

# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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## KENNETH NEWMAN

# the enemy in our midst



**Kenneth Newman used the opportunity of his first annual report as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police to launch an all-out attack on political organisations opposed to police racism, harassment and brutality.**

**Newman knows that growing unemployment, poverty and racism will lead inevitably to political opposition and uprisings on the streets. He also knows that those in the forefront of that struggle will be unemployed youth and especially black youth.**

His task is to prepare and use the police to put down these forces. And he has to be sure that the brutal methods of repression that will be used are 'acceptable' to public opinion. Hence the attack on all those who criticise or oppose the police. All talk of police racism, police attacks on black people's homes, and police assaults is put down to 'extreme activists' stirring up troubled waters.

These activists 'seek to boost their case by a campaign of dedicated denigration of the police'. Their method is one of 'zealous dredging for any incident that can be exploited as a cause célèbre... bolstered by a variety of hostile broadsheets and give-away newspapers'. All this invective is simply to introduce Newman's main point that opposition to the police in these times of severe economic crisis is a 'threat to public order'.

'In some areas of London extreme activists seek to represent practically any police intervention as "harassment". Although they purport to speak for the whole community, the reality often is that a majority of citizens in the area are concerned about crime and want more police intervention rather than less. Regrettably,

these activists gain publicity for their views out of all proportion to their influence in the community.

Whilst the majority remain relatively unmoved by these tactics, a minority of the young and alienated sections of the community are influenced and encouraged to become more antagonistic to the police. To that extent the activists are a destabilising influence and a threat to public order.'

In this way Newman attempts to 'criminalise' political opposition to the police. This is the first step to turning any effective political opposition to the British state into a criminal act. It goes hand in hand with ruling class propaganda directed against any 'extra-parliamentary' opposition. Only ineffectual political activity limited to establishment bodies

and parliamentary debate will be regarded as legitimate. Anything else is outside the bounds of legitimate 'democratic' opposition and must be dealt with as a 'threat to public order'.

Newman has done all this before as Chief Constable of the RUC in the occupied Six Counties of Ireland. There, the only effective political opposition to the loyalist police state is led by the Republican Movement. Newman's job was to use the police to implement the Labour Government's strategy of 'criminalising' the revolutionary national struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland. The fundamental feature of this strategy was judicial internment — the 'conveyor belt' process of arrest, systematic torture in police cells, forced 'confessions', Diplock (non-jury) courts and imprisonment in specially built concentration camps in the H-Blocks. This process decisively depended on 'confessions' forced out of suspects at specialist interrogation centres such as Castlereagh — in other words torture. Newman reorganised the RUC intelligence gathering operation so that it could do this job.

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## RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY

In FRFI 30 we said:

'The Albany protest was only the latest act of resistance by prisoners to the inhuman, degrading and barbarous British prison system.'

All information which has since emerged, in the face of Home Office censorship, confirms this statement. The Albany protest, 20-25 May, had clear political demands; it was organised and supported by all prisoners; and it was ended in an organised peaceful manner on the basis of an agreement by the Home Office that it would release the prisoners' demands to the press, specifically to Nick Davis of *The Guardian*.

In a letter to South London Irish Solidarity Committee, Irish POW Eddie O'Neill, one of the Albany roof-top protestors, explains that the agreement was reached after 38 hours of negotiations. He states that by 11.40pm Tuesday 24 May the Home Office knew that the protest would end at noon the following day. O'Neill says that the agreement was reached on the basis of the following terms: 'We made our protest — we began on our terms and ended on our own terms. In the strictures of our physical

world that is a rarely accomplished feat.'

ing of the protest would be dependant on three factors: contact being made with MPs Owen Carron and Joan Maynard; contact with Nick Davis; and a guarantee of the personal safety of the protesting prisoners. As Eddie says this was a considerable victory:

The Home Office, true to form, reneged on every aspect of this agreement. In fact the Home Office responded to the prisoners' legitimate protest by mercilessly persecuting them. 125 prisoners were transferred from Albany. James Bennett was transferred to Wormwood Scrubs hospital wing following a brutal beating (by Friday 10 July he was still in hospital). Ray McLoughlin (moved just before the protest) has spent over 5 weeks in solitary confinement in Bristol prison. Paul Hill spent 2 days in Parkhurst hospital then 28 days in solitary confinement in Strangeways (Manchester), and is now in Wormwood Scrubs. Besides these Irish POWs, many other prisoners have received similar treatment. Jimmy Murphy and Robert McGhee, as their letters confirm, were transferred to Winchester.

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## CHILE on the road to revolution

Protests, demonstrations, strikes, and street fighting are shaking Pinochet's regime to its foundations. After the successful protests of 11 May, led by the working class, further protests took place on 14 June. In working class districts in Santiago barricades were thrown up, and pitched battles fought with the police. Students occupied many buildings on the campuses and stood up against the police for several hours. The police eventually cleared the buildings after using water cannon, dogs and tear-gas. The regime reacted to all the protests throughout Chile with brutal repression. Four people were shot dead and more than 1,000 people arrested, and many injured.

The demonstrations of 14 June were called for by the National Workers Command which includes representatives from the powerful Copper Workers Confederation. Mr Rodolfo Seguel, the leader of the National Workers Command and also a member of the Copper Workers Confederation, was immediately arrested after the demonstrations on 15 June. The copper workers immediately called for a twenty-four hour strike to demand his release. At three copper mines the union reported that the strike was between 95 and 100 per cent effective. Pinochet is once fired 1,000 copper workers and threatened to deal with union leaders with a 'heavy hand'. The working class has been successful in demanding the release of the 46,000 independent left workers who struck in sympathy, and against the corrupt classes and their domination.

On 12 July the Chilean state, in an attempt to pre-empt planned demonstrations, imposed a total curfew from

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## ... the enemy in our midst

When the inevitable outcry against this torture began, Newman systematically denied it was taking place and said that the prisoners were injuring themselves as part of an IRA propaganda campaign against the police. A TV programme giving evidence of torture was said by Newman to put RUC men's lives at risk. 'Extreme activists' were at it again. Then as now, the accusations against the police were fully justified. An 'Amnesty International mission to Northern Ireland' found evidence of torture. Newman's own 'police surgeon's reports had also conclusively demonstrated this. For three years Newman had covered up torture. No doubt this was another case of 'dedicated denigration of the police'.

After the 1981 uprisings in Britain the ruling class needed Newman's experience gained in Ireland for use in Britain. He was therefore made head of the Metropolitan Police in 1982. And it is no coincidence that in the same year Major-General Frank Kitson was made Commander-in-Chief of the UK Land Forces of the British Army. Kitson had also been in Ireland from 1970-72 and had been responsible for the brutality and torture involved in internment. Britain was found guilty by the European Commission of Human Rights of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment during that period.

Kitson is an 'expert' in counter-insurgency, that is putting down revolutionary democratic struggles against imperialism. His book *Low Intensity Operations* is designed to gather together this experience and is easily adapted for use in a crisis-ridden Britain. Kitson argues that it is necessary to ruthlessly stamp out 'subversion' that is, revolutionary opposition, whilst simultaneously strengthening 'moderate' elements who support the state. Intelligence gathering operations are an essential feature of this process to target those capable of organising serious opposition.

His method of gathering intelligence relies heavily on a 'large number of low grade sources'—small pieces of information acquired by the police and army—fed into computers to build up a total picture of the community and its inhabitants.

'It is... essential that soldiers and policemen should be trained to get all the information they can by overt means and their employment, and leisure activities, if any, should be planned with this in mind.' (*Low Intensity Operations*)

At the same time 'psychological operations' are used in an attempt to isolate the opposition from the people. These include propaganda against the opposition cause, use of the press and media to put over the government side, government schemes to win 'moderate' opin-

ion and support, 'dirty tricks' such as fake leaflets and eventually provocateurs and agents who masquerade as oppositionists to discredit the cause, and finally, if necessary, the assassination of leading oppositionists. The aim in Kitson's words is

'...to discover and neutralise the genuine subversive element...'

and

'...to associate as many prominent members of the population, especially those who may have been engaged in non-violent action with the government.'

'Intelligence gathering' and 'psychological operations', Kitson emphasised, had to take place before the emergence of subversion or an offensive phase of conflict had begun. This is the significance behind Newman's and Kitson's appointments in Britain. The ruling class is preparing for the major unrest and popular rebellion which is inevitable even here in Britain. They are acutely conscious of the depth and severity of the imperialist crisis and know it can only be solved by imposing intolerable levels of unemployment, poverty, homelessness and repression on the British working class. Already Newman's reorganisation of the Metropolitan Police as outlined in the 1982 report shows him putting phase I of Kitson's overall strategy into operation.

Newman's proposed reorganisation of the Metropolitan Police to make it an effective intelligence gathering force is outlined in the 1982 report. Newman's plan is to centralise and computerise information gathered from a variety of 'low grade sources'. Its emphasis is on information obtained in local police districts through police/community 'consultative committees', 'neighbourhood watch schemes', 'inter-agency cooperation' which involves liaison with social security, social services, schools etc, and increased police foot patrols in priority areas. To centralise this information in a way which allows the police to rapidly respond to it, Newman proposes that

'...each of the 75 Metropolitan Police divisions will formulate a divisional plan taking account of the views of the law-abiding community. These plans will be aggregated at the 24 districts at which level the police commander will work closely with

borough-based consultative committees in order to round out and finalise the district plan. The district plan will then be aggregated at each of the four Metropolitan areas under the command of deputy assistant commissioners, and finally from areas to Force headquarters level.'

Newman calls this making the police 'responsive to local needs'. What he actually means is a centralised and directed police response to community-based intelligence and consultation with middle-class 'moderates' for the purpose of isolating and attacking those liable to organise opposition or create problems for the police.

A pilot intelligence and surveillance unit has been operating in Area 4 in South London since Newman's appointment. Similar units are planned for the other three areas of the Metropolitan Police. Newman justifies this development under the guise of combatting street crime and burglary. Undoubtedly these units will operate in black and poorer areas. Every racist police operation has been justified in this way. Newman's reorganisation allows the police to identify and attack opposition

rebellious forces especially black youth. He says

'There is evidence to suggest that public confidence in the service, whilst generally high, fluctuates from area to area and is lacking among some young people particularly West Indians. For these reasons community relations are inevitably linked with the Force strategy to prevent and reduce crime and to combat public disorder.'

Should all this fail and disorder break out the Metropolitan Police have been well prepared. The Instant Response Units, riot control police dressed for combat and armed with shields and truncheons, have already been used to swiftly and violently crush any street resistance. Last year there were '21,775 single day attendances' on riot shield training courses and '14,398 single day attendances' on courses for Instant Response Units. The number of police authorised to use guns is now 4,476. It is certain that stocks of CS gas and plastic bullets are available should they be needed. And should all this fail, in line with Kitson's strategy, the army is available to play a back-up role:



Kitson

before it gains support and becomes organised.

The technology required for Newman's strategy is already being introduced. A huge new computerised 'command and control' system will be in use by the end of 1984. An automatic fingerprint recognition computer system will be ready in late 1983. A locally based computerised information system for the use of foot patrol officers is part of Newman's neighbourhood policing project.

Newman carried out a strikingly similar reorganisation of the RUC in Ireland to make it an effective intelligence gathering force directed at Republicans. He centralised intelligence by establishing a Criminal Intelligence Section at RUC headquarters, Knock, near Belfast. Three new intelligence units were set up, subdivided into 16 Divisions, each with similar units. All units fed information into the central system at Criminal Intelligence Headquarters with each unit having access to it. In addition, the RUC had access to the central army computer with details of over half the population of the Six Counties and to the Metropolitan Police's Special Branch computer. The ruling class chooses its servants well.

'Psychological operations' at this stage consist of building links with 'moderate' community figures and projecting a favourable image of the police through police-organised sports events, visits to schools and youth clubs. Newman's emphasis on community relations is clearly designed to control



Newman

'If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the power of the police to handle. Should this happen the army would be required to restore the position rapidly. Fumbling at this juncture might have grave consequences even to the extent of undermining confidence in the whole system of government.' (*Low Intensity Operations*).

During the 1981 Brixton uprising it was said that army-liaison personnel were present in the police station. More recently 600 soldiers were sent to Greenham Common to guard the base during the peace women's blockade. Heseltine made the absurd claim that it was done to guard against possible terrorist infiltration of the peace women. In fact it was to defend the base if the police lines broke.

Inevitably this strategy will bring even greater conflict between the police and growing sections of the community. Complaints against the police are useless. Of 8,617 investigated complaints, 253 were upheld, that is only 3%. In 1,727 complaints against police assault less than 1/2% (8) were upheld. And in the case of harassment and false evidence no complaints were upheld. No criminal proceedings against policemen resulted from these complaints.

This is not surprising. In the Six Counties of Ireland between 1972 and 1979 no policeman was convicted of the ill-treatment of suspects during interrogation. This in spite of the fact that compensation has been paid to the victims of torture and ill-treatment during that period.

Increasingly people faced with police harassment have to organise to defend themselves. And when they march, picket and demonstrate they meet with further attacks. In Stoke Newington the youth who marched for a public inquiry into the death of Colin Roach suffered 100 arrests. The courts then back up the police. In 1982 83% of cases brought before magistrates courts in the London area resulted in conviction. The conviction rate for crown court is 70%. Frequently the police will bring charges which cannot go to crown court because of the better chance of conviction in a magistrates court.

Those publicising cases of police harassment and organising defence campaigns not only face police attacks and frame-ups but are soon at the receiving end of 'psychological operations'. Newman's 1982 report is a classic example as we have already shown. And the press and the media are eager participants in this process. Hence the publicity they gave to Newman's remarks about subversives. At his press conference on the report Newman, according to the *Guardian*, directly linked 'extreme activists' with criminal activities such as drug trading and dealing in stolen goods.

'Activist groups trawl for issues which provide a cloak for drug trading and movement of stolen goods. There may be elements of that in the Colin Roach case.'

The police are part of the repressive arm of the capitalist state. Their function is to defend the wealth, privileges and power of the ruling class. They will take whatever action necessary, no matter how brutal and repressive, to put down any challenge to the present system. They are racist because they face the challenge from the most oppressed sections of the working class—black people and black youth in particular. The extent of their fear can be measured by the fact that while 11,269 policemen were used for the Notting Hill Carnival, 1,878 were thought adequate for the 1 1/2 million spectators and 18,000 runners involved with the London Marathon.

The police are to be given even greater powers to gather intelligence and to arrest and detain suspects when the new Police Bill becomes law. Greater police repression has met with little opposition from 'liberals' or the Labour and trade union movement. Their argument that the police in a capitalist state can somehow be made accountable to democratically elected bodies is simply wishful thinking in the face of Newman's and Kitson's strategy. And community policing is, after all, a cog in Newman's machinery of intelligence gathering.

No, there is only one way to fight back. That is through organised political opposition to growing police repression. The black youth and others harassed by the police will organise, as Newman has acknowledged, effective defence campaigns in their areas. In doing this they will meet opposition from the police and those who are prepared to collaborate with them.

The fight will not be an easy one. The ruling class has an organised strategy for dealing with those who oppose it, no matter how genuine their grievances. Kitson and Newman will lead the offensive against the oppressed. They are the enemies in our midst. But the Newman/Kitson strategy can and has been defeated. In Ireland the Republican Movement with mass support is fighting on undefeated. The youth of this country must recognise that there is no alternative but consistent political organisation if they are not to be defeated.

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# SOUTH AFRICA

## Free Oscar Mpetha

# VICIOUS GAOL SENTENCE

As part of the racist apartheid regime's attempt to destroy the democratic trade union movement in South Africa, on 28 June after a trial lasting 30 months, 74 year old Oscar Mpetha was gaoled for 5 years. Oscar Mpetha has been in the leadership of the revolutionary movement in South Africa for over 30 years: he was one of the founders of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955. It is testimony to his strength and influence that the racist regime finds it necessary to jail him for 5 years under the Terrorism Act.

Born in 1909, in the 1940s Mpetha became one of the leaders of the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) and in 1947 the General Secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) when the apartheid regime forced the FCWU to form a separate branch for African workers. In 1955 the FCWU and AFCWU were amongst the unions that formed SACTU which operates as an underground trade union federation in South Africa today and which has always had strong links with the African National Congress (ANC). Indeed in 1958 Oscar Mpetha became President of the ANC in the Cape area. He was banned in 1954 and again in 1959, and detained in 1961. Following the mass uprisings throughout South Africa in 1976/77 Oscar Mpetha helped found the Nyanga Residents Association and until the time of his arrest in 1980 was its Chairman. In 1978 he became national organiser of the AFCWU. In this capacity he helped organise one of the most successful strikes and boycotts in South Africa's history against 'Fatti's and Moni's'. This had started in April 1979 when 5 trade unionists were sacked and other workers came out in solidarity. A massive political campaign including a mass boycott forced the management to negotiate with the workers and in November 1979 reinstate the workers. Oscar Mpetha also helped establish another revolutionary trade union, the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) in 1979/1980 (see FRFI 21).



In August 1980 as Chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association, Oscar Mpetha helped organise a mass boycott of buses in the Cape as a result of 100% fare increases. When, on 11 August 1980, police attempted to force black people onto buses, the people from Nyanga set up road blocks and set fire to vehicles. 2 white people died in the ensuing violence. The following day, in a public statement, Mpetha blamed the deaths on the provocation of the police. He was promptly detained and after 4 months, together with 17 youths, he was charged under the Terrorism Act. Throughout the course of the second longest trial in South Africa's history this man in his 70s was shackled with leg irons. His health has steadily deteriorated whilst in detention: complications from his diabetes made a prostate gland operation necessary. His toe had to be amputated. His eyesight is failing, he suffered vascular problems forcing him to use a wheelchair, and he is suffering

from a neurological disorder. So scared were the racists of the support for Mpetha that up to 200 South African armed police guarded the court day and night. In court Mpetha was accused of taking part in terrorist activities including for example encouraging the youth to sing 'There are guns in Angola, fetch them'. For this he received 5 years in gaol.

It is in response to the massive growth of revolutionary trade unions that the racist regime has unleashed repression unprecedented even in its bloody history. The 5 year sentence given to Oscar Mpetha follows mass detentions of trade union leaders in the last 3 years including the detention without trial of SAAWU leader Thozamile Gqweta 8 times. It follows the murder of leading trade unionists inside and outside South Africa including William Khanyile in 1981, Neil Aggett, Petrus and Jabu Nzima and Joe Mavi in 1982. The workers in South Africa see imperialism standing behind their oppression and especially British imperialism, and thus they expect the solidarity of workers and all oppressed people in Britain. Their struggle is our struggle and we must fight for the complete isolation of the apartheid regime and the release of Oscar Mpetha and all South African political prisoners!

Chris Fraser



## Press Statement LONDON PAVEMENT RESERVED FOR RACISTS

On Friday 1 July, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group were prevented from holding a picket of South Africa House on direct orders from Sir Kenneth Newman, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. The reason the police gave was that a reception was being held at the Embassy. We have picketed the Embassy every Friday evening from 5.30 to 7.30 for the past seven months.

When we arrived, there were four police vans in Duncannon Street, the entire front of the Embassy was sealed off by police barriers, the bus stop had been moved and no pedestrians were allowed on the pavement. Only those attending the reception in South Africa House were allowed to pass the barriers - thus this part of London was reserved for the friends of apartheid South Africa. We went on to hold our demonstration outside St. Martin's in the Fields.

In the light of Sir Kenneth Newman's controversial statements last week, this appears to be one of the first examples of his ideas in practice; it is an attempt to deny us our democratic right to demonstrate outside a symbol of oppression, the South African Embassy.

## South Africa IN BRIEF

### ● Police murders

On 4 July, Paves Moleje Maltje was arrested and detained in Soweto police headquarters. By the next day he had been shot dead, but no details have been released. In 1981, Malatje had been detained twice by security police because of his friendship with a defendant in a security trial.

Last month, in one week alone, there were 2 murders of detainees in Dirkie'sdorp police station. Timothy Thema Manana, 34, and Zephaniah Sibanyoni, 33, were arrested on 6 June. The next day, the police informed Manana's family that he had died in his cell. Three days later, the Sibanyoni family were told that their son had died 'in the kitchen of the police station at Dirkie'sdorp while enjoying a meal'!

In the Boland, Daniel Benjamin, 13 year old schoolboy detained with three of his school mates for almost 2 months, for allegedly stealing pigeons from a farm, died a day after being released from police custody. Although one of his friends has said that Daniel's head was banged very hard against the wall of their cell by a white policeman, the local district surgeon without carrying out a post mortem has pronounced 'death by natural causes'.

### ● It's not cricket

The MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club) have voted against a proposed cricket tour of South Africa this winter. However, other sporting bodies in Britain have no qualms about violating the Gleneagles Agreement by maintaining their sporting links with apartheid. Next month, the British Lions, made of the 4 rugby unions of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, are touring South Africa to play in matches to mark the centenary of the Western Province Rugby Union. The 'All Blacks' Rugby team from New Zealand will also be playing. The SA Rugby Union is to foot a bill estimated at £150,000 for 100 British and other foreign journalists, government observers, and sport officials, to fly to Cape Town, to be convinced that sport in South Africa is totally racially integrated. We know this to be a lie and condemn all links with the fascist apartheid regime.

### ● Winnie Mandela rebanned

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has had the banning orders against her renewed for 5 years. For the past 20 years, Winnie and the rest of her family have suffered continuous harassment in the attempt to silence their vehement opposition to the racist apartheid state.

Ruby Khan

## Free Nelson Mandela 24 HOUR PICKETS

As a result of the collection, which was more than enough to cover the costs, a donation of £100 was made to the African National Congress.

Robert Clough

On 17/18 June Bradford Anti-Apartheid Group held a 24-hour picket demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners. The picket was a great success and a big step forward for anti-apartheid work in Bradford. Over 60 people attended the picket and 1,200 signatures were collected on the Free Nelson Mandela petition. Three Labour councillors, Tom Torney MP and the local Palestine Solidarity Campaign were among the sponsors of the picket. Support also came from members of the CPGB, FRFI, Chile Solidarity Campaign members, City of London AA Group and CPSA strikers from the local Job Centre. 2 women also came on the picket and fasted for the full 24 hours.

The success of the picket has inspired Bradford AA to plan an intensive programme of activities in the coming months. These will include pickets of the co-op who sell South African foods, pickets of the Yorkshire Electricity Board for their use of Namibian uranium and a public meeting in support of SWAPO.

For further information write to Bradford AA Group, c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, 6 Edmund St. Bradford 5.



