be more easily realised, the more active and the more conscious and willing the participation of the women.

3. Wherever the question of the taking of power arises, the Communist parties must consider the great danger to the revolution represented by the inert, unformed masses of women workers, housewives, employees, peasant women, not liberated from the influence of the bourgeois church and bourgeois superstitions, and not connected in some way or other with the great liberating movement of Communism. Unless the masses of women of the East and West are drawn into this movement, they inevitably become the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the object of counter-revolutionary propaganda. The experience of the revolution in Hungary, where the ignorance of the masses of women played such a pitiful part, should serve, in this case, as a warning for the proletariat of all other countries entering upon the road of social revolution.

On the other hand, the experience of the Soviet Republic showed in practice how important the participation of the women workers and peasants has been in the civil war in the defence of the Republic, as well as in all other activities of the Soviet construction. Facts have proven the importance of the part which the women workers and peasants have already played in the Soviet Republic in the organisation of defence, strengthening the rear, the struggle against desertion, and against all sorts of counter-revolution, sabotage, etc. The experience of the Workers' Republic must serve as a lesson to all other countries.

Hence, the direct task of the Communist parties: to spread the influence of the Communist Party to the widest circles of the women population of their countries within the Party; organising a special party body and applying special methods; appealing to the women outside of it, to free them from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary parties, and educating them to be real fighters for Communism, and therefore for the complete enfranchisement of the women.

4. Putting before the Communist Parties of the East and West the direct task of extending the activity of the Party among the women proletariat, the Third Congress of the Communist declares also to the women of the entire world that their emancipation from slavery and inequality depends upon the victory of Communism.

What Communism offers to the women, the bourgeois women's movement will never afford her. So long as the power of capitalism and private property continue to exist, the emancipation of woman from subservience to her husband cannot proceed further than her right to dispose of her property and earnings, as she sees fit, and also to decide on equal terms with her husband the destiny of their children.

The most definite aim of the feminists—to grant the vote to the women—under the regime of bourgeois parliamentarism, does not solve the question of the actual equalisation of women, especially of the so-called oppressed classes. This has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of the working women in those capitalist countries where the bourgeoisie has formally recognised the equality of the sexes. The right to vote does not remove the prime cause of women's enslavement in the family and in society. The substitution of the church marriage by civil marriage does not in the least alleviate the situation. The dependence of the proletarian woman upon the capitalist and upon her husband as the economic mainstay of the family remains just the same. The absence of adequate laws to safeguard motherhood and infancy and the lack of proper social education render entirely impossible the equalisation of women's position in matrimonial relations. As a matter of fact, nothing that can be done under the capitalist order will furnish the key to the solution of the problem of the relationship of the sexes.

Only under Communism, not merely the formal, but the actual equalization of women will be achieved. Then woman will be the rightful owner, on a par with all the members of the working class, of the means of production and distribution. She will participate in the management of industry and she will assume an equal responsibility for the wellbeing of society.

In other words, only by overthrowing the system of exploitation of man by man, and by supplanting the capitalist mode of production by the Communist organization of industry, will the full emancipation of woman be achieved. Only Communism affords the conditions which are necessary in order that the natural functions of woman—childhood—should not come into conflict with her social responsibilities and hinder her creative work for the benefit of society. On the contrary, Communism will facilitate the most far-reaching and diversified development of a healthy and beautiful personality that is possibly bound together with the whole life and activities of the entire society. Communism should be the aim of all women who are fighting for complete emancipation and real freedom.

That Communism is also the final aim of the proletarian. Consequently the struggle of the working women for the aim must be carried on in the interests of both, under a united leadership and control, as "one and indivisible" to the entire world movement of the revolutionary proletariat.

5. The Third Congress of the Comintern, confirms the basic proposition of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., that there is no "specific woman question" and no "specific women's movement," and, that every sort of alliance of working women with bourgeois feminism, as well as any support by the women workers of the bourgeois factors of the social-democrists and other similar trends to the undermining of the basis of the proletarian ideology thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation. Communism will be achieved not by "united efforts of all women of different classes," but by the united struggle of all the exploited.

In their own interests, the masses of proletarian women should support the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party and take a most active and direct part in all manifestations and all forms of civil war on a national and international scope.

6. Woman's struggle against her double oppression (capitalism and her bourgeoisie and finally, subsequently, at its highest stage of development, assumes an international character, becoming identified with the struggle of the proletariat of both sexes under the banner of the Third Labor Arsenal for the destruction of the proletariat and the Soviet system.

7. While warning the women workers against entering into any form of alliance and co-operation with the bourgeois feminists, the

Third Congress of the Comintern, at the same time, points out to the working women of all countries that to cherish any illusions of the possibility of the proletarian woman enjoying the Second International as a toy of the opportunistically reformist bourgeois left is to incur the risk of serious damage to the cause of women's emancipation—will prove infinitely detrimental for the liberating struggle of the proletariat. The women must constantly remember that woman's present-day struggle has grown out of the bourgeois left. In order to put an end to their class slavery it is necessary to inaugurate the new Communist organization of society.

As we suggest rendered to the Second and Third International happens the social revolution, delaying the advent of the new order. In order to avoid and to overcome the women workers will turn away from the Second and the Socialist and Labor International, the more reason will be the greater of the Social Revolution. It is the sacred duty of all women Communists to exclude those who flinch from the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern and to demand their expulsion from the ranks of the Comintern. The women ought to remember that the second International never created and never attempted to create any organ whose task would be to carry on an active struggle for the complete emancipation of woman. The organization of an international alliance of women socialists was started under the Second International by the initiative of the new working themselves. The women socialists who devoted themselves to work among women had neither representation nor a decisive voice in the Second International.

At its first Congress, in 1919, the Third International defined its attitude toward the existing the support of women in the struggle for the destruction of bourgeois feminism and the first conference of women Communists was convened in 1920 and an International Secretariat for working women was constituted with a permanent representation in the Executive Committee of the Comintern. It is the duty of all conscientious women workers to break unconditionally with the Second and Second and a-Half Internationals and support wholeheartedly the revolutionary tactics of the Comintern.

