

FIGHT RACISM!

FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group
Incorporating Hands Off Ireland!

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REPUBLICAN NEWS

HUNGER STRIKE ENDS

On Saturday 3 October the hunger strike of Irish POWs in H-Block Long Kesh concentration camp ended before the demands of the prisoners had been met. The ending of the hunger strike is a defeat for the prisoners and a setback for the national liberation struggle. Throughout the hunger strike the prisoners showed their courage and determination in the battle for political recognition. Ten of them gave their lives. The Irish people showed their unswerving support over seven months fighting against a barrage of bourgeois lies, against RUC/British army/Gardai brutality, against the slaughter of men, women and children by plastic bullets.

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TUC and Labour Party Conferences



**LABOUR IMPERIALISTS
LOOK AFTER
THEMSELVES**

The 1981 Trades Union Congress met as unemployment was nudging the three million mark. Commenting on the TUC's loss of half a million members in 1981, leader Len Murray smugly remarked 'If we lost one million members to some other organisation, another TUC, that would be a matter of great concern, but there is no other TUC'. So no concern, only utter contempt for working people.

The Congress debated the Brandt report on so-called 'development' of oppressed nations. The report calls for greater cooperation between the imperialist nations ('the North') and oppressed nations ('the South'): 'How well known is it that a large share of jobs in the North depends in selling to the South, or that many goods would be more expensive to Northern consumers without these imports.' Keen to save his members' jobs at the expense of the poor and starving, Terry Duffy of the AUEW Engineering Union argued: 'Anything we can do to protect weaker economies... is good for them and good for us... if we fail the Third World we will fail ourselves.'

Congress unanimously voted for mandatory sanctions against South Africa. This was just lip-service, for the TUC has several hundred

thousand pounds invested in firms profiting from apartheid. The hypocrisy, the support in words and betrayal in deed was further underlined by the decision of Terry Duffy and Bill Sirs of the steel union to make an official visit to South Africa. This was justified by the most disgusting racism. 'We have black affiliates who desperately need our assistance. The objective is to pull them out of the dark ages and provide the sort of training shop stewards have here', argued Boss Sirs. He was also afraid that British imperialism might lose out to its competitors: 'If we imposed sanctions, the French and the Germans would be in there making a meal of it, at the cost of many thousands of jobs in this country.'

Racist contempt oozed from every pore. Dur-

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DEMOCRACY FOR THE RICH REPRESSION FOR THE POOR

'You say your state is free, whereas in reality as long as there is private property, your state... is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers.'

'There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law... in case of a 'violation of public order' and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner.' (Lenin)

The British ruling class has swept aside any pretence of democracy in meeting the first real challenge for decades to its rule at home. The thin veneer of British democracy has disappeared leaving the state exposed as the repressive force it actually is. First in Ireland, now in Britain, the challenge to its rule has been met with brutal force.

Thousands are coming to see that the state is a machine for the systematic suppression of the working class by the wealthy parasites that rule Britain. And that the power of the state consists of 'special bodies of armed men' - the army and

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FRFI SELLERS FINED

In a serious attack on the democratic right to sell socialist newspapers two of the Leeds 3 have been found guilty of peddling without a licence - this for selling FRFI door-to-door in Chapeltown. Additionally they were found guilty on charges of obstruction and threatening behaviour. The fines total £220.

Stipendiary Magistrate Loy delivered these verdicts making no bones about the political reasons for them. He said that it was an offence to sell newspapers in Chapeltown saying that Chapeltown was a very 'sensitive area'. In other words it is illegal to sell a newspaper which supports the fight against racism to the residents of Chapeltown. And the residents of Chapeltown

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HUNGER STRIKERS' RELATIVES VISIT LONDON

Interview with Francis Hurson

The interview below was recorded in London Saturday 19 September – two weeks before the hunger strike ended. Francis Hurson is the brother of Martin Hurson. He was in London with a mass delegation of relatives who came to show their support for the prisoners.

In the interview Francis Hurson makes clear why young working class men like Martin Hurson take up the armed struggle against British imperialism in Ireland. He also shows why they are prepared to give their lives in the struggle for political status.

FRFI Can you just start by telling us about your brother, Martin Hurson, and how he got involved in the struggle?

Francis Hurson My mother died when Martin was 14 years of age. He worked at an engineering works when he left school, then he worked at Powerscourt. He spent two years in England to work. But the work was very scarce and he came back to the North of Ireland. When he came back the British army and the RUC started to harass him. Everytime he went out he was stopped by the British army and the UDR and the RUC. Many's the time he was took out of the car and beat up and arrested on the road and taken to Omagh Barracks. That carried on for quite a while till he said to himself 'Well I have got enough of this' and went and joined the IRA. Why he joined the IRA was he thought the British government shouldn't be in Ireland. The British forces and the British army shouldn't be beating people up on the roads. He thought the Irish people could live together – Catholics and Protestants.

In 1976, when he was 22, he was arrested. They came at 6.00 in the morning and beat him up in his own bedroom. They took him to Omagh and kept him three days. He was there the same time as James Joseph Rafferty who had to be taken to Omagh hospital because he got that bad a beating in Omagh barracks. He was charged and got 20 years in a Diplock court where there was no jury. He was charged first of all with an explosion near his home. The night of that explosion he was sitting at home. They would not let his neighbours into court to give evidence to prove that Martin was innocent...

FRFI You mean the witnesses were prevented from giving evidence?

FHG They wouldn't let them into the court. He appealed and got a retrial. They dropped the original charge but while they had him in Omagh they had also taken him to Cookstown where they



got a statement. He was charged again on this statement and got 20 years. They said he wasn't beaten up in Cookstown. This was because they beat him in Omagh but took the statement in Cookstown. He had political status for six months but it was taken off him so he went on the blanket protest.

He was on the blanket and then two years on the dirty protest. I visited him when he was on the blanket protest and I visited him in Long Kesh hospital. He got that bad a beating on the blanket protest that his back was hurt, his toes broken and his face all cut and he was hospitalised. I visited him before the hunger strike started and he said he was going on hunger strike because he could stick the pressure no longer and the treatment he was getting in there. He told me he was going on hunger strike to get his five demands and that there were 300 men across the wall that had political status which the British government took off the other prisoners. He said 'We will have the same five demands that the other prisoners have got'.

I saw him a fortnight before he died and I didn't know my brother because he was so weak and I said 'Are you prepared to carry this hunger strike to the death?' and he says 'I am prepared to carry this hunger strike to death because I will not go back to the life and the beatings I got. I will not go through that again'. He died after 46 days on hunger strike.

The night he died they wouldn't let me into the prison and they told me that he was fine. He died in the early hours of the morning. I heard he was dead on the news. They wouldn't even ring me to tell me he was dead. I asked to see my brother's body and they told me it wasn't there and we couldn't get it. They said there would leave the body at an unknown destination and ring us. Then they told us it was it Omagh hospital. I went to Omagh and they said I couldn't have the body because I was half-an-hour late! They kept me three hours waiting for the body.

FRFI The British government and the media say the prisoners are just criminals and murderers. What would you say to that?

FH These prisoners are not criminals. They would not be in Long Kesh if it wasn't for British rule in Ireland. We have been tramped down for 800 years. This is why we are putting up so big a fight because we want rid of England. Then the Catholic and Protestant people can live in peace. A lot of Protestant people came to Martin's funeral and they told me that until Ireland was united this fight will go on.

FRFI Some people have said that the IRA should give up the armed struggle and pursue their campaign for a united Republic of Ireland by peaceful constitutional means. What would you say to that?

FH We have been 12 months peaceful and we have had peaceful marches in the North of Ireland. I can't see that being peaceful is any good. I think, and a lot of people in the North of Ireland think, there should be more militant action took against Britain. Until Britain is pressurised out of Ireland by the gun and the bullet no way is she going to move.

FRFI We've been working to build up support amongst the British working class. We've found that among the most oppressed sections of the British working class, especially black workers, there is tremendous sympathy for the Irish people's struggle. Can you say how people in the Six Counties felt when they heard about the risings over here?

FH The people in the Six Counties were very glad when they heard about the troubles starting over here. They said it didn't last long enough to show that Maggie Thatcher does not care about the working class people here either. And the working class people should not care about her, because she is tramping them down too. I would say to the working class people of Britain 'Stand up and fight for your rights because you'll not get your rights unless you fight for them'. That's what the people of the Six Counties are doing at this minute. Get out on the streets and fight.

FRFI Francis, on behalf of FRFI I offer you our deepest sympathy and condolences on the murder of your brother Martin Hurson. We will continue our work to build a working class anti-imperialist movement in Britain. Heroes who give their lives on behalf of the oppressed, as your brother and his nine comrades have done, will always live in the hearts of all those who suffer under imperialism. We know that when the prisoners win political status it will be a victory for the working class in Britain. We pledge our full solidarity with you in the struggle to defeat British imperialism.

FH That's lovely.

Interview recorded in London Saturday 19 September 1981.



Four day tour of relatives

On Thursday 17 September 92 relatives of Irish POWs arrived in London for a four-day tour. They came to show their support for the hunger strike and to denounce the lies spread by the British ruling class about the hunger strike. The delegation was organised by the National H-Block/ Armagh Committee (Ireland). Events in London were organised by the London H-Block/Armagh Committee and Sinn Fein.

On Thursday afternoon a press conference was held in the Conway Hall. All the major dailies, BBC TV, ITV, LBC, foreign press and TASS were present. The relatives declared their full support for the hunger strike. Mrs Livingstone, mother of fourteen year old Julie Livingstone murdered by a British army plastic bullet, recounted the army/RUC harassment of herself and her family. Other families exposed the daily terror they suffer from British imperialism. This truth was too much for the assembled hacks who reported little or nothing of what they had heard.

The highpoint of the trip was a public rally in Camden Irish Centre on Thursday evening. More



than 500, mainly Irish workers, packed into the rally. Owen Carron, Goretti McDonnell and other speakers received standing ovations. Maura McCrory, Relatives Action Committee and National H-Block Armagh Committee, spoke on the campaign. She declared that the campaign had wasted its time chasing after the SDLP, Fitzgerald and other traitors. 'We must go down among the plain people of Ireland and the plain people of England' she said. She brought the audience to its feet when, denouncing Thatcher's 'a crime is a crime is a crime' statement, she said 'We don't like to see lives lost on either side of the fence but A WAR IS A WAR IS A WAR!' The size and enthusiasm of the rally showed that a campaign could have been built in Britain.

Friday was spent lobbying. Saturday saw a street rally in Kilburn and a vigil at Downing Street where hundreds gathered to show their support for the prisoners and the relatives.

TM

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SOUTH AFRICA

TUC SCAB VISIT



Bill Sirs' and Terry Duffy's decision to visit South Africa, against the wishes of South Africa's black workers and in direct opposition to the TUC Conference motion to isolate apartheid, is a further step in the racist British trade union leadership's collaboration with apartheid.

Since the notorious 1973 TUC delegation to meet white trade unionists, the TUC has tolerated other visits. Its acceptance of this one only confirms again its readiness to back imperialism and apartheid. The TUC which has thousands of pounds from its pension funds invested in companies operating in South Africa and which has never conducted a serious campaign for sanctions is part of the imperialist machinery sucking the blood of black workers. As John Gaetsewe, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions said in an interview to FRFI:

'We cannot at any stage isolate the going there by these trade unionists to South Africa from the operations of those companies that are operating there. In our opinion they are going there to show South Africa, to show the regime, to show the white people who are in fact voting for this kind of Government that,

well, we are with you.'

Bill Sirs, who opposes the call for sanctions on South Africa said:

'If we impose sanctions, the French and Germans would be in there making a meal of it, at the cost of many thousands of jobs in this country.'

This racist parasite and his TUC cohorts, have stood by whilst unemployment in Britain reached 3m. Now Sirs defends British capitalism in South Africa against German and French capitalism in the name of British workers! John Gaetsewe, despite Sirs, explains why British workers have every interest in imposing sanctions on South Africa.

'A resolution (for sanctions - FRFI) of this kind is vitally important not only as far as we are concerned but as far as British workers are concerned. Why does it concern British workers? Here, a lot of money has been invested in South Africa and the investments in South Africa go to such an extent that in many cases big firms, which originate from this country having branches in South Africa, ... close down here and expand in South Africa. And the reason is not that they love black people more than the European or the British, at all. The real reason is that in South Africa under

these repressive measures they can afford to make more profit in that country.'

In concluding his interview John Gaetsewe said

'The most important thing I would like to emphasise is that the world is faced with the system of apartheid in South Africa. We can only repeat what we have said in the past. We have realised that in this revolution of ours the support that South Africa is getting from overseas entrenches the system in South Africa. It enables South Africa to buy arms to kill the black people when they are resisting the system. It enables South Africa to buy planes and much other equipment for the purpose of not only undermining the existence of the black people in South Africa but also in Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and many other neighbouring countries. That is the reason why we want this political and economic support withdrawn. If it is withdrawn the undermining of the existence of neighbouring countries will not be able to go as it is today. So call upon the workers to resist anything else but particularly to follow up in words and deeds the resolution that was adopted by the TUC in Blackpool.'

FRFI fully supports this call and urges all readers and supporters to fight to stop the racist visit.

SACTU STATEMENT

Bill Sirs, General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Confederation (UK) in a statement to *The Guardian* on 24 September 1981, explained his reason for breaking the sanctions against racist South Africa by going there together with Terry Duffy, President of the AUEW Engineering, on an IMF (International Metalworkers Federation) organised tour. He said: 'We have black affiliates who desperately need our assistance. The objective is to pull them out of the dark ages and provide the sort of training shop stewards have here.'

In fact, the people who need to be pulled out of the 'dark ages' are the apartheid regime and its allies who consistently exploit and oppress black workers! The racist statement made by Bill Sirs is indicative of his past record. Some officials of the IMF are well known for their support of the illegal minority regimes in Southern Africa. We know that while the whole world supported the total isolation against Smith's regime in Zimbabwe, some of the IMF saw fit to continue working in that country, and are very proud of this betrayal! We have on our files evidence that the IMF sees as a priority the need to placate the apartheid regime. It is for this reason that the IMF has been boycotted by the independent black trade unions inside South Africa on various occasions.

It is therefore not surprising that while the TUC, less than three weeks ago, has unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the total isolation of South Africa, Bill Sirs, Terry Duffy and the IMF see fit to ignore and defy this stand taken by the workers of Britain.

While black workers in South Africa are committed to international working class solidarity and call on their fellow workers for support, they do not need to be 'pulled out of the dark ages' by Bill Sirs or anybody else. Indeed black workers have been organising themselves into trade unions for many decades despite the harsh repression from the apartheid regime.

The Guardian reports that Bill Sirs spoke about 'three black workers who were promoted to foremen by the German electrical company, Siemens'. These multinational companies have been operating in our country since the turn of the century, and in all that time Bill Sirs boasts of the promotion of three black workers! Is Bill Sirs going to South Africa to have another three black workers promoted?

We call on the members of unions affiliated to the IMF, and members of unions which Bill Sirs and Terry Duffy represent to strictly adhere to the resolutions adopted at the TUC. This insult to the workers of South Africa should not go unchallenged!

An injury to one is an injury to all!

John Gaetsewe
General Secretary
24 September 1981

Stop Press

Following mounting and angry protests from the South African Congress of Trade Unions and anti-apartheid forces in Britain, Sirs and Duffy have called off their visit to South Africa. The cancellation is not due to any change of heart by these scabs, but is the result of their fear of the reception they would have received from the black masses in South Africa.

IN BRIEF

ANC Six

Six ANC members - Naphtali Manana, Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo, Anthony Tsotsobe, David Moise and Johannes Shabangu are awaiting execution in the death cells of South African jails. The ANC is campaigning to save their lives and to win POW status for black freedom fighters. FRFI readers are urged to send messages of protest to: South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square and to South African PM, PW Botha, Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa, demanding an end to all hangings and POW status for captured freedom fighters.

ANC trial

Four ANC members Norman Yengeni, Edward Mbulu, David Linda Manpane and Eddie Bafana Khumalo are being tried under South Africa's Terrorism Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act. The defendants' representatives stated in court that '50 years of peaceful knocking at the door by the ANC' had achieved nothing and that in carrying out work for the ANC's struggle, these young men had been led by the most lofty ideals. The courage and fearlessness of the 4 was demonstrated in court as they sang freedom songs in the dock before the court started, raising their fists with shouts of Amandla! and Mayibuye i Afrika!

Tear Gas

The South African government has added to the armoury of weapons available to capitalist companies from the 'free world'. On 17 July, South African 'Justice' minister Coetsee announced that the Tear Gas Act of 1964 is being amended to empower local authorities and private companies to use tear gas. Any company employing 100 workers or over will be able to use tear gas against workers who go on strike. British companies, which have used every repressive facility provided by the apartheid state to squeeze out profits from black workers, will now have an additional weapon to try and smash black workers' resistance.

Skilled immigrants

The apartheid regime, rather than recruit and train its 4m black unemployed workers, is engaged in an international campaign to recruit skilled labour. This year 40,000 immigrants are expected in South Africa. Nearly 20,000 will be from Britain.

HANDS OFF ANGOLA

The racist South African armed forces which invaded Angola in August are now occupying Angolan territory. 11,000 South African troops are digging in and consolidating their hold over Angola's southern province of Kunene. Here the apartheid regime hopes to build a buffer zone along the Namibian border and pass control to the South African backed gangsters of UNITA, and thus transform Kunene into a counter-revolutionary bastion to be used both against SWAPO and the Angolan government. Meanwhile, attacks deep into Angola continue to take their toll of death and destruction. Already as a result of the August invasion, 50,000 refugees have been forced to flee Kunene, where South African troops used napalm bombs against the population, and where they shot and stabbed to death hospital patients.

The imperialist powers, the USA and Britain in particular, having encouraged the invasion, are now using South Africa's military advantage, to push through yet another imperialist plan to end the Namibian war of liberation. Immediately following the invasion, US Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, got British, French, German, Canadian and South African agreement for a series of 'modifications' to the UN Resolution 435 on Namibia. Troops from the 5 imperialist powers are to form the bulk of UN 'peace keeping troops' during independence elections, whilst SWAPO is to be permitted no bases in Namibia and its Angolan bases subjected to UN 'supervision'. Thus the apartheid and collaborationist forces of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance will be free to intimidate and terrorise the Namibian people prior to the elections. The plan also requires that any Namibian constitution include constitutional guarantees for white imperialist economic and political interests. If SWAPO were to win the elections, it would have to commit itself to refusing support, assistance and bases to the African National Congress (South Africa). In addition Namibia's only deep water port, Walvis Bay, is to be considered part of South African territory and negotiations about it will take place after independence.

The weapon to be used to force the frontline states and SWAPO to accept this travesty of independence which politically and economically binds Namibia to imperialism, will be the South African occupation of Kunene. With Kunene a reactionary imperialist stronghold ready to wreak further damage and destruction against Angola,

ready to intervene against SWAPO if imperialism is not obeyed, the US and Britain are trying to deny the Namibian people their right to self-determination, and undermine the revolutionary regime of Angola.