The Liverpool FRFI 24 hour picket calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners held on the weekend of 17/18 June was a resounding success. Over 75 people participated in it, 5,000 signatures were obtained on the AA Nelson Mandela petition, £250 was collected and no less than 465 FRFIs sold. From the moment the picket started with its impressive poster display, and with over 20 people present, it was clear what a success it would be. Picketers came from CND, SWP, Militant, LPYS, AUEW-TASS, NALGO, TGWU and other organisations. Right from the start, there was a continuous flow of people signing the petition and buying literature from the stall. Spirits were maintained through the night by political discussion and by singing freedom songs, taught by a delegation from City AA Group. The Saturday daytime brought a flood of support, at least 20 people being present at all times. Liverpool working class people signed the petitions in their droves, many expressing their satisfaction at seeing the issue of apartheid being brought onto the streets. Many stopped to hear the speeches made on the megaphone, or to watch the picketers break off from the petitioning to sing more freedom songs. The picket was supported by the North West region of AUEW-TASS, by Ormskirk Edge Hill Students Union, and by David Evans, an ex-South African political prisoner and his family. Messages of support came from Allan Roberts, Bob Wareing, Bob Parry, Eric Heffer, Gordon Oakes and Terry Fields, MPs for the Merseyside area, and from Hugh Dalton, Chairman of the City Council, and from John Hamilton, leader of the City Council Labour group.

On Friday 24/25 June City of London Anti-Apartheid Group held its second 24 hour picket of the South African Embassy in support of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners. Given the recent news of the worsening conditions of imprisonment for Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress, the picket had a new urgency. Attended by 300-400 people it provided a major boost to the campaign for Mandela's release and was a fine reply to recent attempts to prevent picketing of the Embassy.

The picket was attended by Richard Balfe MEP, Chris Smith MP, the executive of NALGO and a number of other trade unionists, a large contingent of FRFI supporters and many from the Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign. Youth provided the backbone of this effective demonstration against British imperialism whilst the myriad of left wing and radical groups in London boycotted it, with the exception of the WRP who provided stewards overnight.

The spirit of the picket was better than any previous picket, especially on the Saturday afternoon when there was one 2 hour burst of singing. One City AA supporter commented later that with that strength she felt we had the power to take over the Embassy! The 1000 signatures collected on the picket on the petition calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners added to a total of 10,000 signatures handed in by City AA to the national Anti-Apartheid Movement on Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday (18 July).

Since the 24 hour picket, the regular Friday pickets of the Embassy (from 5.30pm-7.30pm) in Trafalgar Square have increased in size to 40 people weekly.



# FIGHT RACISM



ANDREW WARD (REPORT)

**At a press conference the morning following the inquest the Roach family pledged to fight on for the truth into their son's death. The family also made clear their disgust at the way the cowardly racist press had covered the inquest reporting only what they saw fit, the police version of events, police 'evidence'.**

As Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign Bulletin No 8 said 'With press like this coroner Douglas Chambers will have little problem in bringing the inquest to the conclusion that the racist British state would like to see'. Indeed just as the police present at the inquest laughed and joked when the verdict was brought in, so too did the press, of 21 June, rejoice at the verdict of 'suicide'.

As though the headlines of 'Roach shot himself' weren't enough, some of the leading articles, steeped in racism and lies, blew the whole thing open. Guardian - 'Why an open and shut case became an issue'. Sun 'The End'. Daily Mail 'The real stench emanating from Stoke Newington'. Just as the police/press statement of 12 January, 'History of mental illness', was designed to quell any public outcry at Colin's death in Stoke Newington police station, so too was the verdict of suicide and the accompanying press coverage which blamed 'Professional Protestors' for everything but Colin's death.

room, dismantled the gun and tried, unsuccessfully, to make it fit into the bag - the coroner chose to ignore this! This farce continued when James Roach spotted DC Smales sitting in the court mouthing signs over to DS John Pearce, in the witness box giving evidence, as to what he should answer to the questions asked by Mike Mansfield relating to the time Colin's body was 'found'. Of course neither was arrested for perjury or attempting to pervert the course of justice. The coroner merely asked Smales to leave the court so that 'We can have a quiet life'!

Many points, contradictions and outright lies were ignored throughout the inquest but most stunning of all were those concerning the gun used to kill Colin. As Colin's mother, Pamela Roach said, 'All the evidence concerning the gun was in no way connected with Colin'. As Keith Scully had testified, the bag Colin had with him was open and nothing was sticking out. Readers should remember that the gun will only fit into the bag whilst protruding, and once dismantled takes quite some-

The press gave great mileage to the two pathologists, (one for the police the other for the family - both state paid hacks) claiming that Colin's injuries 'could only be self inflicted' also the jury 'half of them black' bringing in an '8-2 majority verdict'. Again another tactic designed to quell public outcry and attention. As Bulletin No 8 stated 'some of the jury even looked pleased' at the verdict, now they have made their complaint (through harmless, ineffectual channels) much of the spotlight is off them. Home Secretary, Leon Brittan has said that a public inquiry is neither 'desirable or necessary'. The press hammer all the state's points home, with one goal in mind - to stop the campaign for the truth into Colin's death, and help the police get away with their foul deeds. The filth continues with the Times - the family 'were less than honest with those who marched with them' about the state of Colin's mind. But the Daily Mail thinks there should be an inquiry! 'not into the suicide of Colin Roach... but into the anarchic and racist motivations of the martyr makers. For that is the real stench emanating from Stoke Newington.'

We can always count on the Sun 'There was NO racism, NO sinister conspiracy by the police. For all reasonable people that will be the end of a tragic affair' (Their emphasis). Referring to police behaviour and previous family harassment, the 'liberal' Guardian says 'this helps to explain why the tragedy of a depressed young man killing himself - an apparently open and shut case - could become a cause celebre... and... their new grief disposed them to go along with it' - the campaign. Colin is referred to at the inquest as the 'defendant', is said to be 'mentally ill' or as the Economist put it 'deranged'. The Roach family are called liars then accused of having no minds of their own.

with his attack on freedom of speech, have all failed to achieve a total cover-up about the death of Colin Roach. Despite all their endeavours, lies and slander, we will fight on ever more earnestly to demand

**COLIN ROACH - NO COVER UP!  
DROP THE CHARGES NOW - FOR AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC INQUIRY!**

**ACE KELLY**  
Chair - Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign

## Bradford police protect racist thugs

When Mrs Stella Ali and her family became the victims of a violent attack from a neighbouring family of racist thugs they found no protection from the police - only more brutality, and arrests on trumped up charges of threatening behaviour.

For some time now, Mrs Ali and her family have been subject to a vicious campaign of racist intimidation and abuse which began with the circulation of a petition around the Buttershaw estate where they live - demanding the removal of herself and her family. On 7 July, Mrs Ali's daughter Joyrena and her friend Jackie were violently attacked by the father of this racist household, when they went round to complain about this persistent harassment. Confident of support from the police a member of this racist family had phoned the police - they arrived in time to witness Joyrena being repeatedly kicked in the head. They did nothing to apprehend the attackers - instead Jackie and Joyrena were themselves threatened with arrest!

On 9 July after yet another incident when Mrs Ali had objects thrown at her, two sons and a son-in-law, Azor, Inus and Idris went round to protest. They were greeted by a frenzied mob who charged at them brandishing hatchets and hammers. So vicious was the attack that Inus required 7 stitches in his face and Idris 3 in the back of his head. Once again the police had been called by the racist family and no less than one police van, six police cars and one CID car were on the scene at the time of the attack. And yet once again they did nothing to defend the family under attack. Instead one policeman proceeded to drag the bleeding Inus through some bushes and then throw him on the ground. Joyrena was immediately arrested when she protested at this treatment. When Azor protested at Joyrena's arrest, he was himself arrested along with Inus now profusely bleeding. When someone shouted that Inus required hospital treatment, the police retorted 'He'll go to the cells first and then the hospital', and then armed with truncheons they jumped into the van.

Mrs Ali is now unable to live in her own home through fear of further attack, the police have once again shown themselves to be willing accomplices to the most violent attacks on black people. Jennifer Kent

## Campaign fights back

Since the contemptuous but expected result of the inquest into Colin Roach's death, the Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign has stepped up its work on the streets of the community and met with ever increasing support.

Two days after the unjust verdict of suicide, we distributed our bulletins and petitioned at Dalston Junction. The response was tremendous. People were literally coming up to us to sign, donate money and express their disgust at the racist cover-up of the police and coroner's court.

We hold our street meetings regularly on Saturdays at Ridley Road market and continue to expose the brutality of the Stoke Newington police, the lies of the gutter press and urge the people to support the demand for a public inquiry and the dropping of charges.

We are greatly encouraged that the Brondesbury and Kilburn Defence Campaign who spoke at an earlier meeting are now holding street meetings to expose the racism of the Kilburn police.

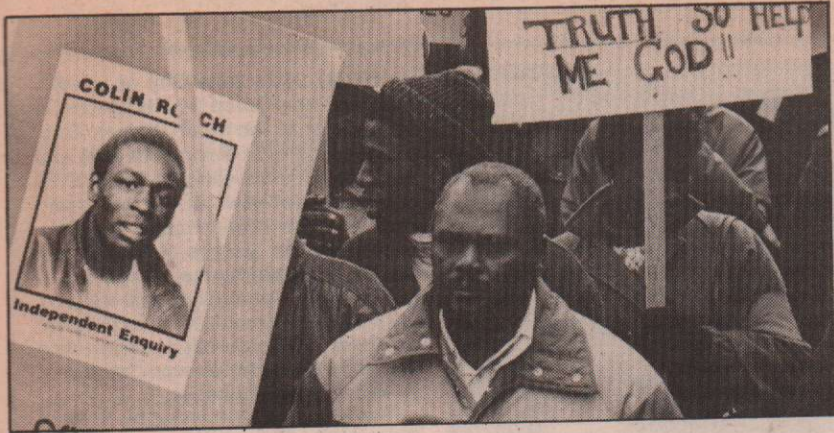
In the market we meet with massive support, proving that the people of Hackney are highly aware of the police/press cover-up and are prepared to take a stand with the Campaign for truth and justice. Two weeks ago during our meeting 2 black youths were followed, arrested by plain clothes police and charged with 'attempting to steal from an unknown woman'. We were able to take photos, get their names, organise solicitors and broadcast the incident over the megaphone. Many people stopped to listen and were impressed by our instant action.

So beware Sir Kenneth Newman! We shall not be threatened off the streets. We have the support of the community and we shall continue to fight for the defence of black and oppressed people who stand up against police brutality, racism and cover-up.  
Alexa Byrne



From there, attention is turned to the 'professional protestors' who are a perpetual source of embarrassment to the police, exposing the fact that three of the police who have testified at the inquest, have also been involved in frenzied attacks on those protesting for the truth of Colin's death. Such as PC Brian Jackson G154, who it is claimed was the first to 'find' Colin's body yet was involved in the arrest and assault of myself and Colin's father! Special anger is reserved for those who expose the police's lies, harassment and brutality to the community, publicising the fact that 100 people have been arrested and seven black youth imprisoned for demanding the truth.

Nine days after the coroner gives the green light by rubber stamping the police verdict of suicide, in steps our friendly neighbourhood torturer - Sir Kenneth Newman - with his first annual report. Attacking 'our enemies on the left' Newman's report is a campaign of 'dedicated denigration' filled with 'uneducated and unfair criticism' of the extremists and agitators' who demand the truth and an end to racist police harassment, brutality and murder. Newman's report/propaganda campaign is designed specifically (but mistakenly) to isolate and then crush, through arrests, frame ups and imprisonments those who stand up for truth and justice, those who are part of the newly emerging movements in Britain. Libellously Newman says 'activist groups trawl for issues which provide a cloak for drug trading and movement of stolen goods. There may be elements of that in the Colin Roach case'. The police, press, coroner and now torturer Newman,



Let us look at some of the points from the inquest the racist press chose to ignore. The mirror in the station which enabled them to see everything going on in the foyer, was said never to have existed. The towel 'found' on Colin's body was described as being in three different places by the police. The family barrister, Mike Mansfield, was denied access to police statements, by the coroner, therefore denying him the opportunity to prepare the family's case and thoroughly examine police witnesses' evidence. Many times did the coroner display his contempt for the Roach family, truth and justice, but no more so blatantly than when he said quite unashamedly 'It's irrelevant, totally irrelevant if he had been held till Christmas it would still be totally irrelevant!' referring to James Roach's detention at the police station on the night of Colin's death. This was said whilst interrupting the family's barrister who was questioning DC Supt Robertson on this vital part of police evidence. The same Robertson, during the lunch break of 17 June, sneaked back into the court

time to reassemble. The gun had no traces of fibres from the bag or towel on it. Neither did the bag or towel have traces of gun grease on them - according to the police's own forensic experts. No marks or bruising could be found on Colin's fingers, which again would be impossible, when the police's own tests showed that the gun would recoil from between 6-17 feet when fired. Yet again there are no marks on the floor where the gun was said to be 'found' some yards from Colin's body. The police themselves say that the gun had never been wiped clean, yet there were no finger prints on it and Colin had no gloves!

Who other than coroner Chambers who presided over the inquest/cover up of the murder of Aseta Simms at the same police station could say in his summing up, only mentioning police evidence, that 'negatives' don't mean a thing. Then direct the jury to bring in a suicide verdict. No other verdict was possible with his summing up. As Colin's father said 'It was not the jury who made up their minds, it was the coroner who made up the jury's mind'.



# FIGHT RACISM

NICHOLAS OFUSU

## ANOTHER COVER-UP

The Inquest into the death of Nicholas Ofusu, a Nigerian who died in the hands of Peckham police on 14 May reached a verdict of 'Misadventure'. This was only to be expected as presiding over it was Coroner Dr Arthur Gordon-Davis who instituted the cover-up in the New Cross Massacre. He pushed the jury towards its verdict of misadventure and went so far as to recommend that three policemen be commended for their 'bravery'. Most disgusting of all, he persistently attacked the main witness, Gary Young, who had seen Mr Ofusu arrested. He had made a statement to solicitors saying that the police put a stranglehold on Mr Ofusu causing him to choke and used other excessive force.

This evidence presented a serious threat to the cover-up and so the Coroner set out to discredit it. He brought Gary's own police record up and the fact that he was currently on bail on a cannabis charge. This was done to suggest that Gary was biased against the police. He made great play of the fact that Gary's statement had been put into better English for him by a solicitor. He even summoned a clerk from the solicitor's office to the Inquest as well as the policeman who had last arrested Gary. Finally after the verdict had been reached Gordon-Davis announced that he would be sending papers about Gary Young's evidence to the DPP for a possible perjury charge.

As usual the press reporting of the case misrepresented and obscured the facts. The *Guardian* showed what levels of 'reporting' can be reached. Typical of the *Guardian's* artistic ability to distort facts, is his quote of the 11 July from Stella Ofusu, Nicholas Ofusu's niece, who under pressure from Gordon-Davis said she had seen 'no unnecessary violence' used on her uncle. If the truth be known, she was in a hysterical state herself and only saw her uncle with the police for a split second in the flat. She could not say how much of this 'necessary' violence was used.

In the usual racist bias of press and court, Mr Ofusu was described as heavy and obese. He had, by his niece's words, only eaten a slightly more than average normal meal, and he was a man of average height and size. It is not

surprising that none of the numerous police contradictions, in particular one vital one, were reported in the press. All the police except PC571 Chris Panther, said that Nicholas put his foot up against the back of the van and refused to be taken in, so he was put in bodily. 571, however, maintains that he sat up in the back of the van at first and was then forced to lay on his stomach. PC Thomas put his hand on Nicholas's back. If what PC 571 Panther says is true then the pressure on Nicholas's back could well have been strong enough to induce the vomiting which resulted in his death. This fact did not appear in the *Guardian*. Several times police officers refuted previous statements which did not agree with evidence given in court by other officers. As Paul Boateng, family lawyer, so ironically put it his 'brother' officers. Paul Boateng also had to face constant interruptions from Gordon-Davis and at one time threatened to go to court if he wasn't allowed to ask questions which he was entitled to ask. Gordon-Davis, who the group 'Inquest' are fighting to have removed, asked one policeman if he thought he had done everything in his power to save Nicholas Ofusu's life. He replied 'if I was in the same position tomorrow I would do the same thing.' And it is clear that Coroners too will carry on doing the same thing - covering up for police violence.

Stella Smith

## LEEDS ANTI-RACIST STRUGGLE

On 11 June yet another black youth who was walking with his girlfriend in the Bond Street Centre, Leeds was attacked by a fascist. Two security guards seized the fascist and summoned the police. Rather than arresting and charging the fascist themselves, the police asked the black youth if he wanted to pursue the matter. There is one law for the fascists and one law for the black youth. Whenever a fascist is attacked the police never hesitate to arrest and charge black youth. The Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign was set up to fight this injustice, to fight against police and fascist racism.

Four defendants of the Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign have appeared in court so far. On 17 June Michael Stewart, Nicholas Manners and Paul Liburd appeared before Leeds Juvenile Court charged with 'wounding'. The case was adjourned till 15 July. The incident took place on 7 May when the defendants supposedly attacked an NF sympathiser. They strongly deny this alleged crime. On 29 June Bobby Blackman appeared in

court on a charge of breach of the peace. The case was adjourned until 15 September. Bobby was arrested after he was abused by a group of fascists. The police ignored the fascists and instead seized Bobby who was trying to shirk off the racist insults.

The Defence Campaign has held pickets outside the courts when the cases have been held. On 17 June the picket was heavily policed and harassed. The police have also harassed campaign supporters handing out leaflets, collecting signatures on petitions and selling *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!*

**BLACK AND WHITE ANTI-RACIST YOUTH DEFENCE CAMPAIGN HELP US TO HELP YOU -**

If we are to stop police harassment, get the charges dropped and smash racism then we need your help and your donations. Bobby Blackman has to pay £30 just for the privilege of being framed-up. Please rush your donations to Black and Anti-Racist Youth Defence Campaign, c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2. Chas

## Self-defence is no offence

Mr Royal, four of his children and a neighbour heard in court the full police version of what happened last January in their home in St Pauls Bristol. Their lawyer stated plainly that the story was concocted by the police to 'explain' why they smashed the door in, beat up Mr Royal, and provoked a potential 'disturbance' in the area.

An independent witness testified that Mr Royal had not attacked the police outside his home. So, unprovoked, they had forced their way into a private house and beaten a man to the ground. His children, naturally enough, jumped to defend their father. Thugs are thugs, with a uniform or without, and who would stand by doing nothing while a relative was being assaulted in his own home?

The evidence put the magistrates in a dilemma! If they found the family not guilty of assaulting the police, etc, they would expose the police as liars, thugs and racists. The problem was easily solved. The magistrates' chairman said 'We have not disbelieved the police. Our decision fell from the fact that there was no proper arrest of Charles Royal'. What hypocrisy!

So they found Mr Royal guilty of **Sheila Marston**

assaulting one policeman, but conditionally discharged him for two years! Further charges of assault in the house were dismissed. Two of the children were fined for assault. Another son, David, arrested and released without charge last year in another case of police harassment, was remanded for social reports, as was the neighbour. David was charged with 'police obstruction'; Margaret, the neighbour, with threatening words and behaviour. Both deny the charges. Their case is on 25 July.

The trial was picketed and supported throughout by the Argyle Road Defence Committee who gave out leaflets, collected signatures on a petition against police harassment and attended the hearings to give their support.

## TRAFALGAR 4

In the trial of the Trafalgar 4 we see the racist injustice of the courts at work against two black youths, Gillian and Barry, who in democratically protesting at apartheid in racist South Africa, have been criminalised and had repressive sentences of 2 years' conditional discharge and a year's bind-over for £100 imposed on them.

The four youths, Gillian Whitelock, Barry Ledgister, Cirus Noor and Mark Hunte, were arrested on 8 April after attending a City Group AAM picket of South Africa House (FRFI 29). From the outset the police, led by Inspector Graham Tucker, tried to bring serious charges against Cirus and Mark. They were arrested for wearing 'political uniforms at a public meeting and for holding offensive weapons' (ie green jackets, 'Free Nelson Mandela' badges, blue jeans and carrying walking sticks - called ice-picks by Tucker.)

Police attempts at political prosecution were refused by the Attorney General,

thus weakening the charges of threatening behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace. As one defence barrister noted in his summing up, Tucker 'formed the impression that their behaviour was offensive' but in fact no one was threatened and all Tucker was really concerned about was whether Cirus and Mark were in political uniforms or carrying offensive weapons.

The charges were dismissed and it was clear that there were absolutely no grounds for arrest in the first place. Why then were the unfounded obstruction charges against Barry and Gillian proved? It is the racist revenge of the court/police who are infuriated when black youths take political stands and attempt to repress them with arrest and criminalisation. But this repression has not succeeded. The youth will not be silenced and continue to support the struggle of the ANC against apartheid.

Alexa Byrne

## NEW TACTICS

On the Broadwater Farm estate the police are trying new tactics against the youths. Every so often they seem to be bringing out new laws. They send in police from Stoke Newington who are known for their heavy handed style to try and arrest the youths of the Farm. They try and provoke the youths by just barging into the Youth Association knowing that this will cause tensions with the youths and when the youths don't retaliate they think to themselves - 'Hold on a minute, something's wrong here. They're meant to start attacking us.' But what the police don't know is that we've talked and trained the youths about the police's silly tactics and now instead of getting heated up they just laugh in the police's faces.

The police say that they are community policing but we say that they are harassing us. They say they are community policing the estate but how can this be when they now say that they are going to arrest people just for standing or sitting around on the landing precinct outside the Youth Association? They say that community policing is only 2 police alone walking the estate, when I have seen literally ten policemen. They weren't outside the youth club, they were outside the Social Club where most of the youths go on a particular night. What's all this then? The police must

think that they are in South Africa bringing out new laws and tactics. They'll soon be saying that we need a pass to stand around or sit on walls!

The Broadwater 4 go to court on 31 October (see FRFI 29 and 30). We have already received a letter of support from an unemployed FRFI reader. You can all write to us! Because...we don't fight except to win! Broadwater 4 Defence Campaign Unit 1, Tangmere, Broadwater Farm, Tottenham, N17.

Diane Anderson

## IN BRIEF

### ● And Criminal Justice - Gag Act

The Criminal Justice Act 1983 equips the state with yet more powers to repress working class youth. For those under 17 the juvenile courts can now impose curfew restrictions, they can force parents to pay fines and to stand surety of up to £500. Section 72 of the Act was added just after the Bradford 12 trial where 9 youths made a statement from the dock in which they explained the political reasons for their actions. It takes away the defendant's right to make an unsworn statement in court.

Andy Goddard

### ● Anthony Anika

Anthony Anika, a 38 year old black man, is seriously ill in the Western General Hospital after being arrested by Edinburgh police. On Sunday 19 June five police officers arrested Anthony Anika in his home in Constitution Street and took him to Charlotte Street police station.

Mrs Anika said that he was in good health when he was lifted. Later that night he was taken to hospital from the police cells unconscious with internal injuries, including damage to his kidneys and pancreas. He also suffered a heart attack.

The police have made complaints to the Procurator-Fiscal claiming that two officers were bitten by Mr Anika. A spokesman for the Procurator-Fiscal's office said that criminal proceedings could follow and therefore could not make any comment.