8. The support of the Comintern by the women workers of all countries should, first of all, express itself in their willingness to enter into the ranks of the Communist Party of their respective countries. In those countries and parties where the struggle between the Second and Third Internationals has not yet come to a head, it is the duty of the women workers to support, by all means, the party and groups that stand for the Comintern and carry on a relentless war against all reactions and cowardly treacherous demands, irrespective of any reactions, holding a different view. The class-conscious women who are striving for emancipation should not remain in any faction which have not joined the Comintern. Those who are opposed to the Third International are the enemies of the emancipation of women.

The place of conscious working women in Eastern and Western countries is under the flag of the Communist International and in the ranks of the Communist Parties of their own countries. All wavering on the part of the working women and the fear to sever connection with the parties of compromise, and the historic acknowledged authorities, have a tremendous influence on the revolutionary progress of the great proletarian struggle, words is assuming the nature of an open and relentless civil war on a world scale.

Methods and Form of Work among Women.

WING to all the above-mentioned reasons, the Third Congress of the Comintern holds that the work among the proletarian women should be carried on by the Communist Parties of all countries, on the following basis:

1. Women must be enlisted as full-fledged members of the Party, on the basis of equality and independence in all militant class organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, etc.

2. To recognise the importance of recruiting women into all branches of the active struggle of the proletariat (including military service for the defence of the proletariat) and into the construction of new forms of society and the organisation of industry and life on a Communist basis.

3. To recognise the functions of motherhood as a social function, promoting and supporting appropriate measures to aid and protect women as the bearer of the human race.

Being earnestly opposed to the separate organisation of women into all sorts of parties, unions, or any other special women's organisations, the Third Congress, nevertheless, believes that in view of: (a) the present conditions of subjection prevailing not only in the bourgeois capitalist countries, but also in countries under the Soviet system, undergoing transition from capitalism to Communism; (b) the great ignorance and political ignorance of the masses of women, due to the fact that they have been for centuries barred from social life and to age-long slavery in the family; and (c) the special functions imposed upon women by nature—childbirth and the peculiarities attached to this, calling for the protection of her strength and health in the interests of the entire community, the Third Congress therefore considers it necessary to find special methods of work among the women of the Communist Parties and establishes a standard of special apparatus within the Communist Parties for the realisation of this work. The apparatus for this work among the women in the Party should be the sections or committees for work among women, organised by all party committees commencing with the Executive Committee and ending with the city districts or village party committees. This decision is obligatory for all parties attached to the Comintern.

The Third Congress points out that, pending the victory of the Communist Parties carried out through the national road, to educate the wide masses of women in the spirit of Communism, drawing them into the ranks of the Party; (2) to fight against the pressure of male proletarians towards the women, strengthening in the working men and women the consciences of mutual interests of the proletarians of both sexes; (3) to increase the will-power of the women by drawing them into all kinds and forms of political struggle, to awaken their activity and participation in the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the bourgeois countries by mass demonstrations against the high cost of living, against the housing conditions, unemployment, and in other revolutionary forms of the class war; the participation of the women workers in the construction of the Communist State and in the Soviet Republics; (4) to put on the order of business among the tasks of the parties and to pass over to the direct organisation of the women, recognising her equality and the protection of her interests as the proprietor of the race; (5) to wage a well-planned fight against traditions, bourgeois customs and religion, clearing the way for better and more harmonious relations between the sexes, protecting the physical and moral strength of labouring humanity.

The entire work of the sections or committees should be carried on under the direct control and responsibility of the Party Committees. A member of the local party committee should be at the head of such section or committee. Committees should be members of these committees or colleagues wherever it is possible.

All measures and problems of the committees or sections of work amongst the women must not be handled by them independently, but in the Soviet Republics through the respective economic and political organs (branches of the Soviets, Commissariats, Trade Unions, etc.) and in the capitalist countries, with the support of the respective organs of the proletarian parties, unions, factory committees, etc.

In all places where the Communist Parties exist illegally or semi-legally, the Party should organise an illegal apparatus for work amongst women. In all illegal bodies there must be at least one party member to organise the women for illegal work.

The present period requires that Trade and Industrial Unions should form the principal basis for work amongst women both in countries which still carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, as well as in the Soviet Laborer Republics.

The spirit with which the work amongst women should be induced is that of the unity of the Party movement, of an intact organisation, of independent initiative and independent of Commissions and sections aiming at a speedy and complete emancipation of women, to be brought about by the Party. What should be striven after is not passivity in activity, but assistance in the activity of the Party by means of self-development and initiative of the working women.

Work of the Party amongst Women in Soviet Countries.

It is the task of the Sections of the Soviet Eastern Republics to educate the masses of working women amongst Communists by attracting them to the Communist Party, to inspire and develop activity and self-reliance, by drawing them into the work of constructive Communism and bringing them up as staunch defenders of the Communist International.

It is the task of the Sections to attract the women to every form of Soviet construction, including questions of defence, as well as all the many economic plans of the Republics.

In the Soviet Republic the Sections should see that all the regulations of the Eighth Congress of Soviets regarding the attraction of working and peasant women to the work of building up and organising public production, as well as their participation in the work of all those organs which direct, manage, control and organise production should be carried out. The Sections should participate through their representatives and through the Party organs in the drafting of new laws and exercise an influence on the alteration of such as require modification in the interest of the emancipation of women. The Sections should take the greatest interest and show most initiative in the development of those laws which deal with the protection of the labour of women and children.

It is the duty of the Sections to attract the greatest possible number of working and peasant women to all election campaigns of Soviets, as also to see to it that working and peasant women are elected as members of Soviets and of Executive Committees.

The Sections should make it their business to assist in every way possible in making a success of political and economic campaigns carried on by the Party.

It is the task of the Sections to assist the growth of skilled women labour by means of professional education, as well as to facilitate the admission of the working and peasant women to the corresponding educational establishments.

The Sections should facilitate the entrance of working women into the Commission for the Protection of Labour in various enterprises, and should also accelerate the activity of the auxiliary Committees for the Protection of Mother and Child.