In the meantime, South Africa continues its savage repression against the Namibian people. It now resorts to what South African troops call 'rape and capture' - subjecting SWAPO women sympathisers and supporters to multiple rape and then sending them to concentration camps. Alongside the brutal repression, goes the strengthening of the DTA. Imperialism will spare no effort to try and completely crush SWAPO in order to do away with any 'plan' which allows SWAPO to participate in independence elections.

These imperialist schemes, along with the South African occupation of Kunene makes impossible any genuine independence for Namibia. With the establishment of a South African/UNITA controlled buffer zone in Kunene imperialism is preparing its long term strategy to destroy both SWAPO and the Angolan government. Communists in Britain denounce these measures and call for:

Immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola

Victory to the MPLA
Victory to SWAPO

End British collaboration with apartheid

Eddie Abrahams

LEEDS vicious fines

continued from page one

are to have their right to buy communist and anti-racist literature interfered with by this one Stipendiary Magistrate as well as by the racist Chapeltown police.

Loy showed his disregard for truth and justice throughout the case. The police case was an obvious tissue of lies. Under questioning PCs Barnes and Wray repeatedly contradicted themselves. PC Barnes, when asked who could have committed the breach of the peace which the behaviour of Gordon Teal was alleged potentially to provoke, was in great difficulty. At the time there were only 7 and 8 year old children on the street. He suggested that the children *might* have gone home and *might* have enticed their parents on to the streets who *might* have committed a breach of the peace. This he said was a very common occurrence. The defence case, ably argued by barrister Courtney Griffiths, showed that the two were simply and peacefully selling FRFI when the police arrived, assaulted one and arrested both of them.

Loy also chose to ignore the fact that the police fabricated the record of interrogation. Gordon Teal was even alleged in this to have said he was 'sorry for taking a swing at them' - something which he did not do and did not say. Moreover he was himself *twice* punched by the police! Defence witnesses attested to the conduct of the FRFI sellers and said they were always glad to buy and read FRFI.



But none of this mattered to Loy. In Britain, a so-called 'free' country, we see what that 'freedom' means. A single Magistrate is free to fine socialist newspaper sellers £220 and make it technically illegal for them to sell FRFI. And the FRFI supporters? They are 'free' to be arrested when they sell. And the residents of Chapeltown? They are 'free' to be harassed and abused by the police and 'free' to have their reading matter chosen for them. We don't want such 'freedom'. We want and demand the right to distribute working class literature, like FRFI.

FRFI tells the truth about the courts, the police and the prisons. And we will fight against all those who try to suppress this truth. FRFI will be sold in Chapeltown. A campaign will be mounted

LIVERPOOL Conspiracy against Paul Conroy

A conspiracy has been hatched by the Merseyside police to frame Paul Conroy on a charge of throwing two petrol bombs on the morning he had his back broken as a police jeep drove at him and crushed him against a wall in Falkner. Readers will remember that he was savagely beaten afterwards, and that for four days, the police had a 24-hour guard on him in his hospital bed.

On Thursday 17 September, the police took him from his bed, and made him appear in court in his pyjamas, slippers and dressing gown, insisting to the magistrate that he be remanded forthwith in Risley. Yet until that time, neither Paul, nor his family, nor his solicitor knew when he was to be discharged from hospital. The police had conspired with the Royal Liverpool hospital administration to ensure that the actual time of discharge would be known only to the police. The first his mother knew was when the police arrived at their home to pick up some clothes for him to wear in Risley. She immediately contacted the solicitor and went to court, where she arrived just in time to successfully protest at any attempt to remand him in custody. He is now on a 7pm to 8am curfew.

This police conspiracy also involves the local media. Neither the local radio station, or the *Post/Echo* reported what had happened. This despite the fact that a *Post/Echo* reporter visited Paul later. Paul has his whole trunk encased in plaster - from high up his neck to down below his waist. It is difficult for him to move, he cannot walk without a stick, he is in constant pain, and needs medical treatment still. Yet the Merseyside police, in their unlimited villainy wanted him put out of the way in Risley. The reason for this is simple: they did not want the people of Liverpool to know what was happening to Paul Conroy. They are determined to frame him, to justify the action which could have killed him, let alone maimed him. They have got to explain away their murder of David Moore, they could scarcely accuse him of being a petrol-bomber. But this is what they hope to get away with in Paul Conroy's case.

The sordid conspiracies of the police can only

work if kept secret. Naturally, the capitalist press, owned by the same class the police protect and defend, are willing accomplices. The *Post/Echo* censored the news of Paul's charge, and the circumstances in which it occurred, because they knew that there would be outrage in Liverpool 8, and throughout the country. The only report was filed by a sympathetic journalist with *The Guardian*. But the police conspiracy will not work. Paul is determined to fight the frame-up, and to fight in solidarity with the people of Liverpool 8.

Robert Clough

Witnesses fear retaliation

Because of the threat of police retaliation, only one witness to the murder of David Moore has come forward.

Ivan Freeman arranged to visit a solicitor to deliver a statement. When he arrived there were 3 policemen there. They made it clear they were not there to take statements but to arrest him for being allegedly involved in the Uprising. They then attempted to take him to Cheapside but Ivan threw them off and ran back to Liverpool 8. A few days later he received a note that his flat would be burned. Wisely, he took the precaution of moving his valuables out. A short time afterwards it was smashed to pieces by the police. Such are the methods they will employ to cover up their murders.

to ensure that democratic rights are defended. The Leeds 3 will appeal.

Dora Browne, the third FRFI supporter involved, goes to trial on 3 November. Her 'crime' was simply to visit the police station about Gordon Teal and Bill Bolloten. For this she was arrested, abused and insulted.

Support the picket of the court. Leeds Town Hall 3 November 10.00am.

Money and support for the Leeds 3 is urgently needed. Send money to Leeds 3 Defence Campaign, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Cheques/POs should be made payable to Leeds 3 Defence Campaign.

Anne Harris second hunger strike

With astonishing courage Mrs Anne Harris has gone on hunger strike for the second time in protest at the attempt to frame her for throwing petrol bombs and arson during the Liverpool uprising.

She went on hunger strike for six days when she was initially refused bail after being arrested on the weekend of 28/29 July. When she came to committal on 16 September two extra charges were added to the original one of throwing a petrol bomb, including one of arson. The next day she was back on hunger strike and by 3 October had been without food for seventeen days.

Mrs Harris who is 39 and has hypertension, has 3 children, one of whom is a direct dependent and has been put in care. Anne Harris is adamant that she will fight for her rights; that she will not be framed. Typically, the press has censored this in the same way they censored the treatment of Paul Conroy. There has been only one small item in the *Echo* and that was on 19 September. FRFI hails the courage of Mrs Anne Harris. Of such courage are real revolutionary movements built. We send her greetings and pledge our full support for her. We call on all people to fight for the support she has the right to expect.

**Free Anne Harris!
Drop the charges now!**

Liverpool night of terror

For 18 year old Donna McCoy the night of 28/29 July was one of absolute terror. It began when she saw a crowd round the appallingly injured body of police victim David Moore.

She tried to get assistance for him then waited by his body until an ambulance came. Distraught she went to a friend's home and at 1 am felt well enough to go home.

On her way she was attacked three times by the police. First, a policeman smashed his baton across her ear and abused her. Second, a band of six or seven police hit her with truncheons, kicked and abused her. Still trying to get home she was finally grabbed by one policeman whilst a second spat in her face. She was thrown into a meat wagon where she was again beaten and threatened repeatedly with rape.

Charged with threatening behaviour Donna was found guilty by a racist Magistrate who ignored the inconsistencies and lies in police evidence. She was fined £250 and given a 3 month suspended sentence. She now intends to appeal.

Robert Clough

FIGHT RACISM! IN BRIEF

Deportation threat - Aziz Malik

On Saturday 26 September, in pouring rain, over 40 people picketed Armley Gaol in Leeds in support of Aziz Malik, a young Asian man from Dewsbury threatened with deportation. Aziz Malik came to England in 1971 and the Home Office are claiming that there were 'irregularities' in his entry. Aziz was arrested on the 18 August and almost deported without any hearing whatsoever on 22 August. However, a campaign demanding Aziz Malik's freedom has the support of the Dewsbury and Batley Asian Youth Organisation. Anwar Ditta has also pledged her support. Further support is urgently needed. Contact: Friends of Aziz Malik, c/o 104 Commercial Street, Batley, West Yorkshire. Alison Scott

Deportation threat - Mumtaz Kiani

The Bradford black community is once again under attack. A thirty-three year old Pakistani woman, Mumtaz Kiani, and her two British-born children, Attia and Nadia have been told they must leave Britain. Mrs Kiani came Britain in 1975 as a visitor. In 1977 she married Mohamad Younis Kiani. In May 1978 Mrs Kiani was given indefinite leave to remain in the UK. The Home Office are now saying that she has been here without leave since 1977 and are trying to deport her. Mrs Kiani's appeal against the deportation order, which was due to be heard on 17 September, has been adjourned by the Home Office because immigration officials say they cannot fully explain their case at the moment!

Send your messages of solidarity, support and donations to: Mumtaz Kiani Defence Committee, c/o 4th Idea Bookshop, 14 Southgate, Bradford 1.

Jenefer Kent

Forced confessions

Statements given to Manchester FRFI by black youths show that police brutality in Hulme and Moss Side is increasing. Beatings and intimidation are frequently used to extract fake confessions. T, a black youth, was with 3 other young people in a car which was stopped. Taken to the police station, he tells what happened there:

'They took us to the cells and kept knocking us about. A sergeant whacked me in the face and threw me on a table which then collapsed. I could hear my mate getting slapped and they kneed him in the eye. First they said the car was stolen but we proved it wasn't. Then they wanted to charge us with siphoning petrol. In the end, just to get them off my back I admitted to it. I didn't sign a statement though and in court I pleaded not guilty. Since the riots the police are more open about hitting people, they are just stopping people on the streets and hitting them.' These experiences contain an important warning. However hard, it is vital *not* to give way and make statements to the police. The cost of a false confession can be a long gaol sentence. Say nothing and demand your right to a solicitor.

Day of Action case

Hughie Wood was arrested on the Black Peoples' Day of Action on 2 March. As the police charged through the demonstration, Hughie, a rasta, dropped his bible. As he stooped to pick it up he was grabbed by the police and was flung into a police van. He was charged with possessing an offensive weapon, a shovel he was supposed to have thrown at the police, and breach of the peace. At an earlier hearing Hughie was told by police that the offensive weapon charge was to be dropped, thus keeping the case in a magistrates court, without the right to elect trial at crown court.

However in court the magistrate told the police that she would not allow them to drop the offensive weapon charge. The magistrate was not interested in why the police had dropped the charge of offensive weapon or in how Hughie was supposed to have waved a shovel in the air with both hands whilst holding a bible. Hughie was found guilty and fined £30 on each charge.

The police are trying to keep cases arising from the Black People's Day of Action and the uprisings in the magistrates courts where they can rely on convictions. Lambeth Magistrates court, for example, has a 100% conviction rate in these cases. Hughie will be appealing against the convictions.

CO

BRADFORD

DEFEND THE BRADFORD 12

In the case of the Bradford 12, the state and the courts are going to all lengths of viciousness to beat them down. The 12, members and supporters of the United Black Youth League, have now had further charges added to the two conspiracy charges they all face. All 12 have additionally been charged with unlawfully making explosives under the 1883 Explosives Act. One has also been charged with theft and another with receiving stolen goods. By these new charges the state has made even more clear its determination to go for extremely heavy sentences against the 12.

As a recent statement by the UBYL says:

'The UBYL, because of its political activities of fighting racism, its resistance to fascism and carrying forward the anti-imperialist struggle, has been made a victim of political persecution by the state police. It must be recognised that it is the ultimate aim of these oppressive forces, who have long shown a dislike of our activity, to ensure a total destruction of our organisation.'

This is the first time that 'conspiracy' laws have been used on an organisation formed by a section of the Black working class. Therefore the threat of destruction to our organisation is NOW a threat to us all.'

Every effort has been made to obstruct the legal rights of the 12. While fascist thugs, on charges of conspiracy to attack Asian homes, have been speedily granted bail, the racist Bradford magistrates have for over two months refused to give bail to the 12. Their solicitors are now even refused the right to apply for it. So far only three of the 12 have been granted bail - this by the High Court. Bail conditions are harsh: sureties of £3,000 for each, a dusk to dawn curfew and a ban on them taking part in any political activity.

The state cannot cover up the fact that the Bradford 12 are on trial for their political views and their struggle against racism. Thus when one of the 12 unsuccessfully tried to get bail at the High Court, the prosecution opposition to this took the form of a discussion of the political activities of the youth and also the work of the defence campaign.

Bradford Magistrates Court is acting as the most enthusiastic backer of the police frame-up. Thus when two of the 12, Sabir Hussein and

Messages of support and donations to the campaign: LAP Box JK, 59, Cookridge Street, Leeds 1.

Support weekly picket of Bradford Magistrates Court. Every Thursday at 9.30am.

Giovanni Singh attempted to change their solicitor from the police mercenary 'duty solicitor' they had been given, the Magistrate at first refused to allow them to choose a solicitor from outside Bradford. When the two insisted on being represented by who they wished - legal aid was withdrawn.

The police and the authorities have also shown their fear of the potentially enormous support for the 12 which exists in the working class in Bradford. Hence the arrest of Bill Bolloten at a street meeting in support of the Bradford 12 which FRFI was holding. No word of truth must be allowed to escape in the case of the Bradford 12!

Meanwhile, nine continue to be incarcerated in the hell-holes of Armley and Thorpe Arch prisons, where visits from friends and relatives and the youths' access to reading materials continues to be obstructed. Their weekly visits for remand hearing at Bradford Magistrates Court are a complete farce. Every week the state delays moving the case towards committal proceedings. The real reason for the delay is the state's preparation for a major show trial. They want the maximum time to prepare their frame-up and to try and break the spirit of the 12. The 9 remaining on remand have shown their contempt for this char-

Supporters attacked

Since the arrest of the Bradford 12 there have been numerous attacks against their supporters. These have included the firebombing of Textile Hall, the arrest of an FRFI supporter on a street meeting and also the slashing of the tyres of an Asian community leader's car. Now the racists have attempted murder. Recently two Defence Committee members were crossing a road late at night when suddenly a parked car pulled out and accelerated towards them. Both were forced to run for the pavement - the car hurtling towards them and mounting the pavement in a blatant attempt to run them over. Both narrowly escaped death or serious injury but sustained cuts and bruises.

ade by refusing to come into court from their cells at the remand hearings.

Only a massive campaign will prevent the Bradford 12 being imprisoned for years. As the mother of Massood Malik, one of the 12, has said:

'We should have a national demonstration in Bradford. Close the transport down and all the shops. I am only a woman. If I was a man I would smash them all up. I feel so angry.'

BB

DPP Picket

On Monday 14 September, 200 people outside the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) in London demanded that there be no more police frame-ups and that all charges against the Bradford 12 be dropped. This national picket was held by the July 11th Action Committee, Bradford, and supported by the Free the Bradford 12 London Support Group, the Southall Youth Movement, Brixton and Hornsey Defence Committees, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! North London, South London and Leeds, the RCP and by black and white people from throughout England.

Luton defence against racist attacks

The black community in Luton has formed a Defence Committee to combat the rapid increase in racist attacks. At a meeting on October 3rd called in support of the Bradford 12, local people from Marsh Farm, Farley Hill, Lewsey Farm and Houghton Regis told of early morning firebombings; attacks on the Mosque and Temples; a murder attempt by a hit and run vanload of racists on a Muslim leaving the Mosque, who was seriously injured; window smashing and daubings; attacks on women and children; and broad daylight stab-bings.

Angry and fearful for their families' safety, the black residents have gone to the police only to be laughed at, ignored, threatened with arrest and told 'If it's so bad why don't you go back home.'

Mr Qureshi was arrested on September 7, the day his shop was looted by racists. Bailed under 10pm curfew restrictions two days later, he found his shop fired. At 3am on October 2nd, still under curfew and at his home, his shop was fired yet again. That evening the police came and searched his house, and arrested him with all his belongings. He remains in custody 'under suspicion' of setting fire to his own shop! In contrast a racist who stabbed a black man nearly to death in Houghton Regis has been given immediate bail.

The Committee is organising defence work and can be contacted at Luton CDC, 182 Dunstable Rd. Luton.

Tony Sheridan

YOUTH REVOLT IN WIDNES

In a significant escalation of state repression, ten white youth have been charged with conspiracy in Widnes, Cheshire. Anxious to stamp out the flame of rebellion which was lit by black youth and is spreading amongst white youth, the state is prepared to use conspiracy charges as a matter of routine, not as something reserved for Irish POWs or black youth. The Bradford 12 were clearly just the beginning and not an exception.

Those charged in Widnes are either relatives or friends of Sean Grant and Graeme Rathbone (Sean and Raffy), the two young men who were driven to suicide by unemployment. At their inquest, the coroner confirmed this self-evident fact. But the ruling class could not allow such a terrible condemnation of their wretched system to pass without challenge. They therefore dredged around for some wretched lackey, a middle class toad who had sold his soul to capitalism, someone who would deny that unemployment had anything to do with it, cast aspersions on the character of the two lads, and conclude that youth had better just accept their lot. They came up with a Mr Blacow, headmaster of their old school, Fairfield. This creature, who can know nothing of the despair and hopelessness that follows on unemployment, suggested that the episode was a 'prank gone wrong', and that the

two lads were anyway in trouble with the police.

Such callous sentiments, expressed at a time when the distress of the two families was all too apparent, could not have been better calculated to arouse the anger of the local youth. The following weekend, 23 August, a group of them attacked Fairfield school, burning the science block down, and daubing slogans on the wall: 'Sean and Raffy - Revenge on Blacow'. The state was not slow to respond to this revolutionary act of defence of the dignity of two murdered youth. Within ten days, 9 youths had been arrested, five charged with arson, four with criminal damage. On 11 September, they, along with one other, were additionally charged with conspiracy to cause criminal damage. The police successfully opposed bail on the grounds that the youth were proud of what they had done, and showed no remorse. Two of them, aged but 14 and 16, were remanded to the care of the local authority, so great is the fear of the state that they may influence youth outside.

The ten are being made into the scapegoats for unemployment. For daring to fight back, for daring to protest at the filthy slanders of Blacow, they now face long terms in jail or borstal. The state is determined to make an example of them, to intimidate white youth into resigning themselves to a life of no hope on the dole. The example of Liverpool youth proves that they will not succeed.

Widnes Correspondent

STREET MEETING ARRESTS

On 26 September, for the second successive week, FRFI supporters held a street meeting in support of the Bradford 12 outside the city's Job Centre. The first week the police made several failed attempts to intimidate the speakers into abandoning the meeting. This time the police were clearly prepared not to tolerate those that are determined to break through the wall of silence and press censorship which has descended over the campaign to defend the framed-up members of the United Black Youth League. The street meeting had not lasted ten minutes, when the police arrived, horrified that the truth about their frame-up and brutality was being told to the public.