Anthony Anika could well be the victim of another police cover-up. Fred Stevens

### ● St Pauls battle

St Pauls Bristol hit the headlines again at the end of June when the youth battled with police overnight. An arrest of an individual for motoring offences, made outside the Black and White Cafe, led to some stone-throwing by kids. The situation soon calmed down but vans of 100 policemen in full riot gear were parked in City Road, round the corner, all evening. By 2am they had got the full attention of the youth who do not like their community turned into an area under police occupation.

The usual wave of arrests was the result the following day. And the usual call for black people and police to 'understand each other' from community relations officers and others who have not yet been on the other end of a police truncheon.

Sheila Marston

### ● Discrimination

Over half of Bradford's bus men and women are black, yet only two out of Bradford Metro's fifty bus inspectors are black. This outrageous discrimination is so widespread that even the CRE have to comment. The CRE reports a survey of 300 London firms where over half were found to discriminate against black Africans. No wonder that the CRE acknowledged unemployment rates amongst black youth of 60%.

Andy Goddard

### ● Sus is back

The sole evidence in a recent trial of two black youths at Knightsbridge Crown Court was the racist opinions of a policeman. PC Leslie Tilley said he had started watching the defendants, who he had arrested for attempted theft, 'because the vast majority of street crime which takes place in the West End is committed by black people'.

The judge thought these remarks 'unfortunate', not because of the damage the two youths had suffered, but because they may have caused offence to the defending barrister, Ms Anesta Weekes, who is black. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty without even leaving the court room.

The solicitor's clerk, who was taking notes for the two barristers involved in the case, said, 'Our firm has up to 20 attempted theft cases where two police officers allege they saw young black men doing things like looking at women's handbags. The alleged victim is not produced in court and the police evidence is the only evidence... the Criminal Attempts Act is in effect the 'sus' law resurrected.' But then such facts should not be dredged up should they, because they hinder Sir Kenneth Newman's plans to hammer the oppressed into submission.

William Gray





For this month's campaign of dedicated denigration of the police a number of 'exploitable incidents' have, as usual, been dredged up for Police File. Small statured Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police might note, however, the undeniable accuracy of our facts. Dedicated we may be, but uneducated or unfair, never.

● **Disturbed girl locked in gaol. Thieving cop goes free**

Now that is off our chests we can begin by denigrating the system which ensures that a police superintendent is allowed to escape scot-free from a shoplifting charge while a 17 year old girl is locked away in prison for seven weeks on two minor breach of the peace charges: kicking a window, and screaming and swearing.

Lyn MacDonald, of Larkhall, spent seven weeks in Cornton Vale prison because social workers were incapable of finding anywhere else to put her, this despite the fact that she needed psychiatric help. On the other hand, Superintendent Benjamin Wenborn, 50 year-old commandant of the Ministry of Defence Police Training School in Buckinghamshire, was one of more than 60 people arrested during an anti-shoplifting campaign by Thames Valley police. In Superintendent Wenborn's case, the charges of stealing £10.63 worth of goods from Boots chemists were swiftly dropped by the Director of Public Prosecutions - on medical grounds! Superintendent Wenborn suffers from that all-too-prevalent ailment known as 'being a policeman', or swine disease, to use the medical term.

● **Rough justice**

There were 55 deaths in police custody in England and Wales in 1982. Eight suicides, and thirty deaths from 'misadventure or accidental causes'. If Mr James Horsfall, Governor of Oxford Prison had his way, there would probably be even more. There follow his thoughts on the legal system, and readers should note that he does not advocate violence, 'as he has always striven against it', just as, you will see, he has striven against racism.

'I am talking about if you get a drunken bum who assaults a policeman. In the old days he would be taken back to the police station, and if he wanted to fight it out probably someone would have taken him into a cell and duffed him up, and the bloke would have said, "that's fair enough".'

'I am talking about the cuff round the ear' (he was telling a church meeting in Oxford). If a policeman were attacked he would like to see the officer able to defend himself, 'and the matter end there, with no sympathy from society for someone who happened to get a busted nose, or something, for having put themselves at risk. I mean the officer should be allowed to roll up his sleeves and get on with it, and no court cases to follow afterwards.'

'When I was a boy, you didn't kick someone or produce a knife, you got stuck in cleanly. Now, with the introduction of all these Orientals and people who are accustomed to using knives, I am appalled at the number of stabbing incidents, particularly at football matches.'

It is a good thing, for Mr Horsfall, that education or intelligence are not the major requirements of a prison governor.

■ **International Women's Blockade - Greenham Common**

Many hundreds of women from not only this country but from all over the world took part in the week long International Women's Blockade of Greenham Common USAF base, started on 4 July, American Independence Day. In addition to the 1,000 Thames Valley police, 600 men from the 1st Battalion Queen's Own Highlanders were brought in to patrol the base fence with alsatian dogs. The police were at their most brutal when they hauled the women from in front of the gates to allow construction workers to enter and leave the base. Women were dragged along the ground and shoved out of the way. 2 women were hurt by police horses' hooves. Various methods were used to try and intimidate the women. Helicopters swooped very low over the gates, there was continuous photographing and videofilm of the women, and a convoy of 30 police coaches would be used to try to confuse the women about which gates would be used by the workers leaving the base.

The women showed tremendous spirit in the face of all this harassment and carried on with their singing and own entertainments. However, they were provided with one source of amusement when the police in their anxiety to cut down the huge web the women had woven across the whole road, became totally entangled in it!

There were a total of 68 arrests; most of these occurred when 37 women tried to enter the base from the 70ft gap they had cut in the 9 mile perimeter fence. 12 have been charged with criminal damage and the rest with obstruction. They have been remanded on unconditional bail until November.

As the months draw nearer to the time cruise missiles are to be deployed in this country, the women at Greenham Common have intensified their struggle. Accordingly they are facing increasing repression at the hands of the British state. They are also suffering from attacks of sabotage from the hostile Clean Up Newbury Society - who have already poured quick setting cement and rubble on to a fire hydrant which serves as the women's water supply. Thunderflashes have also been thrown among the tents in the early hours.

Ruby Khan

■ **Dole and spending cuts**

The farce of bourgeois elections has been exposed only four weeks after the government was installed back in power. The basis of the Conservative manifesto - that economic recovery was in sight, and that no further cuts would be needed in health and social security - has been shown to be a lie.

Immediately after the election a flood of redundancies were announced in all major industries, including 10,000 in shipbuilding. The Chancellor, Nigel Lawson, announced that cuts in unemployment benefit and social security were being considered, because current levels were a 'disincentive to work'. This absurd statement means only that the miserable levels of social security are matched by the miserable levels of wages. In fact, the benefit level for a single unemployed man has dropped from 33% of the average male earnings in November 1978, to 18% in November 1982. The real level of unemployment benefit fell by 5% between 1980 and 1982.

Thatcher has since denied that any cuts will be discussed 'until the next financial year'. All this means (if she is telling the truth!) is that it will be in the next budget, in March 1984, when the unemployed are further impoverished.

Days after Thatcher's denial it was announced that workers' health was to be sacrificed on the altar of capitalism, contrary to the hollow reassurances in the manifesto. The economic crisis is biting still deeper. Money supply figures for June indicated that borrowing by capitalists was running at record levels, with no visible effect on the economy. Borrowing causes inflation, but allows capitalists facing financial difficulty to survive. The government was therefore faced with two choices: raising interest rates - thus hurting the pockets of capitalists - or to reduce its own borrowing by cutting off essential expenditure on the welfare of workers. Needless to say it has chosen the latter course, and on 8 July Lawson announced a £500m package

of cuts and the sale of £500m of state assets at cut rate prices to financial speculators.

£240m of the cuts will be on arms spending, which we shall not mourn. £140m will be slashed from the NHS budget, at a time when waiting lists are at record levels. Manpower will be reduced, causing more unemployment; goods and services, and the hospital building programme, will be cut back. The remaining cuts will be made in nationalised industries (£57m), education (£36m), employment (£30m), overseas aid (£20m of an already derisory programme useless to poor countries), and transport (£16m).

This programme of spending cuts has restored £1bn of £3bn overspending on the government's borrowing plans. A further attack on workers' living standards and welfare benefits can be expected in the Autumn spending review, when all or part of the other £2bn will be clawed from the poor.

At the same time, however, a Finance Bill is to be reintroduced which will cut taxes for the top 5% of wage earners. The Bill will increase the concessions on Capital Transfer tax, raise tax thresholds for the higher paid, and increase tax relief on mortgages from £25,000 to £30,000. One more way to starve the poor to feed the fat bellies of the rich.

William Gray

■ **Let them eat chalk**

With an exemplary stroke of the Victorian thriftiness it prides itself on, the government has decided to press ahead with a plan to save on vitamins in bread. Hitherto the milling and baking corporations have been compelled by a thirty-year-old law to include a certain number of vitamins in the bread they make. Now this extravagance which has cost the milling industry five million pounds a year is to be ended. At last, nutritionless bread! Of course the ruling class eat cakes and pastries, but in the areas of highest unemployment - the north of Ireland, South Wales and the North - bakeries announce a boom in bread sales as the poorest people come increasingly to depend on it for their meals. Doctors and even medical advisers to that well known charity the DHSS have expressed alarm 'for the health of the nation': until now one of the vitamins included in bread was thiamin, a vitamin vital for the heart and nervous system. Surveys show that forty seven per cent of Hackney women already consume less than the necessarily daily intake of thiamin, so diet-related diseases are on the increase there.

Being experts on 'haute cuisine' government ministers will recall that in the formative years of their class it was quickly learnt that every penny the worker spent could be turned to the master's profit. Thus the truck system was developed whereby the workers were paid in coupons to be exchanged for bread often baked with chalk dust only at the master's own shop. What they intend to replace vitamins with this time we are not told, but watch out for quarry share prices, and your teeth!

T Rayne

■ **BMA backs racist controls**

At the very time when the National Health Service is under grave attack from the government, and unity is needed amongst NHS workers, the British Medical Association has backed a racist move against black doctors. The 1983 June conference of the BMA passed a resolution to restrict entry into Britain of non-EEC doctors. In practice this would apply mainly to black doctors and would require them to be 'sponsored' - 'subject to regulations controlling their numbers and... limiting the period which they can practise here.' Black doctors (as with other health workers) have long been used to fill posts not wanted by white British doctors - looking after the elderly, the mentally ill and chronically sick. The BMA's move amounts to a call to the Home Office to create new immigration legislation to extend the work permit system - like the racist 'guest worker' system in Germany - with the risk of repatriation which goes with work permits. (The worker can be expelled if the permit expires or is withdrawn.) Thousands of other workers of course already live

under this system of constant fear and uncertainty. So what has made the BMA take this action? The issue is one of preserving privilege. Unemployment amongst doctors is only 2,000 and most of these for short periods only. But it is rising and the younger doctors, not yet secure in their ambitions, are moving to preserve their exclusive access to highly paid consultant and general practitioner posts. Back in 1981, consultants could earn £21,060 plus thousands of pounds on the 'merit' award scheme of extra annual handouts plus earnings from private medicine. For a GP the average earnings in 1982 were £19,875. Greed is fuelling their racism. For this same reason another resolution was passed calling for a reduction in new medical students from 4,080 to 3,841 annually. (Some junior doctors called for a 25% cut!) At a time when the people of this country are suffering from a bad health service and massive cuts in NHS services, the BMA's answer is to look after their own.

Tony Sheridan

■ **Falklands heroes' beat hasty retreat**

More than 40 Scots Guardsmen from Chelsea Barracks in London were in Carlisle for the afternoon of Sunday 3 July as 'Falklands Heroes' on a promotional tour when they met their match in the form of the local youth.

The 'Professional' 'peace-keepers' lost the rag at a bit of healthy criticism over the Falklands War, but without their phosphorous and cluster-bombs were ill-prepared for the battle that followed, at the end of the day being forced to concede 11 battered and bruised guardsmen - a broken arm, 2 fractured jaws, and £9,000 damage to ceremonial uniforms and musical instruments.

Due up in Grangemouth for a ceremonial 'Beating of the Retreat' with pipes and drums, they found themselves well and truly beaten and could retreat no further.

Paul McKinlay

■ **Prison doctors**

Two doctors have resigned from high-ranking posts recently in protest at aspects of the prison service. Their comments are worth recording.

Dr Benjamin Lee resigned as a medical adviser to the Prison Inspectorate in January in protest at the Inspectorate's lack of independence (ie its inability to change anything). In a recent letter to the *Lancet*, a medical journal, he exposes some of the medical practices used against prisoners, which FRFI regularly reports (see FRFI 26). For example the 'medical' management of a prisoner in isolation supposedly 'for his own protection': 'The prisoner is isolated in a bare cell, containing one object only - a chamber pot. On one occasion I saw a patient who had been put naked into the special cell. There is no furniture, and during the day no mattress. He must eat his food either standing or off the floor.' This perverseness can be used against any prisoner showing 'noisy, uncooperative or violent behaviour' - which includes every prisoner who protests against the prison regime.

Dr Lee complains that the prison doctor is required to give the all clear to such practices, but his 'decisions may be modified by several layers of influence and pressure acting upon him in the closed, strange prison world'. (FRFI knows of several prison doctors who would not need very much 'pressure' to connive with such torture.)

Many prisoners receive an even worse fate and can end up in Rampton Prison Hospital, sectioned under the Mental Health Act, by prison doctors and therefore without any rights. In 1979 Yorkshire Television went some way to exposing conditions in Rampton. As a result eight nurses were found guilty of assault, with 13 acquitted and 3 still pending. Dr Alfred Minto was appointed as medical director in 1981 supposedly to improve the regime at Rampton. He has now retired prematurely. His associates have told the *Guardian* that the reason is the Prison Officers' Association branch at Rampton. They have blocked all moves for any change whatever. The comment

from Deputy General Secretary of the POA, Peter Rushworth, was, 'Well he didn't last long'. A typical screw's arrogance. The only thing which will change this system is organised solidarity on the outside with the prisoners on the inside.

Tony Sheridan

■ **Tragedy and Farce**

Karl Marx once observed 'Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.'

June's electoral farce has an obvious precedent which the hired and fawning political commentators overlooked. In 1856 the Chinese had the nerve to try and claim control of (of all places!) Canton! The British Prime Minister of the day, Lord Palmerston, blustered that 'an insolent barbarian wielding authority at Canton, has violated the British Flag.' Palmerston, the sort of arrogant Victorian Mrs Thatcher fancies herself as, launched the gun boats, commenced the second Opium War 1856-60, and called an election the following year 1857. The war was intended to reinforce British strategic and commercial dominance in the region and to ensure that the lucrative opium trade to China continued. Just as with the sinking of the *Belgrano* battleship last year, in 1856-60 the real barbarians were the British ruling class who gratuitously ordered the burning down of the magnificent Summer Palace of Yuanming Yuan: an event Palmerston rejoiced in as a demonstration of British indignation and power.

Running on a platform of needing to give 'the orientals a good drubbing once a decade' to keep them in order, and with the Chartist movement weak and ineffective, Palmerston's party was returned to government with a landslide majority. History may repeat itself but the characters change. When faced with Irish tenant farmers' demands for land reform Palmerston cynically dismissed them saying, 'The House of Commons is a house of landed proprietors'. Today, its benches are crammed with accountants, lawyers and journalists all sewed up by ad-men. Accountants to count over what they have robbed from the oppressed; lawyers to see that we do not get it back; journalists and ad-men to tell us that all is fine and dandy and what a grand bunch they are. Generations of Chinese and Irish people testify that the way to deal with these hoodlums in twin-sets and three-piece suits is with 'insolence'; the defiant dignity of the oppressed.

Trevor Rayne

■ **The great hanging debate**

On 13 July 1983 the House of Commons voted against judicial murder. The 'Tory Landslide Blood Vote' was brought under control by a ruling class which knew that the re-introduction of judicial murder would provoke serious resistance. The growing prison protest already made it clear that prisoners would resist. In Ireland it would provoke violent mass resistance which would engulf the 26 Counties as well as the Six Counties. It was fear of the consequences which dictated this result, not concern for the lives of the oppressed.

No mention was made of the continuous use of the death penalty in Ireland: 14 dead on Bloody Sunday; 14 killed by plastic bullets; 10 dead in the H-Blocks. Nor did any amendment suggest the death penalty for the hired imperialist thugs who carry out such murders.

Leon Brittan, Tory Home Secretary, in his desire to kill Irish nationalists, blundered into admitting that their 'crimes' are political: they 'undermine' the 'very foundations of the state. Quite. Mr Brittan's career threatens to be short if he keeps this up.

The increasingly openly irrelevant Labour and trade union movement mounted no serious opposition to the hangers. In fact, was the ruling class - using its media police chiefs, judges, prison governors and Bishops - who brought the Tory barbarian to heel.

In all it was a grotesque display of hypocrisy as the ruling class, prompted by fear of resistance, disciplined its more untrained supporters. The IRA's attack on the UDR on the day of the Great Debate proved that fear of resistance to be well founded indeed.

Terry Marlowe



# PRISONERS FIGHT BACK

## Solidarity and resistance in Albany and Wormwood Scrubs



continued from page 1

28 prisoners, according to the Home Office, have been charged with mutiny and incitement to mutiny. This is a serious charge carrying unlimited loss of remission. Following the Albany protest in September 1976 (see FRFI 19) one prisoner, on less serious charges, was sentenced to 133 days in solitary confinement and 690 days loss of remission. This is equivalent to a prison sentence of three years. Such sentences are passed in secret kangaroo courts - the Board of Visitors - where prisoners have no right of legal representation and no right to call witnesses. The Home Office far prefers to use the Board of Visitors than to risk the publicity surrounding a court case. They learned their lesson after the '69 Parkhurst protest when several prisoners were taken to court. 2 were acquitted and the Home Office had to pay compensation to prisoners beaten up by warders. The Parkhurst trial ripped away the veil of secrecy so carefully kept in place by the Home Office as a succession of prisoners testified about the appalling conditions in Park-

hurst. Since then prison protests have almost always been dealt with by the Board of Visitors, a tactic which ensures no publicity and no justice.

The Wormwood Scrubs protest on Thursday 16 June was not the motiveless outbreak portrayed in the Home Office-controlled press, it was an act of solidarity with Albany prisoners who had been assaulted. In order to show, contrary to Home Office lies, that all prisoners are behind the prisoners' protest, the Wormwood Scrubs protest did not, 'for tactical reasons' involve either Irish POWs or ex-Albany prisoners. The protest was smashed by gross physical brutality. The later protest against this brutality, by Tommy Tangey on 24 June, is further testimony to the growing solidarity of prisoners.

The Home Office depends on censorship and secrecy to protect the murderous prison system. All those journalists who repeat Home Office lies, who refuse to take notice of prisoners' accounts of the truth, who refuse to expose what they know, are direct ac-

complices in Home Office brutality against prisoners. Exactly the same must be said for a Labour and trade union movement which has never acted in defence of prisoners.

The real fighters for democratic rights in the prison system are to be found among the prisoners themselves. Their courage, resistance and solidarity is an example to us all. The British prison system is an instrument of fear and horror directed against all who resist the imperialist system. Therefore the working class and oppressed, all communists and anti-imperialists and democrats, outside prison must join with these prisoners to oppose and destroy this vicious prison system.



We appeal to all readers who have any relevant information to send it to FRFI. We appeal to all readers to send donations to finance the vital work of exposing and opposing the prison system.

Eddie Abrahams and Terry Marlowe



Wormwood Scrubs Protest 1980

## Prisoner reveals the truth

The protest in Wormwood Scrubs on Thursday 16 June was portrayed in the press as an inexplicable outbreak of violence. In a statement passed out of the prison via his solicitor, Category A prisoner Jimmy Anderson reveals the truth.

Jimmy Anderson explains:

'... rumours had been coming in that the men involved in the Albany Demo had been badly mistreated by the guards. In an attempt to draw attention to this a group of D Wing prisoners including me decided to stage our own protest ...'

The plan was to take over the top landing and display banners to tell passers-by about the protest. Jimmy says that no 'IRA men or ex Albany prisoners took part ... for tactical reasons'. The plan was put into action at 4.30pm on Thursday 16 June.

Five prison officers (POs) were locked unharmed into an office and barriers were put up on the landing. Before these were secured, Jimmy Anderson says,

'a Riot Squad numbering 60 to 80 POs charged up 3 different staircases and breached our positions.'

The fighting, which lasted some ten minutes, was simply prisoners defending themselves against POs indiscriminately battering anyone they came across. Jimmy himself, he says, was 'knocked unconscious by a PO Mr Fox'. When he recovered he was being carried by 10/12 POs who were punching and kicking him, deliberately bouncing his body on the metal staircase and dragging him through broken glass.

In a bare cell in the punishment block he was stripped naked and, he says '... then officers including one called Mr Truss, repeatedly assaulted me using their fists and feet - I was again knocked unconscious'. His hands were handcuffed behind his back. The Prison Governor came into his cell and made no comment except to remove the handcuffs and say that a doctor would come. Jimmy was given some clothes, X-rayed and then, 'without further treatment' taken to the isolation unit. He also says that while he was being assaulted he could hear others being beaten and 'guards laughing and shouting and men in pain'. In the isolation unit he is being held without charge, handcuffed whenever he leaves the unit, all visits are supervised, isolated exercise periods, no classes and, he says, he is not even allowed to go to chapel.

Jimmy Anderson also reveals in his statement that another prisoner, Tommy Tangey, concerned about Jimmy Anderson and his comrades in the isolation unit, went onto the laundry block roof at about 2pm on Friday 24 June to draw attention to their plight. Jimmy describes what happened next:

'At roughly 5pm 15-20 guards charged up on the roof with batons and viciously attacked the men. This was witnessed by numerous prisoners looking out of the windows of C & D Wings. The man was brought in a



Jimmy Anderson

the Prison Hospital. He was moved into Seg[regation] Unit on 27th - injuries are still visible.'

Finally Jimmy states that the Scrubs protest also called for: '1) Prison reform, ie parity with Irish Prisoners Repatriation of all Irish Prisoners War on demand'. He names eight prisoners, including himself, as being accused or under suspicion. He says:

'Guards involved in assaulting me were: SO Tee, SO Horton, War Fox, Warders Martin, Truss, Alls Stokes. I wish to issue Assault Charges against the above officers.'

Mrs Anderson, in a statement issued 25 June, describes her son Jimmy's injuries as injury to the left eye, right shoulder, and multiple bruises, cuts and abrasions. Mrs Anderson was refused a special visit to see Jimmy. She was refused her request to send in an outside doctor.

So the truth of events in Wormwood Scrubs is, once again, completely different from that given by the press and Home Office accounts. It was an act of solidarity with Albany prisoners and was suppressed by organised violence of prison officers. The courageous act of Tommy Tangey, added to that of Jimmy Anderson and his comrades underlines the determination of prisoners to win their basic right to be treated as human beings.