The Sections should make it their business to assist the development of all social institutions, such as communal kitchens, handrails, repairing shops, institutions of social education, communal houses, etc., which, basing as they do the conditions of life upon a new Communist principle, ameliorate the difficulties which women experience during the transition period; assist their rapid enfranchisement and transform the slave of the family and the home into a free co-worker in the great social renaissance, a fellow creator of new forms of life.

Through organisers working amongst women elected by the Communist Fraction of Trade Unions, the Sections should assist the election of the Women workers' members of the Trade Unions in the spirit of Communism.

The Sections should look after the attendance of all working women at all General Factory delegates conferences.

The Sections should carry out a systematic development of auxiliary workers, for all the Soviet, economic and Trade Union work.

The Sections must first of all take deep and firm root among the proletarian women, wage-earners, and organise propaganda amongst employes housewives, and peasant women.

To build up a firm connection between the Party and the mass of the people, and to spread its influence over the non-party members of society, and also to develop the method of the election of the women folk in the spirit of Communism, by having self-activity and participation in practical work, the Women's Sections are to organise delegate meetings of women workers.

The delegate meetings are the best means to secure the women workers and peasants, and to spread the Party influence amongst the backward masses of women workers and peasants.

These delegate meetings are formed from factory and shop representatives of a certain region, city or volost. In Soviet Russia, the women delegates are drawn into all kinds of political and economic campaigns. They are sent into different committees in industry, are invited to control Soviet institutions, and used for regular work in the Soviet Departments, in the capacity of clerks, for two months (Law of 1921).

The women delegates should be elected at general meetings of the Shop workers, of the housewives and employes, according to a certain rate of representation fixed by the Party. The Women's Sections are obliged to carry on propaganda and agitation among the delegates, for which purpose special meetings of women delegates are to be arranged not less than twice a month. The delegates are requested to make reports of their activities either in the shops where they work, or at meetings arranged in the city districts. The delegates should be elected for a period of three months.

Another form of agitation among the women is the organisation of large non-party conferences of women workers and peasants. Representatives to conferences are to be elected at meetings held for women workers—at their place of work, and for peasant women—in the villages.

The Section for work amongst women is charged to call the conferences, as well as to supervise their work.

In order to make the best use of the experience that the women workers have secured by participating in the work and activities of the Party, the Branches and Committees carry on an elaborate campaign of propaganda by word of mouth and press. The Sections arrange meetings and discussions for the women workers at

the shops and for the housewives at the city clubs. They exercise control over the delegate meetings and every on house to house agitation.

To train active workers among the women, and to widen their understanding of communism, the party must organise with the help of the Sections, special courses for work among the women, at each Party school or school for Soviet work.

In Capitalist Countries.

THE current tasks of the Committees or Sections for work among women are initiated by the circumstances of the period. On the one hand, the ruin of world economy, the rampant growth of unemployment, especially affecting the women workers and tending to increase prostitution, the high cost of living, the acute housing question, and the threats of new imperialist wars; on the other hand, the unceasing strikes in all countries, repeated outbreaks of armed uprisings of the proletariat, and the ever more violent civil war throughout the world, are the prodigues to the inevitable world social revolution.

The women's committees must put forward the most important tasks of the proletariat, fight for the unbridled slogans of the Communist Party, of the Communists against the bourgeois and social-compromisers. The committees must see to it that the women are not only registered as equal members of the Party, Trade Unions and other militant workers' organisations, which are waging the fight against all injustice or inequality of the women workers, but also that the women should be allowed to occupy responsible positions in the Party, Union or Co-operative on an equal basis with the men.

The Committees or Sections must facilitate the work of the wide masses of the women proletarians and peasant women in utilising their franchise in the interests of the Communist Parties during election to the parliament and to all the public institutions, explaining at the same time the limitations of these rights, in the scope of weakening the capitalist exploitation, promoting emancipation of women, and replacing parliamentarism by the Soviet system.

The Committees must also aid the women workers, employees and peasant women to take a most active part in the elections of revolutionary, economic and political soviets of workers' deputies, obtaining representation in them, awakening the political activity of the housewives, and carrying on a propaganda of the Soviet idea among the peasant women. The special concern of the Committees must be the realisation of the principle of equal pay for equal work. It is the task of the Committee to start a campaign, drawing men and women workers into it, for free, universal education, aiding the women to become highly qualified in their work.

The Committees should see to it that women Communists take part in the legislative, municipal and other legislative organisations, in fact wherever women have the right to vote.

While participating in the legislative, municipal and other organisations of bourgeois States, Communist women should actively adhere to the tactics of the party, not concerning themselves so much with the realisation of reforms within the limits of the bourgeois world order, as taking advantage of every free question and demand of the working women, as watchwords by which to lead the women into the active mass struggle for these demands, through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Committees or Sections must explain the disadvantages and waste of the system of individual house-keeping, the bad bringing up and education of the children by the bourgeoisie, rallying the women workers to the struggle for practical improvement of the conditions of the working class, waged or supported by the party.

The Committees must aid in recruiting the women to the Communist Party even the Trade Unions, for which purpose the Communist fraction of the Trade Unions appoints an organiser for work among the women, under the direction of the Party and the local branch. The entire work of the Committee must be carried on with one purpose in view: the development of the revolutionary activity of the masses and the hastening of the social revolution.

In Economically-Backward Countries (The East).

Note: The work among the Eastern women being of great importance, and at the same time representing a new problem for the Communist Parties, the Conference deems it necessary to add to this thesis special instructions on the methods of communist propaganda among the women of the Eastern countries, appropriate to their local habits and conditions.

In conjunction with the Communist Party the Women's Section should do everything possible to achieve in industrially weak countries, the recognition of the legal equality, the equality both of rights and obligations, of women in the factories, classes, and other organisations of the working class.

The Sections or Committees should carry on, in conjunction with the Party, a struggle against prejudice, religious customs and habits which maintain an aggressive hold upon the women; to achieve this, it is also necessary to carry on propaganda amongst the men.

The Communist Party, together with the Sections or Committees, should carry out the principle of the equality of women in matters of education of children, family relations and general social life.

The Sections should look for support in their work, first of all, amongst the large classes of women who are exploited by capitalism in the capacity of workers in home industries, as labourers

on rice, cotton and other plantations, and assist in the general establishment of communal workshops and home co-operatives; this applies especially to all Eastern peoples living within the borders of Soviet Russia; the Sections should also assist in the general organization of all women engaged in plantation work with the working men united in Trade Unions.