A lone police woman first approached the speaker, Bill Bolloten, who ignored her. Visibly frustrated at being unable to quash the determination of the FRFI supporters to press on with the meeting, she slunk away to radio for some burly 'assistance'. This arrived in the form of Inspector Buchan, who pathetically asked the speaker to stop using the megaphone. His reason - that if everyone was using megaphones the city centre would be in chaos! The FRFI supporters remained undaunted at these veiled threats, only for Inspector Buchan to return to arrest Bill Bolloten for using 'threatening behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace'. He was dragged to the nearby police station, defiantly shouting through the megaphone about this blatant act of police censorship. The remaining FRFI supporters swiftly gathered witnesses to the arrest, and later mounted a noisy and successful picket of the police station which was instrumental in getting Bill Bolloten released that afternoon. The police say he will be charged with 'breach of the peace' and illegal use of the megaphone.

This latest attack on FRFI shows starkly the true role of the Bradford police. Not content with the frame-up of the UBYL members, they have shown that they are determined to censor and to crush those that dare to tell the truth. Yet the Bradford FRFI supporters remain undeterred. We will continue to hold street meetings until our brothers are free and we call on all those who support the Bradford 12 to defend the right to take that support on to the streets by joining the street meetings.

Bradford FRFI needs support

Send messages of support and donations for the arrest fund to Bradford FRFI c/o Fourth Idea Bookshop, Bradford 1.

Send letters of protest to Ronald Gregory, Chief Constable, West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police Headquarters, Laburnam Road, Wakefield

The people are conspiring

Listen my brother! Listen my sister!
Go tell my mother -
Her sons are once again behind
these walls of oppression.

Lie down and be murdered by the fascists
Keep quiet as you are stealthily deported
Stay silent as you are criminalised and raided
Don't say a word! For you will conspire.

Your crime is not your acts
Their proof is your thought and not any facts
The reason is you stood up and you fought
For the rights of your people.

There is violence in the air
In the lives of our people
As they starve to their deaths
There is anger everywhere
As we are cut down by the fascists,
Criminalised by the cops,
Imprisoned by the courts.

Our beliefs are our beliefs not the thoughts of any
bandits -

We can't rob the robbed nor sit down and be robbed.
Nor lie down and be crushed.
Aloud my friend 'Enough is enough!'

And now that they are shaking, our enemy is crumbling.
What else can they think? But - The people are
conspiring!

Poem by one of the Bradford 12

TWO VIEWS OF WORLD POVERTY

The world is plagued by poverty, malnutrition and want. Millions of men, women and children suffer in every continent, but poverty is at its most extreme in oppressed nations, what is called the Third World: Africa, Asia and Latin America.

There are two views on how to solve the question of world poverty. The revolutionary and communist view, and the other is that which is propagated by the large charity agencies like UNICEF. This organisation presents the liberal and bourgeois view of poverty.

A recent large advertisement in the national daily papers showed a photograph of a starving black child with the words 'UNICEF Cares'. The facts and figures presented by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) about poverty disease and death are truly horrifying. 'Every year, 5 million babies die before they are 12 months old. 10 million are permanently disabled'. Pleading for donations, the advert states that vaccines, medicines and education are needed because 'prevention must be better than cure'.

When we examine UNICEF more closely, we see what really stands behind the human concern of this United Nations body which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 and which relies solely on charity.

Above the picture of the starving child, the names of the following are boldly printed: Baird & Tatlock (London) Ltd, Philip Harris (Holdings) Ltd, Land Rover, Portacel Ltd, T I Raleigh Ltd, and others. Who are these firms and where and how did they make the money to support the UNICEF appeal?

Baird & Tatlock (London) Ltd

Part of Baird & Tatlock Group of Companies Ltd is owned by Ed Searle & Co USA. This massive multinational owns firms operating in Venezuela, Mexico, Bangladesh, Argentina, Thailand, Hong Kong, South Africa, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, and Singapore. It also has links with the giant Food Resources Group of America.

Philip Harris (Holdings) Ltd

This is owned by the Britannic Holdings Assurance Company Ltd. It too has finance in companies operating in many Third World countries.

Portacel Ltd

This is owned by Portacel Holdings Ltd. It has operations in India, South Africa (where it has 6 subsidiaries), Mexico, Zambia, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong.

T I Raleigh Ltd

This is part of the giant Tube Investments Group which directly controls 23 companies operating in the Third World and which has 10 subsidiaries in South Africa alone.

Land Rover Ltd

This is owned by British Leyland Ltd. It supplies Land Rovers to the South African police and to the British army of occupation in the North of Ireland.

These are all enormous and successful multinational companies that have huge amounts of capital. World poverty is at its worst where they have invested. Not only do they own masses of land, money and goods in the Third World, they also make huge profits from the labour they use. Indeed, these are some of the very same imperialists, the bosses and owners who have created the ever-deepening poverty that UNICEF collects money for. The children who are dying of disease and hunger are their victims. The system that makes so much money for them is the system that kills.

These multinationals give a little money to patch up the bleeding wounds only because they want to keep hold of the weapon that first inflicted that wound. Their cosmetic charity functions usefully in two ways. It serves to ease liberal consciences and acts as a smokescreen to cover up the full extent of imperialist barbarity.

It also creates a dependent and servile economy which relies on the oppressor for aid. UNICEF speaks about teaching the poor and the backward 'self-help' and 'self-improvement'. This is an added insult to those whose poverty and exploitation means profits to others.

Contrasted to this racist and imperialist propaganda, we have the communist and revolutionary view of world poverty.

In April of this year in Havana, Cuba, Fidel Castro presented a brilliant and thorough denunciation of imperialism to a Conference of Third World Economists.

Castro's speech shows the communist view of world poverty. He explains why it exists, why it continues, what it means in terms of human dignity and suffering and what must be done about it.

First of all he sets out the real situation. 75% of the world population lives in the underdeveloped countries. 25% live in the developed countries, but they own 83% of the world's Gross National Product (wealth).

The 25% consume: 75% of world energy
70% of world grain
92% of world industry
95% of world technology
89% of all the money spent on education

Four to five hundred million people suffer hunger right now and this will increase to six and a half hundred million in the next twenty years, by which time 80% of the world's population will live in the oppressed nations. Fidel Castro explains this situation by stating that 'the capitalist crisis has sharpened the permanent features of underdevelopment'. Poor countries must borrow more for their own survival and with inflation that gets more expensive for them. The poor countries' foreign debt is over 500,000 million dollars at present. Their public debt grew at an average annual rate of 21% during the 1970s. In 1979, the Third World paid the imperialist world 44,200 million dollars in debt-servicing alone. As Castro says, for any underdeveloped country 'it is easy to see that this is bankruptcy'.

500,000 million dollars. That figure should be an easy one for readers to remember. That is the foreign debt accumulated by all the underdeveloped countries put together. It is also the figure of world war expenditure in one year alone. 500,000 million dollars is spent every year on armies and weapons to keep the system as it is.

And that system is clearly spelt out in Castro's speech. On the one side, the underdeveloped countries, even where they are supposed to be 'independent', are up to the neck in debt to the imperialist bosses. On the other side, the raw material, cheap labour and disregard for human suffering make them ideal areas of the world for capitalist enterprise.



Direct investment by the capitalists in the underdeveloped world is very profitable. For the USA, it works out that for every dollar invested 4.5 dollars are returned as income. This is imperialist super-profit. Between the years 1964 and 1978, the British equivalent in private direct investment in the oppressed world resulted in a gain of £1.67 for every £1 invested. In comparison, only 93p was returned as income from every £1 put into the imperialist countries of Europe and North America. It is easy to see that the Third World is a fruitful source of super-exploitation.

Even where the actual products of the Third World are not entirely owned by the multinationals, the trade in them is still dominated by the imperialist international markets which dictate price and amount produced. Trade in the following commodities is controlled by a mighty few:

- 50-60% sugar and phosphates
- 70-75% bananas, rice, rubber, crude oil
- 75-80% tin
- 55-90% cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, cotton, jute, copper
- 90-95% iron ore, bauxite

It can be seen that whole communities, villagers, farmers, miners, factory workers depend for their living and conditions of life on the commodity market played by a handful of bankers in the City of London, New York and elsewhere.

Such a world economic system has horrifying results and Castro's facts and figures are more precise and real than those given in the UNICEF advert. 18 million children under 5 years of age die each year, 95% of them in the Third World. In the imperialist countries one in forty children dies before adolescence. In Africa, it is a quarter and even as many as half in some parts of the underdeveloped world.

Only communism can solve the problems of world poverty. Fidel Castro puts forward many real, concrete and practical solutions to end world poverty in his Havana speech. But, he stresses, these solutions must be fought for and people's power established. 'If the decisive power of a state and a society is not in the hands of the great majority of workers, none of (these) prerequisites for development will materialise.'

All true communists fully support this, the only realistic solution to world poverty. We in Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! take the words of the UNICEF advert seriously, 'prevention must be better than cure'. For communists, prevention means support for the liberation struggles, thus preventing a system that breeds poverty along with profit. Prevention means the prevention of imperialist exploitation.

Sue Davidson

Cuban support for Hunger Strikers

The Cuban Revolution hailed the heroic struggle of Irish Republican freedom-fighters against British imperialism at the opening session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Havana last month. Speaking for the oppressed, the revolutionary and democratic forces throughout the world, Cuban President Fidel Castro said of the Irish hunger strikers:

'The Irish patriots are writing one of the most glorious pages in the history of human civilisation.'

Castro went on to accuse the British imperialists of 'cruelty, intransigence and obstinacy' in their treatment of the hunger strikers. The British government's attack on the Irish people was a 'repugnant atrocity' which recalled 'the Torquemada and the inhuman methods of the medieval inquisition.'

The British delegation at the meeting, with its mask of democracy torn aside, shrank away from the glare of the world upon the barbarity of the racist British state. As the delegation left the meeting in protest at Castro's statements, Fidel Castro's raised voice rang out in homage to the Irish martyrs and in a warning to the skulking imperialists:

'Tremble tyrants before men who are capable of dying after sixty days on hunger strike.'

**Long Live the Cuban Revolution!
Victory to the Irish people!**

Trevor Rayne

UDHAM SINGH ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The British imperialists try to conceal every struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism. The history of black people in Britain has been rewritten in a form acceptable to imperialism, portraying the oppressed as meek, submissive and content. One victim of this falsification is Udham Singh, who deserves to be commemorated by British communists as a revolutionary anti-imperialist martyr.

Udham Singh lived in Mornington Crescent in London, was active in the electrician's union and was a delegate to the local trades council. In 1938 he had helped found the Indian Workers Association in Coventry, so named to distinguish it from the middle-class India League.

On 13 March 1940, Udham Singh, then 37, went to Cannon Hall, where a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society (a club for imperialists) was taking place. Near the end of the meeting, Udham Singh approached the platform, firing his revolver.

Although the ammunition was aged and of the wrong calibre, Singh succeeded in executing Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and wounding Lord Zetland, the then Secretary of State for India, together with Lord Lamington (Governor of Bombay 1903-1917) and Sir Louis Dane (Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab 1906-1913).

O'Dwyer was a prize catch. On 13 April 1919 General R E H Dyer had ordered his soldiers to fire into an unarmed crowd in Amritsar. After 10 minutes of shooting, 379 were left

dead and 1208 wounded. O'Dwyer, then Governor of the Punjab, gave this butchery his full backing. One of the victims was Udham Singh's brother.

Yet Singh's act was not one of personal vengeance. He is alleged to have said: 'I have seen people starving in India under British imperialism. I am not sorry for protesting. It was my duty to do so, just for the sake of my country. I don't mind what sentence - 10, 20, or 50 years, or to be hanged. I did not intend to take a person's life, just to protest you know'.

This action by an Indian worker against British imperialism was immediately condemned by the Labour Party - Clement Attlee describing it as an 'abominable outrage'. This was in stark contrast with the Labour Party's silence when British imperialism murdered hundreds of

Indians at Amritsar. As Karl Radek, the Polish Communist, had told the Communist International in 1920: 'It is simple hypocrisy and swindling that these same people, who could not even rise to the level of characterising General Dyer as a common murderer in Parliament on the occasion of the Amritsar bloodbath, pretend to be the defenders of colonial independence.'

Udham Singh was brought to trial on 4 June 1940, after 42 days on hunger strike. Found guilty, he was sentenced to death. The judge had difficulty making himself heard because Singh kept spitting at him and denouncing British imperialism in India. On 25 June 1940, Udham Singh, Indian worker and revolutionary anti-imperialist was hanged in Pentonville jail.

Stephen Palmer

CENTRAL AMERICA

GUATEMALA

On 19 July this year, hundreds of soldiers belonging to the Guatemalan military dictatorship entered the village of Coya in Huehuetenango province and began indiscriminately machine gunning the unarmed population. The villagers took up sticks and stones in defence and after 8 hours of fighting, in which the Junta soldiers called in helicopters and planes to strafe and bomb the village, over 200 men, women and children lay dead. A month later on the weekend of 15-16 August, the mutilated bodies of 65 peasants were discovered in the department of El Quiché. These are the methods by which the Guatemalan Junta, headed by General Lucas Garcia, is trying to crush the workers' and peasants' struggles for democratic rights, for better wages and living conditions and for democratic distribution of land. Over the past 18 months more than 9,000 Guatemalans have been slain by this regime which uses torture, bullets and death as the sole means of responding to the masses' democratic demands.

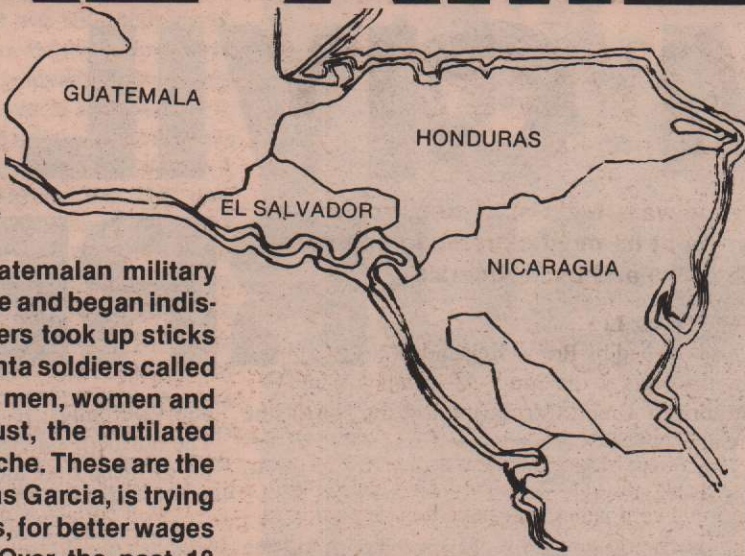
The Junta which stands in breach of every democratic right, which is guilty of the most bloody repression, nevertheless has the ready backing of US and British imperialism. Under the guise of defending 'democracy' and the 'free world' against 'communist subversion' imperialism is giving the regime full licence in its war against the revolutionary masses of Guatemala. Recently, the Reagan Administration, in the face of Congress opposition to renewed military assistance to the regime, transferred military trucks, jeeps and helicopter parts to an 'aid programme' outside Congressional control. Concealed behind all declarations of 'defence of democracy and the free world' is imperialism's desperate war to defend the freedom of imperialist capital to plunder and rob the wealth produced by Guatemalan workers and peasants.

The Guatemalan economy is owned and controlled by a handful of imperialist multinational firms in alliance with a corrupt and dependent local ruling class. The US multinationals - **Goodyear and Del Monte** - own the vast fruit and banana plantations which are the backbone of Guatemalan agriculture. **Basic Resources**, a European multinational headed by Britain's J. Goldsmith controls copper, raw magnesite and nickel ore production. **Texaco-Amoco**, US firms, control the lucrative oil

industry. **Eximbal** - a Canadian/US concern dominates the nickel mines. **Philip Morris** controls tobacco and cigarette production. Other imperialist firms in Guatemala include **Colgate Palmolive**, **US Steel** and **Weverhauser**. The **Bank of America** is the only institution aside from the Guatemalan Government which is allowed to make loans in excess of \$55m thus being in a position to determine investment and production.

The operations of imperialist capital, upheld by the imperialist backed military Junta has resulted in the utter destitution and suffering of the Guatemalan masses. Unemployment in Guatemala is 45%, the mortality rate is 7.9% (in Britain it is 1.4%), 81% of all children suffer malnutrition, adult illiteracy is 53%. The majority of the population are peasants, yet the ruling class, 2% of the population, with imperialist firms owns 70% of all the land. Areas designated for Indian land reform are now being taken over by Garcia and other generals who have built large landed estates near the oil fields.

The Garcia dictatorship is the instrument imperialism is using to defend its freedom to continue to exploit and plunder the wealth of the Guatemalan masses. But against it stands a determined mass revolutionary movement which over the past two years has been waging



EL SALVADOR

On 21 September, Napoleon Duarte head of El Salvador's fascistic military Junta met US President Ronald Reagan. In the plush White House offices and dining rooms, where 'civilised' and polite conversation flowed along with cheap smiles and expensive wines, these two criminals discussed mass murder. Murder such as that which occurred last May when a missing El Salvadorean pregnant woman was found on a rubbish tip, her belly split open, the foetus torn out and replaced by the head of her lover. Duarte is meeting Reagan to discuss further military and economic assistance to the El Salvador Junta in order to avert a major collapse of the regime.

Despite the most savage and sadistic repression, the people of El Salvador led by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) have been inflicting heavy blows against the regime and its economy. In the recent period the FMLN have destroyed over 100 electricity pylons, 10 key road bridges and knocked out 5 of the country's 10 rail locomotives. Alongside their renewed bombing and destruction of export crops, banks and other industrial institutions, the FMLN is causing imperialist and local capitalist losses to the tune of \$55m a day.

The international banks, which have been ready to oblige the Junta with all requests for loans are now being forced to reconsider further credits to the regime. The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have already informally ruled out new loans, whilst the International Monetary Fund is seriously considering objections to a request for \$120m, objections which only a few months ago would have been cast aside.

Duarte is meeting Reagan to try and overcome these problems. He is requesting a further \$300m in economic assistance and asking for radar equipment and more helicopters to defend the country's communications system, crops and industry from FMLN offensives.

Meanwhile in El Salvador, the regime's butchery continues unabated. In the last week of August the decapitated bodies of 100 workers in El Salvador's capital San Salvador were discovered strewn along roadways. The regime is now using guillotines in its systematic murder of El Salvadorean people. Again in the last week of August, Junta soldiers murdered 46 children on the slopes of Guazapa.

In El Salvador today we are seeing 'democratic' US imperialism defending the 'values' of the 'free world' of imperialism and capitalism. There should be no doubt however, that British imperialism is equally guilty in this carnage and butchery, all in the name of the most corrupted and bloodied imperialist 'democracy'. When Mrs Thatcher visited Reagan in February, she told him:

'The responsibility for freedom is ours to share. In Britain you will find an ally, valiant, staunch and true.'

British imperialism, well practiced in murder and savagery, stands with US imperialism as criminals and enemies of mankind. Communists in Britain extend their support and solidarity to the forces of the FMLN, who like the IRA in Ireland are engaged in direct military war against forces of barbarism.