William Gray and Terry Marlowe

### APOLOGY

Due to the space taken by the important material on this page relating to the prison struggle, we are unable to publish the article on the John McCann trial promised in FRFI 20. We apologise to our readers for this and will be publishing the article in our next issue.

## STATEMENTS ON ALBANY PROTEST

The following letters were sent to FRFI and are published in full. They reveal the truth about the Albany protest and also list the demands which the Home Office has suppressed.

Dear Sir,

I, Robert McGhee was removed from Albany Prison 20 minutes after coming off the workshop roof, which I helped to smash. I along with 3 other inmates were the first group to start this on Thursday evening 6.45 19/5/83, we stayed there until Friday 20/5/83 4.30pm. I am a little disturbed at the reports on TV, radio and newspapers that this was a plot made by the IRA men who went up on the main roof and brought massive publicity to the conditions prevailing in English prisons (I am Scottish).

I put the blame on the Prison Authorities for the recent troubles which are occurring in most of the prisons, NOT JUST ALBANY. I have never entered a prison with so much tension as Albany, you could feel it going through the gates of reception.

The Prison Governors are abusing the rules which are laid down (ie Rule C1 10/74) by law. If I break the law I am punished by being sent to prison NOT to be punished each and every time a prison officer feels like it. These same prison officers are breaking the law there every day, by telling other inmates what certain other inmates are imprisoned for, thus hoping to stir up trouble between inmates. One officer was heard saying, 'this trouble will help our conference on Mon'!

I was allocated to Parkhurst 23/12/82, removed to Winchester for 28 days C1 10/74, asked for reasons was told 'didn't know'. After this 28 days was finished, 8/5/83 I was allocated to Albany which

was a Sunday. I myself and the Albany screws thought this was an odd day to be moved. I asked them why I was there, they replied, 'we don't know'. I was there 11 days and no one has yet to tell me why I was moved in the 1st instance or any of them for that matter. All conditions in Albany look good on paper but just like food (which was disgusting) it has to be seen and tasted to be believed. I am asking you as an honourable reporter to look into these riots as you did Brixton, Liverpool etc etc.

Yours  
R McGhee

Comrades,

As a prisoner who was heavily involved in the trouble at Albany Prison, I would like to tell you the reasons why I went on the workshop roofs and did the damage that I did do. Firstly I was at Albany four weeks and in that time I repeatedly enquired as to why I had been sent there. Previously I spent eight weeks in Parkhurst. The only answer I have received to date was from the fascist Assistant Governor on D-Wing who said 'it's no use complaining, you will just have to settle down'. You will note I was not to be given any chance of 'settling down' at Parkhurst! The reason for the rooftop protest against the racist prison system were (1) half remission for all prisoners, (2) parity in conditions with Northern Ireland, (3) drastic radical improvement in the food which at present is filthy and uneatable, (4) the termination of brutality and racism carried out by the

regime, (5) enquiries into the misuse of the infamous 10/74 Rule, (6) all prisoners to be allowed to be present at Home Leave Board Meetings. These are the just reasons why I went on protest at Albany Jail. I also wish to state that the IRA did not engineer or start the protest as has been claimed by the lying capitalist press. In fact this protest has been building up under provocation for some time. The truth of this statement is borne out by the fact that in the last six weeks alone in a number of individualistic actions there have been several recesses smashed, cells burnt out, strikes, TVs and videos offices wrecked, windows smashed etc. The people who are responsible for what has happened is the racist inhuman prison system with their policy of division on the basis of race, their incitement of prisoners to inform on each other under promises of transfers to gaols like Maidstone and promises of parole etc, intimidation of prisoners by indiscriminate use of the 10/74 lie down rule, general encouragement of division and hatred especially towards anyone who is politically educated and aware. Never have I felt so much hatred as there is at Albany. Therefore before anyone blames the heroic IRA for something they did not start or instigate in any way I demand a full enquiry into the harsh repressive and inhuman conditions forced upon prisoners at Albany Jail.

Jimmy Murphy  
'Block'  
Winchester Jail



**The French annexation of Vietnam began in 1858, but met such determined popular resistance that it took until 1884 to annex the whole country, and protracted guerilla war continued strongly until 1897.**

The French colluded with the feudal regime to repress and exploit the Vietnamese people. French education and culture were imposed and illiteracy actually increased – there were never more than 3 secondary schools in the whole country under French rule. Taxes on the peasantry were increased to pay for the colonial administration. The imperialists turned the country into a source of cheap raw materials – coal, ore, rubber – and a market for French goods. Handicraft industry was crushed by French imports, pauperising artisans, while vast areas of land were grabbed by French companies to become plantations. Rice was exported in the midst of famine.

The racist repression and exploitation by the French imperialists rekindled resistance. The plight of the peasants grew worse and they erupted into struggle in 1908. However, despite its courage and audacity the peasant resistance, led by the scholars, proved unable to maintain a disciplined and united nationwide mass movement which could successfully challenge French imperialism. This had to await the development of new social forces, forces created by the imperialists themselves in their frenzy of colonial exploitation.

**IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR AND AFTER**

When the imperialist world war broke out in 1914, Indochina was squeezed further to supply 100,000 soldiers and labourers, some 336,000 tons of food and huge war loans. Yet despite this exploitation, and even though a number of major mutinies and risings took place, the national movement proved too weak to take successful advantage of France's wartime difficulties.

When the war ended, the imperialist system was wracked with crisis, and France turned to her colonies for the economic resources which could stave off collapse. While in the thirty years 1888-1918, 490 million francs had been invested in Indochina, some 8,000 million francs poured in during the decade 1919-29, chiefly into mines and plantations. Huge profits were sent back to France to prop up the ailing economy: in 1925 the *Banque de l'Indochine* made 36m francs profit on a capital of 72m and the *Compagnie Financiere des Caoutchoucs* took 31m francs on a capital of 100m.

With capital pumped out of the country on this vast scale it was impossible for a successful Vietnamese capitalist class to emerge. However, the vast French investments created a small but significant working class. In 1929 some 53,000 were employed in the mines, 86,000 in factories and 80,000 on plantations.

Highly concentrated, the workers suffered brutal exploitation and repression. Mines and plantations had their own jails, and trade union membership was illegal, bringing 5 years in prison and deportation. As the *Outline History of the Vietnam Workers Party* notes:

'The Vietnamese working class, though not large in number, was geographically concentrated to a relatively high degree, and was a homogeneous class without a stratum of aristocratic workers, thus not subjected to the influence of reformism.'

Revolutionary communism found its natural support amongst these workers, who would form the vanguard of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement.

The great Vietnamese communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, founded the *Thanh Nien* (Young Revolutionaries Association) in 1925. Working amongst the peasants and workers, *Thanh Nien* soon became the most powerful underground organisation in the country and formed the nucleus of the Indochinese Communist Party, founded on 3 February 1930.

The world economic crisis, which broke out in 1929, had drastic repercussions in Vietnam. Raw material prices, particularly for rice, rubber and coal, collapsed, exports fell and unemploy-

ment grew, creating further misery in the villages. Different class trends in the national movement expressed themselves in the face of increasing misery. The anti-Communist *Quoc Dan Dang* (Vietnam Nationalist Party), composed of intellectuals and petty officials, organised a bold rising of the Yen Bai garrison in 1930. The communists supported the action. Although other garrisons rose, there had been no preparation amongst the people and the insurrection was rapidly crushed.

The communists working amongst the masses had organised underground trade unions and farmers' unions, and led a series of hard-fought strikes throughout the country, organised huge peasant demonstrations and helped set up Soviets in Nghe An and Ha Tinh (Nghe Tinh). Despite the subsequent massive wave of repression, torture and summary execution which followed, the communists, unlike the nationalists, survived because of their deep roots amongst the oppressed.

When imperialist war broke out in 1939, the French imperialists once again levied Vietnam. Following the French defeat in June 1940, the Japanese fascists invaded Vietnam where they joined hands with the French colonialists. The Indochinese Communist Party organised armed resistance and in June 1941 helped found the *Vietminh* (League for Vietnamese Independence) which rallied the nation in the struggle for liberation and conducted armed struggle against the imperialists.

In early 1945, famine struck: within months two million had died. The people formed self-defence units and seized rice stocks and distributed them. Revolutionary actions mounted and following the Japanese defeat in August, insurrection swept the country under the leadership of the *Vietminh*. Revolutionary forces took Hanoi on 19 August, Hue on 23 August and Saigon on 25 August. The *Vietminh* now controlled the entire country.

On 2 September 1945, a million Vietnamese crowded into Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square, to hear Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence:

'for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice....

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly massacred our patriots. They have drowned our uprisings in seas of blood... They have weakened our race with opium and alcohol.

In the field of economics, they have sucked us dry, driven our people to destitution, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests and our natural resources....

Our people have broken the chains which have fettered them for nearly a century and have won independence for Viet Nam....

We, the Provisional Government of the new Viet Nam, representing the entire Vietnamese people, hereby declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; cancel all treaties signed by France on Viet Nam, and abolish all privileges held by France in our country.'

A tremendous cheer went up. Vietnam, at last, was free!

Yet, though independence had been declared, it had not yet been guaranteed. Earlier, at the Potsdam Conference, it had been agreed that the task of disarming and repatriating the defeated Japanese imperialist troops, who had occupied Vietnam, was to be carried out by the Chinese in the north of the country, and by the British in the south. But the British Labour government were also determined to restore imperialist rule.

On 11 September the British advance guard arrived, and Major-General Douglas D Gracey himself flew in on the 13th. Though the *Vietminh* national

movement was anxious to avoid any conflict, in the hope that the imperialist troops would carry out their task and leave, every attempt made to contact Gracey was ignored. The British refused to have anything to do with the government of the new Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). The job of maintaining 'law and order' – French law and order – was given to rearmed Japanese troops, former enemies of the British, who were supposed to be disarmed and repatriated to Japan by Gracey's troops!

'I was welcomed on arrival by the Viet Minh, who said "Welcome" and all that sort of thing. It was a very unpleasant situation, and I promptly kicked them out.'

This was how Gracey explained his implementation of the orders of the 1945 British Labour government to restore French colonial rule to Vietnam, condemning the Vietnamese people to a bloody thirty-year anti-imperialist struggle.

On 17 September the *Vietminh* protested by staging a general strike, closed down the Saigon market, and boycotted all French traders. Gracey responded by closing down the Vietnamese press on 19 September. On 21 September he issued the infamous *Proclamation No 1*, which threatened summary execution of anyone who took part in a demonstration, public meeting or broke the curfew. The Labour government had shown its pro-imperialist colours: British democracy had well and truly arrived!

The real purpose of British intervention became clear. Gracey's formal duties, as agreed at Potsdam, were to secure the Japanese headquarters, to round up and disarm the Japanese, and to release and transport home allied prisoners. Already, the British had usurped the democratic Vietnamese civilian administration, declared what amounted to martial law throughout Nam Bo (the South), and had rearmed the Japanese troops they were supposed to disarm. Worse was to follow.

Since the British alone did not have sufficient troops to enforce *Proclamation No 1*, on 22 September Gracey issued arms to the French troops and settlers. On the following day, the French staged a brutal, bloody coup d'etat against the *Vietminh* southern committee.

Vietnamese General Vo Nguyen Giap later wrote that

'Colonial legionaries and French colonialists who had meekly surrendered to the Japanese only a few months earlier showed utmost savagery in massacring and ill treating unarmed civilians.

The great war of resistance of our nation against the French colonialist aggressors had broken out in Nam Bo.'

The Vietnamese foreign minister telegraphed to the British Labour government, protesting against the 'smoke-screening of French aggression'. The Labour Party treated this protest in the way it treated all Vietnamese appeals for support against imperialism: it ignored it.

Lord Mountbatten was in charge of South East Asia Command – SEAC (known to the Americans as 'Saviours of England's Asiatic Colonies!'). In a telegram to the British Chiefs of Staff on 24 September he backed Gracey who:

'has acted with courage and determination in an extremely difficult situation, with as yet inadequate forces...'

To counter the resistance war, the British rearmed all the 40,000 Japanese fascist troops. The combined British, French and Japanese forces took a month to drive the resistance out of Saigon. The struggle now began for the countryside.

The British orders were clear enough: 'beware of nibbling at opposition. Always use the maximum force available to ensure wiping out any hostiles we may meet. If one uses too much, no harm is done. If one uses too small a force, and it has to be extricated, we will suffer casualties and encourage the enemy.'



**THE LABOUR AND VIETNAM**

and'

'The difficulty is to select him [the enemy] as immediately he has had his shot or thrown his grenade he pretends to be friendly. It is therefore perfectly legitimate to look upon all locals anywhere near where a shot has been fired as enemies, and treacherous ones at that, and treat them accordingly.'

On 5 October, the Labour Prime Minister wrote to Fenner Brockway reassuringly about the situation in Vietnam:

'the government is carrying out the principles for which it has always stood.'

Bevin, the British Labour Foreign Secretary, met Massigli, the French Ambassador, on 9 October and they signed a secret agreement, believed to guarantee a British handover of Indochina to the French, in exchange for French withdrawal from Syria and Lebanon. In Parliament on 24 October, Bevin lyingly claimed that the DRV was a creation of the Japanese and confirmed that the Labour government were carrying out their side of the bargain:

'every effort is being made to expedite the movement of French troops to Saigon in sufficient numbers to enable them to take over from the British forces.'

The following day, General Leclerc began the struggle to restore French domination. After mopping up operations, their task of restoring French imperialism fulfilled, the Labour government withdrew British troops in January 1946.

**WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE FRENCH**

In elections held throughout Vietnam on January 6 1946, the overwhelming majority voted for *Vietminh* candidates. In order to gain time the DRV made a series of compromises with the French throughout 1946. Yet the French confirmed their attempts to reassert control. On 23 November, after a bombardment which killed 20,000 civilians, the French captured Haiphong, the second largest city. It was clear that the French intended to destroy the DRV and on 20 December Ho Chi Minh called on the nation to fight the colonialists:

'We would sooner sacrifice all than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved. Compatriots! Rise up!'

The entire nation united in struggle: the peasants gave rice to the army, workers moved factories into the jungle and forest. Increasingly successful military operations were conducted against the

**THE BALANCE OF THE AGGRESSION AGAINST**

The total weight of bombs and shells used reached 14.5m tons – 7 times the weight of all the bombs dropped on all theatres of war during the Second World War. More than 70m litres of chemical defoliants were sprayed. These have left 10% of the land, including the best land, unfit for cultivation for up to 120 years. These chemicals have also been responsible for a horrific increase in deformity amongst new born children, due to chromosomal alteration caused by dioxin poisoning of their parents. The human casualties are massive. In the South, one million were killed and two million injured between 1961 and 1970. Several hundred thousand were crippled. 9,000 out of 15,000 hamlets were severely damaged or destroyed. When the Americans withdrew, they left behind 4m illiterate, more than

imperialists, and the Vietnamese people received growing international support, especially from the socialist countries. The French set up a puppet regime headed by Bao Dai, former emperor, which was recognised by the British Labour government on 7 February 1950 and by the US. As the French were weakened, the US supplied aid to prolong the war. By 1953-4 US military aid to France reached \$1,000m – 78% of the total French outlay on the war. Yet even this was insufficient to save the French who were defeated in the historic battle of Dien Bien Phu on 7 May 1954.

**GENEVA CONFERENCE**

This excellent news broke on the very day that the Geneva Conference, set up to discuss the Korean and Indochina questions, began to discuss Indochina. Extended diplomatic wrangling and manoeuvring took place. On 20 July 1954 agreement was reached on a cessation of hostilities in Vietnam. A provisional military demarcation line was agreed, roughly at the 17th parallel, temporarily dividing Vietnam into two zones. The *Vietminh* forces were to withdraw to the north of this line and the French to the south. There were to be no reprisals for activities during the war, no troop reinforcements, no foreign military alliances. The final declaration stated that 'general elections shall be held in July 1956'.

However behind the scenes, the US





# OUR PARTY IN VIETNAM

## DEATH SHEET OF US AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM

... unemployed, some 500,000 prostitutes and 500,000 drug addicts. Imperialist terror and destruction drove half the population off the land and into the streets. In the north, US bombing damaged 2,923 schools, destroyed 465 pagodas and temples, 484 churches, damaged 350 hospitals, 1,500 infirmaries and maternity hospitals. Two-thirds of all villages were damaged or wiped out, as were all but a handful of the main towns and cities. Hundreds of thousands were killed, and 700,000 children orphaned.

Although the US pledged to 'contribute to healing the wounds of war and to postwar reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indochina' to the tune of \$3,000m, not one cent of this has been paid.

Secretary of State and Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, had drawn up a secret seven-point communication, pressed on the French, which agreed to partition the country and maintain a pro-imperialist government in the south. In public however, they went along with the Final Declaration which quite clearly stated that:

'the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be treated as constituting a political or territorial boundary.'

The United States, though not a signatory to the Agreements, pledged to refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them.'

The imperialists subsequently pretended that Vietnam had been partitioned into two states. This lie was to serve as the cornerstone of all the imperialists' later lies about 'aggression' from the North against the South and as the justification for the war against the Vietnamese nation.

The imperialists were also opposed to free democratic elections throughout the country because, as US President Eisenhower subsequently admitted:

'had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh.'

If the Geneva agreement was observed, the country would have been peacefully reunited with a democratically elected communist government.

### US BACKED TERROR AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

The US was totally opposed to the Vietminh coming to power and took over where the French left off, sponsoring the puppet regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in the south which repeatedly stated that it had not signed the Agreements and would not be bound by them. Diem unleashed terror against the peasants - who had seized land from the landlords during the struggle against the French; against anyone who had been active in the anti-French struggle, and even against opponents within the ruling clique in the South. Between 1954 and 1960, the puppet regime had killed 90,000, wounded 190,000 and then detained 800,000 - 600,000 of whom were incapacitated by torture. At this time South Vietnam had a population of 14m.

The mounting repression, backed by the US, bred mounting resistance by the population developing into armed self-defence. On 20 December 1960, the National Liberation Front was set up to overthrow the Diem regime, establish a democratic government, introduce agrarian reform, and bring about peaceful re-unification.

### US SPECIAL WAR

The United States tried to suppress the struggle by means of 'special war' waged by puppet troops under US control. Massive repression using the latest technology was combined with concentration of the population into 16,000 strategic hamlets. A British Advisory Mission, headed by Sir Robert Thompson was sent to South Vietnam to advise on the strategic hamlets programme, drawing on British experience in Malaya.

The NLF fought back - by the end of 1963 80 per cent of the strategic hamlets had been destroyed. The US arranged coup after coup in Saigon but failed to find a puppet regime which could reverse these setbacks. At the beginning of 1965 the NLF liberated zone covered four-fifths of the territory with the support of more than two-thirds of the population.

### US ESCALATION

The US decided to escalate the war, using a fabricated attack on the spyship USS Maddox in the Tonkin Gulf. Air strikes were launched against North Vietnam 'in retaliation' for 'North Vietnamese aggression'. By November 1965 US forces in South Vietnam had increased to 190,000 and reached half a million in 1968. At the height of the war, 75% of all US land forces, 60% of the US air force and 40% of the US naval force were involved in Indochina.

### LABOUR PARTY - ACCOMPLICE IN GENOCIDE

Throughout, the British imperialists, particularly the 1964-70 Labour government, played a key role in sabotaging peace efforts by supporting US imperialism to the hilt and throwing the blame for the war onto the Vietnamese people.

Direct British aid to US imperialism included the provision of equipment to the US military for use in the war against Vietnam: Rolls-Royce supplied aero-engines; Elliott-Automation supplied radar and navigational equipment; the British Hovercraft Corporation supplied the US Navy with SRN5 hovercraft for use in the Mekong Delta.

Hundreds of American troops were trained by the British at the Jungle Warfare School, Kota Tinggi, at Johore, Malaya. In October 1966, the *Sunday Times* reported:

'In the past two years the benefit of the school's tuition has been extended to at least 1,450 South-Vietnamese - all fees paid by the British Foreign Office... And the arrivals have boasted some of the really top Saigon brass. One recent course was attended by Col Trien, Chief of Security of the South Vietnamese Training Command.'

It went on to quote a spokesman:

'We tell them: "gather the jungle dwellers into fortified camps and give them proper protection at night, as we did during the Malayan Emergency. Then you can go out at night and knock off anybody you find who isn't inside."'

Torture techniques were also taught at this school - with the full knowledge of the Labour government.

Less direct, but no less valuable, was the general political and diplomatic assistance rendered by the Labour government. Right from the beginning of the escalation, Labour aligned itself with US imperialism. On 14 December 1964 Harold Wilson, the Labour leader, remarked: 'We have repeatedly said... that we support US Policy in Vietnam.' George Thomson, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, told the House of Commons:

'The policy of Her Majesty's Government remains to support the Government of the Republic of Vietnam in their efforts to put an end to the Communist insurrection which, aided and abetted from Hanoi, in constant violation of the Geneva agreements, threatens the liberty and independence of the South Vietnamese people.'

and went on to defend the role of the British Advisory Mission in Saigon. In fact, as we have seen, it was the US which had violated the Geneva agreement.

On 8 April 1965 the DRV put forward a four point peace plan. When William Warbey MP requested that the DRV statement be published in Hansard, Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, refused and the Foreign Office suppressed it. In May Wilson explained the relationship between Britain and the US:

'In Malaysia we are doing the fighting and the Americans are doing the negotiating. In Vietnam it is the Americans who are doing the fighting and we who are doing the negotiating.'

In fact all the pretence of negotiations was a lie: the Labour government persisted with a series of diplomatic manoeuvres and 'peace initiatives' which were designed to fail, with the blame always being pinned on the North Vietnamese.

Thus on 17 June, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference opened in London, and Wilson announced a 'Commonwealth peace mission' with great fanfare. In fact, as Richard Crossman noted in his diary, it was a 'brilliantly successful stunt', designed to postpone and diminish a new about Rhodesia at the Conference, and also to defame the Labour left. Ho Chi Minh

commented:

'Mr Wilson has not correctly carried out his obligations as a Co-Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam. He has tried to support United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He cannot engage in peace negotiations since he has himself supported the United States policy of aggression and expansion of the war.'

Nevertheless, on 19 September 1965, the Labour Party gave Wilson its full backing when the Party Conference voted to give its support to the US government, a stand incorporated into the 1966 election manifesto.

On 24 December 1965, the US announced a bombing halt, and on 7 January 1966 the State Department issued the '14 points', claiming that the USA respected the Geneva agreements. Then on 12 January Johnson called on the Vietnamese people to 'choose between peace and destruction'. Ho Chi Minh replied on 24 January in letters to the heads of the socialist countries that 'If they truly respect the Geneva agreements the Americans should withdraw all their troops.' He pointed out that the DRV had put forward four points in April 1965 which expressed the essential provisions of the Geneva agreement. On 31 January, US bombing resumed. The lying Michael Stewart was later to claim that 'there was no response' to the bombing pause.