The raising of the general educational level of the population is one of the best means of fighting the general stagnation of the Soviet as well as religious prejudices. The Committees of Sections should therefore assist in the opening of schools for grown-ups and children, such schools also to be accessible to the women. In large enterprises the Committees should carry on a direct agitation to counteract the influence of the bourgeois schools.

Whenever possible, the Sections or Committees should carry the agitation into the homes of the women and utilize the full work of these men for purposes of agitation. They should also organize clubs for working women, doing everything to attract to these clubs the least backward section of the women. These clubs should arrange cultural and educational centers and model institutions, illustrating what can be achieved by women for their emancipation. Through such means of self-activity, as the organization of workers' landings, schools for adults, and so forth.

Special clubs should be organized for nomadic people.

In Soviet lands the Sections, together with the Party, should assist in the transformation of the existing pre-capitalist forms of production and economics into a communal form of production. They should be practically prepared, in a report to convince the working women that the former harmful and backward production proposed and exploited them, whilst communist Japan will counteract them.

With regard to the peoples of the East who live within the borders of Soviet Russia, the Sections should take care that Soviet legislation should equally men and women, and that the interests of the women should be properly protected. For this purpose the Sections should assist in appointing women to the position of judges, and as members of juries in municipal Courts of law.

The Sections should also get the women to participate in Soviet, taking care that working and peasant women should be elected into the Soviets and Executive Committees. All work amongst the women proletarian of the East should be done on a class basis. It should be the task of the Sections to expose the powerlessness of the Moslem fanatics in the solution of the question of the enfranchisement of women. For enlightening purposes in all the Soviet countries of the East, the intelligent feminine forces should be utilized, as, for instance, women teachers and sympathisers, avoiding all tactics and vulgar treatment of religious faiths and national traditions. The Sections or Committees working amongst the women of the East should definitely fight against nationalism and the hold of religion on the women's minds.

All the organisations of the workers should, in the East as

well as in the West, be built not upon the basis of defending national interest, but upon the unity of the international proletarian or half sexes striving for the same class aims.

Propaganda and Agitation.

In order to fulfil the principal task of the Sections, dealing with the Communist education of the large masses of the proletariat, and in order to reinforce the body of workers, it is necessary that all Communist Parties of the West and of the East should realize that the principle of work among women is: agitation and propaganda by deeds.

Agitation by deed first of all signifies an effort to create a sense of independence in the working women, to eradicate the distrust in themselves and to attract them to the practical work of construction, to teach them by practical experience that every woman of the Communist Party, that every woman, must be capable of making political explanation, to give men and women the appropriate of the position of women. The method which has been illustrated in the Sections for work among women should be summarized in the following words: "Learn experience and action to a knowledge of the ideas of Communism and of its theoretical principles."

In order that the Section should represent organs not of verbal propaganda alone, but also of activity, it is necessary that they should work in contact with the Communist workers of the various enterprises and workshops, for which purpose the latter should supply an organizer for the work amongst the women of the respective enterprise or workshop.

The Sections should come into contact with the Trade Unions through their representatives or organizers who are appointed for that purpose by the Trade Union fraction, and who should carry on work under the direction of Sections.

Propaganda, by deed, of Communist ideas in Soviet Russia, signifies that all the women workers, peasant women, housewives and employees in all spheres of Soviet life, from the army and militia down to every unfranchised Christ, devoutly should be drawn into the work of the organization of Communal House-keeping, of establishing the necessary number of institutions for Public Education, institutions for the Protection of Motherhood, and so forth. A special task is to draw the labour women into the bodies that control, etc. the production.

Active propaganda, by deed, in the capitalist countries, means first of all the enlistment of the woman workers to take part in strikes, demonstrations and other forms of the class struggle, fortifying and enlightening the revolutionary will and consciousness; the recruiting of women workers to all sorts of Party activity.

their utilization for purposes of illegal work, particularly in respect of the organization of party "Sawdavs" or "Smidavs" in which all women sympathizers of communism, the wives of laboring and professional men, in this way have to be useful to the Party. The principle of propaganda by acts and deeds is applied by drawing the women into all political, economic or international campaigns, from time to time carried on by the Communist Parties.

While organizing the feminine forces for the Party the Sections must first of all leave deep and firm roots amongst the women workers developing propaganda activity also among the housewives, employees and peasant women.

In order to carry out the work of propaganda by word of mouth, according to a plan, the Sections must arrange meetings in the factories and workshops, also open meetings for women workers and employees according to profession or location, as well as general public meetings of housewives. They must see to it that campaigns and organizers are checked by the Communist groups of the Trade Unions, co-operative and industrial councils in capitalist shops, and that women members are elected in all the organizing, controlling and administrative bodies of the Soviet institutions. In regard, the labor-women must be elected to all organizations, which in capitalist countries must be used to revolutionize the exploited and oppressed masses, and assist them in their struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and in Soviet countries to such organizations as serve to defend and realize Communism.

The Sections must delegate experienced women Communists as workers or employees to enterprises where great numbers of women are employed. These comrades must settle down in large proletarian districts and centers, as practiced with success in Soviet Russia. In the same way as the working women's organizations of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia organize meetings and conferences of delegates not belonging to any party, the Communist women's committees in the capitalist countries must convene public meetings of women workers, female employees of every kind, peasant women and housewives, to discuss various questions and needs of the day, and elect committees to serve as connecting links between their respective constituencies and the Communist women's organizations, and to attend to the questions raised. They should also send speakers representing their views to gatherings of opposing organizations. Public propaganda by means of meetings, etc., must be supplemented by constant and regular home propaganda.

Each Communist woman engaged in this work should have not more than ten women to visit at their homes, on whom she ought to call regularly at least once a week, and also on every occasion of importance to the Communist Party, or the Proletarian masses.

In order to promote agitation, organization and education among the masses by written word, the woman's Section of the

Communist Parties are charged to work for the establishment: (1) of a central women's Communist journal in every country; (2) to secure the appearance of a woman's department in the Communist press, as also the printing of articles in the political and industrial papers. They must provide editors for such publications, and that regular assistance for them in the fields of professional and scientific women. The Sections must publish and distribute simple stimulating and adequate literature in pamphlets and leaflets. They must strive to realize the best possible use of their members.