Roy Spring

nationwide armed struggle to smash imperialism and take back what is rightfully theirs. The EGP (Guerilla Army of the Poor), ORPA (Revolutionary Organisation of the People in Arms) FAR (Rebel Armed Forces) and other organisations of the people in fighting to establish a revolutionary people's government are indeed a threat to the 'democracy and free world' of bloody imperialist plunder and murder. Their widespread military campaign has now put the Garcia regime on the defensive. The scale of the revolutionary offensive is revealed in a US State Department warning to all US airlines and travel agents that:

'... the chances that a tourist will be caught in crossfire between guerillas and security forces, or injured by a terrorist (sic) bombing are increasing.'

Communists, naturally, give their complete support to the revolutionary masses and organisations of Guatemala. Imperialism in its propaganda will always bow before democracy, justice, freedom and other principles. But communists in Britain know what imperialist democracy, justice and freedom mean in Ireland, in Southern Africa and elsewhere. And in Guatemala it is no different. Communists therefore declare:

**Death to imperialism!
Victory to the Guatemalan revolutionary masses!**

Eddie Abrahams

REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA WILL NOT BE STOPPED

In a gesture of the strengthening unity of the Asian and Caribbean peoples of Britain, the Grenadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Unison Whiteman, along with a representative for revolutionary Nicaragua, was invited last month to address a packed hall in Southall on the US plans to invade revolutionary Grenada. The minister described how the US fleet and its NATO allies, including two British warships, had just concluded a practice-run invasion using the US-held Puerto Rican island of Vieques (see FRFI 12).

Rear Admiral McKenzie leading the Caribbean manoeuvres described Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada as 'practically one country', which was a 'political-military problem'. The exercise was to 'reinforce in the eyes and minds of those watching, our military commitment around the world - to give an example of... US capability to respond in the Caribbean basin'. He also claimed to be protecting US oil and bauxite supplies.

In addition to these war preparations, US representatives have been touring the world trying to organise an economic blockade of Grenada. No more willing assistant has been found than British imperialism. Unison Whiteman pointed out that even Franco's Spain recognised the debt it owed for its colonial exploitation of Cuba and maintained its aid programme after the Cuban revolution. The British Government, on the other hand had 'dragged its heels' on assistance to Grenada, even on that which had been previously agreed.

This contrasted sharply with the unconditional technical help offered Grenada by Cuba and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile British banks are continuing to give loans to right-wing Caribbean regimes for the purchase of military equipment as part of imperialism's blockade strategy.

Throughout the Caribbean, the British ruling class has sucked out the wealth of the peoples' labour and resources, leaving little in the way of airports, roads or electricity, but everything in the way of support for US military aggression. The trade that takes place, draws the capitalist vampires that gather to feed on the labour of Grenadian and British workers. For every £1 worth of Grenadian fruit sold in British shops, only 9p goes to the farm and dockworkers of Grenada. The rest is shared out among giant insurance, banking, shipping and distributive capitalists of Britain and the US.

But still the revolutionary government of Grenada advances and its achievements inspire the oppressed people of the Caribbean and Central America to throw the imperialist beast from their backs. Just when the US ruling class is launching a fresh attack on pensions, unemployment assistance and other benefits of American workers, the Grenadian revolution is feeding all its children and old people and building its international airport. And from within the heart of the monster Black American and progressive organisations are marching in solidarity with the strengthening revolution. It is this growing unity of the oppressed peoples that is driving the US capitalists into a frenzy.

But the people of Grenada, like their brothers

Maurice Bishop



and sisters in Cuba and Nicaragua, have organised into armed militias and in response to the US belief that the Caribbean and Central America is 'Uncle Sam's backyard' have declared in the words of Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop:

'Revolutionary Grenada is in no one's backyard!'

Imperialist Hands Off Grenada!

Trevor Rayne

COMMUNIST TRADITION ON IRELAND PART SEVEN FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO INSURRECTION

Unionism gets a face-lift

The Six Counties statelet could not have been brought into existence without the political support of the Protestant working class. Nor could it be maintained without that support. However, that support can only be sustained on the basis of sectarianism. That is, by maintaining the privileged status and conditions of the Protestant working class. For such privileges are the foundation of their loyalty to the Union with Britain and therefore the key to imperialist control over the whole of Ireland.

British imperialism cannot play a progressive role in Ireland. For it has no interest in eliminating sectarianism or reuniting the Irish nation and the Irish working class. This is the context in which we will examine the years immediately before the Civil Rights Movement. This is the background which is necessary to understand the role played by the so-called 'liberal' Unionist Terence O'Neill.

The economy of the Six Counties statelet was in very serious difficulties in the late 1950s. Its three traditional industries – agriculture, textiles (linen industry) and shipbuilding – were in long-term decline. Employment was rapidly dropping in all three. In agriculture, between 1950 and 1961, employment fell by nearly 40%. Between 1955 and 1965 employment in the linen industry fell by 37%, and in shipbuilding it fell by 42%. In 1961, 10,000 men were made redundant in the Belfast shipyards. Unemployment was now reaching unacceptable levels among the Protestant skilled working class. Average earnings also fell from 82% of those in Britain in 1961 to 76% in 1966. If these developments were allowed to continue unabated, the loyalty of the Protestant working class, and with it the Unionist class alliance, would come under severe strain.

The political impact of these changes soon began to show. Sections of loyalist workers began to seek an alternative to the Unionist Party to defend their interests and guarantee their privileges. The Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP), which had split in 1949 over its recognition of the border, could now put itself forward as an alternative to the Unionist Party which could attract loyalist workers. In 1953, the NILP obtained 31,063 votes (12.1% of the total) in the Stormont elections with nine candidates winning no seats. By 1958, it had won 37,748 votes (16%) with eight candidates, winning four seats. In 1962, it obtained 76,842 votes (26%) with 14 candidates – its highest total ever – and held on to the four seats won in 1958 with substantially increased majorities. No new seats were gained but the Unionists' majority in some seats was sharply reduced. This was a protest vote which the Unionists could not ignore. If the Unionist class alliance was to survive, the Unionist Party had to ensure it found jobs for loyalist workers.

The traditional response of Unionism was discrimination pure and simple. Even in 1961, Robert Babington, a Unionist barrister (later a MP) could still say:

'Registers of unemployed Loyalists should be kept by the Unionist Party and employers invited to pick employees from them. The Unionist Party should make it quite clear that the Loyalists have first choice of jobs.'

Privileged access to jobs, however, presupposed that jobs were available. Having the 'first choice of jobs', which increasingly did not exist, would find little response from loyalist workers. A new approach was clearly required. Opposition to Brookeborough built up and in March 1963 he resigned. He was replaced by Terence O'Neill.

O'Neill has been widely portrayed as a 'reformist liberal' who attempted to reduce sectarianism and discrimination but was defeated by the old

guard of Unionism. This is a distortion of the truth. O'Neill's entire purpose was not to undermine Unionism but to revitalise it. As he said in April 1965:

'Let no one in Ireland, North or South, no one in Great Britain, no one anywhere make the mistake of thinking that, because there is talk of a new Ulster, the Ulster of Carson and Craig is dead. We are building, certainly; but we build upon their foundations. And from that rock, no threat, no temptation, no strategem will ever shake us. We stand four-square upon it.'

But it is not enough, I would suggest to you, just to be part of the United Kingdom. We want to be a *progressive* part of that Kingdom. We want to secure for our people the full fruits of this great nation's prosperity. It must be our aim to demonstrate at all times, and beyond any possible doubt, that loyalty to Britain carries its reward in the form of a fuller, rich life.'

O'Neill's intention was to strengthen the Six Counties statelet. The equation of loyalty with material privileges, and with the importance of the British link for securing these privileges, was central to his approach. The task was to secure the Unionist class alliance. This could only be done by restoring the eroded privileges of the loyalist working class.



The Battle of the Bogside

If the loyalist workers were to maintain their privileges and stay 'loyal', industry in the North had to continue to provide jobs. British subsidies to existing industries could now only slow down the pace of decline, they could not halt it altogether. To ensure new jobs were provided, O'Neill embarked on a far-reaching programme to attract capital investment from outside the Six Counties statelet.

Attracted by capital grant rates of up to 45%, together with various other direct and indirect subsidies, the 1960s saw a massive rise of firms investing in the Six Counties. While 51 firms were established with government assistance between 1950 and 1959, in the period 1960-1969 no less than 172 firms were set up. This rapid growth took off in 1963, the year Terence O'Neill took over.

The impact on employment was crucial. In 1961 the number of jobs created by government sponsored industry was 40,300 – 20.5% of all manufacturing jobs; it was 64,200 (34.4%) in 1966 and 78,680 (43.2%) in 1971. The government strategy was also successful in attracting a number of large multinational corporations such as Michelin, Goodyear, Du Pont, Enkalon, ICI

and Courtaulds, to invest in the Six Counties. The northern statelet became a major centre of the artificial fibre industry.

The influx of imperialist capital into the Six Counties led to a shift in the economic balance of power. The old established family firms which had been the backbone of the Unionist Party were in decline. They were being displaced by the more modern highly productive firms established by imperialist capital. However, it is totally misleading to maintain that this development represented a liberal and reforming influence which could have undermined the sectarian foundations of the Six Counties statelet. On the contrary, it was only on the basis of the influx of new British and foreign capital that the Unionist class alliance could be secured and with it the foundation of the Six Counties statelet.

Evidence of the 'reforming' influence of these new developments was said to be the fact that, in August 1964, the Unionist government under O'Neill recognised an autonomous Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Brookeborough had always refused to recognise the ICTU. He was violently opposed to trade unions and especially opposed to an all-Ireland body. However, the Unionist government under O'Neill understood the necessity for union cooperation and 'normal' labour relations, if the new investment they urgently needed was to be attracted to the Six Counties. Anyway, recog-

What began, in the late 1960s, as a nationalist population for basic de eastern counties of Ireland, was s revolutionary war to drive Britain o to be conclusively demonstrated i statelet was unreformable. Basic nationalist population could only and driving British imperialism ou achieved by revolutionary means.

COLMAN DOYLE

foreign enterprises had been established in the 26 Counties, 40% of them British. Trade ties with Britain became closer and an Anglo-Irish free trade area was agreed on in December 1965. This is the background which had led some to believe that the Lemass-O'Neill talks heralded a new era of North-South cooperation and possible steps towards the reunification of Ireland under British imperialist rule.

O'Neill very quickly put down such talk and made it clear that discussions were only concerned with limited economic cooperation with the 26 Counties. It was part of his overall strategy to revive industry in the Six Counties and make foreign investment more attractive. There was no question of discussing political or constitutional changes at all. As he said some time later to an Annual Meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council in Belfast (February 1967):

'Because I talk to my neighbour in a friendly way across the garden fence, and perhaps even agree that we should share some gardening tools with him, it does not mean that I intend to let him live in my house.'

The overall results of O'Neill's economic programme demonstrated that, far from undermining the sectarian foundation of the loyalist state, it reinforced it. The bulk of the new investment was located in the predominantly Protestant East of the Six Counties. So that unemployment, while falling dramatically in loyalist areas, remained constant or even increased in nationalist areas during the period. In June 1970, the average unemployment level (11.3%) in the predominantly nationalist area West of the River Bann was nearly twice the Six Counties average (6.2%). In some nationalist areas of Belfast and Derry it was well over 20%.

Even where investment was located outside loyalist areas, as the following case shows, discrimination along sectarian lines was very much in evidence. It was reported in 1977 that two-thirds of the workforce at the Ford Motor Company's Autolite factory in West Belfast was Protestant. The factory was situated in the nationalist area of Andersonstown where there is massive unemployment. Protestants held the best jobs within the factory and many travelled to work from as far as Bangor and Portadown, ten or twenty miles away. A few years earlier it had been discovered that the then personnel officer was simply tearing up applications from Catholics. He was not dismissed but simply moved to another position with the same status and salary. In 1977, the personnel officer vetting applications was a sergeant in the notoriously sectarian Ulster Defence Regiment.

Following the Matthew Report (1963), the government established a new city planned to have a population of 100,000, as an alternative to Belfast, and proposed seven other towns as industrial growth centres. The new city included the Protestant towns of Lurgan and Portadown and the area between them. It was provocatively named Craigavon after the founder of the loyalist statelet. Six of the eight 'growth centres' were within 30 miles of Belfast in loyalist territory. Under the Benson Report on Northern Ireland Railways (1963) the rail links from Belfast to Newry, and the line to Derry through Omagh and Strabane were axed – all predominantly nationalist areas. The Lockwood Report (1965) recommended that the New University of Ulster was not sited in nationalist Derry, the second largest city in the Six Counties, where there was already an old-established University college, but in Protestant Coleraine.

**A struggle of the minority
democratic rights in the six north-
eastern counties to be turned into a
struggle of the majority in the rest
of Ireland. In that period, it was
in practice that the northern
democratic rights for the
majority were achieved by ending Partition
of Ireland. They could only be**

Under O'Neill, the economic and social revival of the Six Counties was based on sectarianism and therefore largely benefited the Loyalists.

The Unionist Party got its reward. There was a loss of support for the NILP and a return of Protestant working class votes to the Unionist Party. The NILP vote fell from 76,842 (26%) in 1962 to 66,323 (20.4%) in 1965, when it lost two of the four seats it had won in 1958, to 45,113 (8.1%) in 1969. The Unionist class alliance had been well and truly secured.

The Civil Rights Movement

In the course of reinforcing the Unionist class alliance, O'Neill succeeded in reactivating the latent opposition to the loyalist statelet amongst the nationalist minority. The sectarian economic and social measures implemented by the O'Neill administration could only serve to highlight the discrimination against the nationalist population.

Within the Catholic middle class a movement for civil rights emerged. In a few years this movement, under a new and more radical leadership was to turn into a mass movement intent on destroying the loyalist state.

A much larger, more ambitious Catholic middle class had been created in the Six Counties as a result of the post-war developments generally associated with the growth of the 'welfare state'. Developments in the education system, including the increase in University scholarships, were of particular significance. By the mid-1960s, a section of middle-class Catholics, who did not see their interests being advanced through unity with the 26 Counties, were willing to work within the institutions of the loyalist statelet to end discrimination and improve their status.

In January 1964, a group of middle-class and professional Catholics founded the Campaign for Social Justice which set about collecting and publicising information about gerrymandering and discrimination in the Six Counties. As a result of this and other agitation by middle-class Catholics together with pressure from anti-Unionist MPs in the Six Counties parliament, in June 1965, a group of back bench Labour MPs in the Westminster parliament set up the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster. Included among them was Stanley Orme, the left-wing Labour Party MP who was later to administer internment when he became Minister of State for Northern Ireland in 1974. Pressure was put on the Stormont government to introduce reforms but none were forthcoming.

Opposition to the O'Neill administration also existed within the loyalist camp and included sections of the Unionist Party. Those opponents took every opportunity to challenge O'Neill for what they regarded as his break from the traditional loyalist attitude to the nationalist minority. One of his more vociferous opponents was Ian Paisley. Paisley had set up his own violently anti-Catholic Free Presbyterian Church in 1951. As unemployment grew in the later 1950s, he built an organisation called the Ulster Protestant Action whose aim was 'to keep protestant and loyal workers in employment in times of depression, in preference to their catholic fellow workers'. His movement was built on the streets and its sectarian actions often led to violent rioting.

During the 1964 Westminster elections, the Republicans were contesting a seat in West Belfast and had placed a tricolour in the windows of their election headquarters

in Divis Street on the Falls Road. The RUC had given up interfering with tricolours in nationalist areas. On 27 September, Paisley, at a meeting in the Ulster Hall, threatened to lead a march to take it down himself if it was still there in two days' time. The day after Paisley's threat, the government, needing every loyalist vote it could drum up to win the seat, sent in 50 RUC men to remove the flag. They broke down the door of the Republican headquarters and took it down. A few days later it went up again. The RUC used pick-axes to break into the office and again took it down. That night Belfast had its worst sectarian riots since 1935. The RUC had water cannon and armoured cars. The nationalist defenders replied with petrol bombs. Next evening 350 RUC men wearing military helmets and backed by armoured cars were sent into the Falls Road to smash the resistance there. Over 50 civilians were taken to hospital. In Dublin, 1,000 demonstrators marched on the British embassy in protest and stoned the Gardaí on duty there.

Needless to say, the Unionist Party candidate, James Kilfedder, won the election. He thanked Paisley 'without whose help it could not have been done'. O'Neill himself went so far as to accuse Republican candidates of 'using a British election to try to provoke disorder in Northern Ireland'.

Paisley's challenge built up. In 1965 he accused O'Neill, after the Lemass-O'Neill talks, of entertaining at Stormont a 'Fenian Papist murderer'. He staged a massive rally outside the Unionist Party headquarters and forced O'Neill to abandon a function due to take place. In February 1966 he launched a paper, the *Protestant Telegraph*, which contained hysterically anti-Catholic and anti-communist propaganda, and in April he set up the Ulster Constitution Defence Committee (UCDC) to coordinate his movement, with the Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV) as its vanguard.

In April 1966, Paisley's agitation led the government to mobilise the B-Specials for a month and to ban trains from the 26 Counties coming to the commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising. On 6 June, Paisley led a demonstration through Cromac Square—a nationalist area of Belfast. Local residents tried to block the road and were attacked by the RUC. After a short battle, Paisley went on to where the Presbyterian General Assembly was meeting—where his followers tried to break through a police cordon to attack the meeting place. After pressure from the Wilson government on O'Neill, Paisley was eventually arrested and prosecuted. He went to jail for three months after refusing to be bound over for two years. His followers reacted violently and there were riots outside the prison.

In February, March and April 1966, a number of petrol bomb attacks on Catholic shops, homes and schools had taken place and one woman had been killed. On 27 May, a Catholic man, John Scullian, was shot and fatally wounded in Clonard Street off the Falls Road. On 26 June three Catholic barmen were shot as they left a pub in Malvern Street. One was killed. Three men (including 'Gusty' Spence) were arrested and charged with the murder. They were later found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. They belonged to the Ulster Volunteer Force—a small group of Paisley supporters who had set up an armed organisation. The UVF was also responsible for the petrol bombings and the murder of John Scullian. Those responsible for the murders belonged to the Prince Albert Loyal Orange Lodge. On 12 July 1967, during its annual parade, the Lodge on passing the gates of Crumlin Road jail in Belfast stopped to pay homage to the three murderers held inside.

The government banned the UVF under the Special Powers Act and O'Neill let it be known that a leading member of the UVF was a prominent official of Paisley's UCDC. He was Noel Doherty, secretary of the UCDC, a printer who had set up the presses of the *Protestant Telegraph*, a B-Special and a Unionist candidate in the Belfast Corporation elections in 1964. It says a great deal about the nature of the sectarian statelet that Paisley's brand of loyalism now commands massive support.

O'Neill's own assessment of the UVF murders is instructive. His main concern was that the growing tide of nationalist protest might gain a hearing in Britain. It was vital if Ulster was to remain a loyalist state that an acceptable face be presented to the world whatever the reality within. In a speech to the Mid-Armagh Unionist Association in November 1966 he argued:



Paisley thugs blocking Armagh city centre, November 1968

'The events of 1966 have turned an intense and curious scrutiny upon us. And as we stand in this spot-light it remains as true now as it was over half a century ago that we must have the understanding and support of a substantial proportion of the British people. *That is why* we must condemn recent extremist activities which would not be supported by any of the British political parties or even by a single British MP. Of course, we cannot please everyone. There are certainly strong Southern Irish forces in Great Britain, with spokesmen in Parliament, who seek nothing less than the reunification of Ireland. We cannot please that section of opinion and we are not going to try.