The US continued to escalate the war. On 29 June the US bombed Hanoi and Haiphong. Wilson was given full details of the raid, weeks in advance, and made no attempt to warn the DRV. 'I repeated our total objection to the policy' he later claimed. Yet a secret cablegram to Johnson, subsequently leaked as part of the Pentagon Papers, shows the opposite:

'I wholly understand the deep concern you must feel at the need to do anything possible to reduce the losses of young Americans in and over Vietnam... The last thing I wish to do is to add to your difficulties... our reservations about this operation will not affect our continuing support for your policy over Vietnam.'

In October 1966, the Labour Party Conference obligingly voted down a motion dissociating Britain from US policy in Vietnam.

### THE TET OFFENSIVE

The real turning point in the war came in February 1968, on the eve of the Vietnamese lunar new year - the Tet Festival. The People's Liberation Army launched a massive offensive throughout the whole of South Vietnam. In Saigon they captured five out of seven floors of the US embassy and for several days controlled five out of Saigon's nine boroughs: the puppet regime was reduced to bombing its own capital! Although the offensive was eventually suppressed there were important victories which showed the futility of US intervention; then at its height. The ancient capital of Hue was only recaptured by the imperialists after 4 weeks of fighting reduced the city to rubble; and near the 17th parallel, the major US base at Khe Sanh was blockaded for six months until forced to evacuate. The Tet offensive spelt out that, short of nuclear war, the US could never win. Yet Wilson, then in Washington, immediately offered succour to the shaken US ruling class. In an after-dinner speech discussing the Tet offensive, he expressed 'the sense of outrage this brings' and reiterated his refusal to condemn the US war of aggression.

This connivance continued when Labour had left office; even in the very last days of direct US intervention. When a resolution on Vietnam was proposed at the January 1973 meeting of the Socialist International, it was opposed by the Zionist Israeli Labour Party and the British Labour Party because it criticised the United States. It was left to the Tories to recognise the DRV in 3 September 1973, following the signing of the Paris Agreements. Yet when Labour returned to power in 1974 it persisted in backing the puppet regime in the South, even though it had been defeated. The Paris Agreements had

treated the puppet regime and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) as equal parties, yet Labour refused to recognise the PRG. Right to the last, Labour backed US imperialism against the Vietnamese people. In September 1975, the Labour government welcomed the defeated war criminal and former puppet ruler of neo-colonial South Vietnam, Nguyen Van Thieu, to Britain, settling him in the London suburb of Wimbledon - with no problems from the immigration officers. By contrast, an earlier Labour government arrested Ho Chi Minh, a courageous revolutionary, in Hong Kong and threw him into jail with drug peddlers and murderers.

### THE LABOUR LEFT AND VIETNAM

What of the famous Labour Party 'left' and Vietnam? What did they do?

Outside Parliament, Bertrand Russell, hardly a Communist, spoke out about the war and condemned British collusion. In a speech to Youth CND on 14 October 1965 he summed up the record of the Labour government thus:

'When I compare the horrors of the Vietnam war with the election manifesto of the Labour Government, I find myself confronted with the most shameful betrayal of modern times in this country. Hitler, at least, seldom professed humanity, but these men who now pollute the chairs of office professed, before election, the most noble and lofty ideals of human brotherhood.'

... I can no longer remain a member of this so-called 'Labour' Party, and I am resigning after 51 years.'

At the end of his speech he called for a new party to be built, and tore up his membership card.

Inside the House of Commons, one Labour MP, William Warbey, resigned the Labour whip over Vietnam. But these were isolated examples and the bulk of the left put party loyalty before opposition to US imperialism. Left MPs contented themselves with putting down motions. The Labour left were a cowardly bunch, as Crossman points out. Following a debate about Vietnam in the Parliamentary Labour Party on 6 July 1966:

'the left-wingers were subdued since they were trying to show that they weren't splitting the Party'.

The left, in short, preferred that British complicity with US genocide should continue rather than risk splitting the Labour Party or bringing down the government.

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF LABOUR'S BETRAYAL OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The result of the Labour Party's betrayal was to give respectability to the US escalation at a time when it was losing support abroad, and when resistance to the war was mounting at home. Labour thus helped prolong US genocide, whose horrific costs are spelt out in the box.

But Labour's complicity did not only help to perpetuate the mass barbarism against the Vietnamese, but against all oppressed peoples everywhere. For a decade, the national liberation struggle in Vietnam against US imperialism was the crucial struggle between imperialism on the one hand, and the forces of progress, freedom and socialism on the other. The victory of the heroic people of Vietnam over US imperialism helped prevent direct US intervention against other liberation movements, notably in Southern Africa in the seventies, just as today it still inhibits the US imperialists from direct intervention in Central America. If the US had won (and this was what the Labour government wanted), the world revolutionary movement would have been thrown back for decades and the hopes of millions of people for liberation from imperialism would have been snuffed out.

Steve Palmer



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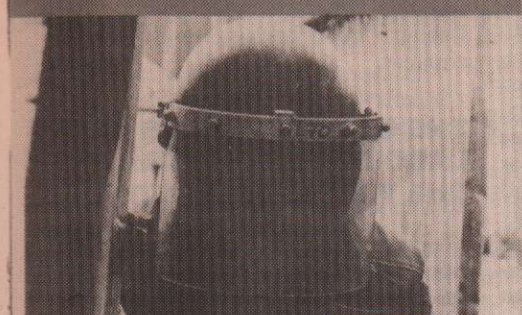
## ■ Britain's Military Strategy in Ireland: The Kitson Experiment by Roger Faligot. Published by Zed Press, pb, pp249, £6.95

Roger Faligot's book provides a wealth of detail to show that British rule in Ireland is based on murder, lies, torture, corruption and fear. For these are the essential ingredients of counter-insurgency warfare. Faligot shows how, step by step, a vast machinery of surveillance, intelligence-gathering, counter-gangs and bogus 'political movements' has been built up. This is one area of state expenditure in which there are no cuts.

During the hunger strikes Thatcher hypocritically declared that 'Murder is murder is murder'. She should know. The history of British army undercover operations is a history of murder or attempted murder. On 22 June 1972 3 Black Taxi drivers were machine-gunned in Andersonstown by a British army undercover squad using a Thomson machine-gun. It was intended to look like an internecine Republican shooting. It was the day after the Provisional IRA had declared a ceasefire. Two soldiers were eventually brought to trial. One, Sergeant Clive Williams, admitted to being a member of the Military Reconnaissance Force at the time. The MRF was the forerunner to the official deployment of the SAS. Needless to say both soldiers were acquitted (pp34/35). The trail of murder runs right up to today. In 1980 leading figures in the National H-Block Campaign were assassinated. Faligot shows that in the cases of Miriam Daly, Ronnie Bunting and Noel Lyttle the murders were carried out with a 'professionalism' which was 'Totally strange to the usual Loyalist killing methods' (pp113/114).

Faligot provides a damning dissection of the Peace People showing how this 'movement' fitted into place alongside murder, torture and surveillance in the counter-revolutionary war waged by British imperialism. First the timing – it 'emerged' just after the withdrawal of special category status and just before the first prisoner went on protest. Second the leaders – Mairead Corrigan, member of the pro-union Alliance Party; Betty Williams, secretary to the Managing Director of Guinness Brewery; Ciaran McKeown, journalist who in June 1976 had started a press campaign calling for an IRA ceasefire. Third the funds – by December 1976 £500,000 had been donated mainly from Britain, USA and West Germany. Fourth the supporters – in October 1976 Allard Kenneth Lowenstein helped organise trips to USA. He 'had a background in covert activities with the CIA' (p202). Charles Stout, who in 1977 was transferred from Chile to US Consul in Belfast, was a firm supporter. By 1979 the Peace People, long dead as a 'movement', had open links with the sectarian murder-gang the UDA. The Peace People in short had little to do with peace and even less to do with the people (pp184/209).

## Britain's Military Strategy in Ireland The Kitson Experiment



The Peace People, like other elements of British strategy, got tremendous support from the media. Faligot exposes not only the media role in censorship and lies but also the media's links with intelligence.

Training sessions on psychological operations were, until March 1979, held at the Joint Warfare Establishment. Alan Protheroe, whilst BBC News Editor, attended these sessions and gave lectures for a fortnight every year. He is an ex-Department of Intelligence Services major (p81). On 22 December 1975 the *Washington Post* revealed that all London dailies had some journalists who were in the pay of the intelligence services. One newspaper was said to have more than half its staff on the intelligence payroll! The Frank Church Senate Commission exposed CIA manipulation of Reuters news agency. A UNESCO report by Richard Fletcher revealed that British intelligence had for 30 years run a network of news agencies with, at the peak, 250 employees, and funded by the Foreign Office's Information Research Department (pp76/7). Faligot lists other BBC intelligence links, apart from Protheroe, as:

Waldo Maguire, BBC Controller (1966-72) is a former member of the Intelligence Service, War Office and Foreign Office; BBC Defence correspondent, Christopher Wain is an Intelligence Officer (TA); in 1976, Parliamentary correspondent, Peter Hill, was a Territorial Naval Intelligence Officer, while BBC News Editors Derek Amoore and Alan Protheroe, were respectively a former SAS member and a Major in Army Intelligence. (p81)

This is what is laughingly called the 'free' press etc!

In the lies field 1972 was a vintage year: the British press managed a fake story about the British army shooting down a 'Czechoslovakian terrorist sniper' (*Daily Mirror*, p.70); a fake interview with Ruairi O Braidaigh (*Sunday Times*, p.77); and a fake interview with Sean Mac Stiofain (*Observer*, p.77). The media is just one element in the British imperialist war drive against the Irish people.

Overall then Faligot's book is an invaluable source of material exposing the reality of British rule in Ireland. It does, however, have weaknesses. First the personalisation of the issue round Kitson reaches absurd proportions, thus 'A man had declared war on Europe' (p1). Second Faligot falls into the trap of treating national liberation struggles as though they were secondary to the 'real' struggle at 'home'. Third, and this is astonishing, despite pointing out the integration of military and police roles he does not even mention Kenneth Newman! Fourth he fails to emphasise that all the technological wizardry and learned tomes on counter-insurgency has failed to defeat the IRA. Indeed the IRA has struck back at the secret warriors time after time. On one day in October 1972 the IRA executed 3 MRF soldiers in the Four Square Laundry and 2 MRF soldiers in the Gemini Health Studios (pp30/31). And, of course, the fact is that British intelligence may know the name of every cat in West Belfast but they cannot stop Volunteers driving a lorry load of explosives to the gates of Andersonstown Barracks and blowing it to bits!

Despite these weaknesses it is a very useful and important book which everyone should read especially given that Frank Kitson is now head of UK Land Forces alongside Newman as head of the Metropolitan Police.

Terry Marlowe

## ■ 'Afghanistan: Darkness into Light' A Liberation Pamphlet, 34p

This excellent pamphlet was produced from the experiences of a fact-finding mission to Afghanistan by Ron Brown (MP for Edinburgh, Leith), Bob Parry (MP), Terry Marsland (Deputy Secretary, Tobacco Workers Union), Bill Ronksley (Secretary, Sheffield District ASLEF) and Tony Gilbert (Secretary, Liberation). It is made up from interviews and discussions the mission had with the Afghan TUC, the Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation, Ali Keshmed – Prime Minister, the Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, prisoners accused of counter-revolutionary offences and people in schools, factories and housing estates. They met those people who were actually engaged in taking Afghanistan from feudalism and tribalism into the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Before the revolution in April 1978 the people of Afghanistan toiled under one of the most crushing dictatorships in the world – child mortality, poverty and illiteracy were ranked among the highest in the world; in one of the driest countries in the region, those who owned water could do what they liked with it, usually selling it to the highest bidder resulting in the ruining of entire villages. These are the conditions which provide the best investment conditions for imperialism. They are what a former president of the USA, Nixon, referred to when he said that they wish to keep Afghanistan 'a museum of past civilisation'. A return to pre-1978 conditions is also being sought by the so-called freedom fighters. They are in reality seeking a return to the ownership of land by the big landlords, a return to the intolerable oppression of women and the realignment of Afghanistan with the imperialist forces.

Today the Afghanistan people are under continual attack by these imperialist-backed reactionaries who welcome the arms from Britain, the USA and West Germany. These counter-revolutionaries and their landlord backers are not in a position to defeat democracy because of the unity of the youth, women, peasants and workers. However the military danger does come from the threat of a large scale invasion from Pakistan. This threat presented the Afghan trade unions, the People's Democratic Party and the peasant organisations with no alternative but to call on their ally against imperialism: the Soviet Union. Under a Soviet-Afghan treaty for military assistance in time of need the soldiers of the Soviet Union now protect the borders from this external menace. These Soviet troops are *not* involved in fighting the counter-revolutionary forces in the towns and cities; this is done by the Afghan soldiers and peoples' militias. *Every school, orphanage, factory, housing estate and Mosque etc is defended, very often by the armed youth who are not soldiers nor are they paid, because it is their own homes and factories that they volunteer to guard.* One of the favourite disguises of the male counter-revolutionaries is to dress up as women and attack schools, murder teachers and burn the buildings. Normally if an army marches into a country (the Western line on the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan) it disarms the forces of that country. The truth is the opposite in this case. Afghanistan had a very weak army and with Soviet assistance now it has built up into the very strong National Fatherland Front which is composed of Party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, voluntary youth, writers, poets, religious leaders etc.

One week before the president of Egypt was killed he said that his government had donated 100,000 US

dollars to the counter-revolution. The US government itself has given \$4m to Pakistan to pay for the overthrow of the legitimate government of Afghanistan. This year the US government has decided to up the stakes and give \$21m to those seeking the destabilisation of Afghanistan. Furthermore, the question of stationing US troops in Pakistan has been discussed. These are exactly the same tactics the imperialists have employed in Central America in their attempt to roll back progress and freedom. On 22 March 1982 Reagan had a day of 'solidarity' with Afghanistan. On the same day 200,000 Afghans marched in protest on the US embassy in the capital, Kabul.

At present 98% of women and 95% of Afghan men are illiterate. The Afghan revolution is striving to wipe this out, within 7 years in cities and 10 years in the rural areas. From the beginning of 1982 wages were raised by a minimum of 26% to a maximum of between 40-50%. This was a real increase in living standards because of the stability of the economy. The pamphlet quotes Afghan peasants saying they now enjoy the support of their government and they see that support with their eyes. The people have bitter memories of the actions of imperialism. On three occasions British imperialism attacked Afghanistan and trampled their liberty underfoot. They are now faced with an undeclared war by international imperialism which aims to destroy the progress in the country made in the last four years. If the people had not asked for the help of the Soviet Union to protect their borders, Afghanistan would have been a second Chile. The government of Afghanistan has issued two statements to neighbouring governments requesting talks on peace. So far none have responded. Recently the leader of the Democratic Party of Pakistan went to Afghanistan. When he returned he denounced the pro-imperialist position of Zia's fascist government in Pakistan. Zia's response was to jail 40 members of the Democratic Party.

The Afghan people want peace and a settlement to the war waged against them. They have declared that as soon as their borders are guaranteed safe the Soviet forces will leave their country. This is not the voice of the people we hear in imperialist Britain. A blanket of silence was the only result of a press conference called in the House of Commons by Ron Brown MP. Uninformed and ignorant are those on the British middle class left who make their continual attacks on the Soviet presence. Those hypocrites who do nothing about British troops in Ireland know little or nothing about the people of Afghanistan, their problems, the calibre of their leadership or the aims of their revolution. The sooner it is understood that Afghanistan today is as much the front-line in the struggle against imperialism as, say, Nicaragua, the better we will understand the necessity of Soviet troops. Just as the Cuban army provides much needed international solidarity in Southern Africa so it is the case with the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Fred Stevens

## ■ Apartheid – The Facts International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983, £3.00

'Apartheid is the embodiment of the racism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid we must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulae, deceptive phrases and playing with words.'

Nelson Mandela, in a letter smuggled from Robben Island, 1980

This latest book by IDAF is a comprehensive attempt to look beneath the veil and see the real face of apartheid, concentrating on the developments which have taken place since the 1970s.

After a brief historical background, the book describes the impact of the apartheid system on the lives of the South African people, and how they are divided by law into separate racial groups which determines their place in the racist hierarchy. 86% of the land is reserved for 4½m whites, while the remaining 14% – the desert land of the Bantustans – is allocated to the 24m blacks. Whites can expect to live to the age of 68; blacks on average die at 55. Infant mortality rates are 18 per 1,000 for whites and 100-110 per 1,000 for blacks; in the Bantustans, the rate is far higher. 40% of black people have tuberculosis and 50% are undernourished.

The chapter on economic exploitation shows why: the intended purpose of apartheid is to provide a pool of cheap black labour. As MC Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (!) declared in 1976:

'The basis on which the Bantu (black people) is present in the white areas is to sell their labour here and nothing else.'

A black worker earns on average 1/3 of the wage of a white worker. The Bantustans are correctly identified as a central pillar of the apartheid genocide strategy, acting as a reserve of labour and as a human dustbin for those that the state does not want. So far, 3m blacks have been forcibly uprooted from their homes and removed to the Bantustans. Conditions there are so bad that it is worth it for a black person to go and work illegally in a white area, even if this means spending up to nine months of the year in jail. The pass laws are used to police the migrant labour system – since 1948 there have been over 12½m arrests for pass 'offences'. There are over 500 political prisoners, including leaders of the South African people

such as Nelson Mandela.

Chapters on the armed forces and the Front Line States show how fascist terror is South Africa's biggest export, and how it is used to destabilise surrounding states, keeping them docile and economically dependent on apartheid. Namibia has been occupied since 1915. Angola has been viciously attacked since it became independent in 1975; South Africa presently occupies southern Angola and is training UNITA, a puppet army. Numerous acts of terror have been carried out against Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and the Seychelles.

Unfortunately, the book has little to say about who really benefits from the abomination of apartheid.

'A rate of growth and profits higher than those of most countries have resulted from the policies and practices of apartheid. The economy is controlled by the minority, to its own benefit and to the benefit of the large number of transnational corporations operating in the country.'

The role of Britain, the USA and France in propping up apartheid is understated, although the various forms of economic, military and political collaboration are explained in the relevant chapters.

Having read this far, the final section of Apartheid – The Facts is welcome as it describes the resistance to apartheid and the liberation struggle. The South African people have set a shining example of how to oppose fascism and imperialism by mobilising at all levels. At the centre of the struggle is the African National Congress and its revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, dedicated to implementing the Freedom Charter. Its military successes bring victory ever closer!

Apartheid – The Facts is accurate and well designed. It has good references, and is an ideal starting point for anyone wishing to understand the effect of apartheid in detail. However, to fully understand the role of imperialist powers in propping up apartheid, and to see the vital need to build solidarity movements in these oppressor nations, one must read other books.

Steve Kitson

## ■ Grenada: Fight Unemployment with Production by Maurice Bishop Britain-Grenada Friendship Society/Liberation £0.70

1982 was *The Year of Economic Construction* in Grenada. It was the year in which the Grenadan people and their government, marshalling scant resources with skilled and democratic planning, achieved a 5.5% growth rate in their economy – while some of their neighbours, held up as exemplary 'free enterprise' models by US imperialism, managed to *contract* their economy by as much as 10%. It must be remembered that Grenada's achievement was made despite economic warfare on her by Britain and the US, who have persistently vetoed IMF loans for construction projects.

This pamphlet gives the text of a speech by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, made as part of the mass democratic drive to destroy the curse of unemployment, which had bedevilled Grenada under capitalism.

On the eve of the revolution in March 1979, when the people of Grenada overthrew the corrupt British puppet Gairy, unemployment stood at a massive 48% of the population. By 1982, after three years of socialist construction, the People's Revolutionary Government had reduced this figure to 14.2%, at a time when the dole queues of Western Europe and the USA were lengthening.

Comrade Bishop explains the steps which are being taken to fight unemployment, and how, as a necessary prerequisite to undertaking this struggle, the brutal Gairy regime and its machinery of repression had to be destroyed. First, in Grenada the struggle against unemployment has been a *mass struggle* involving all the people, through women's, youths' and farmers' organisations. A programme of consultation, at every level, was begun involving both unemployed and employed. In 1982 a census was taken to identify the extent of unemployment and underemployment. It was found that women were twice as likely as men to be unemployed, and so finding employment for women in agriculture, construction, and all other fields, has been given special emphasis.

Secondly, the people of Grenada had no wish to solve their problem by non-productive, cosmetic job creation schemes or by dragging unemployed youth into the military. The solution rests upon the foundation of physical and concrete growth – fighting unemployment with production. The people of Grenada can do this because they are not subject to the fickle whims of capitalist financiers.

A 15% growth in the construction industry already shows the measure of success. The battle against unemployment is based on the new international airport, electrification projects, new housing complexes and better telephone, water and radio services – all for the benefit of the people.

The contrast between this solution, based on the needs of the people, and the government imposed cheap-labour YOP schemes, the fiddling of statistics, and the abandonment of the unemployed to poverty in Britain, is all too plain to see.

William Gray



## THE VATICAN'S IMPERIAL CIRCUS

High on a platform, resplendent in choicest clothes with jewelled medallions, framed by towering symbols of eternal suffering to which he beckons, offering obedient faith and death as the only solution, Karol Wojtyla has taken the Vatican circus on eighteen overseas tours since becoming John Paul II in 1978. In Ireland in 1979 he called upon revolutionary Republicans to surrender their arms; in Central America, the Philippines and Africa he demanded that risen people 'reconcile' themselves with fascist oppressors; and in Poland this June the supposedly non-political Pope attacked the socialist government, encouraging the imperialist funded Solidarity to continue its counter-revolutionary actions. The Vatican is a political and diplomatic instrument of imperialism.

Through alliances with various ruling classes the Vatican has enjoyed a long and prosperous history. Today, capitalism's desperate need to tighten its hold over labour and materials, to capture new markets and breach the socialist states compels it to use every means at its disposal. To these ends John Paul was recruited. That he serves them in the name of the Virgin rather than the right of multinationals to rape people of their means is all the more useful to imperialism: where its more obvious figureheads cannot go and get a hearing a kindly old man, fond of children, sorrowful for the sick and lonely, can!

## THE POLISH MISSION

Not by chance was Wojtyla chosen as the first non-Italian pope in 456 years, still less was it God's work. As Archbishop of Cracow Wojtyla led a faction of the church that sought the overthrow of Poland's socialist system. Seeking support he turned to Polish exiles in West Germany and the USA, among whom was Zbigniew Brzezinski - later to become US President Carter's national security adviser. During 1977 Wojtyla visited the USA and Brzezinski visited Poland; they shared the same objective. In 1978 Brzezinski, reports the Spanish *Tempo* magazine, put into operation a plan for, in his own words, 'destabilising the situation in Poland'. In October 1978 the US cardinals and others involved in papal selection were orchestrated by Brzezinski, the CIA and British state to select Wojtyla.