Women Communists should be sent to attend courses in Party schools in order to intensify their class consciousness and to prepare them for work among the masses of women. Special courses, lectures and discussions for women can be organized only in case of special conditions and urgent necessity.

In order to enhance the spirit of comradeship among male and female workers it is desirable not to organize separate courses of schools, but to establish in the general Party schools, sections for courses for work among women. The Sections exercise a right to elect a certain number of their women members for attendance at the general Party courses.

Conservation of the Sections or Committees of work Sections amongst the women must be organized by each Party, Local Executive, District Executive and the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Each country decides for itself the numbers of members in these sections or Committees. The number of members of the Sections who are paid by the Party, is also fixed by each party according to the possibilities.

The director or chairman of the local Committees or Sections must be a member of the local Party Committee. Where this is not the case, the Director of the Section is present at all meetings of the Party Committee, with the right of decisive vote on all questions of the women's Committees, and with a consultative vote on all other questions.

Besides the duties of the district Section or Committee above mentioned, the following tasks are also part of their work: to maintain connections between the Sections of one district with the Central Sections; to collect facts on the activity of the district Sections or Committees; to facilitate the exchange of material between the local branches; to supply the district with literature; distribute agitators among the districts; to initialize the different party workers for work among women; to call district conferences of the women Communists, representatives of branches, with a representation of one or two from each branch, at least twice a year; to call non-party conferences of women-workers, peasant women and housewives of a particular district. The members of the Section or the Committee are approved by the provincial Committee or the county Committee on recommendation by the Director of the

Section. The director, as well as the other members of the county Committees and province Committees, are elected at the conferences of the county.

Members of the district or local Sections or Committees are elected at a general city, county or district conference, or are appointed by the respective Sections in agreement with the Party Committee. If the director of the Section is not a member of the district Party Committee, he has the right to be present at all meetings of the party Committee with a decisive vote on all questions of the Branch, and with a consultative vote on all other questions.

Besides all the functions above mentioned, which are the duties of the district sections, the Central Section must fulfil the following additional functions: instruct the Sections and their workers; invigilate the work of the Section; take charge, in connection with the respective organs of the party, of the transfer of workers from one Section to another; observe the conditions and development of work; consider the changes in the legal or economic situation of the women, through its representatives or appointees; participate in Special Committees, solving the questions of bettering the conditions of existence of working class, protection of labour, protection of childhood, etc.; publish a central "page" and edit periodical journals for women; call conferences of the representatives of all the district Sections not less than once a year; organise agitational excursions of workers on work among the women of the country; take charge of the recruiting of women and of the participation of all Sections in all sorts of political and economic campaigns and demonstrations of the Party; send delegates to the International Secretariat of Women Communists; take charge of the annual International Women's day.

If the Director of the Women's Section of the Executive Committee of the Party is not a member of the Executive Committee, he has the right to be present at all the meetings of the Executive Committee, with a decisive vote on all questions concerning the Sections, and with a consultative vote on all others. The director of the Section or the chairman of the Committee is appointed by the Central Executive Committee, or is elected at the general Party Congress. The decisions and resolutions of all Sections or Committees are subject to the final sanction of the respective Party Committee.

Work on an International Basis.

The direction of the work of the Communist Parties of all countries, uniting the women workers for the tasks set by the Comintern, and drawing the women of all countries and nations into the revolutionary struggle for the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the working class, on a world basis, is the task of the Women's Secretariat of the Comintern.

most important of all - carry through the activities decided.

Why shift the emphasis from I.S. to S.W?

We all like to be called International Socialists. But we can't ignore that since we began producing the weekly Socialist Worker it has been ahead of our organisation. It has been better than I.S. It has attracted most members into IS. And as major activities from the 1973 Manchester SW Industrial Rally in Belle Vue to the recent SW Solidarity contingent on the Portuguese demonstration have shown, it mobilises and organises more widely than we can under the name IS. It smells more of the Party we will become than of the small group politics from which we intend to distance ourselves. So as we begin to organise larger numbers of workers around SW, and its supporters (including IS members) increasingly gain the reputation as the real fighters in the working class movement, then the point will be reached when the level of struggle we means we have become the Socialist Workers' Party and should then call ourselves that. This isn't a mechanical process and is certainly not an inevitable one; but it is a development that we should aim to help make happen, and for this reason the target was mentioned at the N.C. of one supporter for every member. Not because of any magic associated with the joint total, but because it should be possible for every member to recruit a Socialist Worker Supporter and then to work on him or her over the months ahead. This orientation towards comrades who are not at the moment members of I.S. can increase our influence tenfold if carried out properly.

Why the stress on SW sales?

When we set down our present roots in the working class, from 1970 to 1973, we always had the target of selling ten copies of Socialist Worker per member. Saying it, or writing it down, 'ten copies per member' is easy. Doing it, week in, week out isn't. It means thinking to yourself, 'have I got a couple of papers in my pocket?' almost every time you go to the factory toilet for a smoke, or go down to the pub or the union meeting or out shopping. It also means making sure that all the main factories in the area are covered by sellers one morning each week and that the town centre is covered at weekends. It means always remembering that SW is our organiser, organising ourselves to send the occasional article in on a Monday, to get our copies on Wednesday or Thursday and then to sell them, and organising the buyers because it's always full of suggestions as to what they should do. Today, it also organises our readers by making them SW Supporters. And it is much more against the stream because our attack is primarily directed against the Labour Government than when we were campaigning to Kick out the Tories.

So of course we must stress again that selling Socialist Worker is a priority and each branch and District should set about reaching the average of ten copies per member as rapidly as possible.

PORTUGAL SOLIDARITY
WORK

The role of the PWCC

WE HAVE been working closely with members of the PWCC in Britain for the last few months. In particular we have worked hard with them for the Solidarity Demonstration on 20 September. For example, we produced 100,000 leaflets, 60,000 stickers and 12,000 posters.