... If we can demonstrate that behind all the talk about "discrimination" is a warm and genuine community spirit; if we can demonstrate that we seek the advantages of British citizenship only because we bear the same burdens—then the voices of criticism will fall increasingly upon deaf ears...

I do not want Ulster to change its nature, but rather to show again its best face to the world... (our emphasis)

O'Neill was a staunch Unionist and an Orangeman who marched with his Orange Lodge every 12 July. After he became Prime Minister, he joined two other off-shoots of the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys and the Royal Black Preceptory. While attempting to present Ulster's 'best face' to the world, he had taken no steps to end gerrymandering of local government, sectarian discrimination against Catholics, and the existence of the Special Powers Act and the B-Specials. It was against this background that in January 1967 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed.

After the defeat of the 1956-62 campaign, the IRA, under the direction of the new revisionist leadership (see FRFI 12) had turned to 'economic and social agitation' within the system as the means to bring it down. They set up Republican Clubs as part of a strategy of engaging in open and legal political action. In 1967, William Craig, Minister of Home Affairs, banned the Republican Clubs saying they were front organisations for Sinn Féin and illicit recruiters for the IRA. This happened just before celebrations, planned for the 100th anniversary of the Fenian uprising, were to take place. The Republicans retaliated by having a 'banned' public meeting which was attended by civil liberties representatives, Gerry Fitt, elected in March 1966 as Republican Labour MP for West Belfast, and other interested observers. A few prominent Republicans were arrested but later released. Left-wing students and Young Socialists also held protest marches in Belfast against the banning.

The Republican Movement had also set up Wolfe Tone Societies as discussion forums for

Republicans, communists, socialists and other left-wing radicals. It was through such societies in the Six Counties and the Republican Clubs that the IRA was to play a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement. NICRA's official foundation took place at a public meeting in January 1967. However, it could be said to have been formed earlier in August 1966 at a secret meeting, in Maghera Co Derry, at which Cathal Goulding, the IRA Chief of Staff supported the plans for the movement. And as a result, the IRA played a significant part in the open Civil Rights Campaign.

NICRA was modelled on the National Council for Civil Liberties in Britain. A broad-based committee was founded to run the movement and included Republicans, members of the Communist Party, trade unionists and individuals from committees associated with earlier campaigns for reforms. For the first year of its existence, it carried out activities similar to its predecessor, the Campaign for Social Justice. NICRA eventually adopted a series of demands, none of them in themselves revolutionary, as the basis of the movement. They were:

1. One-man-one-vote in local elections
2. The removal of gerrymandered boundaries
3. Laws against discrimination by local government, and the provision of machinery to deal with complaints
4. Allocation of public housing on a points system
5. Repeal of the Special Powers Act
6. Disbanding of the B-Specials

The fight for these demands, however, would very soon lead the Civil Rights Movement into direct conflict with the loyalist state.

In Caledon, Co Tyrone, the local Republican Club was giving support to homeless Catholic families squatting in newly-built council houses. The Unionist-controlled Dungannon Rural Council wouldn't allocate houses to them. In June 1968, a Catholic family was evicted from a council house in which they had been squatting. A nineteen-year-old unmarried Protestant, Emily Beattie, secretary to a local Unionist politician, was allocated the house. Austin Currie, a Nationalist MP in Stormont, who had been raising the matter, occupied the house in protest and was evicted and fined.

In August 1968, the Dungannon-based Campaign for Social Justice decided to hold a march from Coalisland to the Market Square, Dungannon, to protest against the sectarian housing policy. With some reluctance NICRA agreed to support the march and it was announced for 24 August. Paisley's UPV immediately called a counter-demonstration and promised violence if the march entered the Market Square, Dungannon. The RUC then rerouted the march from the centre of the town.

The march was a remarkable success. By the time it reached the barrier the RUC had erected, between 3,000 and 4,000 were present. The IRA leadership encouraged its members to support the march. The RUC in fact estimated that 70 of the stewards on the march were Republicans and 10 of them were members of the IRA.

About 1,500 UPV counter-demonstrators, many of them members of the B-Specials, were gathered in the Market Square. When the Civil Rights march reached the RUC barrier a few scuffles took place and the organisers stopped the march and held a rally. After speeches, the leaders of the march advised the marchers to go home. Instead, the marchers sat down in the road singing songs and staying there until quite late into the night.

As Sean Mac Stiofain so accurately commented seven years later, 'little did the handful of people who sponsored it, or the Republican leadership who supported it, imagine where that first civil rights march was to lead the entire nation'. It took one more demonstration in Derry on 5 October 1968 to turn the Civil Rights Campaign into a mass movement.

Derry was an obvious place to have the next Civil Rights march. It had a nationalist majority yet it was Unionist controlled. There was massive unemployment—one in five out of work. Vast inequalities in housing—a nationalist city where in the 1960s, a council house was the gift of the Protestant mayor.

The request for the march came to NICRA from local activists, Republicans and socialists. It was planned for 5 October 1968. The proposed

continued overleaf

FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO INSURRECTION

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route was to be along business streets from the Waterside station on the East side of the Foyle, across Craigavon Bridge and to the Diamond in the centre of the city. Since the RUC had batoned the anti-Partition League off the streets in the 1950s, no anti-Unionist demonstration had attempted to go through the walled city.

Five days before the march was due to take place, the Apprentice Boys of Derry gave notice of an 'annual' parade passing exactly over the same route as the Civil Rights march on the same day. No one had ever heard of the 'annual' parade before, but it had the desired effect. William Craig, Minister of Home Affairs, banned the march. NICRA wanted to call the march off, but after being told by Derry activists that they would march anyway, it went ahead.

On 5 October, about 2,000 (Eamonn McCann, one of the organisers of the march says 400 with 200 looking on) marchers set off from Waterside station and got about 200 yards before they were met by a solid wall of the RUC. As the march reached the police cordon, the RUC waded in. The first to be batoned was Gerry Fitt MP who was one of those leading the march. The marchers soon found out that they were caught between two lines of police in a narrow street. The police savagely batoned the marchers and hosed them at close range using water cannon. Men, women and children were clubbed to the ground. Nearly a hundred people were treated in hospital.

Later, there was fighting at the edges of the Bogside – a staunch nationalist area of Derry – which lasted until the early morning. Police cars were stoned, shop windows smashed, petrol bombs thrown, and barricades were erected.

The march had been covered by television and millions in Ireland and Britain had seen the armed thugs of the RUC smashing up a peaceful demonstration. Millions were horrified when they saw the naked facts of loyalist state violence. The nationalist minority in the Six Counties was experiencing the limitations of non-violent action in opposition to the sectarian policies of the loyalist state. A peaceful demonstration had been batoned off the streets. The 5 October 1968 proved to be another turning point in Irish history.

The real face of Unionism

Events now began to move very quickly indeed. A number of demonstrations by students took place in Belfast. People's Democracy, a loose activist body of left students committed to civil rights reforms was set up and involved in various actions including a sit-in in Stormont. On 15 October, the Nationalist Party withdrew as the official 'opposition' in Stormont. On 4 November, Harold Wilson, recognising the need to contain the Civil Rights Movement, saw O'Neill, Craig and Faulkner and demanded they introduce reforms urgently.

Another march was planned in Derry for 16 November over the original route of the earlier march. On 13 November, Craig banned all marches inside the walled city for a month. Three days later, 15,000 Civil Rights marchers assembled and attempted to march into the city centre. The march was confronted by a massive force of RUC. The organisers – the moderate broad-based Derry Citizens Action Committee led by John Hume and Ivan Cooper – prevented a violent confrontation as marchers and RUC stood face-to-face for 30 minutes. Eventually, the police barricades were breached, the RUC recognising that they were powerless to stop the marchers. Eventually thousands reached the city centre – the Diamond – and a meeting was held. It was a remarkable victory. The Unionists had got together more RUC men than ever before and they had been beaten: If the swelling tide of the Civil Rights Movement was to be contained, the government would have to grant reforms.

On 22 November, O'Neill announced a package of planned reforms. Derry Corporation would be abolished and replaced by a Development Commission. A grievance investigation machinery would be considered and an Ombudsman appointed. Local authorities would be encouraged to allot their houses on the basis of a

'points' system. The company vote would be abolished for local elections, and the government would consider suspending part of the Special Powers Act as soon as conditions allowed it to be done 'without undue hazard'. But the nationalist minority had gone beyond accepting such cosmetic change. Another demonstration was announced for Armagh on 30 November.

By this time, O'Neill was being seriously challenged by hard-line Unionists in his party. They recognised all too clearly that granting the demands of the Civil Rights Movement and ending discrimination would destroy the privileged position of loyalist workers and the loyalist petit-bourgeoisie in the Six Counties state. Unless the Civil Rights Movement was halted then it would threaten the very existence of the sectarian statelet itself. The Unionist 'right' now turned to more direct action against the Civil Rights agitation.

On the 30 November, having failed to get the Armagh march banned, Paisley and his right-hand man, a retired Army Major, Ronald Bunting, descended on the route of the march at Jam in the morning with 20 to 30 car loads of supporters. They set up barricades and armed themselves with sticks and other weapons, including pipes, sharpened at the ends. The RUC in fact seized two revolvers and 220 home made weapons from them. About 5,000 Civil Rights marchers arrived in the town but they were blocked at a barrier put up by the RUC. 75 yards further down behind another barrier were assembled 1,000 Paisleyites armed with sticks and clubs. 350 RUC men had made no effort to remove them and had in fact given way to an armed loyalist mob. The Paisleyites had scored a victory over the Civil Rights Movement.

O'Neill went on television and appealed for support for his policies and his intended limited reforms. He called on the Civil Rights Movement to take the heat out of the situation as their voice, he said, had been clearly heard. Following his broadcast, NICRA called a 'truce' – marches were called off for a period of a month. On 11 December, William Craig was sacked from the government by O'Neill for making a speech criticizing O'Neill's policy.

At this stage, People's Democracy announced a three-day 'long-march' of 75 miles from Belfast to Derry. They recognised that O'Neill's limited reforms amounted to very little. They wanted one man one vote in local government elections and action on unemployment and housing. The march was opposed by NICRA.

The march began on 1 January 1969 with 80 participants. Every few miles loyalist thugs blocked the route. The RUC regularly diverted the march which was frequently stoned and attacked. At the nationalist village of Brackaghreilly near Maghera, the marchers were persuaded to stay in the Gaelic Hall. Shortly after, 50 armed men – the local company of the IRA – set up roadblocks. They had heard that the march was going to be attacked and had persuaded the marchers to stay in the village. Their information, however, had not been accurate. The major ambush was planned farther up the route at Burntollet, a few miles from Derry.

On 4 January at 8.30am about 200 loyalist thugs armed with iron bars and nail studded coshes, surrounded by heaped piles of stones, waited on a hillside for the marchers to arrive. 100 of these men were later identified as members of the Ulster B-Specials. The RUC had watched the gathering of the ambush, chatting with the B-Specials and made no attempt to stop it taking place. The march arrived led by an escort of 80 police. It was brutally attacked and marchers were beaten unconscious – one nearly drowning in a river as a result.

The battered marchers determinedly went on and eventually reached Derry. Most of the marchers were injured with many covered in blood. They were met in the Guildhall Square by thousands of angry Civil Rights supporters who were in no mood for a truce. Very soon battles broke out with the police who tried to drive those assembled back into the Bogside.

At 2am next morning a drunken mob of RUC men ran amok in the Bogside breaking down doors, smashing windows and beating up anyone in sight. Next morning the people in the Bogside organised; barricades were built, vigilante patrols carrying clubs patrolled the streets. A radio transmitter was installed in one of the flats. Free Derry was born. The RUC were kept out of the area for nearly a week. The barricades were only finally taken down after the Derry Citizens Action Committee – Hume, Cooper and others – had persuaded

the people that they were no longer necessary. However, this was a foretaste of the momentous events yet to come.

Although O'Neill viciously attacked the marchers calling them hooligans he was forced by the pressure of the Civil Rights Campaign to announce on 15 January a government inquiry to investigate the disturbances and underlying causes – the Cameron Commission. It was this decision that accelerated the inevitable process, which was to bring O'Neill down. On 23 January, Faulkner resigned from the government in protest. On 3 February, 12 Unionist backbenchers called for O'Neill's resignation. That evening O'Neill called an election for 24 February to try and get a mandate for his policies.

Paisley had been sentenced to three months imprisonment for the Armagh affair. He appealed and got out of jail to stand against O'Neill in the election – the first time O'Neill had not been elected unopposed since 1946. The result was inconclusive, with O'Neill back in power but having 11 anti-O'Neillite Unionists in the Parliamentary Party. O'Neill himself barely scraped home against Paisley obtaining 7,745 votes to Paisley's 5,331, with a Civil Rights candidate holding the balance of 2,310. In Derry, McAteer, the leader of the Nationalist Party, lost to John Hume, the independent Civil Rights candidate.

The two sides were polarising. On 14 March, four of the 'Old Guard' members of NICRA – including Betty Sinclair of the so-called Communist Party – resigned in protest against the increased militancy of the Civil Rights Campaign. On 17 April a by-election for the Mid-Ulster seat at Westminster saw the election of Bernadette Devlin, a student member of People's Democracy, who had won the nomination as a united anti-Unionist candidate. It showed that the entire nationalist minority had swung behind the increasingly militant Civil Rights Campaign.

Two days later there was a minor battle with the RUC in Derry with the youth of the Bogside using stones and petrol bombs to hold the police off. The police burst into a house in William Street and beat everyone up. Sammy Devenny, the owner of the house, later was to die from the injuries he received. The growing anger of the Bogside eventually forced the police to withdraw. There were fierce clashes between Nationalists and Orange marchers in Belfast and Dungannon with the RUC intervening on the loyalist side.

On 20-21 April, bombs went off wrecking an electricity link-up in Portadown and a blast went off at the Silent Valley reservoir in Co Down which provides water for Belfast. It was immediately assumed to be the IRA.

On 22 April, O'Neill finally accepted the only position which might placate the nationalist minority – one man one vote, universal adult suffrage. The next day, Chichester-Clark resigned. On the following day, the Unionist Parliamentary Party accepted the change by 28 votes to 22. Faulkner voted against.

That night, just after midnight, more explosions occurred wrecking water pipelines and leaving Belfast short of water. Three days later, Terence O'Neill resigned to be replaced on 1 May 1969 by Chichester-Clark. Months later it was revealed that the series of bomb blasts in March and April were the work of the loyalist UVF attempting to simulate IRA attacks with the object of forcing the waverers in the Unionist Party to bring O'Neill down. The battle lines were firmly drawn.

Insurrection – the Battle of the Bogside

On 21 May, desperate to hold back the growing militancy of the nationalist minority, and after a meeting between Harold Wilson and Chichester-Clark, Wilson announced that local elections would be held under 'One Man, One Vote'. But this was much too late even though NICRA called a temporary halt to demonstrations.

In North Belfast, fierce battles took place in the Ardoyne over several weekends between the RUC and the nationalist working class. On 12 July, an Orange parade was stoned in Derry and for three days battles raged between the RUC and Bogside, with the RUC shooting and wounding two civilians. On 2 August an Orange march passed the nationalist Unity Flats in Belfast. The residents turned out to protest. The battles went on for three days with loyalist mobs, led by the recently formed Shankill Defence Association trying to attack the Unity Flats and Ardoyne. At one stage, serious clashes took place between the loyalist mobs and the RUC, with many being injured and arrested. The RUC eventually

attacked the besieged residents of Unity Flats and an elderly Catholic, Patrick Corry, died in an RUC barracks after being beaten up by the police.

At the beginning of August, a detachment of British troops was moved into the RUC headquarters for stand-by use in Belfast. This time they were not used. But the direct involvement of British imperialism was increasing. 500 extra troops had already been flown into the Six Counties in August after the first UVF explosions to be used as guards over vital installations. On 16 July, Harold Wilson had already given Roy Hattersley, the Minister of State for Defence, the job of preparing for the intervention of British troops in the Six Counties.

The crunch was to come on 12 August, the day of the Apprentice Boys' parade in Derry, when thousands of Orangemen come to Derry and parade through the city and around the walls to commemorate the lifting of the siege of Derry in 1689. It is an annual celebration of Protestant ascendancy and served to remind the nationalist population who was master even in the city of Derry with a nationalist majority.

The Stormont government turned down all appeals to have the march banned. The Bogside was cordoned off by the RUC. As the parade was passing one of the entrances of the Bogside, it was stoned. The RUC, closely followed by a loyalist mob, baton-charged and the battle was on.

At the end of July, the Republican Clubs had announced they had formed a Derry Citizens Defence Association and they invited other organisations to join. Most did. It was chaired by Sean Keenan, a veteran Republican. After the events in Belfast on 2 August it made plans for a defence of the area.

Barricades had gone up on 11 August in anticipation of the events to come. Once the battle was on, they were built all around the area. Open-air petrol bomb factories were established, dumpers hijacked from a building site were used to carry stones to the front line. First aid stations manned by doctors and nurses were set up. The radio transmitter used during the last major battle in January pumped out Republican music and messages to the fighters. Two-way radios taken off television crews were used for communications. The area was intensively patrolled.

The youth went on to the roof of a block of high-rise flats which dominated Rossville Street – the main entrance to the Bogside. They were continually supplied with thousands of petrol bombs – the dairy was said to have lost 43,000 bottles. This was the decisive move. As long as they were there the police could not get past the flats. Every time they tried, petrol bombs rained on them.

The RUC used armoured cars to try to break through and fired CS gas – the first time it was used in Ireland. But they failed to penetrate the barricades at the flats. The tricolour and Starry Plough (emblem of the 1916 Easter Rising) were flown from the roof of Rossville flats. The Bogside was impregnable to the police. It was an insurrection. Free Derry was now well and truly born.

As the battle went on, mass rallies were arranged for other nationalist areas to keep the RUC at full stretch. There were battles everywhere with the most serious violence taking place in Dungannon and Belfast. The government refused to pull the RUC back from the Bogside. On the 13 August, a senior army officer on the streets of Derry told General Freeland, the British Army Commander, that the police could not possibly contain the Bogside for more than 36 hours. By the 14 August, the RUC were exhausted and beaten. At 3pm, Chichester-Clark requested British troops. At 4.30pm, Wilson and Callaghan agreed. And at 5pm, the British army rumbled over Craigavon Bridge across the River Foyle into the heart of Derry. The British Labour government had sent troops to aid the 'civil power' in the Six Counties. It was intended to have one and only one effect – to support loyalist supremacy, the basis of British imperialism's continued rule in Ireland. The introduction of the troops was the recognition of the fact that the Six Counties statelet was unreformable and that the nationalist resistance could not be bought off.

David Reed
September 1981

to be continued

Labour imperialists look after themselves

continued from page one

ing the disarmament debate, Roy Grantham of APEX enthusiastically described how 'In 1945 the Japs were armed to the teeth. But two small (!) bombs put a stop to that'.