This June as Wojtyla publicly knelt to kiss the tarmac at Warsaw airport - the Vatican is after all one of the world's big-

gest landowners - he was appropriately greeted by the actors' union, for, like that other great crusader for 'God, family and freedom' (see FRFI 30) the pope is an ex-actor. He was soon into his stride, 'perhaps at times we envy the French, the Germans or the Americans... because they are so easily free', adding menacingly, 'we do not want a Poland that would cost us nothing'. In Wojtyla's 'freedom' of the developed capitalist nations there are over thirty million unemployed, repressive legislation is pouncing onto the statute books in every one of them, and what limited political rights there are for working people have been wrung out of ruling classes that have lived by exporting Wojtyla's 'freedom' to South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, Iran and everywhere else that the oppressed groan in agony.

Wojtyla knows his propaganda purpose: 'it amazed the whole world when the Polish worker stood up... with the gospel in his hand and a prayer on his lips. The pictures that went round the world in 1980 touched hearts and consciences'. While Saint Clara and Archangel Gabriel, patron saints of TV and radio, spread the good word about Polish workers standing up, helped by the BBC's £2m per year investment in religious broadcasting, the pope was less cheered by Irish people standing up to British imperialism.

## IRELAND, EL SALVADOR (LAY DOWN YOUR WEARY CAUSE)

On his 1979 visit to Ireland Wojtyla recognised the British imposed border by refusing to cross it. Alongside the

customary insistence upon the oppression of women the main sermon was delivered at Drogheda, site of British atrocities against Irish people, but directed at the Republican movement, then in the throes of the H-Block campaign. 'Violence is evil... (it) is unacceptable as a solution to problems', he declared to an Irish people whose every peaceful effort to remove the source of their problems, British imperialism, has been drowned in their own blood. As if touched by the frustration of the British occupying forces he went on, 'I beg you to turn away from the paths of violence and to return to the ways of peace'. To any revolutionary fighter that may have been entranced by his pretty pictures of surrender the pope guaranteed 'your sins

denied his ring to priests who truly understand and serve the people by working with the anti-imperialist Sandinista government. These Christians have been ordered to the Vatican for humiliation, others have been ordered to desert the revolutionary government. Having seen a victorious people taking command of their own destiny in Nicaragua, the pope reeled in horror telling Panamanian farm workers 'In the search for greater justice... do not fall into the temptation to use violence, guerrilla warfare and egoistic class struggle'. Where was the cry in El Salvador and Guatemala for the right to form trade unions where to do so risks torture and death, that John Paul bellowed around the world in Poland! Do not defend



are forgiven, go in peace'. The eminence bestowed on Wojtyla has swelled his sense of authority, centuries of British violence in Ireland are testament that Ireland will not 'go in peace' until Britain is forced out, yet never did the pope instance, allude to or in any way challenge, what Britain is doing in Ireland.

In March this year the pope again donned his robes and jetted out to the front line of the battle against imperialism. In El Salvador he greeted Major D'Aubuisson, the man former US Ambassador White called a 'pathological killer' and whom he accused of murdering the progressive archbishop Romero, but in Nicaragua the pope

yourself, do not organise in your own interests and we will bless you, was the papal offering to the downtrodden of Latin America.

## DRIPPING WITH RICHES

The saving of souls is a costly business, but the Vatican's allegiance with imperialism is founded upon more earthly interests. It long ago sold its own soul to the fatal dollar dance. The Vatican is a corporation: priests preach, invest and swindle. Financial speculation jostles with campaigns against abortion for their devotions. The value of the Roman Catholic church's property assets are incalculable. However, the *Economist*

magazine estimated that the *Istituto per le Opere di Religione* (Vatican Bank) has assets worth three to four billion dollars, but this excludes many holdings held in other company names. Not surprisingly it controls seven companies in Panama alone, while *Time* magazine reckoned that fifteen per cent of shares quoted on the Italian Stock Exchange were Vatican held.

These riches flow from a history of vile compromise and clandestine deals. The Vatican made a Concordat with Mussolini in 1929, the man described by Pope Pius XI as 'sent by Providence to consecrate regimental standards as they left for the invasion of Ethiopia. Within weeks of Hitler taking power the pope had reached a Concordat with him, agreeing to a common front against the Soviet Union. The Nazis went on to slaughter six million Poles, one fifth of the population, until the Red Army drove them out! Today Chicago's Archbishop Marciakus, president of the Vatican Bank, mayor of Vatican City by John Paul II in 1981, travel agent and bodyguard to the pope on last year's British trip, is holding up in the Vatican sought in connection with two financial swindles amounting to US\$2.5bn involving the Mafia and big business across three continents. At the centre of the crimes was Roberto Calvi, former president of Italy's largest private bank, preserved from making his threatened confession implicating senior Vatican clergy by a timely death beneath Blackfriars' Bridge in June 1982. Riches and corruption drip from the head of the Vatican.

Hell blazes away in the oppressed countries and those noble priests who stand up for the values the Vatican pronounces are brushed aside and told to shut up. Religion, said Marx, is the 'sign of the oppressed', the heart of a heartless world. Around the world the oppressed are showing that they will not be forced back onto their knees in sobbing prayers. Their hymns are songs of resistance, their struggles, led by the PLO, ANC, SWAPO, the Republican fighters, FMLN, are the heart that will redeem the world.

T Rayne

## Mitterrand's France

Mitterrand's 'socialist' government, and its 'communist' allies, came to power in May 1981 promising 'change'. But like every other bourgeois government it is attempting to 'solve' the capitalist economic crisis by driving down working class living standards. The average income of French workers rose by a 'magnificent' 0.2% in the period 1981/2. This compares with a 1.5% increase in productivity. In other words, as under the previous right-wing government, workers continue to produce more for less pay so that the employers can increase their profits. So much for Mitterrand's 'change'!

The government's latest package of austerity measures will further intensify the attack on social services and living standards, leading to a reduction in income of between 1 and 4% and an increase of 100,000 in the unemployment levels, already over 2m. These measures have been welcomed by the parasites of the Stock Exchange and by the right-wing 'Opposition' which has admitted that it would never have dared to introduce such severe measures itself. With such praise from right-wing reactionaries, the anti-working class nature of the Mitterrand government could hardly be

clearer.

The government has tried to outbid the Right with its racism. Its promise to give immigrants the vote has been shown up as empty rhetoric. During the local elections in March the Minister for oppressing immigrants openly boasted that in 1982 the government expelled more immigrants than under the previous 3 years of right-wing government. Other Ministers alleged that the disputes in the car industry were due to 'manipulations by Shi'ite Moslem Fundamentalists' and the media took up the 'story'. Under the Left, as under the Right,

immigrants remain the scapegoats for the crisis and racism is used to divide and weaken the working class.

The government's emphasis on the 'law and order' issue during the local elections led to racist attacks on Jewish and North African people in Marseilles. In other parts of France right-wing vigilante groups have been set up to help the police put down immigrants. Last December a young man was killed by a citizen's patrol which found him siphoning petrol from a car.

Under its 'socialist' caretakers, the racist and imperialist French state is preparing itself for future battles. Fearing the inevitable working class rebellions that will break out, the government has increased the numbers of police and improved their weaponry. France has become a firmer supporter of NATO, the Western anti-communist alliance, and the government has even reproached the right-wing leader Giscard d'Estaing for being too friendly towards the Soviet Union! Mitterrand is an ardent supporter

of the stationing of Pershing missiles in Europe and the US has stated that it has no better ally than France. France's military budget will go up from 4% of the Gross Domestic Product to 6% (705bn francs) over the next five years. A Rapid Action Force of 80,000 men is being established to protect French imperialist interests overseas.

The reformist and opportunist French Socialist Party, like the equally rotten and racist British Labour Party, sees its task as being to get workers to make sacrifices in the 'national interest', ie in the interests of their parasitical ruling classes. Two years of social-democratic government have seen the strengthening of the repressive forces of the French state, intensified harassment of black and white youth, reinforced control of immigration, greater poverty and the strengthening of French imperialism in Africa and the Middle East. An 'achievement' for the ruling class to be proud of!

David Jackson

## CHILE

continued from page 1

8pm to midnight in Santiago. Anyone found on the streets was liable to be shot. Working class youth, undeterred by such draconian measures, erected barricades of burning tyres and rubbish and battled with the police throughout the period of the curfew. A teenage girl was shot dead and 200 people arrested as the police, using armoured cars, moved into working class districts.

In Chile the working classes are leading the struggle for the overthrow of the regime and have staged the most impressive strike in the ten year history of the regime. Major sections of the population are also calling for the removal of Pinochet from power. The middle classes and the bankrupt capitalists are asking for the return to civilian government and state-interventionist policies to allviate Chile's growing economic crisis and ever-increasing political crisis. On 17 July many of these people including the lorry drivers, refused to support the working class is engaged in a revolutionary one and will be fought to the end. As Seguel said from prison on 17 June 'Our cause is just, let us not falter. Let us not defraud Chile'.

Nigel Doyle



## IN BRIEF

### ● Ghana

On 19 June the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) of Ghana, headed by Jerry Rawlings, beat off the fifth coup attempt by imperialism and its corrupted middle class allies since taking power in December 1981. This time an invasion by exiled counter-revolutionaries sheltered in Togo was timed to coincide with a prison breakout in Accra, Ghana's capital. Would-be coup leaders temporarily seized a radio station and called upon the students, the professional bodies, the Church Council and the Bar Association, to join them in destroying the PNDC. While these privileged groups did nothing the Workers' and Peoples' Defence Committee spontaneously joined troops loyal to the PNDC in setting up road blocks and flushing out the counter-revolutionaries, some of whom are reported to have sought sanctuary in Western embassies. The Ghanaian press has stated that reactionary bands are being coordinated by the CIA and Zionist agents in countries bordering onto Ghana.

In London new coups are being plotted by the misnamed Campaign for Democracy in Ghana (CDG). The CDG head, Boakye-Dan, a former student of 'war studies' at a London college trained in psychological warfare by the CIA, has been feted by Tory MPs and Lords, and receives donations from major capitalist firms. The class basis of the CDG is revealed in Dan's glowing list of members 'former diplomats and politicians, banking and trade union leaders, industrialists, professional and military interests.'

Determined to secure their revolution and to take it forward, Ghanaian workers have occupied the British-owned Cadbury Factory and the Supreme Court, where they ordered the abolition of the post of Chief Justice for running a British designed judicial system. The PNDC has been besieged with petitions calling for the 'arming of the people'. This must be the surest way to put paid to the conspiracies of the imperialist bourgeoisie and their Ghanaian allies.

Trevor Rayne

### ● Nicaragua

The US armed counter-revolutionaries—FDN and ARDE—who invaded Nicaragua to hymns of praise from President Reagan, are now licking their wounds. In the South, ARDE has suspended operations and all FDN forces in the North have retreated to rear mountain zones. Their claims to enjoy popular support have been rudely exposed. In one case US *Time* journalists asking to see evidence of such support were brusquely informed 'You're leaving tomorrow!' FDN commando units, revealing their gangster-like nature, are shooting at each other in disputes over territorial control, while their military and political leaders blame each other for their failures.

US imperialism is therefore resorting to ever more extreme measures in its war against the Sandinista revolution. It has given the go-ahead to the US-backed Honduran army to attack Nicaraguan forces and is engineering a war between the two nations. British-supplied Scorpion armoured cars have been moved to the Nicaraguan border which is rapidly being covered with a network of roads and bridges useful only for war. Honduran troops massed on the borders have shelled Sandinista defence positions and crossed into Nicaraguan territory. In the event of full-scale war, US imperialism has contingency plans to send in US combat troops to assist Honduras against the 'Nicaraguan aggressors'. British imperialism is doing its bit by conducting an arms sales drive for the Honduran army and in addition is cultivating contacts with the FDN.

Nicaragua is preparing to respond to such aggression by the revolutionary means of mass popular war. The government has announced plans to arm the working class and peasantry and throughout towns, cities and villages neighbourhood Sandinista Defence Committees have been formed. The revolutionary masses of Nicaragua have repeatedly declared their desire for peace but they are prepared to fight to the death against imperialism which is threatening their achievements so far and their hopes for a future of socialism and democracy.

Eddie Abrahams

# BRAZIL IMF calls time up

**Brazil is teetering on the brink of a major political and economic crisis which could shake the country and the international banking system to the core. The crisis is a result of Brazil's massive indebtedness to the parasitic imperialist banks. Last year Brazil, with \$90bn of debt, was forced to go to the IMF for a loan to escape its liquidity problems which had jeopardised repayments to the banks. The loan was granted in February on condition that Brazil sticks to a vicious austerity programme which will cut wages and push up food prices, worsening the lot of the oppressed. In April an outbreak of rioting in Sao Paulo forced the military government to retreat from full application of the austerity measures. The IMF refused to release the second slice of the loan and negotiations with the government have been dragging on ever since.**

Brazilian ministers have been jettisoning round imperialist capitals, cap in hand, hoping to woo the banks into extending further loans. The group of banks concerned—which counts Lloyds Bank International as deputy to chairing Citibank—has held back because no firm agreement had been reached with the

IMF on the depths of the attacks to be made on the Brazilian people to extract the ransom demanded by imperialism.

Brazil's military rulers, trapped between the pressure of the masses on one side and the demands of the banks on the other, are falling out with one another. Some demand ruthless application of the

IMF demands; others toy with the idea of a moratorium—a postponement of the repayment of any debts. President Figueirido has left the country to undergo heart surgery, leaving behind a cabal of squabbling ministers. The imperialists have become impatient with the refusal to bow to their demands, and have forced a decision on the government. The Bank of International Settlements, the club of central bankers, has refused to further postpone repayment of a small \$400m bridging loan, originally due two months ago. This seems to have been a deliberate decision to force Brazil into agreement with the IMF. It was successful: two days later the government announced a cut in all wages by 20 per cent for two years. This is a massive attack on the Brazilian working class which already suffers terrible poverty. Two-thirds of all workers earn between £25 and £50 a month. A recent United Nations study

showed that half of all families did not earn enough to feed themselves. Ten million people, mostly young, have no regular job.

This may keep the IMF quiet, but it will only deepen the political crisis, and do nothing to solve the economic problems which have created the Brazilian crisis. It will ensure massive support for the 21 July general strike, will almost certainly renew rioting. The security police were at the centre of repression of a recent wave of strikes, and will be at the forefront of the inevitable further attempts to repress the masses. Meanwhile, Brazil's economic instability will continue. The recent successful performance in its trade with the world—as demanded by the IMF—has only been brought about by a massive reduction in imports. Fuels, especially domestic gas, are now in short supply and even the capitalists are complaining. The banks may be persuaded by the agreement reached with the IMF to pay out the money demanded by Brazil. This might postpone the collapse a little longer—but only by ensuring that banks build a little higher the scaffold from which they will surely be hung.

Steve Palmer

## Basque country the long revolution

**The revolutionary struggle for the right to self-determination for the Basque country—Euskadi—is the single most important challenge facing the Spanish ruling class today. It is critical for the Basque and Spanish working class, for history shows that there can be no real democracy in Spain until the legitimate rights of the Basque people are respected.**

Euskadi lies at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, divided between the French and Spanish states. The Basque people, the oldest settlers in Europe, have preserved a unique language and culture through a ceaseless struggle against all attempts to subjugate them. Oppression

in character, to serve as the instrument of the proletarian classes' by destroying 'the political and economic power of the oligarchy'. Armed actions began in 1961 and from 1968 a systematic warfare against the Spanish State has taken place.

**'Returning to Madrid from the Basque country is depressingly reminiscent of returning to Tel Aviv from the Palestinian West Bank.'**

*Financial Times 15-4-1981*

by France of North Euskadi came first. But it was not until 1841 that Navarre, and in 1876 the provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa and Alava were forcibly deprived of their historic rights and fully incorporated into the Spanish State. In order to destroy republicanism in Spain the Crown had had to attack all democratic rights, and necessarily to end the old rights of the Basque people. This defeat was followed by the abolition of universal suffrage, the jury system, and many other democratic rights throughout Spain.

British led industrialisation created a Basque bourgeoisie completely allied to Spain, dragging the new middle classes with it. The Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) moved to a position demanding autonomy not separation. Only when the working class took up the struggle against the army-led counter-revolution of 1936, did the Basques win their rights. In October 1936 a Provisional Government of Euskadi was founded. Within months it was crushed by fascism. Once again the denial of self-determination for Euskadi went hand in hand with the destruction of democratic rights throughout Spain.

Despite intense repression the mass struggle of the working class in Spain and Euskadi forced the Franco regime on the defensive. In Euskadi PNV youth broke away, eventually to form ETA—Euskadi Ta Azkatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom) in 1959. Its programme aimed 'to establish a Basque State, democratic and popular

This armed struggle, directed against the institutions of repression, has grown hand in hand with a mass movement demanding self-determination for Euskadi. This has developed in one of the most industrialised parts of the Spanish State and is centred on the working class sections of the large towns and cities. The mass mobilisations which developed were the biggest since the pre-Franco period. Franco's dictatorship was constantly forced to refine its machinery of oppression. Torture, execution, deportation, the law of exceptions (excusing all acts of State terror) and in August 1975, by decree, a Prevention of Terrorism Act. ETA won widespread sympathy and recognition. Under Arias, Franco's successor, 500 Basque POWs were incarcerated in Spanish prisons. The Basque flag and language remained illegal. The struggle in Euskadi had become the vanguard of the democratic struggle in Spain.

This struggle caused Arias to resign in July 1976 with elections called for 1977. Now all the legalised militant Basque organisations fully supporting independence worked for a common democratic programme—KAS (Koordinadora Abertzale Sozialista). Groups in KAS were central in forming the electoral coalition Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity Party). Despite official and unofficial fascist terror, massive demonstrations for POW amnesty now took place. The state tried to split the movement by offering partial amnesty and release to 'repentants', while selectively torturing

## KOREAN LEADER SAYS: If you want peace, fight imperialism!

**From 2-6 July Pyongyang, the capital of socialist Korea was the venue of a World Conference of Journalists against imperialism, for friendship and peace. It was attended by 163 delegations and delegates from 113 countries on the five continents and 16 international organisations. On 3 July, Korea's leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a banquet in honour of those attending the Conference. The speech of Comrade Kim Il Sung at the banquet is a powerful anti-imperialist document which boldly declares, 'World Peace can be ensured and safeguarded only through the struggle against imperialism.'**

**Copies of FRFI were widely distributed at the Conference to Korean comrades and fighters against imperialism from around the world, meeting a very warm response. A leading Nicaraguan journalist described FRFI as a 'very magnificent newspaper'. FRFI will carry a fuller report in its next issue.**

Keith Anderson

others by sensory deprivation and hallucinogenic drugs. Demonstrations were violently attacked. Police used rubber bullets. Youth were maimed and killed. POW protests almost totally destroyed some prisons. The slogan in all these struggles was 'ETA—the people are with you'.

The 1977 conservative Suarez government announced a Constitutional Referendum for December 1978, and opportunists now attacked ETA for endangering the concessions it had forced! Madrid now planned to 'Ulsterise' Euskadi. Despite all this the second general election of March 1979 saw Herri Batasuna (HB) take 137,000 votes, and the secessionists (abertzale) together claimed 17% of the Euskadi census. The youth and Spanish immigrant workers were vital in this. Repeated in the municipal elections, this trend led Fraga (leader of the current main opposition) to demand a return to terror alone by the State. All protests, including the anti-nuclear demonstrations, were assaulted. ETA fully supports protests against the Lemoniz nuclear plant, inflicting such damage on the overall power system (142 attacks in 1981) that it is now to be propped up by nationalisation.

In 1980 a statute of pseudo-autonomy was forced through by Madrid, separating Navarre from the rest of the Basque country, despite a 40.23% abstention rate in the referendum. The Abertzale took 17% of the vote for the new Basque Parliament in elections in March 1980. This ballot for the bullet caused Madrid to pass a new law in December whereby constitutional liberties can be suspended at any time. This offensive was strengthened by the attempted coup of February 1981. In fear of the coup 150,000 people fled temporarily to France. Open war is now declared on the Basque people. In April, 2,000 more troops were drafted to the French border, seven warships moved to the Basque coast, and special units of the civil guard were seconded to the overall 'anti-terrorist' command. Twenty thousand armed police were already on duty alongside all the armed forces of the sixth military regional command. But despite 200 dead in 1981 the people remain undefeated.

In May HB City councillors in San Sebastian tried to read a message of solidarity to the Irish POWs on hunger strike. This was stopped by the Mayor. Such principled actions have often paralysed the Spanish State designed provincial bodies. In order to remove some of the limited concessions in the 1980 Statute a law to equalise 'regional' devolution in Spain has been proposed.

The Basque struggle is democratic, socialist and internationalist. In 1982 when Zionism's genocide against Lebanon was at its height demonstrators at performances by the Israeli State Orchestra chanted 'Beirut, Gernika—82', and 'Euskadi-Palestine, one struggle one fight'. Police violently dispersed these protests. In the general election of October 1982 the 'abertzale' gained more votes than ever—210,000. ETA is the armed vanguard of mass struggle, 'ulsterisation' has failed, the state has introduced a new and costly programme of repression this year. In April police invaded the working class area of Pilar in Northern Madrid, where 250,000 workers live, and did a house to house search for ETA supporters!

The struggle in Euskadi is the struggle of all democrats and therefore of communists.

**Full sovereignty for the Basque Nation!  
Legalisation of all political parties!  
Full amnesty for all POWs!**

Paul Banks



# IRELAND



## IN BRIEF

### ● Mullaghmore

On Sunday 10 July 800 Republicans marched through Mullaghmore in the 26 Counties to mark the second anniversary of the British murder of hunger striker Joe McDonnell. Joe McDonnell was well known in the area where, whilst on hunger strike, he narrowly missed election in the 1981 election.

The march, organised by the local H-Block committee, was preceded by a campaign of denunciation from the Irish bourgeois press, Irish Prime Minister and British lackey Garrett FitzGerald, the local Fianna Fail TD and others. The British media were, of course, quick to join in. The ferocity of this campaign was another reflection of the Irish bourgeoisie's subordination to British imperialism. It was in Mullaghmore in August 1979 that the IRA executed British warlord and aristocrat Lord Mountbatten - revered by the ruling class and hated by the oppressed not only in Ireland, but also in India, Pakistan and elsewhere.

The bourgeois pro-imperialist hucksters denounced the march as 'insensitive', 'grotesque' and showing 'disregard for the feelings of English'. They called for its cancellation. They showed no concern for the memory of an IRA working class fighter murdered by British imperialism or for the feelings of Irish people terrorised by British troops and exploited by British capitalists.

This demonstration of 'loyalty' to imperialism was also a display of hypocrisy. Republican demonstrations have regularly taken place in Mullaghmore since Mountbatten's death without controversy. That the 26 County puppet ruling class chose to take the offensive this year shows their fear of growing Republican influence in the Free State, an influence which threatens not only British imperialism but also the Irish ruling class.