On the demonstration itself, the majority of those marching had been brought there by the work of revolutionary organisations. Of about 25 trade union banners carried on the march, 20 were there as a result of the efforts of IS members. Of the contingents organised by political groups, IS was by far the largest. IS members, Socialist Worker readers and supporters, far outnumbered the contingents from the Labour Party, the Communist Party or the left sects. We consider that the composition of the demonstration demonstrated both the seriousness with which our organisation takes the work of solidarity with the Portuguese Working Class inside the labour movement and the extent to which we are prepared to back united front activity with reformist and centrist organisations.

We see this type of activity as extremely important. Through united front activity it is possible to draw reformist and stalinist influenced workers into solidarity action while at the same time permitting the ideas and methods of the various organisations to be freely discussed at all levels. We of course do not fear such a debate as we are confident that revolutionary ideas and methods both in the analysis of Portugal and on solidarity work in Britain will prove in practice far superior to the conceptions of reformists, centrists and stalinists.

We did believe that the members of the PWCC in London shared this view.

In practice they behaved very differently. They have moved in such a direction as to provide a platform only for reformist views which defend the 5th, and even the 6th, Provisional government while at the same time deliberately suppressing revolutionary views. The demonstration of 20 September illustrated this clearly.

During the discussions preceding the

demonstration the PWCC members in London insisted, against our strongly expressed views, that the platform be restricted to speakers from Portugal and Angola, a leading British trade unionist, a rank-and-file trade unionist, a 'left' Labour MP and a PWCC speaker (they were supported by the CP, the IMG, Workers Fight and Big Flame).

In reality the platform finally imposed by the PWCC consisted of a speaker from Radio Renascença, the MPLA, a leading CP trade unionist and an ex-minister from the 'left' of the Labour Party, Judith Hart, who subsequently has declared her complete support for Soares.

We had and have no objection to any of these speakers. On the contrary, the presence of speakers from reformist or stalinist organisations forces these parties to mobilise at least some of their support. What we object to is that these speakers should be given a platform without any voice from the revolutionary left in Britain.

Although the speaker from Radio Renascença spoke as a revolutionary, the weight of the British speakers suggested that the demonstration had been called in support of the PCP.

The British CP had been forced to mobilise a section of its support for this demonstration, partly by the pressure from the revolutionary left and partly as an attempt to recover from its own failure to do any solidarity work on Portugal up until now. The Labour Party left managed to mobilise at most 200 people. When the fact that a section of the CP contingent were shouting 'PCP' is added in, it is clear how a demonstration consisting overwhelmingly of revolutionaries was being turned into a demonstration of support for the PCP as a result of the actions of the PWCC comrades in London.

During the demonstration itself we again approached Alvaro Miranda of the PWCC and pointed out to him that we were a majority of the demonstration. We repeated, very firmly, our request for a speaker who would put a revolutionary line on solidarity with Portugal. He again refused.

We then pointed out that our conception of the united front did not include building up an illusory basis of support for reformists and stalinists without any opportunity of reply. We stated that if the PWCC in London refused to allow us to put our point of view in a fraternal fashion from the platform we would be forced to demonstrate our disagreements with reformism from the floor.

It was clear to Miranda that a large

portion of the audience supported our position and were reacting hostilely to what they considered extreme provocation. It was also clear that should our stewards be unable to control them the meeting was likely to end promptly and unpleasantly. He then agreed to allow us a speaker.

However, when it came to introducing the Socialist Worker speaker, Miranda insisted on denouncing us as 'splitters' for wanting our speaker, and accused us of blackmail in our attempts to gain a hearing. In his attempt to prove that it was wrong for a revolutionary organisation with the backing of at least 50 per cent of the audience to demand a speaker he descended to the methods and rhetoric which have long characterised stalinist organisations.

It was, perhaps by accident, perhaps by arrangement, the stalinists in the audience who answered his appeal. A section of the CP attempted to prevent the SW speaker addressing the meeting, attacking him and accusing him of being a fascist and CIA agent. It was only the prompt action of our members who silenced this scum and restored order that prevented the meeting degenerating into a brawl in full view of the capitalist press.

We apologise for dwelling at such length on these details, but we feel that they illustrate the political degeneration of the PWCC in London and could have very serious consequences for the future of solidarity work in Britain.

In the British context we see it as important that the CP be involved in solidarity work. They will not do this willingly. They are as embarrassed by the Portuguese revolution as they are by the Chilean defeat. What they wish to do over Portugal is to go through the motions of solidarity without their members having to do anything in the factories. The limits they wish to set on solidarity are fine sounding resolutions at conferences.

They will have to be forced into solidarity action. It is quite possible that if the PCP accepts attacks on workers as the price for remaining in the government in Portugal they will oppose solidarity action in Britain.

If the CP are to be forced to back their words with actions it will be necessary for us to argue with them politically while at the same time joining with them on concrete solidarity actions. Only in this way can we win the rank and file of the CP to solidarity action and away from the reformist ideas of their leaders.

To refuse a political confrontation with the CP is to play into the hands of reformism. We then would be in the position of mobilising revolutionary workers to give support to reformist politics.

This has long been the position of a number of groups in Britain like the Institute for Workers' Control and the IMG. It has never been the position of the International Socialists.

Those members of the PWCC who have seen fit to remain in London during the Portuguese revolution are following the same line. However much they may claim to be revolutionaries they are, in practice, providing a left-wing cover for the manoeuvres of the reformists in Britain and Portugal.

It is true that when we launched the national campaign on Portugal, we did not ourselves have all the resources necessary to sustain that work. Consequently we relied on to an extent, PWCC speakers, on the information in Our Common Struggle (which we had previously persuaded them to produce, and since assisted in publication), on their links and contacts with Portugal, and in particular with Portuguese workers. At the same time we helped them in a number of ways; the majority of their TU affiliates were won by I 3 members, we also raised money, publicised their bulletin etc.

However, inasmuch as we depended on the PWCC for resources in the past, that situation has now changed. After consistent coverage in the paper and the journal, a series of training schools, every member should be well informed on the situation, and able to raise and discuss the issues. In addition, literally hundreds of comrades have been to Portugal, sending in information at least once a week, another working here fulltime. And we are building the links with Portuguese workers directly - the potential for this work has been shown by the results of the shop stewards delegation to Portugal. We now have a solid basis for concrete solidarity work in Massey Ferguson's, Leyland, and in the building and engineering industries.