While nuking 'the Japs' was legitimate, the armed struggle of Irish freedom fighters was roundly condemned. By supporting a Bill of Rights for Ireland, Congress reaffirmed the right of the British state to rule over the Irish, and rejected a call for the repeal of the racist Prevention of Terrorism Act. A lone H-Block protester was quickly hustled out of the visitor's gallery.

The Congress even passed a motion which stated that 'Congress recognises that British Press and Television provide freer access and more unbiased reporting than the media in almost any other country of the world.'

The dreary cascade of hypocrisy, contempt and racism from these 'leaders of the working class' was disturbed only by the recent uprisings. One delegate was upset by a recent opinion poll which found that half of young people saw violence as a justified response to unemployment – a violence that will throw the TUC aside. Also worried about the risings was Ken Gill, sham Communist and General Secretary of AUEW-TASS. Blaming them on unemployment and racism, he appealed not to the workers but to the ruling class: 'We say now to Willie Whitelaw: "You give a lead against racism"'. An appeal to the very man coordinating the attacks on black people by the police and the implementation of immigration controls. The entire Congress was a mixture of this contempt for the oppressed, blended with the naked self-interest of the opportunist labour aristocracy.

The only thing more disgusting than this racist, pro-imperialist cess-pit was the attempt of the middle class socialists to cover up for the labour

aristocracy. While *Socialist Worker* ignored the TUC's pro-imperialist ranting, *Socialist Challenge* for the IMG declared 'This year's TUC adopted a more radical set of policies than any in recent times.' (*Socialist Challenge* 17 September 1981.) What a way to describe a Congress which showed contempt for the oppressed, utter hostility to their struggles, and complete support for imperialism and the ruling class.

By contrast, the Labour Party Conference was greeted with a fanfare which makes The Second Coming look like just another episode of Crossroads. Everything, we were told by Right and 'Left' alike, hinged on who was elected Deputy Leader. It was difficult to tell the candidates apart: Denis Healey, who had organised imperialist war in Aden, Oman and elsewhere; John Silkin, who ignored the massacre of 13 black people in his constituency; and Tony Benn, who has condemned Namibian workers to continued oppression, and sold oil to South Africa. Conference couldn't tell them apart either: in the final voting, just under half the votes went to Benn, while just over half went to Healey. Everyone smiled and nothing changed.

While the voting for Deputy Leader went on, the Conference rushed through the issues it wanted to push into the background. Like the TUC, the Labour Party voted support for the Brandt Report's proposals for increasing exploitation of oppressed peoples. The Labour Party, which has opposed sanctions against South Africa whenever it been in power, voted its ritual empty and hypocritical support for sanctions on South Africa. No one mentioned Bill Sirs' or Terry Duffy's collaboration with apartheid announced on the eve of the conference.

These socialists went on to debate nationalisation. Everybody knows that the Labour Party

is a whole-hearted supporter of nationalisation whenever a bankrupt capitalist needs his debts paying off. However, the NUR delegate objected to nationalisation without compensation. What would happen, he asked, to the money his members had tied up in their pension funds? The ASTMS delegate came forward to say that they had many members in banks and that they were opposed in case they lost their jobs. Comrade Dame Judith Hart proposed that a report be produced for the 1982 Conference. This was not acceptable and these socialists voted against nationalisation by 4 to 1.

We had Mr Foot telling us about peace and getting applause for being a peace-monger. This from a man who has led his party in supporting the Government's murder of Irish freedom fighters. A report on Ireland was brought to the Conference endorsed by everyone from Roy Mason through to the Labour Party Young Socialists. The debate began with the by now ritual rush to empty the hall. Left and Right united to show that a pint of beer matters more to the Labour Party than the oppressed people of Ireland. Something went wrong at the beginning of the debate when a lone delegate condemned 'the basic military occupation of the Six Counties'. This was going too far for the BBC who immediately announced 'At this stage, we have to leave the Labour Party Conference – as always – for Playschool'. What the TUC had called 'unbiased reporting' was at work again. Normal service had been resumed by the time Playschool ended, and we heard Alex Kitson for the National Executive calling for strengthening the police:

'We want the troops off the streets as soon as the police can cope... To withdraw troops knowing that local forces cannot handle the situation properly, would be a complete abdication of our responsibility.'

At least Kitson had made it clear that the Labour Party assumes responsibility for the situation: the torture, the murder of children by British troops, the H-Blocks. The troops out 'trend' in the Labour Party were pushed to one side as conference enthusiastically supported the continued occupation of Ireland. Other speakers called on

the Labour Party to set up a Labour Party in the Six Counties and called for unity of the working class – under the heel of imperialism. As Owen Carron MP commented, these were completely pro-imperialist policies:

'Until we remove the border, we will never have working class unity or socialist politics... They used the excuse that trade unionists in Northern Ireland are opposed to withdrawal. But they ignore the fact that Northern Ireland trade unionists are also Unionists.'

Conference also overwhelmingly confirmed support for imperialism by voting to support continued membership of NATO, the imperialist military block against the socialist countries.

The only point where any change in policy was made to the oppressed was over the uprisings. The spectre of revolution was hanging in the air: 'We have had riots in our streets. It is not too much to say that Mrs Thatcher has become recruiting sergeant for revolution in our country' (Denis Healey.) And revolution, of course, is what the Labour Party is here to stop: 'What happened in Moss Side and Liverpool is what we in the Labour Party are dedicated to stop' (Michael Foot.) Recognising the leading role of black people in these risings, Conference decided to support a few toothless motions against racism in the hope of winning black people's votes. This includes the call to repeal the racist Nationality Act and the racist 1971 Immigration Act. But the Labour Party in opposition has always voted against immigration acts, to capture the votes of the oppressed, and always strengthened them when in power.

Yet Britain is changing, a new power, the revolutionary youth, led by black people, is angry and has begun the organised fightback against the entrenched opportunists in the Labour Party and the TUC, and will eventually throw these racist, pro-imperialist institutions with the Healeys, Benns and all their hangers-on, out of their path. By next September, the TUC and the Labour Party could have something to worry about.

Stephen Palmer

NOTES & COMMENTS

Murderers freed

On 30 September Birmingham stipendiary magistrate Frederick Hatchard freed three prison officers charged with the murder of Barry Prosser in Winson Green prison on 19 August 1980. Hatchard's excuse for releasing the three was that no jury could convict on the evidence presented. A problem that has never prevented the frame-ups of Irish POWs, nor would it prevent the conviction of a prisoner accused of killing a screw.

Barry Prosser was murdered by screws in a 'strip cell'. He was viciously beaten and his injuries included a ruptured stomach. The cover-up began immediately. Melvin Jackson, who was in charge of the hospital wing at the time, was charged with murder in December 1980. In February 1981 Birmingham stipendiary magistrate John Milward acquitted him on 'lack of evidence'. In April the inquest verdict found that Prosser had been unlawfully killed. Trustee prisoner Patrick Galvin testified that he had seen Jackson, Eric Smith and Howard Price going to Prosser's cell and returning red-faced from exertion – the exertion of beating up a prisoner! In September these three were brought to trial and again a magistrate acquitted them.

These three thugs were acquitted on the same day that the Home Office released figures showing that the prison population has risen to a record 44,600. The release of the Winson Green thugs shows that the thousands being thrown into prison face the highly-paid legally protected murderous barbarity of screws such as Jackson, Smith and Price. Barry Prosser's family have declared that they will fight on to expose the murderers of Barry Prosser.

BL racism exposed

A CRE report issued 30 September exposes the racism in BL employment policies. In 1977 black worker George Jones was turned

down for a job in BL's Castle Bromwich body plant. He was turned down because he is black. Shop stewards John Garner and Terry McAnulty (AUEW) told management that the men in the plant had voted 17-14 against working with black workers. The management, eagerly seizing on this shop floor racism, refused to employ George Jones. It was a white worker in the plant, refusing to stomach this racist poison, who exposed the incident by making a complaint to the CRE.

This CRE report follows the incident at Cowley plant where orders were issued to security to stop and search all black workers. This racist order again had the collusion of shop stewards. The racist collusion between BL management and AUEW shop stewards must be smashed. What has the AUEW done about the racist shop stewards in the unions? What has it done about the racist employment policies of BL management? What are those who constantly urge black workers to put their faith in the 'organised labour movement' going to do about this shop floor racism?

Newman lets the cat out of the bag

Senior British police officers get their training at Bramshill Police Staff College. The 'commandant' of this college is 'Sir' Kenneth Newman – ex-head of the RUC, ex-supervisor of Castlereagh and Omagh torture centres etc. No doubt his experience in the Six Counties comes in very handy for training British police in how to suppress the working class in this country. However he has yet to learn the art of diplomacy.

Questioned on the role of the police and in particular so-called community policing he said:

'It is a pity this concept of hard and soft policing has become polarised, because they are two complementary aspects. The basic mission of the police is to preserve order and they have a range of ways to do this...'

Tut! Tut! Mr Newman, too much truth is very harmful to the modern police. How are the liberal 'friends of the working class' to promote 'community' policing if you go around telling people the truth?

Like father like son

Whenever Mr Anthony Wedgewood Benn is asked about his position on Ireland he likes to tell his audience about his 'anti-imperialist' father. He tells us how his father always taught him that Partition was a crime against the Irish people.

In 1939 the IRA, believing that Partition was a crime against the Irish people and seeking to put an end to it, began a bombing campaign in Britain. The Government responded by introducing the Prevention of Violence Act – almost identical to its modern equivalent the Prevention of Terrorism Act. A certain Wedgewood Benn (Anthony's father) took part in the debate on the bill as it was rushed through all its stages in five days.

Far from denouncing the crime of Partition or the racist anti-Irish character of the bill, Mr Wedgewood Benn (senior) confined his 'opposition' to worrying that 'innocent Irishmen' might suffer under the new law. He did not take his anti-imperialist-opposition-to-the-crime-of-Partition as far as to vote against the bill. He abstained.

Anthony Wedgewood Benn has indeed followed in his father's footsteps. He has never opposed the PTA. In 1977 he went one step further than his father by voting for the renewal of this racist anti-Irish law. So now we know what Anthony Wedgewood Benn really learned from his father: how to cover his firm support for imperialist barbarity in hypocritical phrases about Partition!

Mitterrand in Africa

When Giscard d'Estaing was President of France he sent 1,400 French paratroopers to the Central African Republic. They were to act as trouble shooters all over Africa, wherever France's power and profits were threatened. Three weeks after his election, the so-called socialist Mitterrand decided to reinforce these troops.

This upholder of 'democratic principles'

had happily signed a communique promising an end to French paternalism toward France's ex-colonies. After all words cost nothing. But in practice Mitterrand ignores his own promises. The troops will be strengthened whatever the wishes of the Central African Republic. Indeed the Central African Republic can negotiate with France as an equal only if they agree never to mention defence!

Africa is a divided continent in which one country after another is achieving its liberation from imperialism. The French paratroopers' presence in Africa shows whose side Mitterrand is on. They are ready to crush any liberation movement that arises in the French colonies and ex-colonies.

Our 'socialist' who has the nerve to claim to support the South African liberation movement is determined to keep France's grip on the economies of North and West Africa. He and his Party, like the Labour Party here in Britain, have no doubts and no ambiguity about which side they are on in this divided world. They back their own imperialism to the hilt and when the profits are threatened they use the full force of the state to crush resistance.

The rose in the fist is the French Socialist Party's symbol. That rose turns to a machinegun once imperialism is threatened.

Sectarian T Party

On 8 September at Blackpool the RCP (formerly RCT) refused to let FRFI supporters join a march supporting Irish freedom, organised by the RCP. The RCP representative said 'We are not having you on the march because you called us racist in your paper'.

We thought that the march was to open to those who support the Hunger Strikers, not merely those who support the RCP. We thought that the march was to build support for the Hunger Strikers, not simply to serve the sectarian ends of the RCP. Obviously we were wrong.

We called the RCT(P) racist in FRFI 10 for their revolting opportunist and publicity-seeking behaviour after the Brixton uprisings. Their behaviour at Blackpool adds sectarianism to the list.

IRAN

LONDON CONSULATE PEOPLES REVOLUTION OCCUPIED IN IRAN

In its frenzied effort to crush Iran's anti-imperialist organisations, the Khomeini/IRP regime has executed over 1,000 men, women and children. Its blood stained tentacles now stretch to Britain and other European countries. Iranian consulates in London and Manchester have become centres for gathering information on and organising attacks against revolutionary Iranian students. Moslem Students Society's (Supporters of PMOI) pickets and meetings have been attacked by consulate thugs armed with knives and clubs in Leeds, Manchester and London resulting in one student undergoing an operation and others with broken arms and noses. The consulates have used information on students to threaten their families in Iran, to block money sent to them by their parents and to subject them to numerous forms of harassment and pressure.

In protest against the repression in Iran and the activities of the Khomeini/IRP consulates in Britain, 54 Iranian students staged a militant but peaceful occupation of the London consulate on Monday 7 September. After one and a half hours the Diplomatic Protection Group (an arm of the British police) invaded the consulate and arrested all 54 students.

All the students involved now face charges of criminal damage and if convicted could be deported to Iran where they will face certain death. In August 4 students were deported from Germany. On arrival at Tehran airport they were arrested and immediately executed. The British police, ever ready to give assistance to reactionary regimes, objected to bail for the students, many of whom spent up to three weeks in detention. When they were finally granted bail it was on the unprecedented basis of demanding cash payments of £1,500 for at least 18 students, with others having equally heavy conditions.

The Iran Solidarity Committee are now con-

ducting a national campaign in defence of the 54 students demanding that the charges against them be dropped and that they be given a guarantee against deportation. In this campaign, Iranian revolutionary students need all the solidarity and help they can get from British democrats and communists. The police have already shown that they will use every means to prevent Iranian students from organising to defend their comrades. On Thursday 1 October the police arrested an Iranian student in Brighton and charged him with overstaying. This same student three months ago had his passport confiscated by the police and could not therefore leave the country or renew his permit. Yet he now faces summary deportation with the danger of execution.

FRFI appeals to all its readers and supporters to actively help the campaign. For more information contact: Iran Solidarity, BM Box 9270, London WC1N 3XX.

DEMOCRACY FOR THE RICH REPRESSION FOR THE POOR

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the police—who have at their disposal modern weaponry and a vast system of judges, magistrates, courts and prisons to force obedience on to those who dare to question their rule.

Those that behave in a 'non-slavish' manner, as the uprisings have shown, face the unrelenting violence of this state machine. When, in many major cities the youth took to the streets to fight police harassment, the police used brutality and finally murder to suppress them. In Liverpool, they used CS gas, firing the cartridges at people and gouging holes in their flesh. They drove their vans at people, running Paul Conroy over and breaking his back. They ran over David Moore, and then reversed over him, inflicting injuries so appalling that he died within hours. In police cells, they beat, abused and sexually assaulted those imprisoned.

Having carried out their violent deeds they then have at their disposal judges, magistrates and courts and cowardly, lying media to sanctify their rule. The Bradford 12 have been singled out as an example to those that challenge the racist British state. Arrested, imprisoned and denied bail they face a vast array of charges including conspiracy which could result in incarceration in hell-hole prisons for many years. The use of conspiracy charges has been tried, tested and perfected against Irish revolutionaries. Against racist judges, lying police and political prejudice, those charged with conspiracy will not even get a pretence of what passes for British justice. So far, only three of the Bradford 12 have bail, on the proviso that they take no steps to organise politically. One of the 12 has faced openly-stated political opposition to his being granted bail. The police opposed bail on the grounds that he was a leading member of a political organisation and anti-police leaflets had been distributed outside the Magistrates Court and the DPP office.

Many who resist end up in prison—the 'murder-machine'. Five Irish revolutionaries have been murdered in British prisons in the past seven years. Black prisoners too have been murdered—Richard Campbell being the most recently-known case. Many prisoners have died in British

prisons. Brutality, drugging and degradation are widespread. The murder of Barry Prosser and the acquittal of his murderers shows how the brutality of prison officers will be defended by the courts.

The police, the courts and the prisons are there to contain and deter opposition to the British ruling class. Those that fight back have no democratic rights other than those they have the power to enforce. Unless each and every encroachment of democratic rights is vigorously fought against, the state machine will use its functionaries to simply sweep them away. The denial of bail for those prepared to fight the system is widespread. Only a massive display of militant strength and support can force courts to grant bail. A small picket is better than none, but against a racist magistrate it will be of little avail. A determined demonstration of thousands outside the court who are not prepared to tolerate the refusal of bail will soon make even the most loathsome magistrate think twice. There is no 'right' to bail in imperialist Britain. For the oppressed, there are no automatic democratic rights. They have to be fought for and taken! The British ruling class is supremely confident that it can get away with murder. It is after all faced with a rotten and bankrupt British labour movement which has raised no opposition while the British state has murdered hundreds, imprisoned thousands and terrorised nearly half a million people in the occupied Six Counties of Ireland. Now they have been able to murder 10 Irish hunger strikers with impunity.

So confident is the ruling class that it has been able to ban many demonstrations called in support of the Irish hunger strikers. In Scotland, while it allows the reactionary Orange thugs to parade their sectarian bigotry whenever they wish, demonstrations in support of the Irish people are simply outlawed. And the labour movement does nothing.

Over the past 6 months dozens of bans have been imposed on marches. Most have been done under the pretext of banning the National Front, but have in reality banned progressive demonstrations in the area. Irish marches have been particularly singled out. The *democratic right to march* simply does not exist for those opposed to the racist British state. It has to be fought for.

On Saturday 19 September, over 170 people attended a seminar organised by the Organisation of Iranian Students in England (Supporters of Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerillas – OIPFG). This highly successful meeting heard speakers from Koumoule and the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad tell of the savage repression against the Kurdish people by the Khomeini/IRP regime. But they also told of the Kurdish masses determined resistance which has made large parts of Kurdistan no-go areas for the authorities. The Revolutionary Communist Group invited to address the meeting expressed its solidarity with the OIPFG and other Iranian communist and anti-imperialist organisations and declared its belief that revolutionary solidarity in Britain for the Iranian masses will come from the black and white youth who rose up against the British state and police in July.

The main speaker, from the Organisation of Iranian Students in England, presented the OIPFG's analysis of the current situation in Iran and their tasks for the period ahead. He emphasised that the struggle going on in Iran was to complete the democratic stage of the revolution which the Khomeini/IRP regime is so ruthlessly intent on destroying. The most urgent task of the day, he explained, was to unite the workers, peasants and revolutionary petit bourgeoisie in order to overthrow the IRP and establish a revolutionary democratic government. This he emphasised was an essential step in the struggle to destroy imperialism and capitalism in Iran. In this context he explained the OIPFG's current demands for the strengthening of revolutionary councils and for the formation of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The second part of the meeting was devoted to political discussion on the OIPFG's views. A number of British trotskyst organisations took

this opportunity to attack and oppose the Iranian masses fight for revolutionary democracy. A Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) speaker, invited to address the meeting, exploited the platform to insult the OIPFG by asking 'Do you think socialism is on the agenda in Iran?' Another said that the 'democratic stage was a complete chimera... it would be a disaster and would subordinate the class struggle to the liberals!' The Spartacists demanded that the 'Iranian left learn a lesson from them. We warned you 3 years ago that Khomeini would be no good for the Iranian workers.' And a representative of Workers Power claimed that the 'OIPFG does not have a clear analysis of the Iranian revolution' and attacked the democratic revolution by proclaiming 'the truth is asserted in the trotskyst theory of Permanent Revolution.'

These expressions of contempt for the Iranian masses and their revolutionary organisations, which revealed trotskysm's petit bourgeois day-dreaming and ignorance of revolutionary struggle, were dealt with easily and brilliantly by a series of OIPFG supporters. One speaker, responding to the RCP's dismissal of the democratic stage, pointed out that 'in Iran millions of peasants were demanding private ownership of land, they want not communist agriculture, but democratic land reform. Communists must form an alliance with these revolutionary peasants if the IRP is to be brought down. The attempt to ignore the democratic stage, is merely a refusal to make a revolutionary alliance with the peasantry. But that alliance is necessary and the result of that alliance can only be the democratic revolution.' Another speaker, turning to the Spartacists said 'you would have liked to come here and boast that you said Khomeini is no good 20 years ago'. But, he pointed out, 3 years ago Khomeini had played a progressive role allying himself with the people. Today the political situation had changed and Khomeini is playing a reactionary role. Communists must take note of these facts and respond accordingly. 'The task of communist leadership' he added was 'to be always a little ahead of the masses and not 20 years ahead of them.'

The OIPFG's excellent responses to the trotskysts were a sharp reminder of the distance that separates trotskysm from any communist outlook or movement. The RCG representative at the meeting in his concluding remarks disassociated our organisation from the disgraceful show of trotskyst chauvinism and thanked the Organisation of Iranian Students in England for the invitation to speak at the meeting and for the very instructive and informative debate on communist tactics in the democratic anti-imperialist revolution.

Vahram Razmikian

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST No9 Racism, Imperialism and the Working Class

This article shows how racism is rooted in imperialism and that it is the British imperialist state which today is carrying out the most massive and systematic attack on black people.

Price 50p + 20p p&p
Larkin Publications
BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

REPORTS FROM IRELAND

DUNDALK CONFERENCE

On 6 September a recall conference of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee was held in Dundalk. The conference was attended by about 800 activists from all over Ireland – the largest number ever at an H-Blocks conference and a clear indication that support for the prisoners remains as strong as ever.

The conference opened with statements being read out from the prisoners in the H-Blocks thanking all those who were campaigning in support of their demands. The statement from the IRA prisoners concluded emphatically:

'Our knowledge that we are right reinforces our determination to resist criminalisation and we reaffirm our commitment to the hunger strike.'

The conference moved on to discuss the report of the National Committee and to consider the various motions relating to the future conduct of the campaign. The main recommendation of the National Committee was that the Committee should be broadened to include a 'middle tier' comprising members of political parties such as the SDLP and Fianna Fail, cultural groups, trade unions and other 'sectional interests' who support the five demands of the prisoners. A number of local activists, however, expressed their dissatisfaction with the continuation of the 'broad front' policy. One speaker from Dublin suggested that the major error of the campaign to date had been the fact that activists had been told that putting pressure on Haughey would save the prisoners. 'We must realise', she said, 'that no 26 Counties government of whatever hue could ever support the prisoners and stand with the revolutionary movement, because it is tied to Britain economically and politically.'

A number of other local activists also spoke against the specific proposal to create a broad 'middle tier' to supplement the National Committee. One speaker from Arklow H-Block Committee argued that more trade union activists should be included on the National Committee itself. He said, 'We don't want trade unionists tied up in a middle tier. We want a change in the composition of the National Committee so that the working class – which is the only force capable of saving the lives of the prisoners – can save them.' Another speaker from Drogheda H-Block Committee reminded the conference that Bobby Sands had warned against relying on political opportunists and argued that after ten deaths the conference should have learned that the strategy being pursued by the National Committee was the wrong strategy. The proposal for the creation of a 'middle tier' was, however, carried by a large majority.

The report of the National Committee also called for more work to be done in the trade unions and suggested that the aim of such work should be to place an embargo on British goods. Several speakers, however, emphasised the need for more urgent and drastic industrial action, and a motion proposed by Derry H-Block Committee emphasising the key role of industrial action in winning the prisoners demands and putting forward an indefinite national stoppage as the strategy to be pursued was carried overwhelmingly.

The question of electoral policy aroused particularly sharp controversy at the conference. The discussion on this issue centred on a motion proposing that in any future elections non-abstentionist candidates should be put forward. One local activist, speaking against the motion, argued strongly that elections should only be used for propaganda purposes and warned against the danger of elections being used by opportunists to gain seats on the backs of the prisoners. A speaker from the Ardoyne also pointed out that the nationalist people had always achieved most when they had followed an abstentionist policy. On the other hand, Bernadette McAliskey and speakers from the IRSP argued that participation in the 26 Counties parliament and in Westminster would offer opportunities to publicise the prisoners struggle. After a lengthy debate the motion was defeated by a large majority.

One other motion of particular importance proposed that 'when the five demands have been granted, the campaign will not finish until they have been extended to prisoners in England.' This motion was opposed by Paddy Bolger of the National Committee and Sinn Fein on the grounds that 'it fits in with the British governments propaganda that if the five demands are met there will be more demands.' His speech, however, was interrupted several times by shouts of anger from local Sinn Fein and other activists and the motion was in fact overwhelmingly carried – a welcome demonstration of the unwavering determination of working class activists in Ireland to fight for the just demands of all Republican prisoners.

Irish Correspondent.



NINETEEN ON TRIAL

Revolutionary activism scares the bourgeoisie like a spectre of death, and no concern for a libertarian veneer will prevent it from taking violent action when the threat merits it. That is the lesson of struggle on the streets of Dublin city.

When the revolutionary working class people of Dublin assembled to display their hatred of imperialism under the H-Blocks umbrella and in solidarity with the starving political prisoners in the H-Blocks on 18 July, the 26 Counties ruling class took fright. Here was the embryo of the unity in struggle of the most oppressed sections of the working class in all Ireland! The enemy was clearly identified – it was capitalism and it was imperialism.

It was then that the iron hand of the state, the gardai, inflicted scores of casualties on the people seeking entry to the British Embassy, injuring women and children in their way. And as a sequel to this most ruthless and bloody piece of repression it raided the homes of selected prominent figures in the H-Blocks/Youth/Trade Unions

campaign in Dublin and throughout the country.

On 14 September 14 young men were arrested and sent before the Special Criminal (non-jury) Court to face charges of obstructing the operation of a branch of government. The majority were from Dublin and true to their revolutionary defiance two of them availed of the occasion to condemn vehemently the puppet political court and speak in support of the POWs.

The stale atmosphere of state repression could be tasted inside and outside the courtroom. Inside when two members of the gallery rose to demand action for the achievement of the five demands they were expelled immediately by gardai. Outside, the troops of the puppet army paraded their guns in the barricaded streets as an ominous reminder of Belfast.

The workers in question, whose number increased to nineteen on 16 September, face a possible period of twenty years imprisonment for their anti-imperialist activity. They were released on bail to appear in court again on 28 October when the date for a sham trial will be fixed.

SC

GARDAI HARASSMENT

Free State forces have openly embarked on a course of suppressing the mass movement that has been built up in the 26 counties around the political prisoner campaign. The most serious indication of this intent was the vicious police assault on the British Embassy demonstration in July. That action is now lending itself to a concerted drive against the movement throughout the 26 Counties.

In Dublin nineteen people have already been brought before the Special Criminal (ie political) Court and charged with offences arising out of the British Embassy police riot. In the working class suburb of Tallaght gardai produced a carbon copy of the naked aggression they had exhibited at the British Embassy, attacking a meeting of local people, leaving women and children to nurture injuries varying from bad bruises to broken bones and a fractured skull.

Outside the capital city gardai harassment and provocations are rapidly on the increase. Four H-Block activists in Cork were up in court after protesting at the arrest of a peaceful, non-interfering comrade by the Special Branch, during a march in the city. Elsewhere in the county local activists are being arrested, interrogated and then released, on an ongoing basis.

No area is escaping hostile gardai action. Donegal and the north-west have witnessed gardai attempts to efface irritating reminders of British genocide. The court is being applied in an effort to curb wall daubing...

One consequence of the sustained police effort in the 26 Counties is the heightened tension between H-Block activists and gardai. Campaigners must learn fast from their broachings with the police that the violence of the state has its negation in the counter-violence of the people.

SC

IRA HITS BACK

During the last few weeks the IRA has continued to exact retribution from the British forces of occupation for the murder of the hunger strikers in the H-Blocks. At the same time it has maintained its campaign against commercial targets with car bomb attacks on commercial centres in Derry, Ballymena and Lisnakea, while elaborate hoax-bomb operations also brought widespread chaos to the commercial centres of Belfast and Lisburn.

In the first weeks of September alone the IRA killed three RUC men, one member of the UDR and one British soldier, and seriously injured a number of other members of the occupation forces. An RUC man who was critically wounded in one of these attacks is believed to have been



involved in the jailing of dead hunger striker Martin Hurson. As *An Phoblacht/Republican News* put it,

'Of one thing both the Brits and the RUC can be certain: with ten hunger strikers dead, and possibly more to follow them, the IRA have got a lot more "repayments" up their sleeve!'

Irish Correspondent

GARRET FITZGERALD SERVANT OF IMPERIALISM

In his first major statement on the Six Counties since becoming Prime Minister of the 26 Counties Garret FitzGerald once more clearly demonstrated his government's complete subservience to British imperialism. In his statement, made on 22 September, FitzGerald indicated that his government would seek to have the section of the Constitution of the 26 Counties which claims jurisdiction over the Six Counties of Northern Ireland repealed at the earliest opportunity.

Although such an amendment to the Constitution would require a referendum and could not therefore be directly introduced by the government the statement itself shows quite clearly that the Free State government is totally committed to protecting the privileged position of the loyalists in the Six Counties in any future political arrangement.

This in turn is only part of the Free State's overall strategy to strengthen the links between Irish capitalism and British imperialism – a strategy which, as FitzGerald made clear in a policy document published last year, is designed to lead ultimately to a confederation between Britain and Ireland in an arrangement which would be acceptable both to the big Irish capitalists represented by Fine Gael and to their masters, the British ruling class.

Irish Correspondent

RCG-FRFI MONTHLY Round-up

South London demonstration

On Saturday 17 October, Republican and anti-imperialist organisations have been invited to support a march calling for victory to the Irish people. Ken Livingstone, Leader of the GLC, has agreed to support the march and speak. All left groups in London have been invited to support the demonstration. A number of groups and individuals outside London have indicated that they will support the march.

RCG/FRFI supporters in London are working flat-out to build the march which is called by the South London Hunger Strike Action Committee. Called originally in support of the hunger strikers, the march will go ahead as a demonstration of support for the Irish people's struggle. All readers of FRFI are urged to support the demonstration and make it a big success.

Benn heckled in Leeds

On 22 September FRFI supporters attended a meeting in Leeds where Tony Benn was speaking. As he rose to speak FRFI supporters heckled him. The mainly middle class audience reacted with customary outrage as their smug self-satisfied 'socialist' meeting with all its rhetoric was disturbed. Tony Benn consistently refused to answer the questions on Ireland. As one FRFI supporter put it in the meeting: he has sat on his backside since March and allowed the murder of TEN hunger strikers.

Despite Mr Benn's plea that the FRFI supporters be allowed to stay as they had valid questions to raise, it was IMG stewards who threw the FRFI supporters out of the meeting. It was Bennite supporters who tried to assault FRFI supporters as they exposed Tony Benn as a murderer of the oppressed. The black youth who left the meeting early in disgust at Benn's lies congratulated the FRFI supporters.

CM

Luton Rally

Despite yet another ban imposed by the local council and the police, the Sinn Fein rally in support of the hunger strikers in Luton on Saturday 26 September went ahead. 250 people gathered to hear speeches from Sinn Fein and prisoners relatives.

The ban was imposed supposedly in response to a British Movement threat to organise a counter demonstration. Yet on the day there was no sign at all of the British Movement.

Brighton picket

On Sunday 27 September South London Hunger Strike Action Committee and RCG/FRFI supporters picketed the Labour Party Conference. Carrying a banner reading 'Are you with Benn or the H-Block men?' the picketers reminded the assembled Labour Party supporters of Tony Benn's role in withdrawing Special Category Status from Irish POWs in 1976.

The picket was received with unrelenting hostility from the Labour Party ranks. One LP supporter declared 'I'm proud of my country Britain' and denounced the picket as 'wicked and evil'. Ladies and gentlemen sporting large Benn for deputy stickers engaged in most unladylike and ungentlemanly abuse.

A local Irish family, nothing to do with the conference however, came over and joined the picket. A lesson in who supports the Irish struggle and who does not.

Archway street rally

On Saturday 19 September the North London Hunger Strike Action Committee (NLHSAC) held a successful street rally in support of the hunger strikers. The rally was supported by Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!, Peykar and local Irish workers.

Along with the militant speeches, hundreds of leaflets were handed out to build support for the London demonstration of 17 October. Many people took extra leaflets to give to their friends.

Sellers of FRFI did brisk business; over 70 copies were sold in two hours. Despite the lack of support from so-called socialists in the area (TOM, SWP, IMG, CPGB) three new people want to work with the Committee.

Despite a police presence throughout, the rally continued for two hours and ended with all the supporters gathered around the banner chanting Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!

Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee

Since the successful demonstration on 29 August, Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee, Saturday pickets have been met with arrests, harassment and surveillance. Seven charges have been made under obscure petty laws. So keen are the police to make arrests that they attempted to explain their seizure of several copies of FRFI by saying that they were 'large leaflets' which they claimed are 'illegal in Dundee!' They also 'invited' along to the station as 'witnesses' several people who had expressed their objections to the police action. One of these 'witnesses' was charged in the station with 'illegal distribution of large leaflets' while attempting to make a formal complaint.

However, a significant fightback is being organised in Dundee. Over 1,000 signatures have been collected for a petition calling for the charges to be dropped. At least two union branches have backed the campaign. The local Labour Council is to be lobbied to support the fight for democratic rights and against police censorship in Dundee.

Another demonstration is planned for Dundee on 28 November.

DEMONSTRATION SOUTH LONDON

Victory to the Irish People!
Saturday 17 October
Assemble 1pm.
Brixton Library

(Corner of Coldharbour Lane and Brixton Road)

March to Rally at Embankment

Organised by South London Hunger Strike Action Committee

FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

LIVERPOOL

Meets every other Friday at Stanley House, Upper Parliament St, 7.30 pm. Next meeting on 16 October.

MANCHESTER

Meets every other Sunday at 2 pm. Next meeting 18 October. See your FRFI seller for details of venue.

BRADFORD

Meets every other Thursday 7.30 pm. Queens Hall Conference Room. Next meeting 15 October

LEEDS

Wednesday 14 October
Wednesday 28 October 7.30 pm
Leeds Trades Hall, Saville Mount, Leeds 7.

GLASGOW

Glasgow FRFI can be contacted at RCG Box 40, 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh

EDINBURGH

Meets every other Sunday 7.30 pm First of May Bookshop 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh
Next meeting 18 October.

DUNDEE

Meets every other Sunday. Next meeting October 11, 7.30 pm. Details of venue from your FRFI seller or Box 40, 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh.

NORTH LONDON

Tuesday 27 October
Tuesday 30 November
7.30am
Wittford Centre, Wittford Rd,
London N19

A number of activities in support of the Hunger Strikers are advertised here. They were called before the hunger strike ended. A number of organisers have informed us that they will go ahead as events in support of the Irish people's struggle.

ADVERTISE ON THIS PAGE

RCG, FRFI GROUPS
ANTI IMPERIALIST
ORGANISATIONS

Advertise your meetings
Send us reports of your activities
TO ARRIVE BY 9 NOVEMBER

STREET MEETINGS/PICKETS

DUNDEE

Victory to the Hunger Strikers!
Political Status Now!
Weekly Saturday Pickets in City Square Dundee,
2-3 pm. Organised by Dundee Hunger Strike
Action Committee.

MANCHESTER

Free the Bradford 12!
Street Meeting Saturday 10 October 11 am,
Longsight Market.
And
Saturday 17 October 11am,
Rusholme opposite Bingo Hall.

BRADFORD

Free the Bradford 12!
Street Meeting Saturday 10 October 11 am.
Woodhead Rd, Bradford 7
And
Saturday 17 October 11 am.

LEEDS

FRFI Street Meetings every Saturday in Reginald Terrace Leeds 7 at 1.30 pm 10 October and 31 October: **Free the Bradford 12!** 17 October and 7 November: **Victory to the Irish People.**
Leeds 3 Defence Campaign.
Picket of Leeds Town Hall in support of Dora Brown.
Assemble 10 am. Tuesday 3 November.

LIVERPOOL

FRFI Street meetings every Saturday
in Granby Street, Liverpool 8
3-5pm

FOR SALE

- **HANDS OFF IRELAND BADGES** (Red on Green) 25p + 12p p&p. 2 or more post free.
 - **MARX AND ENGELS** on Ireland and the Irish Question (hardback) £3 + £1 p&p.
 - **JAMES CONNOLLY** Labour in Irish History 50p + 15p p&p.
 - **JAMES CONNOLLY** Ireland on the Dissecting Table 60p + 15p p&p.
- ORDERS PAYABLE TO LARKIN PUBLICATIONS, FRFI, BCM BOX 5909 LONDON WC1N 3XX

DEMONSTRATION DUNDEE

Victory to the Hunger Strikers!
Political Status Now!
Saturday 28 November.
For further details write to DHSAC Box 15 43
Candlemaker Row Edinburgh.

RALLY LEEDS

Victory to the Irish People!
Sunday 15 November
Details to be announced.

POLICE ATTACK FRFI

Cases are still outstanding in South London, Glasgow, Dundee. The Leeds 3 have just been fined over £200 for selling the paper.

A Manchester supporter has been fined with costs - £200

We urgently need your support. Make cheques payable to: FRFI/HOI Defence Campaign, and send to BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

HUNGER STRIKE ACTION COMMITTEES

Committee Meetings and Contact Addresses
DUNDEE

The Committee meets weekly on Wednesdays at 7.30 pm. Write to Box 15 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh for details.

GLASGOW

Write to GHSAC Box 15 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh for details of Meetings and events.

SOUTH LONDON

The Committee meets every Thursday at 7.30 pm. For details of meetings and events write to: SLHSAC Box 40, 43 Candlemaker Row London WC1N 3XX

PUBLIC MEETINGS

SOUTH LONDON

Organised by South London Hunger Strike Action Committee

VICTORY TO THE IRISH PEOPLE!
Lambeth Town Hall, 7.30 pm,
Thursday 15 October.

Organised by FRFI

FREE THE BRADFORD 12!
Lambeth Town Hall, 7.30 pm,
Tuesday 10 November

NORTH LONDON

Organised by FRFI
FREE THE BRADFORD 12!
John Barnes Library
(Corner of Camden Rd and Dalmeny Ave. N7)
7.30 pm, Tuesday 3 November

DUNDEE

Organised by Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee
Public Meeting and Film Shows
on Wednesday 28 October and
Wednesday 18 November
Details of time and venue from Dundee HSAC Box 15 First of May Bookshop,
43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

EDINBURGH

Organised by FRFI
**'The Hunger Strike Campaign ...
Smash the Bans!'**
Film and Discussion.
Wednesday 28 October 7.30 pm.
Details of venue from FRFI sellers or
from RCG Box 40, First of May Bookshop,
43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh

GLASGOW

Organised by Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee
Film Shows and Patriot Game:
Roche Secondary School, Royston Road
Wednesday 28 October 7.30 pm.
And:
McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall St.
Thursday 29 October 7.30 pm.

CARDIFF

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH FIGHT BACK
Wales Empire Pool, Committee Room B (Upstairs)
7.15 pm Thursday 22 October

LETTERS

Complete contrast

A chara,
If I might be permitted a preliminary comment on FRFI! (No11 being the first issue I have read) it is to remark the complete contrast that exists between its conscious alignment to the side of anti-imperialism and revolution and the opportunist left's continuous slandering of revolutionary organisations and censoring of revolutionary activity.

It is particularly effective linking, as you do, the imposters' spoken and actual treachery with the abject condition of the oppressed rallying behind their vanguard. The universal character of opportunism is also evinced with clarity. In the context of previous 'Hands Off Ireland!' bulletins I was fortunate to have read I can detect no deviation from the incisive analysis of a socialist perspective.

Looking forward to reading FRFI! and 'Revolutionary Communist' soon. is mise le meas agus caradas
SC
Co Wexford

News from Ireland

Dear Comrade
Thank you for the back issues of FRFI which I received some time ago. I think that I would be able to sell some copies of the paper. I'll start with 10 copies of the next edition and see how it goes after that.

I'd be more than willing to send stories from here concerning the army of occupation but I would prefer if my name was not given in the reports since having your door kicked down and being dragged out of bed at 4 in the morning is not all that pleasant.

Perhaps these two items might be of some interest. It is said by the people of the Beechmount area, where the incident took place, that Corporal Phillip Martley who had both his legs blown off when his vehicle was attacked by the PIRA with an RPG7, was singled out for particular attention. It appears that Twinkletoes as he is called, was responsible for quite a few of the beatings the Royal Marine Commandos frequently administered to local people. This was the second time he had been attacked with an RPG and he was just back on patrols after having recovered from the previous attack.

Although quite a few Brits have been shot by their own comrades the shooting of a Royal Marine Commando sergeant in the grounds of the Musgrave Park hospital is especially interesting. Not only does it show the disregard for the yellow card firing instructions but gives some idea of the type of men 'upholding the rule of law and order'. Following reports of a prowler at the hospital a soldier was shot dead by one of his own men. A married man with two children, he was shot in the vicinity of the nurses' quarters. These 'own goals' are never widely reported and the circumstances of this one weren't mentioned at all in the 'respectable' press.

A Belfast reader

Thanks

FRFI sent a message of support and solidarity to Masud Rajavi, a leading member of the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran, on his arrival in Paris. The following is Masud Rajavi's reply.

Dear FRFI
With warm salutations and deep heartfelt thanks from people who are under the harshest repression from the regime of Khomeini, I received the telegram concerning my arrival in Paris.

I ask you to accept the warmest greetings from the People's Mojahedin of Iran.
Hoping for victory
Masud Rajavi

SWPinkoes

Dear Comrades
I have just finished reading the first monthly copy of FRFI, and was slightly puzzled by one little thing. In Gary Clapton's impressive critique of Duncan Hallas's betrayal of the Irish liberation struggle and the British revolution he mentions the national chauvinist award. How does this relate to the obviously trite 'Neither Washington nor Moscow' slogan, as the 'But Great Britain' is your addition, and not that of the SWPinkoes.

Yours fraternally
ED
Hackney

Gary Clapton writes: the SWP slogan is 'Neither Washington nor Moscow But International Socialism'. Given the chauvinism of that organisation and given that it is always ready to side with British imperialism against anti-imperialist movements, 'Neither Washington nor Moscow But Great Britain' is a more accurate description of the SWP's standpoint.

Positive block

Dear Comrades,
I know that RCG came in for criticism from certain quarters when Hands Off Ireland was terminated in favour of FRFI. This was seen to suggest (mistakenly as anyone who has read FRFI will realise) that RCG was giving Irish work a diminished priority. In fact what RCG were attempting to do was to elucidate the links of capitalist exploitation, i.e. to provide an understanding of imperialism.

On the radicals you are correct. If one looks at the empirical evidence on this it is clear that the petit-bourgeois 'left' are implicated in the murder of ten Irish hunger strikers. I think it has to be said, and said loudly and clearly, that the IMG/SWP/SO/WSL etc etc mob are not kind of loose allies or sometime comrades, they are now proved to be a positive block on any revolutionary advance. To give you a topical illustration. Yesterday, 10 September, comrades from here supported - as they have done from the start - the picket of Bradford court. About 11 o'clock a full-time worker from SWP London appeared to take pictures for *Socialist Worker*. When asked why SWP had not supported the hunger strike or these pickets his only answer was to threaten physical violence. Now no one in their right mind wants to degrade an event of this sort by taking up this unprovoked hostility but it is not an atypical example. I wonder what side of the barricade these people will be on when it comes to the crunch. No prizes for a correct answer!

On the RCT(P) and the TUC, what I was saying in my last letter is a vital question. For example, in the next step 16 the ELWAR statement makes it clear the Trade Unions are not racist. In short the TU movement is divorced from the society in which it is located. This is typical of the trend to direct yourself 'away from the vanguard forces and towards the traditional trade union forces'. This is only one example....

Finally I appreciate your characterisation of the radical's 'Hunger Strike Campaign' (sic), as a 'filthy charade'. If everyone in SWP/RCT who lied about supporting Gerry MacLochlainn had in fact done so he would not now be serving a ludicrously political jail sentence. Whilst rattling on about recruiting a 'mass movement' the radicals fail to even mobilise their own increasingly cynical members.

Fraternally,
EH
Irish Solidarity Group - Nottingham
(in a personal capacity)



Dundee 29 August Demonstration

Dundee Sectarianism

Dear FRFI,
I enclose a copy of a letter sent to Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee from Dundee SWP together with our reply. The Dundee Committee have asked me to forward the letters for publication in the next FRFI.

**SEND
US
YOUR
NEWS**

Please note our
new address is:
FRFI,
BCM Box 5909,
London WC1N 3XX

Swindle

Dear comrades
I recently saw an advertisement in the South Wales Echo. 'Wanted - 12 people for hard manual outdoor work in Cardiff area - £90 per week.' Such an offer is very rare here and I applied immediately.

It turned out that 900 people applied for 12 jobs which did not in fact exist: two parasites had rented an hotel room for the day and were charging £1 per interview! (Fortunately most people had the sense to refuse to pay).

I wonder if any other reader can give a better example of the exploitation of people's misery?
Yours sincerely
CP
Cardiff

Selling FRFI!

Dear FRFI,
On 15 September one of your comrades in your North London group gave me 100 *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Hands Off Ireland* newspapers. Later I took another 100.

These papers were to set up a new venture in the area for the unwaged youth and anyone else who was interested in supporting and selling the paper. They were to take the paper and sell it to friends, relatives, kids at school, neighbours and generally to everybody in the community.

I am glad to say that this was a fair success. Although I only have 5 sellers at present, these 5 supporters and sellers of your paper sold 200 papers between them. So just imagine if I had 30 supporters and sellers of this great paper.

I hope anybody interested in this great new venture of supporting and selling *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Hands Off Ireland* in North London will write to the paper and you will put them in touch with me. I am sure that this is a great boost to your great paper.
Your most loyal supporter,
Leslie

Dear comrade,
At a meeting of the SWP Branch tonight we discussed your proposals for a demonstration on Saturday and request for printing of leaflets by our party.

As a result of discussion we came to a decision not to support the demonstration or print your leaflets. The reasons as follows:

a) Firstly the Hunger Strike Committee in Dundee cannot claim to represent anyone else apart from the RCG.
b) And following from this we feel that the RCG has acted in the recent past in a very sectarian way towards other revolutionary groups. We feel your organisation has isolated themselves from the working class and some of the slogans you suggest for Saturday's demo eg 'Tony Benn - murderer, Michael Foot - murderer, Labour Party - murderers' can only help to alienate further working class support for the Hunger Strikers.

c) As a result of these arguments we cannot print your leaflets and feel that joint action at this point in time is inappropriate. Should circumstances change and your organisation operate on a less sectarian basis then we would reconsider future joint action.

It is now our intention to re-establish links with National TOM and organise for the selling of TOM magazines etc in Dundee.
Yours fraternally
Jim Barlow
Chairman SWP Dundee

Comrade,
I have been asked by the Dundee H-Block Hunger Strike Action Committee to reply to the SWP letter. The fact that the SWP refused to support a march in solidarity with the hunger strikers clearly shows the SWP allied to the imperialist state and supporting the British murder policy in H-Block. But the SWP are not an anti-imperialist or revolutionary organisation: they use anti-imperialist rhetoric and terminology to draw militant forces towards them and then drag them up the cul de sac of Tories Out! Ban the Bomb! etc. In fact the best advice they could give to the militant youth in Brixton, Liverpool who stood up to the cops was the best way to fight unemployment and racism is to take it into the work place. When you've no work place to go into that creates a problem. The road that led to the SWP scabbing on the hunger strikers started some time ago. When our group broke from the TOM and the middle class radical groups supporting it, the more optimistic and determined of us felt that we should invite sympathetic groups to take part in joint activity despite their past record and we numbered the local SWP as one such group. Since the public meeting to launch our hunger strike committee we have held pickets every Saturday. A couple of SWP members have attended as individuals but they have made no attempt to attend in any force. One such picket was attacked by an orange mob in full view of 3 SWP paper sellers. On another picket we were approached by 2 cops who ordered a Victory to the Hunger Strikers! banner to be taken down. Subsequently myself and the other comrade holding the banner were charged and the banner confiscated. A few feet from us was a member of the SWP who did nothing. I approached Jim Barlow of the SWP and informed him our committee was

planning a POW status demo and they would be allowed to take part on 2 conditions: 1 they get their members off their arses and out on the street campaigning 2 there are to be no attacks on any sections of the Irish Republican Movement. On their past record we didn't feel these conditions were unreasonable. Barlow said they couldn't support a demonstration on such conditions. He also claimed later that the SWP hadn't been invited! I read that anyone caught in quicksand the harder they struggle the faster they sink. This characterises the SWP attitude. I must now refer to the SWP letter in detail, the tone of which is patronising and arrogant in the extreme.

First lie - the DHSC cannot claim to represent anyone apart from the RCG. Of the 10 people that attend our committee meetings 2-3 at the most are FRFI supporters - the rest are more oriented towards the Republican movement. What this slander meant was I was a member of the RCG. The only time I ever recall my alleged membership of the RCG being raised was when I was selling FRFI. Barlow approached me and said 'So you've joined the head bangers now have you?' I replied I wasn't a member of the RCG but since they were the only organisation that hadn't forfeited their right to the claim of a revolutionary group or disgraced the name of communism it wasn't a bad idea.

Second slander - the RCG (which means anyone who criticises the Labour party and endangers the SWP's manoeuvrings) has acted in a sectarian way and alienated the working class. As proof of this sectarianism and isolation the slogans and text of the leaflet are highlighted. Do the SWP deny Labour sent the troops in, approved the use of internment, the SAS murder gangs, withdrew political status, bribed the loyalists with more seats to keep the minority Labour government in power? If by sectarianism we are accused of highlighting the Labour party's pro-Orange bias, to this charge we definitely plead guilty.

Finally they say we (the SWP) feel that joint action at this stage is inappropriate. 10 hunger strikers have died - if now isn't the appropriate time for joint action when is? In conclusion the SWP are quite welcome to prop up the bar in the Dundee Trades Council club trying to ingratiate themselves with the labour aristocracy and local bureaucrats. We will place our faith in the true revolutionaries, the people of no property, the unemployed youth of Dundee who have no perks, trade union privileges to defend and who have no stake in maintaining the present economic and social structure. These forces made up the majority of our march and the absence of the SWP went absolutely unnoticed. Readers will see from the SWP letter they intend resurrecting the middle class corpse that was the TOM. As far as we're concerned they deserve each other.
JM

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HANDS OFF IRELAND

The relatives of the hunger strikers cannot be held responsible for the ultimate calling-off of the hunger strike. As the struggle continued with no sign of victory in sight, they became increasingly vulnerable to intense pressure from elements whose sole concern was to end the protest. The causes of this defeat, the strategy and tactics of the campaign will be the subject of intense examination and discussion in the movement in Ireland.

What has now become clear to all is where certain forces in Ireland stand. On one side stood the prisoners and the mass of the Irish people. On the other stood the 26 Counties Government, Fianna Fail, the Irish Labour Party, the SDLP and the Catholic Church. These forces were exposed very early in the hunger strike campaign as the agents of British imperialist rule in Ireland.

As communists in Britain our main concern must be the role of the campaign in Britain. The Thatcher government, with the full support of the imperialist Labour Party, has murdered ten Irish freedom fighters in prison. The rotten and bankrupt British Labour movement whether 'left' or 'right' has stood by in silence whilst the prisoners were murdered. Throughout the hunger strike these treacherous elements in the working class movement have found firm allies in the middle class socialist organisations of the British left who rather than expose the traitors have covered up for them. At every stage, if they have campaigned at all, the middle class socialists restricted their campaign to what is acceptable to their 'left' allies in the labour and trade union leadership. These rotten elements have at every stage prevented a mass campaign in support of the prisoners being built in Britain. They put every obstacle in the way of communists and others who fought to build a campaign in the working class. The list of those who must take responsibility for the murder of the ten Irish revolutionaries who died in the hunger strike includes these traitors to the cause of the Irish prisoners: the Labour Party, TUC, CPGB, SWP, IMG and TOM.

As long as there are Irish prisoners of war in

TEN DEAD HUNGER STRIKERS



REPUBLICAN NEWS

imperialist goals there will be a prison struggle. Although the national liberation struggle has received a setback, the armed struggle will continue because the truth, despite what the traitors say, is that there can never be peace between British imperialism and the oppressed Irish people. As Owen Carron said:

'There is no way in which freedom can be obtained, and when obtained maintained, except by armed men.'

Despite the treachery of the British Labour and trade union movement and their middle class socialist friends, there are, in Britain, *real allies of the Irish people*. Following the path of Irish revolutionaries, black youth, supported by sections of

white working class youth, have taken to the streets to fight the same enemy: British imperialism. These are the real allies of the Irish people. The day will come when these dispossessed sections of the British working class will unite with the dispossessed workers of Ireland in an invincible movement to destroy the common enemy: British imperialism. Genuine communists, recognising who the forces of revolution are, will do everything possible to hasten that day.

FRFI salutes the memories of the ten Irish freedom fighters who gave their lives in the hunger strike. Victory to the Irish people!



Modern Times by Bobby Sands

It is said we live in modern times
In the civilised year of 'seventy nine,
But when I look around, all I see,
Is modern torture, pain, and hypocrisy.

In modern times little children die,
They starve to death, but who dares ask why?
And little girls without attire,
run screaming, napalmed, through the night fire.

And while fat dictators sit upon their thrones,
Young children bury their parents' bones,
And secret police in the dead of night,
Electrocute the naked woman out of sight.

In the gutter lies the black man, dead,
And where the oil flows blackest, the street
runs red
And there was He who was born and came to be,
But lived and died without liberty.

As the bureaucrats, speculators and presidents
alike
Pin on their dirty, stinking, happy smiles
tonight,
The lonely prisoner will cry out from within
his tomb,
And tomorrow's wretch will leave its
mother's womb!

GLASGOW BAN ON IRISH MARCHES

The one month ban on marches in the Strathclyde area was recommended by the police and rubber-stamped by the loyal Labour-controlled Strathclyde Regional Council.

Selective and aimed specifically at Irish demonstrations, the terms of the ban are thoroughly repressive. The ban ensures that loyalists and orangemen can parade their support for imperialism on pseudo-religious marches which are exempted but in reality are hate-filled, anti-catholic and political in the extreme. On the other hand supporters of the hunger strikers cannot march to oppose British imperialism in Ireland. The terms of the ban show a cynical consideration for all eventualities: banned are 'public processions... which are concerned or connected, directly or indirectly, with Northern Irish affairs or any aspect thereof or which are organised by, or with the assistance of any person or body known or reputed to be so concerned or connected.'

The wording sets out to avoid repetitions of the events during the last three month ban when on two major occasions support for the hunger strikers was raised - the Glasgow May Day march when the Glasgow Hunger Strike Action Committee joined the march for a time before the police hauled down the banner, and the CND rally in Kelvingrove Park where hundreds came to the support of a GHSAC activist arrested by the police (her charge has since been dropped through the attention the arrest received). Now, 'any person who knowingly fails to comply with the afore-mentioned order or any person who organises or assists in organising any public procession held or intended to be held... or incites any person to take part in such a proces-



sion' stands to get three months inside or a £500 fine, or both.

This both wide-ranging and specific ban is the second this year. In April, a three month ban was imposed in response to growing support for the hunger strikers and to ensure that there would be no marches during the most critical period of the hunger strike. So far four months out of ten this year, the streets have been denied anti-imperialists whilst pro-imperialists - the sectarian and bigotted loyalists - march freely. In imperialism's book, hate-filled marches against the Pope because he won't excommunicate the IRA are nothing to do with Ireland, not political and are religious and therefore allowed.

The Scottish working class movement must wake up to this attack on the right to march and open discrimination in favour of the enemies of the working class.

Rally goes ahead

Denied the right to march, the GHSAC organised a successful and militant street rally in Black Hill. Despite torrential rain 80 attended with contingents from Edinburgh, Sterling and from the Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee. Speeches were made by the RCG, RCPB (ML), Scottish Republican Socialist Clubs, the Dundee Hunger Strike Action Committee and the GHSAC. All pledged to continue support for the hunger strikers. The speaker from the RCG made the most important point when he said that the biggest obstacle to mass Glasgow support for the

hunger strikers was the loyalist police and council. All speeches were applauded enthusiastically by the local people in one of the poorest areas of Glasgow and the rally concluded with a mass 'walk' to the hated local police station. A short but militant picket was held while a letter of condemnation of the ban was handed in. The police were open-mouthed at this 'effrontery' and at the fact that the police station walls were ringing to chants of 'Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Political Status Now!' They quickly summoned transit vans and threatened arrests. But having made our presence felt and made our point we dispersed.

Later that day the GHSAC held a street rally in Barrowfield near Celtic Park as the crowd left the football game. In the face of extreme provocation from the Glasgow police, the rally grew to 40 strong. 8 police on horseback, one full transit van, 2 squad cars and 2 Branch cars were called to prevent people joining the rally: some were threatened, some were physically stopped, some were intimidated by the heavy police presence. As the GHSAC members and supporters began the meeting the police threw a wide ring round the area. Undaunted the meeting commenced with shouts of 'Victory to the Hunger Strikers!' and 'Troops Out Now!' and continued in open defiance of the police, calling them loyalists and the enemies of free speech. The meeting received spirited support and concluded a successful day of events which demonstrated the support which exists for a militant, determined campaign in support of the hunger strikers.

G Cameron