Eddie Abrahams

### ● Escapee captured

Joe Doherty, one of eight IRA Volunteers who escaped from Crumlin Road prison Belfast in June 1981, was recently arrested in New York. The RUC have applied for his extradition to the Six Counties where he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the killing of an SAS officer in 1980. If the RUC extradition attempt fails, British imperialism's junior partner the Free State government may attempt to have him deported to the 26 Counties on the grounds that he left Ireland with a Free State passport. Doherty faces a long legal battle against deportation.

Liam Quinn is also fighting extradition. Quinn, who is in prison in San Francisco, is wanted by the British police for alleged IRA activities in London. Michael O'Rourke was arrested in New York and imprisoned in 1979. He escaped from the non-jury Dublin Special Criminal Court in 1976. The Free State is trying to get him deported. He, in common with the others, is fighting this.

Alan James

### ● Internment by remand

A letter in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* on 30 June highlighted the fact that in the Six Counties there are hundreds of men and a dozen or so women awaiting trial in the prisons of Belfast and Armagh. The case of one man, Thomas Gorman, is an example of the vicious and unjust system of internment by remand. On 11 July 1981, Thomas Gorman was arrested and accused of possession of explosives. Tests were carried out which failed to disclose that he had been in contact with explosive substances and all evidence was purely circumstantial. Despite this, bail was refused, because he had served a term in the H-Blocks. He has been in prison ever since and is now beginning his 3rd year of incarceration. He will be lucky if his case comes to trial before 1985, by which time he will have served, on remand, the equivalent of 6 years prison term.

Pauline Sellars

## UNITED DEMONSTRATION AND CONFERENCE

To encourage unity amongst Irish solidarity organisations and British left groups active on the Irish question, the Co-ordinating Committee for Building an Irish Solidarity Movement invited them to a meeting on 2 July to discuss CC-BISM proposals for a united demonstration on 1 October to be followed by a unity conference on 2 October. The basis of this to be the three demands - acceptable to all - suggested in the Albany POWs letter of 19 April 1983 ie

- 1 Complete British withdrawal from Ireland.
- 2 Self-determination for the Irish people.
- 3 Repatriation for all Irish POWs.

From the point of view of building unity the 2 July meeting was a setback. CC-BISM, local ISCs, RCG, RCL, Bristol TOM and IFM attended. The rest of the left and other Irish solidarity organisations including TOM boycotted the meeting. The IFM came not to discuss

unity but to oppose it. In typical sectarian manner they refused to support the BISM proposals on the grounds of alleged attacks by the RCG against RCP/IFM. They claimed to support the three demands but refused joint action in support of them stating that the initiative for such action must come from the Republican movement!

Despite the left and TOM boycott the meeting agreed to adopt the CC-BISM proposals and voted to establish a 1 October Mobilising Committee to build for the demonstration and the conference. This committee to be open to all organisations willing to build for the two events. It was agreed that complete equality would be assured to all participating organisations. CC-BISM will work to ensure the broadest participation in these two events and hopes that despite the 2 July setback efforts to unite genuine forces in solidarity with the Irish people continue.

Eddie Abrahams

## MANCHESTER Demonstration

Complete British Withdrawal from Ireland!  
Self-determination for the Irish People!  
Repatriation on Demand for all POWs to Ireland!

Saturday 20 August

Assemble opposite the Clarence Pub, Wilmslow Road, Rusholme, Manchester  
12.30pm

Called by United Irish Solidarity Demonstration Committee

c/o Box 47, 164-166 Corn Exchange Buildings,  
Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M3 4BN

## BODENSTOWN 1983

Sunday 19 June marked the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration parade from Sallins to Bodenstown Churchyard in County Kildare. Thousands of people marched to Bodenstown led by the IRA colour party of 25 including 3 women volunteers, members of Cumann na mBan, and a hundred members of Na Fianna Eireann from all over Ireland. Altogether 16 republican bands were interspersed through the lines of marchers.

At the graveside of Wolfe Tone the IRA colour party saluted his memory and the ceremony that followed was chaired by Joe Cahill, joint-secretary of Sinn Fein. Pat O'Connell, from Noraid, was among the speakers and he pledged continued support until Ireland is rid of British rule once and for all.

The main speaker of the day was Gerry Adams, vice-president of Sinn Fein and MP for West Belfast, and in the opening of his speech he pledged the continuance of the republican resistance set by Wolfe Tone back in 1795 and declared that

'our independence must be had at all hazards and we defend the right of the Irish people to engage in armed struggle in pursuance of that independence and in resistance to the British presence in our country'.

He went on to outline the massive electoral support gained by Sinn Fein in the recent elections despite the daily harassment, the arrests, the condemnations by the press, media, the Catholic hierarchy, the SDLP. He then reiterated the support of Sinn Fein for the armed struggle, he paid tribute to the freedom

fighters of the IRA and stated,

'They have assured us, by their tenacity and resilience, that they, and thus we, can never be defeated and that for as long as the British government maintains its presence in our country they will be faced by armed resistance. The IRA is the assertion and the guarantee that our will as a people to be free is stronger than the will of any British government to enslave us.'

After this glowing tribute to the Volunteers, he commented on the need to develop the struggle in the 26 counties although he made it clear that,

'Armed struggle... has no part to play in the development of our republican struggle in the 26 Counties.'

He ended with a call to go forward to be worthy of the legacy of Theobald Wolfe Tone.

Amongst those at the commemoration were supporters of Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee and FRFI. Supporters of FRFI sold 200 copies of the paper and distributed leaflets.

Pauline Sellars



Stephen McCoomy

## MURDER

In Derry on 16 April 1982 11 year old Stephen McCoomy was shot with a plastic bullet fired by a British soldier from a range of 17 feet. Three days later he died. The inquest took place in Crumlin Road Coroners Court in June this year.

Lance Corporal Nigel Robert Engelfield, who fired the shot that killed Stephen McCoomy, gave written evidence claiming that he been 'in real danger' when he fired the so-called 'non-lethal' plastic bullet. Over 30 witnesses stated that there had been disturbances between youth and the British army but that these had ended and the youth dispersed before Engelfield killed Stephen McCoomy.

The Court found that there was 'insufficient evidence' to suggest that Stephen had been involved in rioting and that the extent of the disturbances did not justify the use of plastic bullets because the British army 'did not appear to have been in any great danger'. Despite this finding Engelfield has not been charged with any offence in connection with the killing of Stephen McCoomy.

The Coroner, James Elliott, declined to make any recommendation on the use of the lethal anti-civilian plastic bullet which has killed 14 nationalists and maimed countless others.

That Engelfield remains free and that no soldier or policeman has been prosecuted for any of the killings and maimings caused by plastic bullets reveals British imperialist justice for what it is. It is no surprise that this lethal weapon has been issued to British police who, when they kill and maim with it, will also have the protection of British 'law'. British imperialism is preparing to murder and maim in Britain, as they have done in Ireland for the past 14 years, anyone who dares to oppose their bloody and barbaric rule.

Alan James

## BRITISH TERROR

### RUC ASSAULTS

On Tuesday 14 June four nationalists from the New Lodge area of North Belfast were attacked by the RUC. Paddy McEvoy was punched in the face. Michael McCloskey was grabbed by the throat, punched in the eye and kicked to the ground. Paddy Smith was also beaten up before all four were dragged into a landrover, beaten again, and taken to Queen Street RUC barracks. One of the four, Fra Lavery was released that night. The other three were transferred to Musgrave Street where they were charged with assaulting the RUC before being released.

In Ballymena a group of nationalist youth were attacked by five car loads of RUC accompanied by UDR officers as they left a party. Two youths who complained, Felix McCormick and Paddy Dunlop, were arrested, beaten and taken to Ballymena RUC barracks where they were charged with disorderly behaviour. McCormick suffered lacerations to the mouth and had one of his teeth punched out. He was held overnight because he wanted to make a formal complaint of RUC assault.

### RUC DEATH THREATS

James McLaughlin from Coalisland was arrested near his home on 16 June and held for half an hour. One of his RUC captors said 'If we get you along the road we'll shoot you. What'll you do then eh? You'll have to run to Ken Maginnis. See if he will help you. You haven't got Carron now.' Ex-UDR Major

Ken Maginnis was elected in Fermanagh/South Tyrone, replacing Sinn Fein MP Owen Carron, as a result of the intervention of the SDLP.

John Smith from Kinawley Co Fermanagh has been constantly stopped by the RUC over the past few weeks. On one occasion he was told that he would be shot because of his support for the Republican movement.

### RUC ATTACK WOMEN

Four women, one was pregnant, and six children were abused and harassed by the RUC at a checkpoint at Wattlebridge Newtonbutler on 28 June. The RUC called the women 'Fenian whores' and one of them was struck across the wrists with a screwdriver by the brave RUC men.

### FAMILY HARASSED

The Kavanagh family have been harassed by the RUC, UDR and British army since they uncovered a UDR spy-post near their home. On 15 June 18 year old Frederick Kavanagh was told by a UDR soldier that he would 'end up in bed in Erne hospital'. On 21 June Mrs Kavanagh found a UDR patrol in her garden. They abused her for half an hour. 16 year old Alicia Kavanagh was stopped in a friend's car by the same patrol and ordered out at gunpoint. Mrs Kavanagh said of the 'security forces' 'I have never seen people so full of hatred. I'm really afraid of what they'll do to him [her son Frederick]'. Alan James



# Round-up

## TRAFALGAR 9 DROP THE CHARGES!

On 8 June 9 young people were arrested outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square, London for demonstrating against the hangings of 3 ANC freedom fighters: Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung. After being held overnight, photographed and the women strip searched, they were brought before the court the following day when the police applied unsuccessfully for a bail restriction banning the 9 from Trafalgar Square. The following week the Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign was set up to call for the dropping of the charges and to defend the right to demonstrate outside the Embassy. On 13 July the Campaign held its first public meeting which showed the wide support it has already won. Given the more recent attacks on pickets of the Embassy organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid Group (City AA), this campaign needs all possible support in its fight for the right to demonstrate.

On 30 June the 9 were brought before Bow St Magistrates Court. 7 were charged with obstruction and 2 with threatening behaviour. Supporters of the campaign mounted a picket of the court and our singing could be heard clearly inside. Incensed by this, the police arrested 14 of us for contempt of court. We were all later released on condition that we no longer made our protest heard. The case against the 9 was adjourned until 5 December at 10.30am at Bow St when we will again picket the court.

Ironically the public meeting on 13 July was held at the same time as Thatcher was voting for hanging of political prisoners by the British state. Chris Smith MP referred to just this point in his speech. Richard Balfe MEP spoke out against the attack on democratic rights in Britain and went on to describe the support he had won for his visit with Amanda Kitson to see her father, David Kitson, a political prisoner in South Africa. Amanda was herself arrested together with her brother Steven on 8

June and she spoke for the Defence Campaign. She called for people to organise in the face of police assault and ended with the chant 'A picket defended will never be defeated!' She was followed by Barbara Cohen for the NCCL and Vince Allen, a black Westminster Labour Councillor. He exposed the hypocrisy of the British state: the support and media coverage for Lech Walesa in Poland yet the silence about Nelson Mandela



and all South African political prisoners. He pointed out that when a Polish boy died in his home the press assumed that he was killed by police, yet when Colin Roach died in a police station they reported that he had committed suicide. He said we must fight in support of freedom in South Africa and we must fight for freedom and against racism in Britain: this is one inseparable struggle. When the police attack democratic rights we must not mourn, but organise! Another of the Trafalgar 9, Ruby, spoke for City AA and outlined the extent of British imperialism's involvement in South Africa and the mass support there for the African National Congress. Messages of support were read out and donations acknowledged from FRFI, SNHDC, SLISC, NLISC, Broadwater 4 DC, Disabled People Against Apartheid, Somalia First, Jake Ecclestone NUJ,

Central London Inland Revenue Staff Federation, AUEW/TASS Central London, Battersea and Wandsworth Trades Council and Westminster North Labour Party.

Since the arrest of the 9 there have been 2 more attacks. Firstly the conviction of Gillian Whitelock and Barry Ledgister (see page 4). Secondly on 1 July City AA were informed under threat of arrest that they could not hold their weekly picket of

the Embassy on the grounds that a reception (for racists!) was being held inside. Under the orders of Sir Kenneth Newman the whole pavement outside the Embassy was barricaded off and the bus stop outside moved. Interestingly this came just 2 days after Newman's anti democratic speech (see Editorial).

It is clear that we will only retain the right to picket the South African Embassy if we fight for this right and defend those arrested there. Therefore we appeal to FRFI readers to:

- Write in complaint to Sir Kenneth Newman, New Scotland Yard, Broadway London SW1
- Send a donation and request petitions and leaflets from Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign, 22 Brownlow Mews London WC1

Amanda Kitson and Chris Fraser

### ● Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee

#### Unity demo

A major initiative has been taken by MISC by calling a Unity Demonstration behind the 3 demands of the Albany POWs on 20 August (for details see advert). United Irish Solidarity Demonstration Committee meetings have been attended by Manchester Sinn Fein, MISC, Manchester Area NUS, RCG, RCL, and, as observers, OIPFG supporters. Manchester IRSP have indicated general support, while it seems that Manchester TOM may attend on the day. All organisations mobilising for the demo and supporting the three demands will have speaking rights. Further details, leaflets etc can be obtained from MISC, Box 47 164-166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

#### Police Harassment

Two street meetings have already been held in support of the demonstration. On Saturday 2 July police 7366D and 1896D harassed MISC supporters and threatened to arrest them. On 9 July at Longsight, police tried to disrupt another street meeting, driving their car onto the pavement! D5479 demanded that the meeting stop, asking 'are you IRA or INLA?!' Despite the arrival of another police car and van, the meeting continued as planned despite the intimidation.

### ● Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign - in the courts

This month 'only' 15 people arrested during the Colin Roach campaign have been through the courts. This brings the total heard to 78 (out of 98) of whom only 21 have had all charges dismissed. No more prison sentences this month (no cases heard by Magistrate Johnstone - see FRFI 30) but Magistrate Fingleton gave one black woman a suspended sentence for supposedly assaulting a WPC in spite of the WPC's evidence being so inconsistent that Fingleton said 'I can't understand it at all'.

A major victory was won at Highbury Court when Ace Kelly, the chair of the SN&HDC had both charges from Colin Roach demonstrations on 22 January 12 March dismissed. The police story for the 22 January charge that he had thrown a shop sign some 10 feet at a police van, was dismissed when the sign was produced. The police could hardly lift it because of its weight. Desperate for a conviction after three failures, the police added a frame-up charge of possession of cannabis two months after Ace's arrest at Old Street court on 28 March. The case will

go to Crown Court.

Councillor Dennis Twomey was one of the 24 people arrested when police swooped on the third demonstration on 12 March. He was driving the demonstration van. His case is still continuing, and the police brought two additional charges against him only days before the trial. The police are so desperate to get the four charges brought against him to stick that they have dug up 12 police witnesses, from a commander and superintendent - neither of whom saw the arrest - to a PC, who didn't see the arrest either, but simply drove the van away. **Charles Bolton and Dawn Trent**

### ● SLISC supports Irish POWs

South London Irish Solidarity Committee held a successful public meeting in support of Irish POWs in English gaols on 14 July 1983. 40 people heard speakers including: Jon Farley, member of South London TOM; Ben Hill, brother of Irish POW Paul Hill who, he told us, has suffered over 1,000 days in solitary; Helen Martin, member of Sinn Fein, who read a letter from Irish POW Gerry Mac Lochlainn. In a very powerful speech Alastair Logan, solicitor, explained that the prison system is aimed at crushing prisoners but that increasingly Irish Republican, black and ordinary long-term prisoners are uniting to fight back. William Gray, for SLISC, called for solidarity with the Irish POWs and with all prisoners fighting against the barbaric and degrading prison system. He read from a letter to SLISC from Eddie O'Neill, one of the Irish POWs in the Albany rooftop protest:

'Received your greetings card ten minutes after I came down from the roof at Albany! Given that it was sent recorded delivery it was necessary for it to be opened in my presence. The look on certain faces told a tale of utter exasperation... Needless to say I felt sweet joy!'

Frank Coughlan and Pauline Sellars

LONDON  
Irish Solidarity Day of Action  
Exhibitions - Speeches - Debate -  
Petitioning  
Saturday 23 July  
2-4pm Wood Green Library  
Wood Green

Social  
Films - Irish Music - Food - Bar  
Saturday 23 July  
7.30pm Camden Labour Club,  
Carol St, Camden Town  
Admission £1.00; 50p unwaged  
Called by London Irish Solidarity  
Committees

### THE COMMUNIST TRADITION ON IRELAND

- A series of nine monthly forums organised by the Revolutionary Communist Group:
- 1 Marx and Engels on Ireland Tuesday 26 July 7.30pm
  - 2 Ireland - The Right of Nations to Self-Determination Tuesday 6 September 7.30pm
  - 3 From Dublin Lockout to Partition 1913-1921 Tuesday 11 October 7.30pm
  - 4 Civil Rights Movement and the Rise of the Provisional IRA Tuesday 1 November 7.30pm
  - 5 History of the Republican Movement Tuesday 6 December 7.30pm

A further four forums will take place in the new year and will be on the following:

- 6 The Loyalist Working Class
- 7 The British Labour Party and Ireland
- 8 The Prison Struggle
- 9 Communists and the Irish Solidarity Movement

Everyone welcome! Come and take part in the discussion and the work! Admission is 75p per forum or £5 for all nine in advance. Further details from: RCG BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

### FRFI GROUPS

#### ■ EDINBURGH

New group commencing on Monday 25 July, fortnightly, 7pm. Further details from FRFI Box 40, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

#### ■ LEEDS

FRFI Supporters Groups meet every second Thursday: 18 August, 1 September, 15 September, at Leeds Trades Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7, 7.30pm. Further details from FRFI c/o LAP, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2.

#### ■ STOKE NEWINGTON

If you want peace fight imperialism! Sunday 24 July, 7.30pm. Black liberation and the Communist Revolution Sunday 7 August, 7.30pm. Both at Rio Cinema, Kingsland High Street, Dalston

#### ■ FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

FRFI supporters are active in local campaigns, Irish Solidarity Committees, anti-racist struggles and other political struggles in DUNDEE, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, LIVERPOOL, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, BRADFORD, SOUTHAMPTON, BRISTOL AND LONDON. If you wish to join us in our activities, help us sell FRFI and help build an anti-imperialist movement, contact your local seller or write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

### CAMPAIGNS

#### ■ STOKE NEWINGTON AND HACKNEY DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

The campaign meets every Tuesday evening at 7.30pm at Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, London E2 (nearest tube Bethnal Green)

#### ■ CITY GROUP AAM

Pickets South Africa House, Trafalgar Square every Friday 5.30pm-7.30pm

### EVENTS

#### 23 - 29 JULY

#### ■ NORTH LONDON

Picket of Pentonville Prison. They Must not stand alone! Colin Roach No Cover-up! Release Danny Sylvester! Release Cirus Noor! Sunday 24 July, 2-4pm. Caledonian Road, London N7 (nearest tube Caledonian Road. Called by Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign

#### ■ MANCHESTER

FRFI Forum South Africa - The Armed Struggle Escalates! Tuesday 26 July The Black Lion Pub Chapel St Manchester 7.30pm. Called by Manchester FRFI

#### 30 JULY - 5 AUG

#### ■ LONDON

Street Meeting: Victory to the Irish People: Troops Out Now! Saturday 30 July Clapham Junction 10.45am-12pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

#### ■ SOUTH LONDON

Public Forum. Fight Newman's Attack on Democratic Rights. Tuesday 2 August 7.30pm Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton SW2. Called by South London FRFI

#### ■ LONDON

Delegation to Ireland London Irish Solidarity Committee's Delegation to Ireland. Write to ISCs, BM 4835 London WC1N 3XX. From Friday 5 August to Monday 8 August. Called by London ISCs

#### ■ EDINBURGH

Delegation to Belfast for anniversary of internment weekend. Come on EISC contingent. Leaves Saturday 6 August. Returns Monday 8 August. Details from EISC Box 110, 43 Candlemaker Row Edinburgh

#### 6 - 12 AUGUST

#### ■ LONDON

Rally. International Day of Solidarity with the Women of South Africa. Tuesday 9 August Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. 7.00pm. Called by the African National Congress

#### ■ LEEDS

Public Forum. Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Support 20 August Demonstration! Thursday 11 August Chapeltown Community Centre, Reginald Terrace, Leeds 7 7.30pm. Called by FRFI

#### ■ BRADFORD

Public Meeting. Support the August 20 Demonstration! Victory to the Irish People! Plus video: The Patriot Game Friday 12 August Room 4, Central Library 7.30pm (prompt). Admission 50p; 30p unwaged. Called by Bradford Irish Solidarity Committee

#### 13 - 19 AUGUST

#### ■ NORTH LONDON

Street Meeting Saturday 13 August, Ridley Road Market 1.45pm. Called by Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign

#### ■ LONDON

Street Meeting 12th Anniversary of Internment - Troops Out Now! Saturday 13 August Balham, 1.45pm-3.45pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

#### ■ DUNDEE

Rally: Build the Irish Solidarity Movement! Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Saturday 13 August, City Square, 12.30pm-2.30pm. Called by Dundee supporters of Building an Irish Solidarity Movement

#### ■ DUNDEE

Video Film/Meeting 'The Patriot Game' Build the Irish Solidarity Movement! Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Tuesday 16 August Conference Room, Wellgate Library 7.30pm. Called by Dundee supporters of Building an Irish Solidarity Movement

#### 20 - 26 AUGUST

#### ■ LONDON

Street Meeting Remember the Hunger Strikers! Remember the 2nd Anniversary of Micky Devine - Irish Freedom Fighter! Saturday 20 August Brixton 1.45pm-3.45pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

#### ■ MANCHESTER

Demonstration. Complete British Withdrawal from Ireland! Self-determination for the Irish People! Repatriation on demand for all POWs to Ireland! Saturday 20 August. Assemble opposite the Clarence Pub, Wilmslow Road, Rusholme, Manchester, 12.30pm. Called by United Irish Solidarity Demonstration Committee, c/o Box 47, 164-166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M3 4BN

#### ■ LIVERPOOL

Public Forum. Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Thursday 25 August 7.30pm Stanley House, Upper Parliament St. Admission 20p. Called by Liverpool FRFI

### COMING SOON

#### ■ LONDON

Street Meeting. Who are the Terrorists? The RUC! Saturday 27 August Tooting Broadway 1.45pm-3.45pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

#### ■ EDINBURGH

Open-Air Rally. Free Nelson Mandela! Smash Apartheid Now! Saturday 27 August, Mound, Princes Street, 2pm. Called by Edinburgh Anti-Apartheid Group

#### ■ LONDON

Street Meeting. British Terror in Ireland. Saturday 3 September Clapham Junction 1.45pm-3.45pm. Called by South London Irish Solidarity Committee

## IRISH SOLIDARITY COMMITTEES

#### BRADFORD

Irish Solidarity Committee. For details contact BISC c/o Stary Plough Bookshop, The Left Club, 6 Edmund Street, Bradford.