In short we now have the ability and the resources to sustain the level of work that the situation in Portugal demands.

Solidarity Work

Our prime duty is to take solidarity with the Portuguese workers revolution out of the straight jacket of sectarian committees.

Portugal develops the press propaganda ably backed by the Labour Party and the TUC will be attempting to mobilise opinion in support of Soares. We will be the only people trying to effectively raise support for the Portuguese workers struggle for power and their autonomous organisation. This will be in opposition to our so called 'labour leaders'. It's imperative that we fight within our labour movement for rank and file support here for the workers organisations in Portugal, On steward Committees, TU branches, Trades Councils etc even LP or CP diehards must be pushed into the position of supporting the Portuguese workers. 'Maybe you disagree with our interpretation of the PSP or CP role but let's at least agree to support the workers own organisations - the workers councils' should be the kind of argument. 'If you don't believe us let's send our own delegation - the RFOC Hands Off Portugal TU Cttee will willingly set such visits up.' It's by such rank and file work that we can build a united front within the class on the issue.

The RFOC call for a Hands Off Portugal Campaign must be supported. Local committees must be based on TU delegates. That is the only way to guarantee that the campaign attempts to relate to class forces. Local committees based on representatives of unrepresentative sects of IMG, Workers Fight, and Uncle Tom Cobly and all is a sure recipe for sterile argument and no action. The local TU delegates committees based around the Hands off Portugal - TU Committee will be open to people of any political grouping but only as a representative of a TU body. This will prevent futile sectarianism and lay the basis for real unity amongst leading sections of the class. Such local committees should be formed around the RFOC's call for:

- *official support for the workers' councils in Portugal and for official blacking against Franco's Spain
- *action against the economic blockade, particularly in British combine committees of companies that operate in Portugal
- *delegations from these combine committees to visit their counterparts in Portugal
- *countering the anti-working class propaganda and distortion that characterises British press coverage of events in Portugal; by selling the RFOC pamphlet 'Hands Off Portugal', through information in local bulletins, the rank and file papers, trade union journals, and shop steward committee bulletins; by reading and selling Our Common Struggle, the bulletin of the PWCC, and by raising funds for Republica, the worker-controlled daily paper in Portugal,
- *work towards a national trade union delegates conference on 'Hands Off Portugal'
- *campaign for commitment to strike action in the event of military intervention and/or

military assistance to counterrevolutionary forces in Portugal.

*raise money for the workers councils

*Blacking of all Spanish trade, goods, and holidays.

Similarly the RFOC's call for all-out TU blacking of all Spanish trade, goods and holidays must be rigorously pursued. Such blacking is an integral part of solidarity with the Portuguese revolution-as the RFOC pamphlet on 'Hands off Portugal' puts it: 'And solidarity with Spanish workers, will not only strengthen them in their struggle against the dictatorship, but will help them to support their Portuguese brothers. The Portuguese ruling class is the weakest in Europe-but the Spanish dictatorship comes a close second. Once these weak links are smashed, the bosses' control throughout Europe will be shaken.....For years union leaders like Jones have boasted of the part they played as international Brigadists during the Spanish Civil War. For years the TUC unions and the TUC have made endless pompous statements in solidarity with Spanish workers. These statements have rarely gone further than the paper they are printed on. When it comes to action, Jones and the rest's fine words disappear into thin air. The most Jones could manage at the TUC in September was a call for 'harrassment' and a boycott of the tourist trade with Spain. Not a word about the hundreds of British companies that operate in Spain. Not a word about the millions of pounds those companies make at the expense of Spanish workers.

It is clear that when it comes to real solidarity with Spanish and Portuguese workers, the rank and file will have to take the lead.'

Previous solidarity campaigns have failed to mobilise real class forces. Eventually the defence of workers' power in Portugal will depend on concrete, effective solidarity from workers internationally. That will mean a movement capable of strike action on the issue of material aid, and so on. A movement with some real muscle. Such a movement will not be built by small committees of sectarians. It can be built by genuine efforts to win TU rank and file commitment. Already the potential for this work has been shown by recent workers' delegations to Portugal. For example, the work done by the shop stewards delegation just returned from Portugal has laid the basis for concrete solidarity work in Massey Ferguson's, Leylands, and sections of the building and engineering industry. Further delegations from the Organising Committee will give that work increased momentum.

SW and its supporters must consistently fight for the Hands off Portugal campaign. In the localities IS members should use SW public meetings on Portugal as a further opportunity to push the notion of a genuine rank and file TU based campaign. The use of SW, SW meetings, supporters groups, SW solidarity work is in no way contradictory to building the RFOC's Hands off Portugal Campaign. It is precisely because Socialist Worker is the only paper that argues for such that it plays

a central role. It's no coincidence that nationally the best attended meetings on Portugal are SW meetings.

Thus supporting the RFOC Hands off Portugal campaign and using SW go together. It's the alternative to downgrading this essential solidarity work into the passivity of unrepresentative committees that have no relation to the class, and no relation to a genuine united front.

Where we stand

The events in Portugal are beginning to spark the imaginations of many workers and students. Over the next few months one of the group's priorities will be solidarity work with Portugal. In factories, offices, schools and colleges comrades will have to argue about what is happening. Apart from a general solidarity position which we must push in TU Branches, we will be involved in detailed discussions about the political situation.

We should welcome the opportunity to argue our politics. The lessons for Britain can be drawn very clearly; we should not waste the opportunity.

There is no doubt that we are the backbone of the solidarity campaign in Britain, that we will, in the months to come, be the only organisation to argue, and mobilise for, British working class solidarity with the Portuguese revolution. We have already produced thousands of posters, leaflets, badges, plus hundreds of articles in SW, pamphlets and journals, and collected £4170.35

We have printed literature for TAP workers in Lisbon airport, brought Portuguese workers and soldiers to speak to British trade unionists, organised delegations of British workers to meet their Portuguese comrades. We formed the majority of the Portugal demonstration.

In short, we have now laid the ground for the offensive, with the solidarity campaign, and with our analysis of the situation in Portugal, outlined in the special issue of the journal 'Portugal at the Crossroads'. We should not be shy of our relationship with the PRP. We have disagreements with them, most seriously of their failure to turn seriously to building a mass revolutionary party. Those disagreements and criticisms have to be open, and have to be argued with the leadership and the rank and file of the PRP - Cliff's pamphlet 'Portugal the Way Ahead' is the beginning of this type of intervention - but the justification of our support for the PRP is sound.

Our analysis and our strategy will certainly bring us under attack and argument from other groups on the left.

The role of the Communist Party is will argued in Portugal at the Crossroads. We should take up the issue with rank and file party members,

The following comments are only on the actually untrue, grossly misleading statements in the article, which is written in an extremely self-righteous tone. The article is packed with snide insinuations such as the one (P3, 3rd para) claiming that members of the PWCC are a bunch of reformists who haven't got the guts to go back to Portugal and fight. Bearing in mind that it is much easier to tell lies than to refute them, comrades should be able to see through the article without much trouble.

Firstly the dishonest and largely untrue account of the events leading up to 20 September demonstration:

There were three organising meetings held before the demonstration which were attended by representatives from CP, IS, IMG, Militant, IWC, Bertrand Russell Foundation, Big Flame and Workers Fight. Throughout these meetings IS were arguing for a speaker from IS and CP on the platform, claiming that the other groups were insignificant and that IS would be mobilising the majority of the demonstration. This was refused. Workers Fight proposed that all organisations participating should be allowed a speaker and that there could be a rally at the beginning of the March with the 'revolutionary left' speakers and the 'big names' would be at the end of the march in Hyde Park. This was generally agreed but finally decided against as impractical as the march was starting from the embarkment where it is impossible to hold a rally. The PWCC then proposed the following platform: two Portuguese speakers, one from Radio Renascença, and a revolutionary soldier; an MPLA representative; two trade unionists (one provided by IS but speaking in his trade union capacity) and one other); a 'left' labour MP, and the PWCC speaker in the Chair. This was unanimously agreed except by IS who said that they would be forced to form their own platform, which was agreed by PWCC and the rest of the organising committee.

We do know, first hand that IS made an attempt to set up a separate platform. Armstrong was having a discussion in a Lisbon cafe with a member of the PWCC's sister committee when the PRP fraction organiser at Lisnave shipyard came in. He said that he had been approached by IS for a speaker for the demonstration. He already knew of the Solidarity Campaign demonstration and was not clear, after speaking to IS, what the problem was. When the situation was explained to him he went straight to the PRP headquarters to report, and IS was refused a speaker.

However, IS consistently refused to confirm whether they were going ahead or not with an alternative platform (although they did inform the police that they were) right up until the marchers entered Hyde Park on the 20th, despite repeated requests for clarification from the PWCC.

On entering the park Harman, Nicholls and Sparks all spoke separately to Miranda demanding a speaker on the basis that they made up half the march. This is not true, although they were by far the largest and best organised contingent with about 1,500 out of some 4,500 marchers. They finally threatened to prevent Hart from speaking if this was not agreed. The PWCC were thus blackmailed into agreeing to their demand in order to avoid the rally breaking up into a fight.

The platform finally consisted of 'Radio Renascença', MPLA, Jack Collins, Judith Hart, and PWCC. The revolutionary soldier was taken ill with appendicitis the day before and was unable to attend.

It is quite true that when introducing the IS speaker (Harman), Miranda explained that he had been blackmailed into allowing an IS speaker and had agreed under duress. Whether he called them splitters as is claimed is unclear because he was being drowned by hysterical screams of 'PRP' from the IS contingent.

It is also true that a small group of Turkish CPers had been chanting 'PCP' at intervals on the march, but the insinuation that Miranda had organised

the quite understandable angry reaction by the CP to IS's behaviour is quite remarkable, as is the attempt to associate him with the abuse shouted by a handful of CPers. The meeting nearly developed into a fight at this stage when the IS stewards physically threatened the CP hecklers and was only stopped by the intervention of PWCC stewards. When Harman finally got on the platform he was almost hysterical and his speech was again drowned by rejoicing shouts of 'PRP'.

The statement that the PWCC are a bunch of reformists who will only provide platforms for supporters of the 6th provisional government is an obvious and blatant lie, as shown by the presence of a Radio Renaissance worker on the platform. Radio Renaissance has been attacked consistently by the 5th and 6th provisional governments with threats to return the station to the Catholic church. In addition, the newsletter of the PWCC Our Common Struggle in Nos 10 and 11 carry long and critical analysis of the 5th and 6th provisional governments.

IS are quite correct in criticising Judith Hart, although it might have been more constructive to describe her speech rather than the activities she has been involved in since then. Here the PWCC openly admit their mistake in inviting her and that it was a serious tactical error. Hart was chosen because she was the most prominent of the MPs who opposed Soares visit to the Labour Party conference. On her return from Portugal at the end of August she in fact was claimed to have quite a good position on Portugal. However, this rapidly reverted, and in the first public meeting she spoke at two days before the demo she defended Soares.

The final point on the demonstration. The striking thing about ISs demand for a speaker is that it is quite clear they decided they wanted a speaker first and invented a 'principle' that there should be a British revolutionary on the platform afterwards to justify it. Given that there was a Portuguese and Angolan speaker on the platform, was it essential apart from boosting IS? As a general rule organisations participating in a demonstration are expected to be at least minimally disciplined about it. IS were disgracefully disruptive.

The CP.

IS criticise the PWCC for refusing a political confrontation with the CP. They also say that the CP should be forced into activity on Portugal. This is not contradictory within the context of attempting to build up a serious united front on the issue, but the behaviour of IS has only helped to disrupt united action. The position of the PWCC here is rather awkward since they took the initiative in organising the Solidarity Campaign and are therefore not elected representatives and have to carry the Campaign at least until the February conference.

All this having been said, the PWCC deserve some criticism for trying to blow over differences in the interests of unity.

Finally, the statement that IS persuaded the PWCC to publish CCS is a gross lie. They had no say in the decision at all. Their only contribution was to typeset the first four printed issues.