#### DUNDEE

Irish Solidarity Committee - contact FRFI sellers

#### GLASGOW

Irish Freedom Action Committee meets weekly. For details write to GIFAC c/o Box 27, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow

#### TYNESIDE

Action Committee on Ireland meets weekly. For details write to A S King, c/o Porters Lodge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

#### NORTH LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets on Thursday 4 and 18 August at Camden Labour Club, Carol St, near Camden Tube at 7.30pm For details write to NLISC, BM 4835, London WC1N 3XX

#### SOUTH LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meetings are held at 7.30pm, at Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton. Next meetings: Thursday 4 August, Friday 19 August and Friday 2 September. For details write to SLISC, BM 4835, London WC1N 3XX

#### MANCHESTER

Irish Solidarity Committee. Details and information on activities can be obtained from MISC, Box 47, 164-166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

#### EAST LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly. For information and details write to ELISC, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

#### WEST LONDON

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly, at Hammersmith Labour Party Rooms, 446 Uxbridge Road, London W12. For more information about the work of the committee write to WLISC, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

#### EDINBURGH

Irish Solidarity Committee. Meets weekly - organising meetings, filmshows, street campaigning, discussion and education. Contact EISC c/o Box 110, First of May Bookshop, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

#### LIVERPOOL

Irish Solidarity Committee meets fortnightly. For details write to LISC, PO Box 94 Liverpool L69 8AY

#### SOUTHAMPTON

Irish Solidarity Committee. For more information contact BISM, BM Box 4835 London WC1N 3XX



# ~ LETTERS ~

## National liberation

Dear FRFI, I'm impressed with the unreserved activity of the FRFI Group in Scotland in its role of exposing the crimes of British imperialism in its war against the Irish people. It is one of the few and perhaps only revolutionary groups I have witnessed selling newspapers and distributing leaflets to the public on the streets in Ireland. What a contrast they are to the inactivity and apathy of the British left.

How many British Lefties do you see selling newspapers in any town or city centre exposing the true situation in Ireland. In Edinburgh and Dunfermline I have seen none. How many members of the variety of 57 left wing groups attended the Irish Solidarity Rally at the Mound in Princes street during the 18th and 19th of June. The answer is of course extremely few. They suddenly become a rare species when it comes to raising the issue of British rule in Ireland. The British left are dead when it comes to this task! They are too scared to mention Ireland in public in case it offends the British public. When they do raise it they spend all their energy denouncing and attacking the heroic struggle of the IRA. It never occurs to them that there is a War of National Liberation being fought in Ireland. The Generals of NATO, British Army and politicians often admit this fact as an indisputable fact. But the British left don't. It appears our enemies understand more about the true situation in Ireland than the Brit left. At least they have the honesty to acknowledge a 'war' exists.

However, despite the bankrupt position of the British left the task of building a mass Irish Solidarity Movement continues. The successful Irish Solidarity Weekend of Action held on the 18th and 19th June proves that we can and will organise more public demonstrations in Edinburgh to support the Irish peoples struggle. This is only the beginning of a massive

campaign.

Finally I would like to ask FRFI whether they can clarify their position towards Scotland's right to self-determination. Do they recognise that a colonial situation exists in Scotland whereby Scotland is a colony of British Imperialism? Would they be prepared to support the creation and establishment of a Scottish National Liberation movement which fights for the twin goal of National Liberation and an Independent Scottish Socialist Republic? The members of the SRSP would appreciate if your paper could comment on its position to these questions.

Yours sincerely,  
**Stephen Wilson**  
SRSP Member

## Moroka 3

Dear FRFI, I was greatly appalled, saddened and angry on finding out that three brave ANC freedom fighters were executed by the racist South African regime. The so-called 'civilised West' stood by, fingers in ears and heads in the sand, while their imperialist allies Botha and his evil band of racist cut throats engaged in what I call cold-blooded MURDER. If Botha thought that this savage act would crush or deter the brave black Africans from their just and brave struggle against the racist apartheid state, he is absolutely wrong. If I had my freedom, means to get there and an AK-47 assault rifle I would willingly fight alongside my brave revolutionary black brothers and sisters.

Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung, Simon Moegoerane rest in peace and in their knowledge that the hopes and dreams you fought so hard and valiantly for will one day be fulfilled.

Yours in the struggle,  
**Cirus Mohammed Noor**  
(Spokesperson RBA)  
Revolutionary Black Activists  
Pentonville Prison

Please note our address is, FRFI BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX. SEND US YOUR LETTERS. We welcome letters from readers but please keep them as short as you can.

## Racist Labour hates the truth

Dear FRFI, In FRFI 30 you reported on the South London Irish Solidarity Committee's intervention in the election. In particular you reported the rally held at the Wandsworth Civic Centre on Wednesday 26 May where Michael Foot spoke. While he was speaking I heckled him continuously about the last Labour government's role in Ireland, and demanded to know what he was going to do about the war there if elected. You were correct in stating how the committee's banners were torn down by the stewards and the supporters attacked, but you omitted the fact that I (a Jackeen) was first to be thrown out of the meeting despite the help received from an ex-Labour councillor, also a barrister, standing next to me.

It should be noted that it was Douglas Jay who appears to have given the chief steward the order to attack us and prevent any discussion on Ireland from taking place. He is now a retired MP and a long standing enemy of the Irish people. In the 1979 election when Hands Off Ireland! supporters questioned him about the terror in the H-Blocks, in Balham (South London) he said that if Irish people did not like it here they could go home! In 1981 at the height of the hunger strikes I along with another member of the South London Hunger Strike Action Committee picketed his surgery and later demanded to know what he intended to do about the men on hunger strike. He more or less repeated his racist remarks and showed utter

contempt for the struggle in Ireland. His son was the British ambassador to Washington during the Callaghan government, and helped spread vicious black propaganda against the hunger strikers.

So with hindsight it comes as no surprise that when Douglas Jay was seen to talk to the chief steward the attack on us took place almost immediately afterwards. I believe that it was one of my final heckles to Foot that really infuriated the stewards, that he along with Don Concannon murdered Bobby Sands. And so it was that I was set upon and frog marched from the hall to much applause from the freedom loving Labour supporters. Outside the hall after the meeting the abuse directed at me continued, with the Labour faithful calling me a 'bastard' and one woman demanded to know who had paid me to heckle!

However I did manage to get much publicity by giving an interview to the press association and to the local press. They surprisingly were for once not hostile to the issue of Ireland being raised, no doubt as they were hostile instead to Labour. I took full advantage of the situation. Also I destroyed my vote by writing Bobby Sands on it, when I got my chance to participate in 'British Democracy'. How sweet my revenge was, even sweeter when the full results of the Sinn Fein vote became known.

If what some of the people said, those I upset that night, are true, then the South London

## NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

Sunday 11 September

Defend the workers of El Salvador and Chile  
Assemble 1pm at Clerkenwell Green  
March to Trafalgar Square

Called by Chile Solidarity

Supported by El Salvador Solidarity & Nicaragua Solidarity

Irish Solidarity Committee shares the responsibility of helping Labour lose the election. If that is the case then I think we can be very proud.

I certainly am, and look forward to further clashes with the imperialists in the Labour Party.  
Yours,  
**SM**  
(PS: A Jackeen = a Dubliner)

## Police attack peace women

Dear FRFI, I went to Greenham Common last week with a friend and our three children. Whilst walking round part of the fence we were heavily escorted by police or soldiers on the inside. Although between themselves they referred to us (women generally) as crumpet, they tried to chat to us and be friendly to the children - we're all human beings after all! When we got to the gate however and the women began the blockade to try and prevent the workers leaving the base, we had to be protected, as my friend and I are

both pregnant, with the children, by other women, as the police began their vicious attack proving they have totally no regard for human beings after all!

The women who were lying in the road, in what was remember a peaceful protest, were dragged really violently off the road by the police. One woman hit her head as she was dropped. Others were trying to catch women who were being thrown to the ground by the police. The police women were particularly violent giving the extra push to women already down.

The women taken off the blockade were thrown into a load of stinging nettles and bushes and then kept in there by about 40 police ringed around them - to stop them getting back on the road. As soon as all of them were cordoned off the gates opened and a convoy of workers buses, cars etc. tore out at top speed. Women who held their hands up in the womens symbol were dragged off by the police.

The police behaviour was typical of the response to any 'peaceful, democratic protest' which exposes the nature of the imperialist system.  
**Tessa H.**

## Demonstration and Conference

1-2 October 1983

Build a united Irish Solidarity Movement

National Demonstration in London

Saturday 1 October

Complete British Withdrawal from Ireland!

Self-determination for the Irish People!

Repatriation for all Irish POWs!

National Conference in London

Sunday 2 October

Called by 1-2 October Mobilising Committee.

Open to ALL groups, organisations and individuals wishing to participate. Further details to be

announced. If you wish to help build the events or

want leaflets, posters etc contact

BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

## FRFI FOR PRISONERS

FRFI needs your help. We need your money to carry on the political service we provide prisoners. There are many political prisoners and others who are becoming political in British prisons. They have a right to read FRFI and other political literature.

FRFI is already sent free of charge to over 40 prisoners, and more are added each week to the list. In addition, FRFI provides many prisoners with books, pamphlets and other material they cannot easily obtain.

We appeal to all our readers to help us continue providing these necessary political services. Please send us a donation. You can send £4 to cover an FRFI subscription for a prisoner, or any donation large or small. Please rush your donation to:

FRFI  
BCM Box 5909  
London WC1N 3XX.  
Cheques and postal orders payable to Larkin Publications.

## FUND DRIVE

JUNE/JULY: £465.81

Not quite but almost the £500 we need each month to keep FRFI at 20 pence! The FRFI fund now stands at £2,814.21.

Our special thanks this time go to one supporter in Bristol who single-handedly organised a tombola at a Fair and raised £22-well done! Other individual supporters sent in £3.30.

Since FRFI 30 appeared Supporter Groups have again worked hard to raise money: tops came South London with £121.74 very closely followed by Liverpool's £117.50. North London raised £89.32, Manchester £40.70, Leeds £33.80, Bradford £16.30, Edinburgh £11.40 and Dundee £9.75.

For the remainder of July and for August we especially appeal to you - our readers - for support. With a two-month-issue of FRFI over the Summer our sales income is correspondingly slim. In addition, many who help us organise fundraising events go on holiday so resources on that side are scarcer too. So, please contribute generously.

FRFI defends the rights of the poor, the unemployed, the most oppressed. FRFI aims to involve more people in building an anti-imperialist movement. It can succeed only if its message reaches those who stand up for their rights and want to join the organised fightback against injustice and oppression. It can succeed only with your help. Act now by subsidising FRFI! Send us your donation or hand it in to your FRFI seller. Organise fundraising events - jumble sales, socials, collections.

Make your donation payable to 'Larkin Publications' and return to: FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

I/we want to donate £\_\_\_\_\_ to the FRFI Fund.

Name/Organisation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I do/do not want you to mention my name/organisation \_\_\_\_\_

## WINDS OF CHANGE

written while in solitary confinement

BY JIMMY ANDERSON

You can fill my horizon - with storm clouds and driving rain  
Fill my world with hopelessness - tears, despair and pain.  
You can steal my dreams - and all the visions that they hold  
Take away all I ever loved - leave me standing numb and cold.  
Make every road I walk - a mountain for me to climb,  
Weigh me down - make me old and grey long before my time.

But I shall not be defeated  
When all your wicked deeds are done,  
For I am a song of Freedom  
And one day I shall be sung,  
Yes I shall rise above you  
On the winds of change soon to come.

You can lock me in your prisons - throw away the key  
Make me walk in darkness - hide the morning sun from me.  
You can call me by a number - shackle me in chains.  
Torment me till the bitterness - flows like ice in my veins.  
Yes, make me rage - make me hate the day that I was born.  
Laugh at my struggles - treat me with contempt and scorn.

But I shall not be defeated  
When all your wicked deeds are done,  
For I am a song of Freedom  
And one day I shall be sung,  
Yes I shall rise above you  
On the winds of change soon to come.

You can beat me - till my body's beaten beyond all hurt  
Humiliate me, drag me - through all the shame and dirt.  
You can discriminate against me - abuse my dignity.  
Tear my heart apart - with your talons of hypocrisy.  
Chain me in your dungeons - chain me in poverty,  
Chain me in your ghettos - strip the very soul from me.

But I shall not be defeated  
When all your wicked deeds are done,  
For I am a song of Freedom  
And one day I shall be sung,  
Yes I shall rise above you  
On the winds of change soon to come.



# HANDS OFF IRELAND

## IRA strategy explained

In an interview in *Magill* magazine (July 1983) the IRA outlined its strategy in the revolutionary national struggle to free Ireland from British imperialist rule.

One point was made clear: the IRA will not abandon or tailor the armed struggle in favour of electoral campaigning. Recognising the propaganda value of Sinn Fein's electoral successes, the IRA said:

'For years the political establishment claimed that the IRA had very little support. The election results have answered that conclusively...'

And went on:

'...They will not lead to any real change in the strategy or tactics of the IRA... The military struggle will not slow down to relate to Sinn Fein's political activity. If anything... the war is likely to be stepped up.'

The IRA also made clear what their strategy is:

'Our strategy has been, by military and political action, to frustrate the British aim of making the six counties governable through local power-sharing-type institutions. So far we

In FRFI 29 (May 1983), the Stop Press report (page 13) of the 1 May Sinn Fein demonstration in memory of Bobby Sands, omitted Norwich TOM from the list of organisations on the march.

have succeeded in this and the Brits can only govern in a direct colonial way, using 30,000 armed men.'

The last 14 years confirms this success: from the abolition of Stormont to the impotence of the Assembly British imperialism has been unable to secure any bogus local arrangement to disguise its colonial rule. And British parliamentary elections have been transformed from a means of legitimising British rule into a means of legitimising the revolutionary national struggle. This has been achieved by a combination of armed struggle and successful use of abstentionist candidates. British imperialism has been prevented from disguising the fact that it can only rule by force – and that it can only be driven out by force.

However, as the IRA pointed out in line with the position laid down by veteran Republican Jimmy Drumm at Bodenstown 1977, the struggle cannot be confined to the Six Counties. The 'colonial rulers' of the Irish type – the Free State ruling class – must also be destroyed if Ireland is to be free. As the IRA said:

'We recognise that even if the entire nationalist population in the six counties voted for Sinn Fein, that

wouldn't be enough. There must be an increase in political activity in the 26 counties so that they also demand that the Brits get out. Even that wouldn't be enough, because the only thing colonial rulers will listen to is force...'

The eruption of Dublin youth into the hunger strike campaign and the massive poverty imposed on the Irish working class by the Free State regime shows that the material exists for an escalation of the revolutionary national struggle in the 26 Counties. Such an escalation, exposing the 'legitimacy' of the Free State as it has already exposed the 'legitimacy' of British rule in the North, would meet Free State repression every bit as fierce as British repression in the Six Counties. The Free State's use of non-jury courts, censorship, torture, rigged laws and imprisonment against Republicans puts this fact beyond doubt.

The IRA, it is clear, will not be diverted from the revolutionary national struggle by the siren-calls of the corrupt British and Irish parliaments.

### THE STRATEGY IN ACTION

A widespread commercial bombing campaign began on 13 June when the South Down Brigade destroyed car showrooms in Newry and Rostrevor,

and Warrenpoint golf club. In Belfast IRA Volunteers gutted two department stores (in the city centre security zone) with incendiaries. On 25 June an ASU destroyed 24 post vans at Armagh post office. On 9 July fire bomb attacks destroyed three furniture stores and two city centre shops in Belfast. A furniture store in Castlewelling was damaged by incendiaries on 11 July.

The British 'garrison of the damned' in Crossmaglen was blasted once again on 22 June. Twelve Volunteers evacuated people from a housing estate and stopped traffic on the Dundalk road before launching ten mortars from a lorry. One soldier was injured and extensive damage done to the base.

And on the day of the Great Hanging Debate – when parliamentary hypocrites debated whether to hang nationalists or just continue to gun them down on the streets – the IRA exploded a landmine in Ballygawley Co Tyrone killing four UDR soldiers. It was the worst single blow inflicted on the UDR since it was formed in 1970. The action proved that the only thing which prevented the British ruling class from agreeing to hang Irish nationalists was fear: fear of the risen people and fear of the IRA.

Terry Marlowe and Frank Coughlan

### Liverpool: Double Victory Against PTA

Swift and effective action in which Liverpool ISC played a prominent part has ensured the early release of three Manchester republicans after their detention under the PTA.

On Monday 20 June, Barbara Sullivan and Liam Hyam were arrested as they came off the Dublin ferry at 7.30am. They were amongst a party which included other republicans and supporters of Manchester ISC who were returning from the Bodenstown Commemoration. Straightaway, Liverpool ISC supporters were called to provide solicitors' phone numbers, as well as those of councillors, MPs and local press. Through the national ISC network, MPs and councillors and press were contacted throughout the country, with the immediate request to phone both the Bridewell where the two were being held, and the Home Office. When it became clear that the two would not be released that day, the comrades from Sinn Fein in Manchester who had all remained in Liverpool to help Barbara and Liam agreed to an ISC proposal to hold a picket at 8.30pm outside the Bridewell. This was immensely successful – it was supported by 30 people, including supporters of FRFI, members of Sinn Fein, the ISCs, TOM, IFM and SWP. It was agreed at the end to organise one the next day at 6.30pm if the two had not been released. Both Barbara and Liam were to say after their release how the picket and its chanting which they could hear from their cells, had picked up their spirits when they were at a low ebb. The picket was also informed that a local comrade who had phoned the Bridewell, had had the phone slammed down on him by the desk sergeant, with the ill-tempered complaint that he was fed up spending his time answering the phone 'about those two'.

The picket next day was not required, as the police told the solicitor that the two would be released that afternoon. The Special Branch had applied to the Home Office for an extension of the detention period beyond 48 hours, but because of all the phone calls it had received, the Home Office decided to turn the Branch down. At 1.30pm, the two were released without charge.

Barry O'Hagan was arrested at 9pm on Thursday 30 June when he arrived at Liverpool Speke airport. Liverpool ISC was informed at 10.15pm, and immediately notified solicitors who within 15 minutes were able to confirm that he was being held in the main Bridewell. Once again, local MPs, the press and radio and councillors were informed, and the national ISC. The rapidity of the response was quite unexpected by the police, and they were forced to release Barry, again without charge, the next day at 3.30pm. Robert Clough

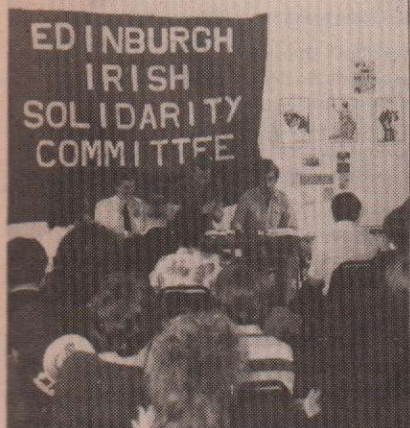
## Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Weekend

# TREMENDOUS SUCCESS

The work of two and a half months of publicity, planning and organising by EISC members and supporters came to fruition on Saturday and Sunday 18 and 19 June.

### RALLY AT THE MOUND

The beginning of our weekend of support for the Irish struggle against British imperialism was an open-air rally at the Mound on Edinburgh's Princes Street. At 11am we formed up and the rally got off to a good start. The police allowed a crowd of 200 loyalists



to surround and try to disrupt our rally which had grown to 70. After an hour of exciting speeches in support of 'Victory to the Irish People!' 'Troops Out Now!', the POWs in English jails, Nicky Kelly and the world-wide fight against imperialism, the rally was attacked by the drunken loyalist thugs. They charged through our banners; women and children were pushed and kicked. Two people were bitten by these animals. A seven year old was trampled on. Only then did the police put on a show for the tourists, for an

hour before we withstood provocation, assaults and missiles. The police arrested 4 loyalists and...an EISC member! Despite this our stewards stood firm, the rally regrouped and carried on successfully for another 2 hours in a magnificent show of strength and determination. Speakers from Glasgow, Fife, Dundee, London and Manchester all made speeches in support of the Irish people's struggle. Banners were on display from the EISC, Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee, Building an Irish Solidarity Movement and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! An American tourist from Los Angeles joined the rally early on and after the attack gave a stirring message of support. Members of the public donated money and joined in our stand for democratic rights. As we left the Mound our coach was stoned, yet we left in a disciplined and orderly manner.

### DEFENCE CAMPAIGN SET UP IMMEDIATELY

After the coach left the Mound a 40-strong picket was mounted of the police station to get our comrade released. Originally the police were determined to hold our comrade until Monday but after our continued protests, he was released at 4.30 and charges against him were dropped the following Wednesday.

### CONFERENCE

The Conference was attended by over 60



from Scotland and England. Solidarity greetings were given by: Revolutionary Communist Group, International Solidarity Front – Iran and on behalf of the Organisation of Iranian Peoples Fedayeen Guerillas, GIFAC, Manchester and Dundee ISCs, Fife and London BISM supporters and a member of the Young Communist League. Messages were read out from Sinn Fein member and trade unionist, Michael Holden, South London and West London ISCs, Colchester and Essex Troops Out Society, Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, Peter Wardlaw, Scottish political prisoner, David Dinnsmore, imprisoned Scottish Republican Socialist Party member, Ricky Wreatham, Scottish prisoner and an 81 year old former miner. The youth of the EISC were well to the fore in making major speeches to the Conference. The opening and closing speeches were made by two 17 year olds. The first

described the work of the EISC, its founding and political base, the second gave a revolutionary oration on the life of James Connolly. Both received euphoric receptions with clenched fists raised. Workshops on the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the POWs in English jails were held and decisions taken to step up the work on these issues – a petition calling for the repatriation on demand of the POWs in English jails and an instant response system to any arrests were just two of the proposals to come from the workshops. The Weekend Conference finished on the highest possible note with an alternative plaque to James Connolly being fixed to the wall near his birthplace in Edinburgh's Cowgate: 'James Connolly. Born here 1868. Ignored by Edinburgh. Remembered by Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee. "We shall rise again"'. A poem on the execution of James Connolly was read out by a young EISC

member.

The Conference unanimously passed the following motions: 1. A message of Solidarity to all the Irish POWs in English jails. 2. A message of congratulations to Gerry Adams MP for West Belfast on his election victory for the nationalist people + the EISC to enter into negotiations to have Gerry Adams over to speak in Edinburgh. 3. A message of support to Jimmy Anderson in Wormwood Scrubs prison who had been badly beaten up three days before. 4. A motion supporting the 'Building An Irish Solidarity Movement' and a call for a united demonstration in London for 1st October 1983 and a national demonstration in Scotland in the near future to be held in Edinburgh.

Press and Publicity Group of Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee