

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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**Thatcher's government
launches major attack on poor**

TORY POOR LAW

Since 1979 the Tories have taken £10 billion of benefits from the poor and handed £6 billion in tax cuts to the rich. In a Green Paper published on 3 June Social Services Secretary Norman Fowler revealed plans for further savage benefit cuts.

These proposals, conveniently delayed until after the recent local elections, are the result of the government's review of the welfare system: in Fowler's words, 'The most substantial examination of the social security system since the Beveridge report 40 years ago'. Far from 'examining' the system, Fowler's review undertook its destruction. The only question was, how much and what to cut: would the massive deductions demanded by the Treasury alarm the electorate unduly? Indeed, this question remains unanswered, as the four volume Green Paper omits any figures. The likely cost to the poorest people in Britain will, however, be some £2 billion a year.

A glance at those appointed to run the review reveals its cynical nature. Chairing the Housing Benefit Review was Jeremy Rowe, Deputy Chairman of the Abbey National Building Society. The Review of Benefits for Children and Young People had two 'independent' members. One was Barbara Shenfield, co-author of 'Omega Health Policy' – a report by the ultra-right Adam Smith Institute which recommended privatising the NHS. The other was T G Parry Rogers, a member of the Institute of Directors and director of Plessey: a company noted for selling military equipment to South Africa. Naturally, these stooges gave Fowler the answers he wanted.



Fowler – imposing 'Victorian values'

Supplementary Benefit, renamed 'Income Support' will be paid at basic rate to the unemployed, and at undisclosed 'premium rates' to families with children, single parents, the sick and disabled and pensioners. A lower rate will go to single people under 25. The jobless will thus be stigmatised as 'undeserving' poor. Those who receive premium rates will, however, lose their minimal advantage as all single payments, heating and

dietary additions will be abolished, 'saving' £600m. In their place the Social Fund may loan cash to claimants: who will receive, as a final insult, 'help in managing their budgets' from social workers and psychologists. Legal rights are thus replaced by discretionary payments.

Housing benefit for millions is to be slashed: even Fowler admits £500 million will go. All claimants, even the unemployed, will have to pay 20% of their rates bills, to 'encourage responsibility'. Where will those on poverty line benefits find this money? These cuts will particularly hurt the old and the low paid. The phasing out of state earnings-related pensions (Serps), will cut an additional pension from 11 million workers, who may be compelled to join private pension schemes.

CENTRE PAGES

LAW and ORDER

Women are also penalised. In replacing Family Income Supplement (FIS) with Family Credit, benefits are transferred away from women. Maternity grants will be means-tested, and childless widows will lose £400. Other proposed cuts are:

- the 'high rent' subsidy, worth £15 a week to some tenants, is to be abolished.
- abolition of the £30 death grant.
- abolition of free school meals for those on Family Credit.

These plans were published as May figures showed 13.1% of the workforce unemployed: 20% in the Six Counties. By reducing benefits for the jobless, and by increasing the use of humiliating means tests, Fowler can offer illusory gains to other claimants without cost to the rich. 'Consultation' about the Green Paper will be a charade: Fowler has already indicated that major aims will not be changed. In Britain, currently the world's biggest creditor nation, 7 million people, one in eight, depend on supplementary benefit. When this review takes effect, many more of them will be unable to afford adequate food, clothing or housing. Fowler's Green Paper marks a return to the Poor Law of the 19th century – to Thatcher's 'Victorian values'.

Dave Burton



Lebanese army troops guard the entrance to Chatilla refugee camp

POPPERFOTO

LEBANON

Syrians back slaughter of Palestinians

**FIGHT RACISM!
FIGHT IMPERIALISM!**

Anti-imperialist

RALLY

PEOPLE versus STATE

SATURDAY 29 JUNE
Large Hall, Conway Hall, Red
Lion Square, London WC1,
nearest tube Holborn

Come to the rally! It will unite representatives of anti-imperialist movements, the anti-racist movement, peace movement, and democratic forces in a demonstration of the common interest of the oppressed internationally to fight imperialism

Speakers will include

- David Kitson, ex South African political prisoner
 - Jose Lopez, representative of El Salvador's FMLN/FDR
 - Sudan Peoples Liberation Army
 - Shelton Jolicoeur, Seychelles Peoples Progressive Front Support Group
 - Socialist Party of Chile
 - Robyn Holder, Aboriginal Rights Support Group
 - Kent National Union of Mineworkers
 - Midlands Women Against Pit Closures
 - Irish Solidarity Movement
 - City of London Anti-Apartheid Group
 - Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign
 - Newham 7 Defence Campaign
 - Revolutionary Communist Group
- Also invited, speakers from liberation movements in Southern Africa, Lebanon and Uganda.
The Vietnamese Embassy will be represented in honour of the 10th anniversary of the glorious defeat of US imperialism.

Admission £1, 50p unwaged
Get your tickets now! For details of other events during FRFI's ANTI-IMPERIALIST WEEKEND 29/30 June see page 14.

The Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolution are now living through yet another brutal and bloody episode in their long and tortured history. In 1982 the names Sabra and Chatilla became symbols of fascist barbarism when Israeli/Phalange forces butchered 3,000 unarmed Palestinians. Today, the same camps and that of Bourj al-Barajneh have been encircled by the Muslim Amal militia and are being pounded by heavy artillery and machine gun fire. This time the murderous siege which began Sunday 19 May, is being orchestrated by the reactionary, anti-Palestinian President Assad of Syria. As the Voice of Palestine radio put it, the Amal militias are no more than the knives in Assad's hands.

The Assad regime and Amal are trying to accomplish what the Zionists and imperialists have failed to achieve. George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) explained their perfidious ambition:

refugee camps in Beirut are the consequence of a decision by Amal and its allies to end the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.'

This has been, and remains, the critical aim of imperialism, Zionism and Arab

'The tragic events in the Palestinian continued page 10

Tamil refugees turned away

On 29 May Home Secretary Leon Brittan announced that Tamil people would now have to get entry visas before travelling to Britain. The Home Office has repeatedly claimed that only 1% of Tamils coming to Britain are genuine refugees, that they face 'no danger' if returned to Sri Lanka and that most are coming for 'economic' reasons. These cynical lies are told in the face of overwhelming evidence that the Sri Lankan regime has escalated its brutal and racist attacks on Tamil people. Torture, forced removals and massacre are widespread. Yet when in May 1, 150 Tamils managed to flee this horror and travel to Britain, they are described as a 'flood' and barred. Brittan's racist ruling makes Sri Lanka the only Commonwealth country whose citizens require visas before coming to Britain. continued on page 10

BRITISH LEFT CREEPS TO THE RIGHT

A significant stage in the 're-alignment of the left' was marked by the 39th (special) Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Hammersmith Town Hall 18-20 May). A very special congress indeed when the Communist Party (CPGB) lurches so sharply rightwards that it ends up well to the right of the Labour lefts such as Benn, Scargill or Skinner. Previously the CPGB characterised as 'ultra-left' any attempt to criticise the Labour left – now it wishes to ward off attacks on the right of the labour movement, the Kinnocks and Willises, actively helping them take the noose from around their necks.

All this is done under the guise of building a broad alliance against Thatcherism, which the CPGB now officially regards as a 'qualitatively different form of Tory rule' (Dave Cook). Thatcherism is seen by the Eurocommunists – the victors – as a political break with consensus politics. Whereas the oppositionists – the losers – see it simply as 'a response of a ruling class in crisis for whom Keynesian remedies no longer work' (John Hoffman). But what Thatcherism is, is surely less the issue now than how to organise against its very real effects. Building a serious opposition to Thatcherism will require the winning of reliable forces. It is on these questions that the arguments of both wings of the CPGB are at best full of holes and at worst simply deceitful.

The Eurocommunists say that the organised labour movement cannot go it alone. It must build a new movement which 'must aim to embrace not only those who voted Labour at the last election but millions of Tory and Alliance voters' (CPGB General Secretary McLennan's Conference speech). It is this which requires the shift to the right. The labour movement would be the 'leading force' of this 'alliance' with the traditional male skilled working class – 'those in the basic extractive, transport and manufacturing industries' – at its heart. This severely undermined the opposition's central argument. John Hoffman criticised the Eurocommunist standpoint on the grounds that 'the need to build a massive movement of opposition around organised labour drops out of sight'. But it has not, the labour movement is simply leading from the right.

This is the 'new realism' of the CPGB. The 'alliance' in fact already exists. During the miners' strike it was led by Kinnock and Willis and they scabbed on the striking miners. The CPGB wants belatedly to join them so as not to be 'isolated'. So Peter Carter, industrial organiser of the CPGB, has now attacked mass picketing during the strike, condemned picket line violence and regretted the refusal to hold a national ballot – they diverted attention away from the real issues (*Morning Star* 20 May 1985). This is a view echoed by the chairperson of the CPGB and Vice President of Scottish NUM, George Bolton (*Marxism Today*, April 1985). But haven't we heard all this before? Yes, from Kinnock and Willis during the miners' strike. Little wonder that leading CPGB miners' leader McGahey and Bolton saw to it that Kinnock and Willis were invited to the Scottish miners gala – they couldn't wait, the invitation went out 5 days after the miners were forced back to work.

Back to McLennan. He tells us that his trend 'stresses the importance of building the broadest possible movement against Thatcherism, winning new bases of support among women, black

join the RCG

The Revolutionary Communist Group and its newspaper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* take the side of all those struggling against imperialism – the striking miners, black people, the Irish people, oppressed peoples all over the world.

If you want to know more about us and our newspaper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* return to slip below.

Please send me more information about the RCG and how to obtain FRFI regularly.

Name _____

Address _____

Tel _____

Return to FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

'They both hate the IRA, they both fear the successes of Sinn Fein, they both call on a British imperialism which has on its hands the blood of Irish men and women, to carry out reforms that will not only abolish sectarianism, but pave the way for a united Ireland – talk about praying for the devil to do good!' (Wendy Daly, *Focus* 16 May 1985)

In the final resolution of the conference

CPGB is involved in AAM work in Scotland – to the extent of refusing to support people arrested on AAM pickets in Scotland (see p5 of this issue). It was the *Morning Star* which before the October 1985 AAM AGM attacked City Group supporters as 'ultra-left elements' and aided the 'red scare' against them. It also refused to publish letters of protest.

Yes, it is true that many oppositionists have been bureaucratically expelled

The British road to nowhere

people and young people and developing mass extra-parliamentary action in a way which wins the widest support'. The Conference resolution tells us we need to take account of the 'needs of the most dispossessed section of the people including the low paid, unemployed youth, retired and other claimants' (*Focus* 23 May 1985). We must also learn from 'the direct experience of oppressed groups'. Quite right, but who is kidding who? During the uprisings at St Pauls Bristol in 1980 when the oppressed took to the streets to defend themselves against the racist police the CPGB attacked them as 'primitive'. So did the Labour Party. When the school students went on strike in April against the YTS schemes etc, Kinnock disgustingly attacked the organisers. The CPGB sat on the fence quoting views from both sides (*Morning Star* 26 April 1985). We are not convinced, Mr McLennan!

We would need to be convinced in practice. Can we now expect to see at least one CPGB banner on the Newham 7 demonstrations against police racism? Will the new Eurocommunist CPGB oppose the leadership of the AAM, including some of its own members for bringing about the expulsion of the City of London AA Group from the AAM? After all, City of London AA Group draws support from women's groups, black people and many, many young people. It has also developed mass extra-parliamentary action in very constructive ways. We await the outcome with interest.

Rebels without a cause

The opposition to the Eurocommunists is mainly based in the old labour aristocracy of the working class – the skilled workers and trade union officials. It is filled with nostalgia for the days when it was the leading force in the labour movement, and it resents the new labour aristocracy of social workers, teachers and lecturers such as Martin Jacques, editor of *Marxism Today*, the stronghold of the Eurocommunists, taking over their party (see Terry Marlowe/David Reed *At the end of the British Road* FRFI 46 February 1985 pp7-8). The opposition refuses to acknowledge that the organised labour movement has shifted rapidly to the right.

But what exactly are they opposed to? The leadership's policy on Ireland? Throughout the present dispute responsibility for the *Morning Star's* coverage of Ireland, with its bitter hatred of the Republican movement, has been left to Chris Myant, a noted Eurocommunist. The oppositionists have not objected to this at all, but then why should they? – in every respect the opposition and the Eurocommunists have exactly the same policy on Ireland. A letter in *Focus* during the present congress debate made this essential point:

the Irish people's struggle for national and democratic rights is not dealt with in relation to other national liberation movements, but is put on a par with the struggle of the Scottish and Welsh people. This represents a shift to the right even compared with the 1977 CPGB programme, the *British Road to Socialism*.

A typical oppositionist is Brian Filling. He has attacked '... the Eurocommunists [who] have led the retreat from class struggle politics...' (Letter to *Focus*, 16 May 1985 p5). This determined class struggle fighter is also the Chair of the Scottish AAM and doing his utmost to ensure that no one but the Labour Party, the trade unions and the

from the CPGB. But the Eurocommunists are only using the same 'tried and tested' methods as the oppositionists have used before them in the CPGB, in the AAM, in committees and other campaigns. This time they are on the receiving end.

The sham fight in the CPGB is a diversion from the struggle to build a communist movement which makes the fight against racism and imperialism its central concern. Those who look for a genuine opposition to the Eurocommunists' increasingly open attacks on any form of resistance by the working class should join with us to build a communist movement worthy of the name.

Patrick Newman/David Reed

Anti-racist in words racist in deeds

A new drive against racism in East London schools has been launched by activists from Tower Hamlets Trades Council, the Federation of Bangladeshi Youth Organisations and East London teachers. Top priority for the campaign is to confront the sharp increase in racist attacks – ranging from stabbings to chain whippings – in and around schools. Another target is the hypocrisy of the Labour controlled Inner London Education Authority. While claiming to stand for anti-racism, in practice the Authority encourages racism and collaborates with racist organisations like the police – notorious for their harassment of the Bangladeshi community.

This was recently highlighted at Daneford school, Bethnal Green, with a majority of black school students when the school management and the (misnamed) careers service ran a 'careers convention' with the police, Barclays, Plesseys, the army, and cheap labour YTS schemes as the main participants. They were met by an 80-strong protest and many parents and school students boycotted this phoney careers event. The headmaster reacted by phoning for more police and ordering the arrest of two of his own teachers and another trade unionist. All 3 are to appear before Thames Magistrates on 10 July where a picket has been called.

The campaign has demanded that the Leader of the ILEA, Frances Morrell, back these teachers but so far she hasn't even had the decency to reply to our letters. Other ILEA chiefs have been equally cynical. Education Officer William Stubbs – who came to Tower Hamlets and announced that racism only existed as 'traces' in education – has said he can't comment until the court cases are over.

Once convicted the teachers will be open to full disciplinary action (and ILEA has already issued official warnings to Daneford teachers who supported the miners) and could even be sacked. As well as insisting on full backing for

anti-racist teachers the campaign is pressing for all Tower Hamlets schools to adopt genuine – not just paper – anti-racist policies which must include defending school students against racist attacks and giving no platform to the police and other racist groups.

Two days after the arrests at Daneford there was another nauseating display of Labour double standards. Only weeks after declaring Tower Hamlets an Apartheid Free Zone the local council mounted an exhibition for small businesses with Barclays as the leading exhibitor! The Trades Council and the Anti-Apartheid Group demonstrated outside and were disgusted at the involvement of so-called 'left' MP Ian Mikardo with this disgraceful public relations exercise for the bank of apartheid.

Twelve protestors disrupted the Barclays stand and were hauled out by the police who went on to arrest seven of them – with the approval of council officials.

Like many other Labour authorities the commitment of Tower Hamlets council to anti-apartheid policies is the same as ILEA's to anti-racism – completely false. They hope by mouthing anti-racist statements they can camouflage their everyday racist actions.

Mick Gavan

POLLS KEEP KINNOCK MOVING RIGHTWARDS

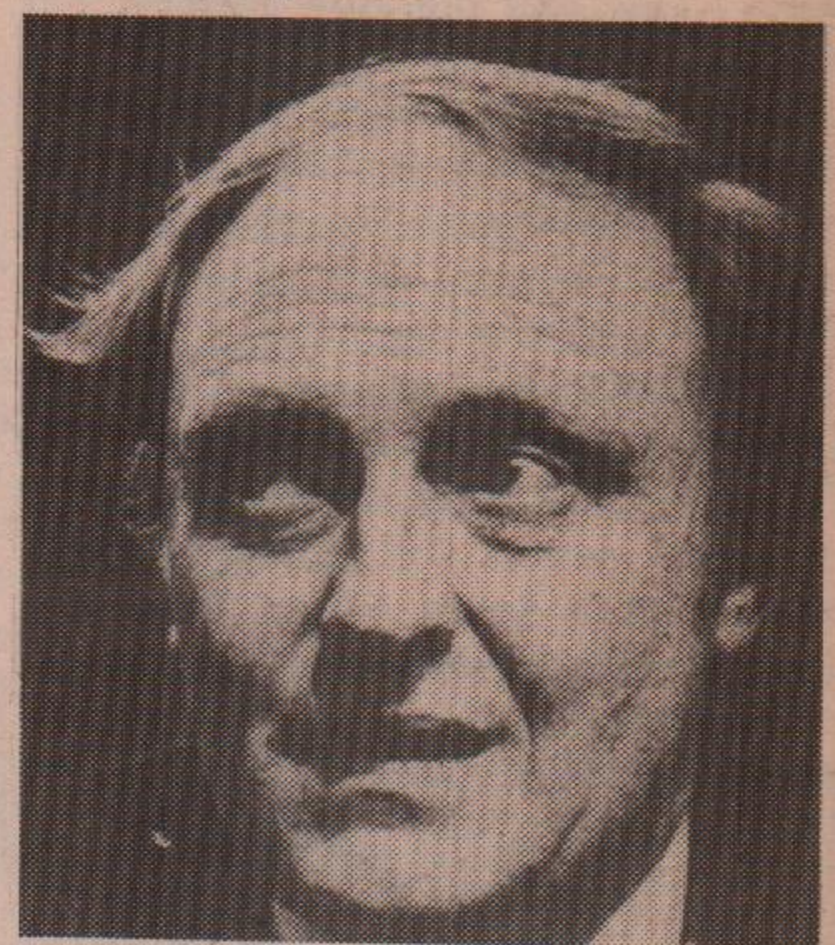
The latest round of opinion polls show the Tories trailing behind Labour (not surprising, with unemployment at four million and rising!) but Neil Kinnock has no cause for celebration. *The Guardian's* Marplan poll shows the SDP/Liberal Alliance sharing first place with Labour, with 35% each, to the Tories' 29%. Meanwhile the *Telegraph's* Gallup poll puts the Alliance only ½% behind Labour. The earlier MORI poll, while it put the Alliance in third place, gave Labour only a 2% lead over the Tories.

The strength of the Alliance in the polls is a symptom of a long-term trend – the decline of Labour's vote, which has continued since the mid-sixties. The 'floating voters' – middle-class and more prosperous working-class voters – are now looking to the Alliance, instead of Labour, as the alternative to the Tories. Unless it wins back some of these votes, Labour cannot win a majority in Parliament.

Kinnock and his party are well aware of this danger. They are zealously courting the 'floating voters'. In his campaign to become leader of the Labour Party, Kinnock summed up his position when he said 'we can only protect the disadvantaged in our society if we appeal to those who are relatively advantaged'. These are the people who do not care about unemployment, deportations, police brutality, or loss of trade union rights, because they do not believe they will ever be affected. So Labour isn't fighting these things (and never has).

Instead it is appealing to former Tory voters by building a 'respectable' image. This means attacking striking miners, black people and socialists organising within the Labour Party, Irish republicans, and anyone who confronts the British state. As the RCG said in its manifesto (in 1984), 'the message is clear, the Labour Party will now abandon in words, as it has abandoned in deeds, the interests of the poorest and most oppressed workers'.

Take Ken Livingstone, for example. In the past he has been outspoken in his support for black people and in his opposition to the British presence in Ireland. But we have heard little of this recently. Instead he has been allying himself with Neil Kinnock, and developing a 'respectable' image of his own. He refused to confront the Tories over ratecapping, and he is winding down the campaign against the abolition of the GLC. His commitment to defending London's services has dried up now that the next stage in his career depends on Labour's success in winning 'the middle ground'.



Of course, the people who are suffering from unemployment, poverty and racism are quite aware of Labour's betrayals, and more and more of them will not vote at all. In the 1983 General Election, the turnout in many of Labour's 'strongholds' in the poorest parts of the country was abysmal. In Hackney and Stoke Newington, and Newham South, only 54% of the electorate bothered to vote, and in the constituencies containing Brixton and Liverpool 8, only about 60% voted. These may be safe seats for Labour, but the people living in them are gradually losing faith in electoral politics.

This is the inevitable result of the Labour Party's approach. The better-off sections of the working class hold the balance of electoral power, and it is only by appealing to their interests and prejudices that any party can win an election. The poor and the oppressed will never gain power through such a party, and they know it. As the ranks of the oppressed are swelled by capitalism's growing economic crisis, they will toss aside the Labour Party, and build their own organisations to defend their own interests.

Dave Hunter

WILLIAM CARR - 5 MONTHS FOR BEING ASSAULTED BY THE POLICE

William Carr, a young black man, lost his appeal against a trumped-up charge and conviction for violent assault and damage to police property. William had in fact been brutally beaten in a police van after being arrested last August for refusing to stop his sound system. Judge Butler QC calmly heard all the police lies, refused to consider the fact of PC Andrews' statement that 2 police officers were on top of William in the van and confirmed 5 months in jail saying 'We are satisfied that you have no regard for the truth.'

Well, this was British justice and it revealed yet another face, when the same judge jailed Rachel Hill for 7 days for 'scandalous contempt of court'. After the court had adjourned Rachel said 'You are the most biased judge I have seen in my life and I have seen a few'. The 'case' should have been heard in front of another judge. But Butler insisted that he would try it and demanded an apology from Rachel for stating the truth. Rachel refused and was sent to jail.

Colette Levy

ANTI-RACISTS LOBBY PARLIAMENT

On 21 May Manchester anti-deportation campaigns, including the VMDC and FRFI supporters went to London to support the lobby of Parliament organised by the Campaign Against Racist Laws. The hall in Parliament was packed with 300 people, many under threat from the racist and sexist immigration laws.

Most people became impatient as Labour MPs spoke at length but did not commit themselves practically. Impatience turned to anger when the meeting was cut short by Parliamentary staff. Manchester campaigners were further infuriated when Gerald Kaufman MP, after making a long speech in apparent support, refused to talk to one of his constituents despite having had advance notice that Mohammed Ashar, who is threatened with deportation, would be present.

Unlike Kaufman, who despite his words had no time for us, a Soviet TV crew interviewed Mohammed and Rosmina for a programme to be shown on Moscow TV. Viraj Mendis

VMDC SUPPORTERS HAND IN PETITION

On 8 May the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign (VMDC) went to London to hand in 15,000 petitions to 10 Downing Street. 45 people travelled from Manchester including Manda Kunda and Anna Naghizadeh and many attended from London including Shahid Ali Syed and London FRFI supporters.

After handing in the petitions, with the press and Viraj's MP Bob Litherland present, we held a rally outside Downing Street to bring to the public's attention the racist and sexist immigration laws. This was followed by a picket of the Home Office.

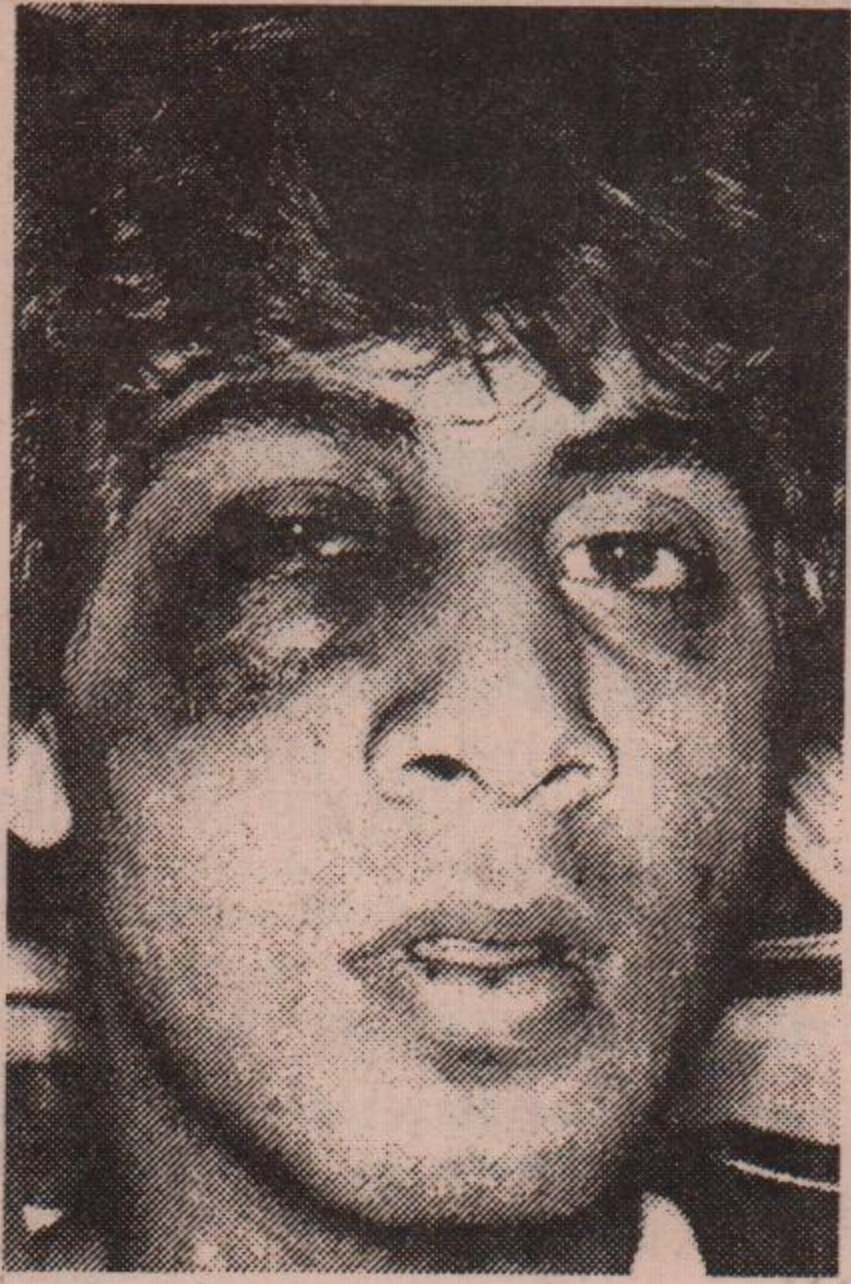
After a short break the VMDC contingent went to support the City AA group's militant picket of the racist South African Embassy. Later we left London with the knowledge that we had had a successful day and in our hearts the feeling that one day the racist and sexist immigration laws will be totally smashed. Jama

MANDA KUNDA MUST STAY

Manda Kunda is fighting the Home Office for her and her children's right to stay in this country. She has been forced to flee her husband due to his violence towards her. If deported to Zambia she would lose custody of her children to her husband's relatives.

Public meeting and social
Women and Immigration Laws'
Friday 21 June 7.30pm
West Indian Sports and Social Club
Westwood St, Moss Side, Manchester

Picket
Shahid Syed must stay
Picket the High Court, Strand, London
Monday 17 June 10am-4pm
further information: ring 01-509 2243



Above, Parvaiz Khan, beaten up by prison guards in an Old Bailey cell.

Right, police break up the Newham 7 demonstration on 11 May.

These incidents are no more than black people have come to expect from the British state. But the confidence with which the assault was perpetrated and the judge's dismissal of the attack as 'irrelevant' reminds us of the urgency of mobilising all black people and anti-racists to support the defendants. At stake is the right of black people to self-defence. The police have gone to the lengths of arresting three white racists in an attempt to present the case as one of 'gang warfare' and not as one of self-defence.

During the trial, it has been exposed that they have gone to the lengths of priming one of their main witnesses, a waitress in a local Wimpey Bar, who broke down under cross-examination and confessed that she was recruited by the police to spy on the young Asian customers. Prosecution witnesses have just completed giving their evidence. In the next issue of FRFI we will have a full report of the proceedings.

Fascist attacks escalate in East London

Our determination to defend ourselves from racist attack is becoming ever more necessary for our survival. In the East and South-East of London there is a massive escalation of racist attacks fostered by the 'respectable' racism of the Nationality Act, of local Labour, Liberal and Tory council discrimination in employment, housing, education and social services; by police response to racist violence which ranges from indifference to attacks on the victims of such assaults.

In Hackney, Turkish workers are subject to continual late night raids on their

DEFEND THE NEWHAM 7

BRITISH JUSTICE NO JUSTICE!

The trial of the Newham 7 has opened at the Old Bailey. Charged with a variety of criminal offences for having fought to defend the Asian community from fascist attacks, the Newham 7 and their supporters outside the court are being subjected to another round of police violence. On 22 May, Parvaiz Khan, one of the defendants, was racially abused and brutally assaulted in an Old Bailey cell during a lunch break. Being a Muslim he refused to eat a pork pie and for that he was brutally beaten by 15 police officers. With a badly cut face, two black eyes and bruised ribs, he had to be taken to hospital.



PAUL MATTISSON

homes, often without warrants, and factory raids. Denial of access to those detained and the imposition of curfew restrictions are commonplace. Recently at Directmate Clothing Factory, more than 15 people including a pregnant woman, were 'netted' in a 'fishing' raid for illegal immigrants. One man was

forced to sign a statement that he would leave Britain 'voluntarily'.

Black people in the area, particularly on the Nye Bevan Estate, are having their homes raided, doors kicked down in the early morning and are being assaulted by the police. When the police are not carrying out these racist assaults

they spend their time harassing the victims of fascist attacks. A black youth in Waltham Forest was arrested after he reported that a gang of racists had smashed the windows of his mother's home. On another occasion, an Asian youth was arrested for the robbery of a small necklace which had come off his own neck when he was fighting off racist attackers. He needed medical treatment, was kept in the police station for 2 days and only released on £500 bail. In Newham Mr Wong was arrested after being attacked by 8 racist thugs with iron bars, sticks and car tyres. He was charged with malicious wounding, wounding with intent and carrying an offensive weapon. The catalogue of vicious assaults, arson and damage to property grows daily.

Organise self-defence

Black people are organising against these attacks. Last year the East London Campaign Against Racist Attacks and Police Harassment was formed. In a number of areas the local community is beginning to organise regular patrols on estates, visiting families and escorts for children coming home from school. The police clearly recognise the significance of such organisation and are attempting to destroy it. This explains their persistent attacks on the Newham 7 Defence Campaign. There have been over 60 arrests so far in the campaign - the police attacked both demonstrations in support of the Newham 7 (see FRFI 48 and 49).

Since the opening of the trial itself, the police have been arresting people, especially Asian youth on pickets of the court. They have tried to prevent slogans being chanted and have restricted the time we are allowed to picket. On 29 May, after insisting that the picket disperse by 11.30am, one police officer was overheard saying 'they have dispersed so you can release the mounted units.'

Meanwhile, despite all police efforts, the pickets of the Old Bailey every Monday continue to grow in numbers and as the trial reaches its halfway stage, the campaign is planning a national week of action. We urge all readers and supporters to join the pickets and support the Newham 7.

Keinde Olawale

Britain condemned at European Court

The ruling against the British state's sexist immigration laws by the European Court of Human Rights is a victory for thousands of women, especially black women. On 28 May, the Court ruled that Britain's immigration laws (in particular the 1980 Nationality Act) discriminate against women

These rules, and the subsequent 1983 'primary purpose' rule were designed as a specific attack on the Asian custom of arranged marriages. The 'primary purpose' rule demands that the Home Office be satisfied that the primary purpose of someone's entry into this country is not settlement in Britain. It has been used to destroy numerous black families.

The three women who fought the case - Nargis Abdulaziz, Sohair Balkandali and Arcely Cabales - had to wait five years for the ruling. However when it came, it was narrow and limited. The court refused to rule that the law is racist. It refused to rule that Britain was discriminating on the grounds of birthplace.

The victory has many drawbacks. Although the government will have to

make some changes, political pressure is needed to bring progressive results from this ruling. Judging from the response of deportation ministers Waddington and Brittan, it seems quite likely that the government, in the name of eliminating sexist discrimination, will try and make it harder for husbands to bring their wives to Britain.

British governments, past and present, have been found guilty of breaching the European Convention of Human Rights, in fact 12 times - more than any other country. Yet the rulings have in general had very little long term effect. Indeed, as long as 12 years ago, it found Britain's exclusion of fiances and husbands to be racist, yet these and deportations of black people since then have rapidly increased.

Chris Fraser

Mansour Naghizadeh must return!

Mansour Naghizadeh-Ghalejowhi was deported to Iran 3 years ago. His wife Anna is fighting for his right to return to Britain to be united with her and their two children.

Prior to Mansour's deportation, the family suffered the worst of the Home Office. Their home was raided to find out if they slept together. It was lyingly claimed that Mansour drank and beat Anna. To take him into custody, the police told Mansour they had a letter at the station from his mother. He went to collect it only to discover that this was a trap. There was no letter and he was taken into custody. In Manchester's Central Detention Centre he was denied legal representation, was not allowed a change of clothes and was not permitted to see his children before being deported. Anna was not told when he was deported.

For three years Anna has been fighting the Home Office for his return, only to be told now that they will only consider his application in another 3 years time! To put her case Anna was given a Home Office stooge from the United

Kingdom Immigration Advisory Service (UKIAS) who handle many such cases in the interest of the Home Office. Her 'representative' has shown no interest in her case and cannot even pronounce Mansour's name. Twice he has told her to travel the 10 miles to the tribunal with her children only to tell her on arrival what he already knew - that the case had been adjourned.

Anna will now fight a political campaign. With the help of FRFI and the Joyce Racoue campaign and others she has established her own campaign. Already she has won the support of her MP Alf Morris and local Wythenshawe councillors.

For more information contact Anna Naghizadeh, c/o Wythenshawe Law Centre, Fenside Road, Sharston, Manchester 8.

RIO TINTO ZINC STILL STINKS!

30 May 1985, 2.30pm and it's time for another Rio Tinto Zinc AGM. One shareholder was heard to say 'It's not like other company's AGMs, there's singing at this one', and he was not disappointed! A woman from Greenham Common sang 'I will remember your face' and asked 'Why are you participating in this evil?'. The answer - money. Though no-one on the platform would admit it as openly as that. On the contrary, Sir Alistair Frame and his associates were at pains to show how concerned they are about the people of the world, why RTZ even gave a donation to the Ethiopia famine appeal. **BIG DEAL.** At the same time they dynamite their way through the lands of the Aborigines in Australia, the Indians of Peru and Canada, the people of Chile, Brazil, Papua New Guinea and Namibia, as one of the world's largest multi-national mining corporations.

RTZ don't support apartheid they tell us yet they refuse to recognise the UN Council for Namibia and aid the apartheid regime in its murderous oppression of black people in Southern Africa by paying taxes to the South Africans. Sir Alistair Frame would have us believe that RTZ's profits at the Rossing uranium mine 'help the people of Namibia'. Come off it, the only people they help are the directors of RTZ whose non-executive members have just had a 50% rise from £5,000 to £7,500 a year!

As for the Aboriginal people in Australia, when Sir Roderick Carnegie was asked about their rights all he could manage was condescending waffle about the 'little people'!

More information on the misdeeds of RTZ can be obtained from PARTIZANS who have also produced an alternative report telling the facts! Contact 218 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LE, Tel (01) 609 1852. Liz Cherry

APARTHEID UNDER PRESSURE

On 6 June, South African police and troops again swooped on townships, searching houses and arresting hundreds of people on trivial charges. This time the targets were Little Soweto, in the Eastern Cape and Tumahole, near Parys. 426 people were arrested. The joint police and army swoops are being used by the apartheid regime in an attempt at mass intimidation and for the collection of low-grade intelligence information. The mass raids are strikingly similar to the methods used by the British army and RUC in the north of Ireland - and undoubtedly are the result of long-established collaboration between the British and South African police.

The police/army raid on Little Soweto was intended to unearth 'people wanted in connection with acts of violence in the Eastern Cape townships'. A police spokesman stated that 'Whereas if the police wanted to arrest a man before (the troubles) they would send in a CID officer, that would be suicide now'. As a result of the raids, however, charges being made include robbery, house-breaking, theft, dealing in cannabis, drunken driving and possession of stolen goods. Apart from gathering information, the intention is clearly to terrorise the black population into submission. They are failing.

The funerals of Andries Raditsela, trade union leader, and Siphos Mutisi, of the student organisation COSAS, were the most recent focus of protest during May. Both these young men were active in the recent protests against apartheid and were murdered in detention by the apartheid police on 6 May. At their funerals thousands showed their contempt for the regime's attempts to terrorise black people.

Mass work stoppages were called in protest at the murders, coinciding with

destroyed. A few days before this attack, Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange, admitted that there have been 40 acts of sabotage committed by the ANC since January. Very few of these have been reported in the press.

Unity in the struggle

Amid growing press reports of clashes between different trends in the anti-



The funeral of Andries Raditsela

the explosion of 3 bombs in the 'white town' of Brakpan. Police living quarters and two courts were badly damaged. On the day after Raditsela's funeral, security forces fired rubber bullets and tear gas at protesting youths in Michansdal and Oudtshoorn in the Eastern Cape. More rubber bullets were fired on youth in Soweto and teargas was used to disperse youths marching in protest on a magistrates court.

On 28 May, Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the ANC, exploded a limpet mine outside the first floor offices of the Southern Transvaal offices of the SADF in central Johannesburg. At least 16 people were injured, including SADF personnel, and an entire outside wall was

apartheid struggle, hundreds of supporters of the UDF, AZAPO and other organisations attended a meeting in Soweto on 19 May in order to forge unity in the continuing struggle against apartheid. Fighting between UDF and AZAPO supporters had resulted in the deaths of at least five people and the apartheid regime had been quick to take advantage of the disunity by provoking further clashes. The meeting in Soweto had a united message for apartheid - that the people have only one enemy and they are uniting to fight the rotten regime.

At the same time, representatives of leading black trade unions have been discussing the formation of a wider trade union federation. The trade unions involved include FOSATU, CUSA and SAAWU. These unions and federations have taken a leading role in the protests which have continued una-

bated since the phoney elections of August 1984, and have recognised that the trade union struggle cannot be divorced from the struggles of the wider community.

Treason Trials

44 people, amongst them 16 leaders and activists of the UDF and leaders of SAAWU, are facing trial for high treason, and if convicted could face the death penalty. The indictment against the UDF 16 alleges that they 'conspired with' or 'acted as agents for' a 'revolutionary alliance' of the ANC, SACT and the SACP. The trial opened on 20 May and seven people were arrested for singing and chanting in the court. The trial was immediately adjourned to 11 July. In a separate trial the Johannesburg 14, some of them brought into court in leg-irons, face high treason charges for their role in the Transvaal stay-away in November 1984. Their trial was also adjourned until later this year.

Apartheid under pressure

The determined struggle of the people, together with the threat of sanctions by the USA, has placed the apartheid regime under severe pressure. The problem for Botha is that the black masses will not accept his few crumbs of reform, yet the regime cannot and will not make any inroads into apartheid's profits from the enslavement of black people. A measure of the determination of the people not to collaborate with Botha's reforms is the disclosure that when nominations were sought for the town council elections covering Sebokeng and Sharpeville for ten available seats, not one candidate could be found.

Further embarrassment was caused when it was revealed that, despite the South African claim in April that troops had been withdrawn from Angola, South African troops were occupying key dam and electricity stations in South Angola and had landed a sabotage unit in northern Angola over a month later. This reveals the true nature of the lying, rotten, racist regime. The problem for Botha is that his government has to present a reforming face to the world, but in reality they can only protect their profits and their privileges - together with the profits and privileges of imperialism - by repression, terror and murder both within South Africa and across its borders. Apartheid is under a pressure which will very soon explode!

Victory to the liberation struggle in South Africa!

Carol Brickley and Charine James

APARTHEID BOMB MADE BY BRITAIN

Official documents made public in Washington on 21 May confirm that South Africa detonated a nuclear device over the Indian Ocean on 22 September 1979. At the time the US Carter Administration covered up the tell-tale double flash picked up by its intelligence satellite *Vela* by stating it was caused by a meteorite collision! The report, only released due to pressure under the US Freedom of Information Act, also suggests that Israel co-operated in the test.

The production and testing of these genocidal weapons is shrouded in secrecy. South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster visited Israel in 1976, signing secret agreements which covered nuclear devices. The two countries are believed to be developing a neutron bomb which, with its ability to obliterate a small area, could be used against liberation movements. The two regimes also collaborate with Taiwan in developing a Cruise-type targettable missile.

The apartheid bomb was created by British and US imperialism, with significant help from France and West Germany. In the closing days of World War II Britain requested General Smuts to conduct a secret survey of South Africa's uranium reserves. In 1947 the Labour government decided to build the first British nuclear bomb. Uranium supplies for this £100m project came from the colonies of Belgium and Portugal, and South Africa. Britain and the US set up the Combined Development Agency which initiated uranium extraction at 4 South African mines.

The Pretoria regime wanted to go beyond being a supplier of raw materials to establishing its own nuclear capability. The US undertook to supply the first South African reactor with enriched uranium. Under Harold Wilson's Labour government the UK Atomic Energy Authority fabricated 75% of the uranium fuel elements. The UKAEA

was the first customer for uranium from Rio Tinto Zinc's Rossing mine in illegally occupied Namibia. The UKAEA contracts were vital in financing the mine which today is the only possible source for the Trident submarine programme. Rossing's other main customer is South Africa.

There is a constant interchange of nuclear personnel between the US, Britain and South Africa. The South African Electricity Supply Commission, ESCOM, which runs the Koeberg nuclear plant, funds students at Imperial College in London and has a recruiting office next to Charing Cross station, within yards of the South African Embassy! Barclays has close ties with ESCOM, its loans totalled \$600m in 1982/3 alone. In 1980 South Africa's Deputy Prime Minister said, 'it would be very stupid not to use it if nuclear weapons were needed in the last resort'.

Zionist Israel, and apartheid South Africa are hand in glove with the war machines of the US and Britain. For the peace movement in Britain to succeed British collaboration with apartheid must be severed. And the Anti-Apartheid Movement has a great responsibility to mobilise all potential forces to break Britain's nuclear collaboration with apartheid.

Andy Goddard

CAPENHURST WOMEN GAOLED!

In March 1984 sixty women took part in a demonstration at British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (BNFL), at Capenhurst to protest against the use of Namibian uranium for the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and BNFL's collaboration with the apartheid regime.

Nineteen women were arrested and later convicted of criminal damage. The women were ordered to pay fines, court costs and compensation to BNFL amounting to £2,780. Nine women refused to pay the compensation and in a great act of solidarity with the people of Namibia they instead paid the money to the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) as an advance payment on the compensation that BNFL will eventually have to pay to the Namibian people.

Of the £550 paid to SWAPO, half was given to SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign to buy items desperately needed by refugees in Angola and Zambia. However, seven of the women who paid their compensation to SWAPO were jailed for from 6-28 days.

These women were sentenced by British courts for refusing to pay compensation to a British company collaborating with the apartheid regime to manufacture nuclear weapons that could annihilate humanity. At the same time BNFL, Rio Tinto Zinc, Barclays Bank and all the other collaborating British companies get away with stealing Namibian uranium. This is British justice! It is part of the obscene system of British collaboration with the apartheid regime that perpetuates the oppression of the people of Southern Africa.

Nomsa Langa

GAY MEN'S PRESS BOYCOTT BUSTERS

Gays and Lesbians against Apartheid, Imperialism and Racism, (GLAIR) has mounted a campaign to force Gay Men's Press (GMP) to stop its trade with South Africa. Ten of us occupied the office at GMP on Friday 1 June when we discovered that for five years this supposedly radical organisation had been exporting their books to South Africa for sale. On Monday 4 June we followed this up with a demonstration inside and outside of the up-market L'Escargot restaurant in Soho where GMP were holding a wine-and-canapés launch of a new book.

GMP have reacted defensively to our protests; making weak excuses for their shameless profit-making: all those who break the boycott, called for by the liberation forces in South Africa - from ICI and Barclays to TU leader Bill Sirs claim that they are the exception, they are helping to change things. David Fembach, erstwhile guru of the early '70s Gay Liberation Front, when told in Nelson Mandela's own words that 'Every effort to isolate South Africa adds strength to our struggle' said that 'Nelson Mandela is in no position to make pronouncements' because he's been in prison for the last 22 years! We have news for Fembach - George Johannes, a representative of the ANC in Britain, confirmed that, in or out of jail, black South Africans demand a total boycott of South Africa and that GMP are indeed 'violating the cultural boycott'. He

pointed out that the censorship in South Africa prevents any real oppositional literature from being imported and distributed. Reagan and Thatcher want 'constructive engagement' with South Africa's super-profits. We say GMP are on their side in this. The other thing they have in common with Thatcher and Reagan is their anti-communism. In statements to Capital Gay and the New Statesman their biggest complaint was that GLAIR and its protests were being run by City AA which, they claim, is in turn run by the RCG! First of all black people in South Africa don't know what is good for them - Fembach knows better - secondly, gays and lesbians can't organise themselves without being told what to do by, he claims 'an older man' from the RCG (one of GLAIR's activists). Fembach seems to have some very 'straight, authoritarian, macho' ideas himself - one of his first acts was to get on the telephone to a leading RCG member who is male, heterosexual and older than any of the present membership of GLAIR - presumably to get him to put a paternal foot down!

Three of GMP's present authors have already said that they don't want their books distributed in South Africa. GLAIR is now moving on to ask the GLC to review their funding for the GMP sanction busters!

Keinde Olawale

Communists and councillors, Walworth squatters, Newham 7 and the Mayor and Mayoress of Haringey, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!, Vanessa Redgrave of the WRP, Jeremy Corbyn MP and the East London Asian Collective, Tamil-Eelam, Manchester NUS, and the Irish Solidarity Movement, and many, many more – all were drawn together in unity against apartheid and racism for the 24 hour picket of the South African Embassy organised by City AA on Friday and Saturday 7/8 June.

Flowers, wreaths, photographs and cards were ceremoniously festooned on and around the racist embassy's gates to celebrate the growing recognition of common cause between those in struggle here against racism and oppression and the magnificent struggle of the South African people.

Over 300 people jeered and booed as the British police removed the flowers, acting they said on complaints from the fascists in the embassy, and so performed their own tacky ceremony of 'common cause' with apartheid-loving racist profit makers.

The whole event was a tremendous success, proving that the divisive and sectarian expulsion of City AA by the British AAM has not succeeded in stemming the tide of new forces uniting in action to end British collaboration with apartheid. The theme of unity in action was one which was stressed throughout the picket. David Kitson, for 20 years an ANC prisoner of the apartheid state, and Hamilton Keke, Chief Representative of the PAC in Britain both addressed the picket and both called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners of apartheid. As David Kitson said 'I am a Mandela man! ... We are all Mandela people!'

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group 24 Hour Picket Success

UNITY IN ACTION

Speakers also made the point that in South Africa the liberation forces have held an emergency conference to resolve the differences which were threatening to destroy the unity of the people against apartheid. If the liberation forces in South Africa are facing up to the need for unity in action against the apartheid state, why is the British AAM behaving in such a divisive way at this critical point in the struggle?

The phenomenal success of the Free South Africa Movement in the USA in sparking off and leading a truly broad movement was also a major theme of the picket which was joined by members of the FSAM over here on holiday. David Reed for FRFI called on the crowd to act together for such a success here in Britain. In America, he said, black people and young people had acted, they had been prepared to give up a little bit of their freedom to build the movement on the streets, in the colleges and churches. This had forced the House of Representatives to vote for partial sanctions against South Africa. His message was clear – we can do the same here.

At the close of the picket we replaced the flowers and tributes – plus the many more brought over the day – and again stood at the embassy gates and sang 'Senzenina' 'What have they done?' in tribute to Solomon Mahlangu, Ruth First, the Moroka 3 and all those murdered and imprisoned by apartheid with Britain's support.

Carol Brickley, Convenor of City AA, called on all the supporters of the picket to join City Group on the national AA demonstration on 16 June. 'We have an enemy in common with the South African people – as City of London AA group it is our job to fight racism in Britain as we build solidarity against apartheid. Join us!'

City AA signed up many new members, all committed to action – to close down the embassy, to force Britain Out of Apartheid! Apartheid Out of Britain! Bring flowers and tributes to City's regular Friday pickets of the embassy in Trafalgar Square, 5.30pm to 7.30pm.

Maggie Mellon



Left: David Kitson

Below: Comrade Keke, Chief Representative PAC



Above: Children lay wreaths and flowers at the gates of the South African embassy in honour of those who have died fighting apartheid
Above left: British police remove the flowers and wreaths

PAUL MATTSSON

US protests lead the way

'Daily you are getting arrested, daily we are getting arrested. There could hardly be a better way of demonstrating your solidarity.' Oliver Tambo, ANC leader, on the Free South Africa Movement's (FSAM) daily protests outside the South African Embassy in Washington, 28 April 1985. (Arrests now total over 4,000)

Comrade Tambo's praise was proved to be well-deserved when, on Wednesday 5 June, the US House of Representatives passed a bill calling for sanctions against the South African economy. The bill demands: a ban on all new investment in South Africa, a ban on loans to South Africa, a ban on the sale of computer technology, and on the further import of Krugerrands (South African gold coins) into the US. An identical bill is to be put to the Senate and signs are that it may be passed – despite last ditch efforts by the Reagan administration to argue that sanctions would not only damage the US economy but also the black South Africans they were intended to help.

The scope and intensity of the anti-apartheid protests which have swept the US over the last six months has forced the Reagan Government and its big business backers onto the defensive for the first time. Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement' with the racist apartheid state is in tatters and he knows it! The success of US protest should not be underestimated in the concrete solidarity it has afforded the people of South Africa.

The sudden flurry of anti-apartheid activity in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, resulting in the drawing up of well over a dozen bills calling for sanctions of more or less severity, stems from the nationwide protests which sprang up in cities, towns and college campuses – forcing disinvestment on large companies, the closure of one consulate, and prompting dozens of demonstrations, rallies and sit-ins. The rallying call for these national protests was given by the FSAM, in which black political leaders and activists play a leading role. The first strike against US collaboration with apartheid was the FSAM's sit-in at the Washington embassy on Thanksgiving Day's Eve in November 1984. Participants were arrested but, undeterred, protests at the embassy – and arrests – have continued daily ever since.

The racism and injustice in American society – intensified by the Reagan Administration – is a major driving force in the protests against apartheid. Occasions such as the anniversary of

Martin Luther King's assassination – 4 April have been chosen for national days of action.

Black trade unionists, organised in the poorer-paid industries and service

sector, have responded to the lead given by the protests by organising within the unions for all out action and sanctions against South Africa. This is a direct challenge to the right wing AFL-CIO activity which is attempting to contain the protests by defending forms of 'constructive engagement' by US companies. In the words of a leading black trade unionist they talk anti-apartheid in South Africa but practice apartheid at home.

By finding the weak link in Reagan's defences, the anti-apartheid activists have become a major force in the progressive movement as a whole, galvanising the peace, Central American and Middle East solidarity campaigns: on 20 April a major national mobilisation on all fronts took place with the call to end US support for apartheid and US racism at home a central demand in the united protests.

The protests in the US have drawn admiration from activists the world over and shamed by comparison the weak efforts in Britain, the main economic backer of apartheid.

Such protest, on as wide and effective a scale, is not only called for here – it is possible *and now!* The AAM and all activists here should be studying and learning from the American experience.

Maggie Mellon

Tough luck chum

On Saturday 11 May police arrested an AA activist, who is also an RCG member, on a picket called by Edinburgh AA group. Apart from two other people, only RCG members of the AA group in Edinburgh attended this picket, with comrades from Dundee and from Glasgow University who we had contacted.

The picket was lively and orderly, with no obstruction being caused. We petitioned, chanted, sold FRFI and AA News and got a favourable response from many of the passers-by.

During the first hour police had passed twice without troubling us. Then a third lot of police came and one PC decided to pick on me. He shoved his face into mine and demanded that I move from in front of the shop window. I asked on what grounds I should move as I was not causing an obstruction and was taking part in a picket protesting against the sale of South African goods in Rankins. The PC then physically tried to push me away. Then he arrested me. I was detained for three hours in Gayfield Square and charged with obstruction, while the picket continued.

I acted the way I did because communists do not give in to blatant attempts by

the police to break up protests. I have since been attacked by both the Scottish AAM Committee and the Edinburgh Group. Apparently I am 'naive and unsophisticated' and I may well even have got arrested on purpose to further the sinister aims of the RCG!

If the AAM is to grow it must be capable of defending its activists should they get arrested, or at any rate not attack them! The British state will not tolerate the growth of an effective movement against apartheid without using its police to try to stop this. This we have seen on numerous occasions, such as the arrests of some of the black contingent on the massive 'No to Botha' demonstration last June. The anti-apartheid movement in both the US and New Zealand have had thousands of their activists arrested. There is no comparable movement in Britain and, should one develop, British imperialism will act to defend its interests in South Africa. Communists and anti-imperialists see that it is vital to defend those attacked by the police. We must work in the AAM to change the current disgusting attitude that an injury to one is... tough luck chum.

Helen, Edinburgh

● Since Helen's arrest, the Edinburgh AA Group have passed a motion condemning her for 'at best... a naive understanding of the value of solidarity work and the role of the AA activist'. If not 'naive', the motion continues, then Helen's arrest is '... only the latest expression of the deliberate policy of the RCG to disrupt the work of the AAM.' The motion expresses the opinion that the RCG's 'campaign of disruption' could only be more effective if it were organised by the 'agents of apartheid in Britain'.

This motion was put by the Secretary of the group, Doreen Coltart. She and the other officers are almost all members of the CPGB. The other factor they have in common is that a good number of them don't live in Edinburgh. Doreen Coltart and her husband, who is the treasurer, live in Fife. Other officers live in West Lothian. The address of this 'local group' of the AAM is c/o the secretary, Glenrothes, Fife. Glenrothes is a good 35 miles from Edinburgh! Apparently the 'Group Areas Act' of the AAM (under which the much-more-local City of London AA Group was disaffiliated in February this year) does not apply to Scotland – or certainly not to CP members in Scotland!

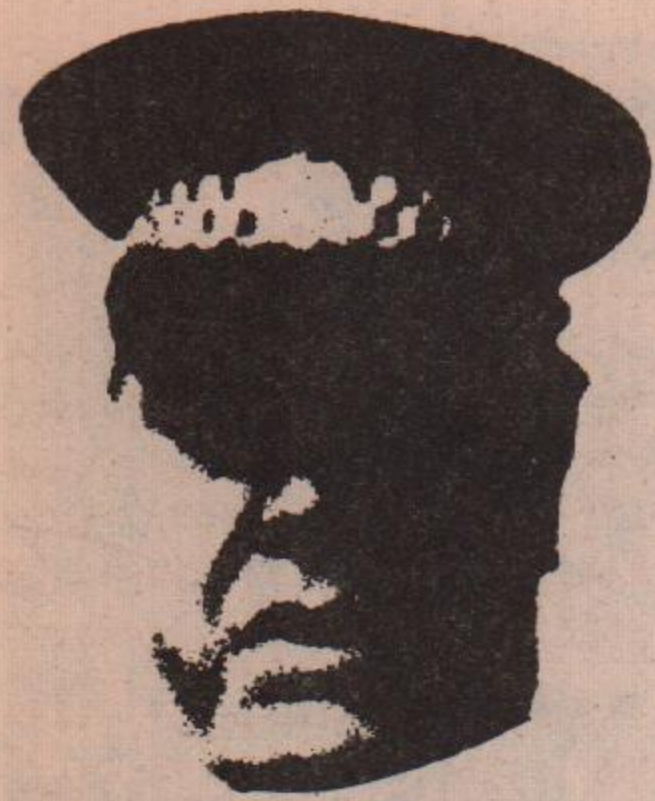
RACIST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

When the Leeds Chamber of Commerce announced it was planning to take a trades mission to South Africa, Leeds RCG responded by going onto the streets with leaflets and a petition demanding the trades mission be cancelled. So far two pickets of the Chamber of Commerce have been held, and nearly 2,500 people have signed the petition. Several local councillors, and members of Park Lane College Anti-Apartheid have also given their support.

Leeds RCG invited other groups to work in a joint campaign against the trades mission. Paul Brannen of Leeds University Anti-Apartheid replied that to join in this campaign 'would not be appropriate'. Not prepared to work with the RCG, they were nevertheless quite prepared to hold a joint meeting with the Labour Club, eight days later. Bill Innes of Leeds CPGB said he was afraid the campaign might get 'involved in sabotage', but 'somebody' would come to the campaign 'if somebody was available'. No one came. Leeds Anti-Apartheid Group have not replied to a letter sent two months ago.

This sectarianism has meant the Chamber of Commerce has faced no unified opposition and has now confirmed its plans to go ahead with its trades mission. The RCG calls on those opposed to apartheid to remember the ANC slogan of 'Unity in Action' and unite in a campaign to stop the trades mission due to go to South Africa in November.

Gordon Walton



POLICE FILE

● The Wandsworth prison Governor's report for the month of March, which by chance has found its way into the hands of Police File, contains two items of particular interest. 'Discovered in the Officers' Mess, concealed between the sheets of a toilet roll' states the report, 'were two £50 treasury notes; both were identified by their serial numbers as being part of a large backdated pay claim, paid out to members of the staff by the Cashier's Department on 7 March 1985'. To what nefarious purpose any prison officer intended to put these notes is not hinted at, and we leave the matter for your speculation. Certainly a Home Office spokesman had no explanation, but presumably we can discount any plans to use them for the same purpose as the toilet roll - even a screw isn't that rich.

Scandalous item number two was the discovery of a newspaper concealed by a visitor - who was arrested at the prison gates. A police officer, after handling the newspaper, 'experienced strange sensations'. The harassed Governor suspects LSD.

● Police officers struggling to gain an understanding of the problem of football hooliganism could usefully turn to the next step, paper of the Revolutionary Communist Party (no relation). The June 7 issue of aforesaid learned journal broke new ground in scientific socialism when it asserted - in an article on the massacre in the Heysel stadium - that, 'Britain's replacement by the USA as the world's leading capitalist power has been matched by a decline in England's football fortunes.' The hypothesis is verified thus: 'In 1950 the English team was forced to give up its attitude of superior isolation and play in the World Cup for the first time. It was knocked out, in symbolic and humiliating fashion, by the United States'. Those who paddle up this obscure tributary of Marxism (as the great man once noted, capitalism creates its own goalscorers) will find the implications of England's recent 1-1 draw with Finland positively mindboggling.

● An army tank which crashed on a country road in West Wales was commanded by Lance Corporal Rodney Stiff. They say he is.

● Merseyside Chief Constable Kenneth Oxford will appreciate the recent diatribe made by his opposite number in Manchester - James Anderton - against local police committees and other inconvenient hamstrings of the police. Oxford has just been recommended for the sack by Merseyside police committee.

**Stonehenge
Police attack convoy**

'I shall never forget the screams of one woman who was holding up her little baby in a bus with smashed windows. She screamed and screamed at them to stop but five seconds later 50 men with truncheons and shields just boiled into that bus'. These are the words of the Earl of Cardigan, a nearby landowner describing the police attack on the Peace Convoy as it headed for Stonehenge on Saturday 4 June.

Hundreds of riot clad police from five police forces halted the buses and vans seven miles from their destination. The vehicles and occupants were surrounded, and the buses and vans systematically smashed up and people brutally assaulted. Babies fell from their mothers' arms and pregnant women were led away at truncheon point. In all, 530 were arrested and at least 12 children taken into care.

For two miles on either side of Stonehenge the coils of razor wire indicated the lengths to which the police and the government will go to prevent unregimented gatherings of people. The annual Stonehenge Festival, to mark the mid-summer, is a popular event attracting up to 30,000 peaceful attenders. The £¼m worth of damage to the mobile homes and property and the hundreds of arrests mark a new level of repressive policing. Despite the evidence of its own reporters the 'liberal' *Guardian* backed this savagery in an editorial which concluded: 'We would have to conclude with the Chief Constable and tell the 30,000 to clear off.'

Media descriptions of 'hippies' are attempts to make light of the police's unwarranted attack on peaceful families and to draw attention away from their extension of the use of road-blocks and riot police against the simple democratic right to travel on our own roads. Bail conditions have been imposed of staying 25 miles from Stonehenge - along the same lines as during the miners' strike. The police, aptly stationed at a nearby army base, should beware though: 21 June marks the actual mid-summer solstice and the much-derided 'hippies' are organising to defend their rights by legal actions against the police and by regrouping to demand their entry to land which is supposedly in the 'National Trust'.

Gary Clapton

**Football
Thatcher's football thugs**

During May 94 people were killed at football matches in Britain and Belgium. 55 burned to death at Bradford on 11 May; 1 fan was killed by a collapsing wall during fighting at Birmingham City on the same day; and 38 were crushed to death at Heysel stadium in Brussels on 29 May before the match between Juventus and Liverpool.

Both the fire at Bradford and the violence in Belgium were televised to the British public, gripped by the sight of rioting fans and crushed bodies at Heysel and burning human beings at Bradford. Television audience ratings reveal that 16½ million people watched the BBC coverage of the European Cup Final in Belgium, with the audience for what was, all else aside, an extremely dull football match, growing during the evening.

The press has since thundered its condemnation of the Liverpool fans, joined by every British politician who can get the press to print a statement. Not one of them, however, has any real answers to deal with the violence, which British politicians and the press have helped to unleash. For, whilst banning alcohol, introducing identity cards, and a whole array of policing measures have been proposed, Thatcher's government has given the lead when it comes to violence, a cynical contempt for human life and gross national chauvinism. What is more, these repressive measures are more likely to be used against strikers, the left and progressive movement.

What, after all, is the difference between a Tory government which sends specially

trained thugs to the Falklands/Malvinas to 'beat the Argies' whose main crime is that they are not British, and football thugs who wave the union jack as they maraud through European cities and murder 'foreigners'? The Labour Party is at least an accomplice in this hypocrisy, for it supported the Falklands war, only quibbling over detail because Thatcher had pulled off the jingoistic stunt of the decade. And Britain's gutter press screamed 'Gotcha' as the Argentinians died - so they shouldn't be surprised when British youth enter into the same spirit.

Since the slaughter at Bradford and Brussels, the press and football authorities have been keen to attempt a cover-up. The *Morning Star* and others decided to blame fascist organisations for the fans' behaviour. Although the National Front and the British Movement are undoubtedly involved, it is only as hyenas living off the remains of the feast. Britain's fascist football thugs are as much Thatcher's Youth as Hitler's.

Most grotesque of all have been the attempts to blame either the Italian fans, or the Belgian football authorities for the deaths at Heysel. The dead and injured Italian and Belgian fans were, it turns out, harmless football supporters, quite rightly terrified of the vicious Brits who broke down fencing to attack them. Blaming the Belgian football authorities for inexperience in dealing with thugs or for the poor state of the stadium is just plain sordid when Bradford's fire resulted from gross

**MINERS
Kinnock says
no to amnesty**

On 16 May two South Wales miners, Dean Hancock (aged 21) and Russell Shankland (aged 21) were gaoled for life by a judge at Cardiff Crown Court. The two were found guilty of murdering cab driver David Wilkie as he drove a scab miner to work. Both denied intending to kill anyone when they dropped a block of concrete from a road bridge. On 17 May all the miners from both shifts at Taff Merthyr, where Russell Shankland worked, and many from Oakdale, where Dean Hancock worked, walked out in anger at the vicious sentences. Large marches took place in Rhymney and in Cardiff on 25 May where hundreds of demonstrators insisted on carrying on to the prison where Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland are at present being held. FRFI supported the march. Peter Heathfield has pledged the NUM to a campaign against the life sentences.

Meanwhile the trial of 15 miners accused of riotous assembly at Orgreave began on 9 May at the special court set up in Sheffield specifically to deal with miners' cases. The trial is expected to last a month and the outcome will determine the fate of many others arrested at Orgreave.

Over 700 miners remain sacked. The strike which took place at South Kirkby pit where two men were sacked for alleged incidents involving scabs, spread to a few other Yorkshire pits, but was called off by

the Yorkshire area Executive. Arthur Scargill, speaking on 27 May, called for the campaign to save Bates colliery in Durham 'to be linked with the campaign to get justice for the lads who have been thrown into jail, those whose only crime is fighting for the right to work'. Building such a campaign to defend imprisoned and sacked miners would require not only the active participation of NUM officials and members, along with the women's support groups, but also a resolute struggle against all those in the NUM, the wider trade union movement and the Labour Party, who have every interest in obstructing such a campaign. The NUM has been painfully slow to begin work in defence of sacked and imprisoned miners and their families.

Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, when asked if a future Labour government would grant an amnesty to gaoled miners said: 'I don't think it is within the power or right of any government to declare one category of people duly tried and through the process of law, should be released or otherwise treated differently.' Of course Kinnock is only too well aware of what his 'process of law' consisted in the strike - road blocks, mass bail conditions, courts held at midnight. And yet he would rather support this ruling class law than support an amnesty or even the idea of one. For to do so would undermine the authority of the imperialist state - and this Kinnock has no intention of doing. The Scottish NUM invitation to Kinnock to attend the annual Gala, an invitation supported by Scottish Area President and Vice-President, CPGB members Mick McGahey and George Bolton, still stands. To prepare the way for Kinnock at the Gala, all political banners

**CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND RACISM**

On 21 May the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland tightened up its stance on abortion and voted that there was only one occasion when abortion could be countenanced - when the mother's life was threatened, and then only after all alternatives had been exhausted. It held that both rape and the threat of a baby being born with a serious handicap was not sufficient grounds for abortion. That decision was perhaps not so remarkable, but the opposition in the debate is worth noting. A Mr Cameron, formerly a minister in the Bahamas had the following argument. Referring to a country (the Bahamas presumably) where no woman is safe if left unprotected for any hour of the day or night, he said, 'Is any member of this assembly going to say to that girl: you have been raped by a black man of the most low moral intellectual background, but you have got to carry on and give birth.'

This racist filth is worthy of a member of the National Front, and that it can be spouted openly amongst churchmen is surely evidence, along with their position on abortion, that the established church

is a bastion of reaction and cares nothing for the oppressed but stands with the ruling classes who profit from the spread of such views.
Helen Forgan

**GREENHAM
COMMON**

On the weekend of 25/26 May 150 women were arrested inside Greenham Common airbase during a 300-strong demonstration against a 12 month prison sentence imposed on Anne Francis for criminal damage. About 100 women were detained in police custody for refusing to give their names and addresses. Thirty-six of the women were sent back into custody for 7 days on Monday 27 May after a court appearance during which they continued to refuse to give their names and addresses and refused to pay the £25 fines. They were transported back to police cells in riot vans. Some women were sent to Styal prison where they were kept in solitary, even during exercise, some were sent to Cookham Wood where they were refused the right to write letters home, and some to Durham and Holloway. However, the women managed to remain nameless for a week!



POPPERFOTO

neglect. 17 years worth of litter lay below the stand. There were no stewards or signs to show the exits, and the main entrances to the stand were locked during the match to prevent fans getting in without paying. There was only one fire extinguisher and that was in the 'club' bar. Overall football is a profit-making business and these profits aren't used for crowd safety.

Squeals of displeasure have greeted the UEFA and FIFA bans on English clubs playing in Europe or the rest of the world. But why should the Belgians, or any other nation for that matter, have to tolerate British football thugs, let alone be blamed for not controlling them after the event?

The responsibility for the 94 deaths has

to be shared. Thatcher's racist government and those in the Labour Party and press who concede to the same jingoism are the ringleaders of this thuggery. Members of the gang are the football authorities who cover up the racism of some of the players and supporters, and who risk the lives of hundreds of fans in order to pay 'football stars' a fortune for kicking a tail and fouling the opposite team. And finally, the rioting fans themselves, young men who are the fodder for racism and chauvinism. Thatcher et al are not going to come up with solutions to the violence. That will require a movement which will destroy racism and imperialism.
Carol Brickley and Chas Millington

have been banned. McGahey argues for unity with Kinnock, but such unity is the kiss of death for miners in gaol and those who wish to defend them.
Olivia Adamson

**NCB says
Cortonwood
to close**

During the last few weeks the NCB has announced a further 13,700 job losses as part of what they call a post-strike 'assessment' - a process which will continue until 1 July, the date on which the new colliery review procedure is due to start. Cortonwood - whose announced closure triggered off the strike in March 1984 - is now to be shut down. The announcement is a deliberate death-blow by the NCB in an attempt to complete the demoralisation of the NUM. The closures mean that the 20,000 job losses talked of at the beginning of the strike have now been achieved and are concentrated in the militant areas.

The new cuts include many pits where coal reserves are plenty. The NCB is using the pretext of strike damage to force through closures. On 8 May the NCB stated that 3,000 jobs are to go within 9 months in the North East. On the 22 May it announced that Bates colliery would close altogether with a loss of 1,200 jobs. Three further pits are to close by the end of the year.

Punitive cuts have been announced in all four areas of Yorkshire, amounting to a cut of over one sixth of the workforce. On 16 May it was announced that 3,000 jobs are to

go in the Barnsley area. Darfield Main and Emley Moor are to close with Woolley Colliery (Scargill's old pit) to merge with North Gawber. Two drift mines are to merge with a third. On 25 May 2,500 more job losses were announced for the Doncaster area. Yorkshire area President Jack Taylor's response to the Doncaster losses was an insult to those men and women who fought for a year against pit closures. Taylor, grateful that the Doncaster losses did not, at least, involve the closure of entire pits, stated 'They (the NCB) have been open and honest today, and there has been no departure from the review procedure. I wish we did not have any job losses but that is one of the consequences of not succeeding in the strike.' On 1 June 1,000 job losses were announced in North Yorkshire and on 7 June a cut of 3,000 jobs in South Yorkshire, including the closure of Cortonwood.

NACODS ban called off

The NACODS overtime ban - first voted for in mid-May as a result of the NCB's flouting of the October 1984 agreement over a new colliery review procedure - was called off on 5 June. According to NACODS leader Peter McNestry, the NCB have agreed that there should be no run-down of manpower once a pit has been put into the procedure. On its part, the NCB merely concedes that it will 'retain the fabric of the colliery until the result of the appeal is decided'. But the announcement of the closure of Cortonwood the day after the new 'agreement', like the last NCB/NACODS 'agreement', shows that it is hardly worth the paper it is written on in terms of safeguarding pits and jobs.
Olivia Adamson

FMLN COMRADES IN BRITISH PRISONS

In June 1982 Antonio Sanchez and Luis Garcia Fernandez were gaoled for seven years by an English court on charges of spying. The press called them 'Cuban spies'. In fact Antonio and Luis are members of El Salvador's FMLN. Readers and supporters should send letters and messages of solidarity to: Antonio Sanchez and Luis Garcia, 4824, Albany Prison, Newport, Isle of Wight.

DEATH IN WANDSWORTH

On Tuesday 28 May black prisoner Eusif Ryan was found dead in his cell in Wandsworth's notorious segregation unit. The Home Office claims that he died of natural causes. Prison officers are claiming that he died in the course of an epileptic fit. Prisoners, however, have a different explanation.

One prisoner who was in the segregation unit for nearly three months while Eusif was there says that Eusif did have attacks but that they were not like those of an epileptic. He says he witnessed prison officers 'laughing' at Eusif during attacks. When this prisoner rang a bell to get medical attention for Eusif, he was told to 'mind (his) own fucking business.' He also asks why, if Eusif was suffering from epilepsy, he was kept in the punishment block.

Another prisoner says that if Eusif died during a fit then he died 'because of the criminal neglect of the governor and hospital staff in Wandsworth prison.' This prisoner was also in the segregation unit whilst Eusif was there. He says that Eusif frequently had fits, during some of which he knocked himself out. Yet when prisoners rang the bell for medical attention twenty minutes would pass before any officers arrived and then they would refuse to do anything. He also points out that Eusif was not placed in a special cell for epileptics. As far as prisoners know, Eusif was not receiving any medical treatment. According to this prisoner, Eusif had only the bowl of a spoon without a stem, to eat with. The cell Eusif was in had previously been used in the 4 April dirty protest (see FRFI 49) and had not been cleaned. This prisoner saw Eusif's mattress with 'smears of excrement all over it.' Both prisoners are demanding that the truth of Eusif Ryan's death be revealed.

FRFI has repeatedly exposed the inhuman and brutal conditions in Wandsworth. It was clear that sooner or later a prisoner would die in the segregation unit. Eusif Ryan was serving two years and three months for burglary and breach of probation. Now he is dead. Eusif Ryan was an FRFI subscriber and wrote to us shortly before his death. FRFI is determined to uncover the truth of his death. We send our condolences to his family, friends and fellow prisoners. Terry O'Halloran

FIGHTING RULE 43

Mark Leech, currently in Maidstone, has asked FRFI to make it known that he has collected a large and useful amount of legal research material in the process of challenging the use of Rule 43 against him. He lost the test case in the High Court in December 1984 by the prison regime taking him off Rule 43 one week before the hearing, so there was 'no case to answer'. Mark has a law degree and is using his time in prison to research the legal cases brought by prisoners. Mark urges any prisoners on GOAD (Good order and discipline, Rule 43) who want to challenge it, to ask their solicitors to write to him and he will provide copies of his research documents. Contact: M F Leech LL B, Kent Wing, HM Prison Maidstone, Kent, ME14 1UZ Tony Sheridan

Immigration laws

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

This month the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) and the Prison Reform Trust published a report detailing the absolute powers of the Home Office under the Immigration Act 1971. The report, entitled, 'A Law Unto Themselves: Home Office Powers of Detention', is a catalogue of injustice, racism and abuse of all human and democratic rights inflicted on people who are detained as illegal immigrants by the British state.



The numbers of people being held under the Act are rising and the report makes clear that Home Office figures are consistently 20% below the actual numbers involved. In some cases figures are not kept at all. Over 1,000 people are imprisoned every year. In Ashford Remand Centre alone in 1984, there were 984 Immigration Act prisoners. In the first ten months of 1984 4,088 people were held overnight on entering the country. In February of the same year, 22% of detainees had been held for over three months.

Indefinite detention without trial

'On November 30th 1984 Mr Johnson, a Nigerian, was released from Pentonville Prison. One day more and he would have been held for a full twelve months. His crime? None. What offence had he been charged with? None. What court authorised his detention? None...' (page 1 of report)

Under the Act the Home Office has the power to detain people administratively outside the courts for as long as it wants. 'Immigration Act prisoners... are at the exclusive disposal of the Home Office...'. Mr Johnson was held at the order of a single civil servant in the Immigration Department. He had been admitted legally to Britain and over ran his permit to stay whilst receiving medical treatment. For this he was imprisoned for nearly a year.

Salome Amoah was sentenced to 14 days prison in Holloway for over staying. Although she had bought herself a ticket to fly back to Ghana after her sentence, the Home Office detained her for two months and then deported her.

These are just two examples of the contempt the Home Office has towards the lives of hundreds of innocent people held under the Immigration Act - in overcrowded, brutal British prisons, separated from their families and friends, incarcerated indefinitely.

Double injustice: no appeal, no bail

Salome Amoah suffered injustice at both the hands of the courts and the Home Office, and her case is one of hundreds. Yet no one detained or sentenced under any section of the Immigration Act has the right to appeal against detention or sentence. There is a so-called Immigration Appeals System, with adjudicators appointed by the Home Office who sit alone to hear 'appeals'. This system is by nature anti the prisoners and pro the British State. Furthermore, the Home Office is under no legal obligation to inform Immigration Act prisoners of their 'right to appeal' within 14 days of a deportation order, so many prisoners lose this 'right'. The Home Office will only hear appeals *after* a deportation has taken place which is obviously far too late to afford any justice to the prisoners.

The JCWI has produced figures showing that about 70% of Immigration Act prisoners would qualify for bail if the Bail Act 1976 was open to them. Some prisoners may be granted 'temporary release' but this is the decision of a

Home Office official and the figures are very low. In fact it is clear from the report that black people and others of the most oppressed who are detained are very unlikely to be granted temporary release. The report, however, shows that of the 275 people granted temporary release in 1983 only 8 absconded.

In 1984 'Ghanaians, Nigerians, Indians and Pakistanis...' accounted for 54% of detainees. The Home Office makes it very clear in its guidelines to immigration officials that a prisoner belonging '...to a class of immigrant which has strong economic or other incentives to obtain entry...' will not be given temporary release. It is more than likely that people with 'economic... incentives' to come to Britain will be black people from the poor and oppressed nations looking for work. In an attempt to cover up this racism and discrimination the guidelines go on to tell officers that '...references to the tendency of immigrants of a particular

origin to evade immigration control should be avoided.'

Institutionalised racism

'... Rights of appeal that vanish in a fortnight, deportations unchecked by any independent tribunal, double jeopardy and administrative powers far beyond the reach of the courts are remarkable for their departure from any reasonable standard of justice...' (page 5)

But not remarkable given the nature of the British imperialist state in crisis. Having perfected injustice and arbitrary powers against people in oppressed nations for years, eg non-jury Diplock courts to imprison Irish nationalists in the Six Counties, it now has to enforce the same injustice here. Clearly the immigration controls are fundamentally racist. Just as pass laws in South Africa are used to control and terrorise the black labour force, so, now, these powers to detain and deport are a means of both reducing the surplus 'influx of labour' to the demands of capitalism, and also controlling the most oppressed sections of the British working class, regardless of the abuse of human rights and misery arising from them. Smash all immigration controls! Free the detainees!

Alexa Byrne

VICTIM OF MENTAL SLAVERY

On Thursday 30 May a Bury jury returned a verdict of 'suicide' on the death of Harold Roberts, a black man held in Prestwich Hospital Security Wing. He had been found hanging from a sheet tied to the arm of a sluice toilet on 11 March, having been 'forcibly restrained and drugged' two days earlier by hospital nurses.

The coroner had made it clear that on the evidence he had allowed in court, a suicide verdict was the only real option for the jury, and in his summary he had completely ignored any contentious or contradictory evidence (of which there had been plenty).

Harold had never been convicted of a crime - he was picked up in Moss Side several months ago, charged with 'wounding', but never taken to court. He was held in Strangeways until late February when it was decided it would be easier to control him if he was drugged, which they could not forcibly do in prison.

Much was made of his attempted suicide in September, but this was not taken seriously by the prison authorities or Harold's psychiatrist, and was not regarded as a genuine attempt to end his life. The nurses closely involved with Harold claimed they knew nothing of this attempt, and that *had* they known, then their treatment of Harold would have been different. But Dr Campbell, the one in charge of the Security Ward, made it clear that they would have read about it in the case notes, and the treatment would have been no different. Harold's family are certain that these nurses were trying to hide something from the jury, especially since the coroner prevented their solicitor from asking them awkward questions.

There was a continual character assassination of Harold throughout the inquest,

but it was far from obvious that he was 'mad' (whatever that means). There were many references to Harold being 'very resentful of authority'; 'suspicious of the government' and '...that Harold was 'probably mad-but with his cultural background it was hard to be sure'.

Since the campaign was started up by Harold's family, there has been intimidation by the police in Moss Side. His twelve-year old son has been arrested and locked up - and the police removed his shoelaces in case 'you hang yourself like you dad'. They have frequently called at Harold's wife's house on absurd pretexts, but she is still determined to find out the truth about her husband's death.

Immediately after the verdict was announced, the campaign supporters unfurled their banner which read 'Harold Roberts: Victim of Mental Slavery' in the colours of the Ethiopian flag. The coroner threatened to send them to prison and ordered them from the courtroom. They then took the banner to Prestwich Hospital and drove around the grounds displaying it. The campaign will now be petitioning for a public inquiry, and will be organising a social to pay for a headstone for Harold's grave.

The above statement was sent to FRFI by the Harold Roberts Campaign which meets every Monday 7.30pm, 8411 Centre (Moss Side Precinct). Send donations and messages of support to: Harold Roberts Campaign, c/o V P Externals, Manchester Poly SU, 99 Oxford Road, Manchester.

FRFI sends greetings and solidarity to the Harold Roberts Campaign and fully supports the demand for a public inquiry into Harold's death.

Holloway - brutality against women

A teacher employed at Holloway Prison in London has resigned from the notorious C1 psychiatric wing of the prison.

Prue Stevenson, who had worked on C1 since July 1984, told a BBC *Newsnight* programme that women prisoners were living 'like animals' and that C1, known in Holloway as the 'Muppet House' should close immediately. She described the sadistic behaviour of the screws who, when one woman tried to hang herself, left her alone in her cell with only a blanket for comfort. Such brutality has had horrific consequences in C1 - in the last year one woman has gouged out her eye, another tried to cut off a breast with a broken light bulb. Dr Robert Dolan, a visiting psychia-

trist at Holloway, described conditions there as 'worse than the 19th century prisons'. Most of the women are held in custody on remand on trivial charges. 75% of the women on remand are categorised as 'mentally ill' mostly in order to justify their imprisonment. Yet staff on C1 are not required to have special medical training. Most of the prisoners on C1, which can hold 46 women, spend an average of 4-5 weeks in custody. Most are acquitted or given non-custodial sentences.

Former prisoner Josie O'Dwyer described the brutal stripping of a deaf and

dumb woman by a gang of screws, and recalled with horror the young woman whose constant banging of her head against the bare walls of her C1 cell had left her permanently deformed.

A woman in her late 70s was recently imprisoned in Holloway for non-payment of debts, bills incurred since the death of her husband. She spoke no English, and served her sentence in C1 - racist screws, courts and police made no attempt to explain to her why she had been imprisoned.

A Home Office committee has been set up to decide the future of Holloway prison, and will report in July. Already NACRO, MIND and the NCCL have called for the closure of C1. FRFI joins in that call, and demands an end to this foul regime which denies women prisoners even the most basic of human rights and dignity.

Beth Summers

URGENT! URGENT! URGENT!...

We need money urgently to pay for our work in support of prisoners.

We send FRFI to 154 prisoners in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland (Six Counties and Twenty-Six Counties), USA, Netherlands and Italy. This costs well over £500 a year.

The Thatcher government has hundreds of millions of pounds to spend on building more prisons to lock up working class and oppressed people. Only you can make sure that we can carry on sending our political material to prisoners and so put up resistance to ruling class repression.

- Pay for a subscription to FRFI for a prisoner
- Pay for a book for a prisoner
- Send a regular monthly donation

Donations, cheques/POs (payable to Larkin Publications) should be sent to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX



The artificial Six County statelet in the North of Ireland was a police state from its creation: an RUC officer prepared to fire CS gas during the battle of the Bogside, August 1969.

The miners' strike of 1984-85 saw the most sustained internal opposition to the authority of the British state for decades. And, in response, we saw the most highly organised and systematically planned state operation ever mounted in Britain – involving the highest level of government planning of policing, the use of the law and the courts, manipulation of DHSS benefits and the willing compliance of the media. At times the level of repression was directly compared to Belfast. This was not surprising as the tactics used during the strike were developed by the British state through its repression of the Irish people. With the end of the miners' strike, the ruling class is now building on the lessons learned.

Central to the Thatcher government's immediate response is the proposed new Public Order Act which will join the armoury of police powers contained in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, Part Three of which takes effect on 1 January 1986. These laws draw not only on the experience of Ireland and the miners' strike but also on the risings of black and white youth in 1981, for which the police were badly prepared. These two laws, together with the extended Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), will form an unholy trinity of repressive legislation.

As the present economic and social crisis deepens resistance, taking many different forms, will grow as more and more people are forced to oppose intolerable conditions.

The ruling class knows this. The government strategy is to attempt to stifle popular democratic opposition by 'controlling' (rendering ineffective) established forms of public protest and criminalising effective opposition. From peace camps to trade union pickets to anti-racist/anti-imperialist campaigns, those in struggle find themselves ever more circumscribed by repressive legislation. The ruling class is building up the power of the state to isolate, divide and defeat resistance to poverty, racism, war and repression.

Newman

The conscious strategy of the ruling class is nowhere more apparent than in the ap-

pointment of Kenneth Newman as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in 1982. Newman was in the RUC for six years and served as Chief Constable from 1976-79. Newman has built on his experience in Ireland to reorganise the Metropolitan Police. Newman's policing strategy has three main elements: intelligence-gathering; 'community' policing; instant response riot squads. The Metropolitan Police's computer facilities have expanded and updated to collate and redistribute intelligence. Police districts and units have been reorganised to place greater emphasis on intelligence-gathering. The specific role of the new Central Intelligence Unit is to gather 'low grade' information to give the police a complete picture of the community to allow 'targeting' of potential sources of opposition.

Alongside the intelligence-gathering goes 'community' policing designed to create links between the police and 'moderates' within the community. The combination of intelligence-gathering and 'community' policing allows the police also to seek to isolate 'subversives' – those prepared to resist. Finally, if all this fails, comes the riot-shield, CS gas, plastic bullet, baton and the boot. Newman has rapidly increased 'riot' training

The White Paper

Public order = police order

On Thursday 16 May the White Paper 'Review of Public Order Law' was issued. Like all ruling class attempts to increase repression, the review has been presented as a 'rationalisation' and 'updating' of the law. In fact, the proposed new Public Order law will significantly increase police powers to control established forms of public protest.

The background to the proposals is clearly laid out in paragraph 1.6 of the White Paper. 'In addition to taking into account the riots of 1981... the White Paper also lists Grunwick (1976-77), Southall (1979), the miners' strike (1984-85), Stop the City demonstrations, animal rights campaigns and anti-nuclear demonstrations, as being amongst its concerns. These are lumped together with the National Front and football hooliganism in an effort to disguise the real focus of the state's attack: organised opposition to poverty, unemployment, racism, nuclear warmongering and so on. Whoever organises to take effective action, whether against the imperialist system itself or against particular aspects of it, will be subjected to increased police control.

The White Paper proposes to give police the power to ban specific demon-

strations in addition to their present power to ban all demonstrations in a particular place for a particular time. This more precise power would allow the police to almost proscribe a particular organisation or campaign by simply banning all its marches. All marches will require 7 days notice to allow the police time to prepare their response; alter the route, assembly and/or finishing point and duration of the march; or seek a ban. It will be an offence to organise, incite or participate in any breach of police conditions or of a banning order. The grounds on which marches can be restricted will be very broad including: disruption to traffic and shoppers or intimidation of individuals. The right to march has already been seriously undermined under existing powers to ban (see table). In the four years 1981-4 there were 75 banning orders compared with

11 in the previous eleven years 1970-80. It is no surprise that the peak was reached in 1981 – the year of the risings in British cities and the hunger strike campaign in Ireland.

Banning orders in England and Wales

1970-80	11
1981	42
1982	13
1983	9
1984	11

(Figures from paragraph 4.7)

The White Paper also proposes new police powers to restrict 'static demonstrations'. Examples cited in the White Paper include Grunwick pickets, miners' pickets and protests outside embassies. The police will have the power to determine the size, location and duration of static demonstrations where they fear serious disruption to the community; serious public disorder; or coercion of individuals. The concern about 'coercion of individuals' is a response to the striking miners' refusal to allow scabbing to go unopposed. Thus, under these powers, the police can impose conditions which would render such protests ineffective and meaningless. There will also be new offences of organising, inciting or participating in demonstrations which breach police conditions.

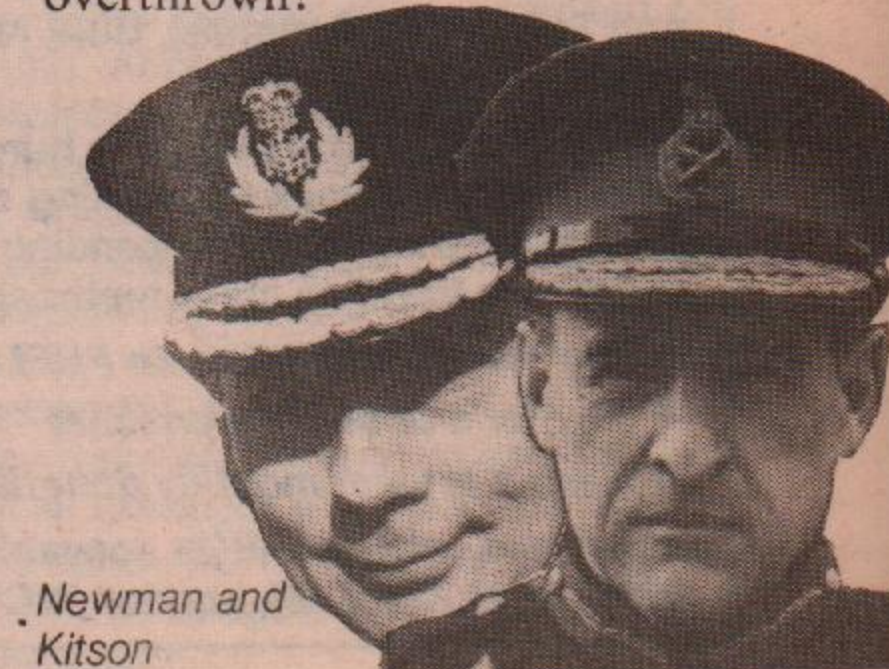
The new Public Order Act will include the offences of riot (10 years maximum sentence); violent disorder (5 years); affray (2 years); and disorderly conduct

(£100 fine). The intention here is simply to make it easier to secure convictions for riot charges. The new disorderly conduct offence will cover any action which causes substantial alarm, harassment or distress. This could be made to cover any effective protest, and is much wider in scope than the existing Breach of the Peace offences under the present Act. Police will also be given powers of arrest for 'watching and besetting' – this is a direct response to the miners' strike and will be used to criminalise action against scabs.

The new Public Order Act will be a significant attack on basic rights necessary for the working class and oppressed to organise against their oppressors. More and more protest will be effectively declared illegal – from peace camps to picket lines to protests against the racist South African Embassy. The ruling class is preparing the legislation it requires to control and defeat serious opposition. The present Public Order Act is used, almost exclusively, against progressive forces. The same will be true of the new one. All forces concerned with the defence of democratic rights must unite to oppose this repressive legislation.



The Labour members of the committee preferred a definition of subversives as those 'who would overthrow or contemplate the overthrow of government by unlawful means'. Kinnock too follows this line, of arguing against the 'excesses' of Special Branch, such as spying on CND, which are a threat to potential Labour supporters. He called the report a 'cop-out' but avoids, as does the Labour minority report, the question of what Special Branch is essentially for – the containment of the working class. In fact, no Labour government has ever held an enquiry into the Special Branch and they have continued to avail themselves of its services. Kinnock showed by his attitude to the law in the miners' strike, that he would be no different in this to any other Labour leader. The GLC has called for the abolition of Special Branch. We support this wholeheartedly! But their call for the work of the Bomb Squad, Fraud Squad and Anti-Terrorist Squad to be 'brought within a system of democratic accountability and cease operating as a form of political police' enters the realm of pure fantasy. The ruling class will not abandon its political police until it is itself overthrown!



Newman and Kitson

'Nothing wrong' with Special Branch

Special Branch are Britain's political police spies whose aim is to subvert the activities of working class and democratic organisations. On 21 May the Tory Chairman of a House of Commons Select Committee concluded the first ever investigation into Special Branch by stating 'There is nothing wrong with the way Special Branch operates'. The committee did not even call on individual officers to give evidence – on the grounds of 'security'. The Labour MPs on the committee presented a minority report which expressed 'considerable reservations' about the activities of Special Branch.

The committee's conclusions are no surprise. After all, Special Branch exists to protect the interests of the ruling class. The investigation was just a formality in response to pressure which had built up after the revelation that a women's peace group in the Midlands, who had simply written letters to a local paper, were being investigated by Special Branch. The incident acknowledged publicly what had been known all along – that anyone engaged in political and

democratic activity is a legitimate target for surveillance and investigation. The number of files on individuals held by Special Branch is unknown. GLC written evidence to the select committee includes the example of South Australia, where a Special Branch was set up in 1948, along the lines of the British model. Out of a population of 250,000 the branch had 3,000 files and 40,000 index cards, mainly on individuals – roughly one sixth of the population!

Special Branch was formed over a century ago in 1883, specifically to combat Fenian bombings in London, and to coordinate the special police work on Ireland that had been going on for 15 years before that. The branch was first called the 'Political Branch' but this was changed to Special Irish Branch (SIB). The SIB were not too successful initially. In 1884 the Fenians successfully blew up the SIB Headquarters by planting a bomb in an adjoining public lavatory. But the Special Branch, as it was to become, recovered and expanded its activities – to the surveillance of political immigrants at the turn of the century, or the suffragettes and of the entire socialist movement during the First World War. After the war Special Branch continued its activities, with anti-Soviet disinformation against the new Soviet state and renewed surveillance of Irish groups following the Treaty. It became particu-

larly preoccupied with the Communist Party and with the National Unemployed Workers Movement. A Special Branch agent was on the national committee of the NUWM from 1929-35.

Special Branch activities in the recent period which have come to light are its surveillance of the Bradford Asian Youth Movement (see FRFI 47), of CND who report 3 break-ins, 22 cases of mail opening and 70 cases of interference with telephones, and of course its activities in the miners' strike, where all the weapons in the Special Branch arsenal were brought out.

The House of Commons Select Committee defines subversive activities as:

'Those which threaten the safety or well-being of the state, and which are intended to undermine or overthrow Parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means.'

and aims to have every police officer trained in 'riot' techniques.

Criminalisation and repression

The criminalisation strategy is two-pronged. Firstly, laws and policing are aimed at criminalising previously legal aspects of political, democratic and trade union activity. Secondly, repression – in the form of policing, repressive powers and legislation are targeted against the oppressed, such as the unemployed, especially black youth, whom the ruling class knows will have no choice but to fight back.

During the miners' strike, it became a crime not only to picket, but to move between certain areas of the country or to leave your house due to curfew and bail conditions. The cynical manipulation of the law in an attempt to stop thousands of miners from picketing was a completely conscious strategy. The law became 'just another weapon in the government's arsenal' and became 'little more than a propaganda cover for disposing of unwanted members of the public'. (General Sir Frank Kitson, former Commander-in-Chief of the UK Land Forces in his book *Low Intensity Operations, Subversion, insurgency and*

peace-keeping).

The new Police Act, brought in under the guise of preventing crimes such as armed robbery and rape, is in fact aimed specifically at the oppressed sections of the working class. It greatly increases stop and search powers, powers of detention and alters legal powers of the police to extract confessions and for them to be used as evidence.

The final weapon in the British state's armoury is its murderous prison system. At 46,500, the British prison population is the highest in its history. And Home Secretary Leon Brittain is building 16 new prisons, with one 'Alcatraz-style' special prison on the Isle of Wight. More prisoners are now serving longer sentences in line with the Tories' new heavier sentencing policies for certain offences, and the withdrawal of parole for those sentences. The Tories' decision to expand the regime of 'short sharp shock' centres (Youth Detention Centres) are a specific weapon aimed at controlling the rebellion of working class youth. As a result of the even more restrictive and racist immigration laws, more people are being detained for indefinite periods for so-called 'immigration offences'. The proposed reintroduction of the brutal control units, based on sensory deprivation techniques and officially disbanded in 1975, is an attempt to destroy the developing fight back of Irish, black and ordinary working class prisoners within the prison system. The state's prisons are now being expanded to accommodate those who resist the attacks on the working class.

Fighting back

The state now aims more and more to restrict the right to organise in opposition to it. To do so the state counts not only on its laws, police, courts and prisons, but on that section of the working class movement who will sell out and compromise to defeat the struggle from within – the opportunists. The state now constantly seeks to isolate these 'moderates' from the 'extremists'. Because during the miners' strike the NUM leaders did not compromise on a whole number of issues – the ballot, the right to fight the police – it took the combined forces of the government, the NCB, the police, and law and the Labour Party and TUC leaders, a whole year to undermine the struggle. As the miners' strike showed, with a determined fightback, it becomes more and more difficult for the ruling class to count on the ability of the

opportunists to undermine the struggle.

An example of this process took place in June and July 1984, when police attempted to restrict pickets outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square. The response of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and its allies was to organise against the ban and the South African Embassy Picket Campaign was formed to defend the right to picket outside the embassy. The 'moderates' in this case – the Anti-Apartheid Movement leadership – immediately went over to the side of the police by refusing to support those opposing the ban. The campaign carried on however, and, after 161 arrests, won back the right to picket by drawing in a wide range of forces – especially black and white unemployed youth, Greenham women and miners. What united them was a defence of the democratic right to protest against the racist apartheid South African regime.

Defend democratic rights

The trade union movement and Labour Party have continually failed to defend the rights of black people under attack – whether it be on the question of immigration, or police and fascist attacks. They stood on one side while hundreds

Pages written by
Olivia Adamson and
Terry O'Halloran

of youth were sent to prison after the uprisings of 1981. The labour movement have consistently failed to defend the rights of Irish people fighting for freedom and stood aside while ten hunger strikers died in the H-Blocks in 1981. In fact, it was the Labour government which introduced the anti-Irish PTA. The ruling class depends on the continued existence of these divisions in the working class, on its ability to pick off one section at a time. The significance of the miners' strike was that the degree of repression thrown against the mining communities began to awaken in those bearing the brunt of police attacks a sense of 'common cause' with black people and the Irish people.

As the economic, social and political crisis of imperialism deepens, there will be growing opposition from the working class and other sections to the state's attack on democratic rights. The ruling class is now building a police state. Only the most determined and united opposition in defence of democratic rights can halt this process.

Police state



Intelligence Gathering

A new London-wide police intelligence network, the Central Intelligence Unit (CIU), has been set up under the control of 8, Scotland Yard's public order branch. The unit reflects Kenneth Newman's dedication to systematic 'low-grade' intelligence gathering for the purpose of limiting 'political subversion' – one of the most important techniques developed by Newman during his years in Ireland where he set up a strikingly similar unit at the RUC HQ. The London unit, organised on a district basis with 24 intelligence officers and a network of other informers, has the task of passing on information about strikes, meetings, marches and 'community tensions'.

The CIU is intended to tie in with the government's new Public Order Act, assisting the deployment of riot trained police support units. 32 police forces now have CS gas, and plastic bullets are held by 2. In the wake of miners' strike, a new manual titled 'Public Order Tactical Options' has been issued to senior officers.

While Special Branch continues to monitor 'political' groupings, the new CIU aims to concentrate on 'street' information, with beat officers playing a central role. Commander A Young explained how his 'community policing' works: 'We get overt intelligence, something the man in the street can see. If a group of blacks throw a couple of crates, we would hear about that, or we could hear about a march with a political dimension and I would go to Special Branch and ask for an assessment on them'. As unemployment and poverty increase, so does police repression against all sections of society, but especially against the oppressed who will fight back against the state.

Left, stepping up the class war: NUM President Arthur Scargill is arrested at Orgreave coke works, May 1984. Below, the 1926 Public Order Act was not directed against fascists, but against their opponents: police tear down an anti-fascist barricade in East London, October 1936. Right, Brixton youth fighting back against the police, April 1981.



Prisons – Tories' growth industry

Speaking at the Prison Officers Association annual conference in Portsmouth on Tuesday 21 May, Home Secretary Leon Brittain made it clear that the one growth industry in decaying Tory Britain will continue to be prisons. He confirmed Home Office spending plans of £350 million to build 16 new prisons. He boasted that since 1979 prison building development budget had increased by 400% and the number of prison officers by 20%. Prison spending overall has increased by 85% since 1979. He announced plans to increase the number of prison officers by 4,000 by 1988 – there are, at present, 20,000 prison officers. He promised immediate recruitment of an additional 240.

The day before, the Home Office carefully leaked details of overtime spending as part of its dispute with the POA about how much blood money prison officers should be paid. Overtime costs have increased massively from £34.3 million (1979) to £76.7 million (1984). According to the Home Office, some prison officers, working up to 42 hours overtime, are earning £505 per week. In his speech Brittain made a 'concession' to the demands of the POA by promising to consider cutting the number of visits for remand prisoners and also abolishing their rights to receive food parcels.

the powers of the police, giving a legal sanction to what they had already been doing in practice. For example, Section 3 gave discretionary powers to Chief Officers of Police to disallow processions if they had 'reasonable ground' for apprehending serious public disorder – this made legal what the Chief Constables of various towns had already done illegally.

Its real aim quickly became apparent. Made law on 1 January 1937, the Act was first used against striking miners at Harworth Colliery, Nottinghamshire. The strikers were charged under the Act with using insulting words and behaviour. By contrast, the police refused to apply the Act when it was contravened by fascists. At the first large BUF meeting after the Act was passed, on 25 January 1937, a man was flung out of the hall face downwards onto stone steps. A watching police officer refused to intervene, even though the Act gave new powers to intervene at meetings held in private halls. The police even went so far as to escort a small group of fascists into Stepney Green, in the heart of a Jewish area, presided over their meeting, and arrested two bystanders, one for whistling, the other for blowing his nose!

Even the law on uniforms had important, carefully-calculated exceptions for 'ceremonial' occasions. The Chief Constable of Liverpool was informed that the Home Office had no objection to the wearing of uniforms or the carrying of swords on the annual Orange Day Parade in the same year. It is true that the ban on BUF uniforms was enforced, but this did not prevent them from continuing to try to terrorise the Jewish population with very little action taken by the police. The defeat of the fascist threat was not, as many Labour politicians have claimed, the result of the Act, but the stubborn opposition of militant anti-fascists. During this struggle, many more anti-fascists than fascists were arrested. This is the lesson – the old Public Order Act, like its proposed replacement, is a weapon in the hands of reaction.

Patrick Newman

1936 Public Order Act

a chain of repressive legislation

The 1936 Public Order Act was one link in a chain of repressive legislation and the use of arbitrary police powers against the working class, to prevent it organising against unemployment and fascism. Its most immediate predecessors were the Trenchard Ban – the order made by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner Trenchard in 1931 which forbade meetings outside Labour Exchanges in the London area – and the Incitement to Disaffection Act, which aimed to prevent a repetition of the 1931 Invergordon Mutiny.

The pretext for introducing the Act was the events arising from the British Union of Fascists (BUF) march through the East End of London on 4 October 1936. The BUF was virulently anti-semitic and its proposal to march in military

formation in the fascist uniform of the black shirt through an area where a large number of Jews lived was a blatant provocation. 3,000 fascists protected by 7,000 police, including the entire mounted corps of the Metropolitan Police,

One link in legislation

were confronted by a massive anti-fascist opposition. In the 'Battle of Cable Street' barricades were set up and, although these were overturned by the police, the fascists were prevented from marching.

Before the text of the Bill was published, both Conservative and Labour Party MPs presented as their main concern the banning of political uniforms and the prevention of the formation of para-military political groups. The debate in Parliament concentrated on this issue, obscuring the fact that this was only one of its provisions (Section 1). The other sections greatly extended

continued from page 1

reaction since the 1982 Israeli invasion. Destroying the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon can only facilitate their schemes to draw the PLO into the futile and self-destructive process of negotiation, compromise and deals with Israel and imperialism. Today as ever the Assad regime is an active participant in this process.

So far, the Amal offensive has resulted in over 700 Palestinian deaths, with thousands more injured. Unable to conquer the camps alone, the Lebanese Army 6th Brigade joined the siege giving the operation the official stamp of Syrian approval. Confirming this an Amal official claimed:

'We have carte blanche from Damascus (the Syrian capital) to seize any weapons that have been used against us.'

As the camps were pulverised, reducing entire neighbourhoods to rubble, journalists, relief workers and ambulances were denied access. Within the camps, wounded Palestinians bled to death in the streets as crazed Amal militiamen committed savage murder. Captured Palestinian fighters were shot dead on the spot while others had their throats slit. Hospitals were raided and wounded Palestinians dragged from their beds, lined up against the wall and shot.

In a mocking insult to the Palestinians, Syria and Amal demanded the surrender of their weapons and the transfer of camp security to the 6th Brigade as a condition for a ceasefire! While resistance continues in Chatilla and Bourj al-Barajneh, the Amal offensive has extended to other camps in south Lebanon.

Assad and Amal unite against Palestinian resistance

In the first days of the siege, both Assad and Amal claimed it was directed only against the Arafat factions rearming in the camps. This lie was nailed by all, pro- and anti-Arafat, resistance organisations and their fighters who united in defence of the camps. In fact, for 6 months now all Palestinian resistance fighters have united in one General Command. It is the entire Palestinian resistance that Assad is trying to destroy. While Palestinian fighters die in their fight against Amal, the Syrian regime has banned Palestinian women's demonstrations in Syria, arrested hundreds of militants and is hatching schemes for the mass removal of Lebanon's Palestinians to the Syrian interior, as far away from Israel's borders as possible.

The 'war of the camps' was a planned military operation to disarm all Palestinians in the camps, who since the defeat of 1982 have been reorganising and rearming. Nabih Berri, a wealthy

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TAMIL REFUGEES TURNED AWAY

The Tory government has other reasons for its ruling aside from the sheer racism which motivates its immigration policy. Last month Thatcher visited Sri Lanka in order to cement links with the racist Jayewardene regime. She offered arms and other economic aid to the regime - a regime which in its genocidal war butchered 2,000 Tamils in 1984. By these links Britain aims to widen its influence and secure naval bases in the Indian Ocean. Whilst in Sri Lanka, Thatcher said 'The matter of the Tamils is a matter for the Sri Lankan government.' And to make good her pledge, Britain is now delivering Tamil refugees back to that government. The fate that awaits them is illustrated by the fact that last month Tamil refugees returned by Italy and Holland were arrested on arrival at Colombo airport.

The recently formed Sri Lankan Special Task Force is spearheading the Jayewardene regime's anti-Tamil war. The Task Force is trained by the British SAS, 20 of whom remain in Sri Lanka, and is also assisted by the Zionist security police, Mossad. Over the weekend of 18/19 May the Task Force massacred at least 60 civilians in a sweep through the Eastern province. In the country which Leon Brittan thinks is 'safe' for



Two Palestinian fighters defend Chatilla camp

LEBANON

Syrians back slaughter of Palestinians

lawyer, leader of Amal and current protégé of the Assad regime, expresses the latter's aims precisely:

'The Palestinians were bringing in weapons. Amal stopped it and the fighting began.'

'We will not let them (the Palestinian resistance) return.'

'There should be no token Palestinian presence in the south... If the Palestinians want to fight against Israel they can try other borders.'

Amal: from the anti-Zionist camp to the anti-Palestinian camp

It appears strange and perverse that Amal, hundreds of whose militants have been imprisoned and killed by the Zionists and who fought so heroically against the Israeli occupation, should now turn so savagely against the Palestinian resistance. Abu Musa, an anti-Arafat Palestinian leader, exclaimed:

'These people who are supposed to be fighting with us from the same trench have resorted to these crimes, thus implementing the Zionist schemes.'

This apparently grotesque contradiction is in fact a product of the objective development in Lebanon of the anti-Zionist struggle and the relation to this struggle of the different Lebanese classes. Amal (The Movement of the Deprived), which was formed by the Muslim Shiite clergy in 1974, was designed to stem the flow of Shiite peasants and workers to the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP) and the Organisation for Communist Action in Lebanon (OCAL). It never represented the entire 700,000 Shiites. Indeed, the ranks of the LCP and OCAL as well as other non-sectarian democratic organisations are swelled by thousands of Shiite members and supporters. Furthermore Amal is itself divided into 3 factions, that of Nabih Berri, of General Hashem who supports the PLO and the pro-Iranian faction under Sheikh Fadlallah. Only Berri's faction is playing the Syrian game.

Whilst certainly enjoying mass Shiite support, the Berri faction has always represented the interests of the Shiite merchants and aspiring petit-bourgeoisie. It came into prominence with Syrian assistance and emerged as the most powerful Shiite movement in the wake of the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon and Israel's imposition of the fascist Gemayel regime. The Shiite bourgeoisie, and in particular the Berri leadership, recognised the Israeli occupation and the despotic Gemayel regime as an obstacle to its own ambitions of securing a privileged position in the Lebanese state at the expense of the other Muslim and Christian sectors of the bourgeoisie. It was therefore prepared to join the resistance. But this inevitably had a narrow and limited character.

In 1982 the fascist Gemayel regime was intent on restoring total Phalangist domination over Lebanon, binding it securely to the Zionist/imperialist camp. Gemayel denied any role or privilege to the Muslim bourgeoisie, expelling them from the state and army posts and signing the notorious 17 May 1983 treaty with Israel. Denied the prospect of a piece of the Lebanese bourgeois cake and its attendant facilities to service its petit-bourgeois social base, the Amal leadership had every interest in joining the resistance of the oppressed

Viraj Mendis and Maxine Williams

against Gemayel. It therefore supported the Shouf War of September 1983 and the insurrection in West Beirut in February 1984, both of which threatened the very foundations of the Gemayel regime. It was saved only by the grace of the Syrian regime which halted the revolutionary offensive by ceasing the supply of fuel and arms.

In South Lebanon, where the majority of Shiites live, the Israeli occupation undermined the foundations of Shiite merchants', traders' and landowners' wealth by its systematic destruction of the local economy. Their main market, Beirut, was frequently sealed off, cheap untaxed Israeli imports destroyed local competition and agricultural production was constantly disrupted. The Shiite bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie therefore supported the Lebanese National Resistance Front in which communists played a leading and critical role.

These circumstances, Berri's radical anti-Zionist and anti-Gemayel proclamations and Syrian patronage ensured the growth of Amal and secured it the support of thousands of poor Shiites. However, the different trends within the resistance movement - the bourgeois and the popular democratic revolutionary - began to diverge as the Zionists were defeated and the Gemayel regime drastically weakened.

The popular revolutionary forces committed to supporting the Palestinian struggle and to the total democratisation of the sectarian Lebanese state began to reforge their alliance with the reviving Palestinian resistance. Last year, the LCP and the PFLP signed a joint struggle pact against Zionism and the Gemayel regime. These forces were determined to continue the struggle and secure positive benefits in the interests of the popular and oppressed masses.

The bourgeois trend, represented primarily by the Berri faction which had full Syrian backing and was indeed dependent on it, scented the prospect of a dominant position in a 'new' bourgeois Lebanese arrangement. With the Zionists expelled from south Lebanon and Nabih Berri brought into the Gemayel cabinet, the Amal leadership faced a choice - to continue the struggle against Zionism and the Gemayel regime or in these new conditions work to re-establish bourgeois order with itself in a prominent position. With Syrian backing it has chosen the latter course, fully consistent with its class position - a course which demands the defeat not only of the re-emergent Palestinian resistance, but also the revived secular democratic forces.

As with Assad, Amal has its first target in the Palestinian movement. Lebanon's 325,000 Palestinians constitute one of the country's most oppressed strata. Their secular politics and level of organisation are capable of acting as a unifying force for all Lebanese revolutionary democratic forces. This unity would leave no room for those like Syria and Amal to compromise with Zionism, imperialism and the Phalange. It was no surprise therefore that Berri attacked the Palestinians for seeking to restore:

'... the linkage between the Lebanese and the Palestinian crises.'

With this linkage broken, the left forces weakened and the revolutionary direction of the Shiite oppressed undermined, the Shiite bourgeois and petit-bourgeois forces hope to secure, under Syrian patronage, a stable and dominant position for themselves.

Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution

Ever since 1975, when it sent its troops to defeat the Lebanese National Movement/Palestinian Revolutionary Movement alliance, the Assad regime has had a consistently reactionary aim in Lebanon. It has sought to prevent the emergence of a powerful, independent revolutionary Palestinian resistance which would undermine imperialism and all reactionary Arab bourgeois regimes in the Middle East. And it has sought to safeguard the sectarian Lebanese state, albeit seeking a better deal for the Muslim bourgeoisie at the expense of the rabidly pro-Zionist Phalange bourgeois

SYRIA'S REACTIONARY ROLE IN THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

- Since 1972, the Palestinian resistance has not been allowed to carry out any anti-Israeli military operations from Syrian territory.
- After sending in Syrian troops to defeat the Lebanese/Palestinian revolutionary alliance in the 1975-1976 Civil War, Syrian troops not only turned their guns on PLO forces, but stood by as the Phalangists massacred 3,000 Palestinians in the bloody 55 day siege of Tel al Zaatar.
- In 1982, the Syrian army hardly fought the invading Israeli forces and stood by as they bombarded and destroyed West Beirut.
- In the autumn of 1983, what began as an internal dispute within the PLO between left wing forces and the Arafat leadership, was manipulated by Assad into a bloody civil war weakening the entire Palestinian resistance.
- In Syria itself, left wing PLO militants from the PFLP and DFLP were harassed and imprisoned while Syrian troops tried to prevent the return to Lebanon of Palestinian guerillas who had left in August 1982.
- Throughout the entire period since the 1982 invasion, Syria has had a string of secret meetings with representatives of US imperialism hoping to secure a deal with Zionism to exchange withdrawal of Israeli troops from South Lebanon for a Syrian guarantee to end all Palestinian resistance there.

sie. Its military and economic preponderance makes it the only force capable of bestowing favours and offices within the Lebanese state.

Today, for the Syrians the urgency of defeating both the Palestinians and the Lebanese left is multiplied. The defeat of the Zionists in south Lebanon and the collapse of the Phalangists has enormously strengthened the popular revolutionary forces. The devastating economic crisis - the Lebanese pound is exchanging at 15 for one US dollar and production is only 50% of its 1975 level - threatens to drive the masses into struggle against the entire Lebanese system.

While using Amal to crush the Palestinians, Assad has invited representatives of all different sectors to Damascus to discuss yet another 'new political framework' in which the parvenu Amal could have a prominent role. The Christians and Phalange have recognised that they can no longer rule Lebanon alone and must pay a price for the containment of the Palestinian movement and a pacified Shiite community. Such 'new arrangements' could quite easily collapse under the weight of continued sectarian disputes over the apportionment of state offices and the pressure of a mass movement spurred by the economic crisis. Assad is well aware of this and has prepared contingency plans for renewed Syrian military intervention in Beirut.

Meanwhile the war against the Palestinians continues. Imperialism and the reactionary Arab regimes are totally contented with the Syrian role in Lebanon. It has taken over from Zionism as the policeman in Lebanon safeguarding imperialist interests. King Hussein of Jordan has been to Washington urging the PLO to recognise Israel and pleading with the US to carry out some pro-Palestinian gesture. Such reactionary moves which amount to ending the struggle to destroy Zionism are given credence by the Syrian assault on the Palestinian camps. A disarmed Palestinian movement with no power to fight Zionism will fall prey to the Arab bourgeoisie and cease to exist as an anti-imperialist liberation movement. Syria as ever is doing imperialism's bidding.

Whatever the outcome of the current phase of the Lebanese war, one thing is certain: from beneath the battered ruins of Sabra and Chatilla, from the blood drenched streets of Bourj al-Barajneh and from the slums of Beirut, Tyre and Sidon, the oppressed Lebanese and Palestinians will never cease defiantly to proclaim: 'I was, I am, I will be'.

Eddie Abrahams

SPANISH PEOPLE REJECT REAGAN

The whole of Spain's progressive and working classes united to defy the massive police deployment and pro-Yankee propaganda to disrupt Reagan's visit as much as possible and to let him and the interests he represents know what they think of him! 'Reagan assassin!' was a frequent slogan in a huge and militant demonstration that took place in Madrid on 5 May, the day before Reagan's arrival, and similar demonstrations took place throughout Spain. The massive crowd that gathered at the end of the Madrid demonstration burned the US flag and raised the Sandinista flag over a statue of Christopher Columbus in an act of symbolic rebellion and triumph. Thousands applauded as Reagan was publicly declared 'persona non grata', his imperialist policies denounced and his deceitful peace proposals ridiculed. Slogans against Spain's NATO membership and against US military bases on Spanish soil ended the act.

On Monday at 10pm as Reagan and camp followers settled themselves in at Franco's ex-residence, thousands banged pan lids in the working class areas of Madrid with a simultaneous switching off of all lights in protest at his visit. The more progressive local councils in various barrios even cut off all public lighting and traffic signals for ten minutes in protest as well. The students of Madrid's two universities cynically declared Reagan to be 'Doctor horribilis causa' and the workers of over 500 factories throughout the state declared Reagan 'persona non grata' in assemblies.

On Tuesday evening, as Reagan wine and dined with the Spanish government, the police brutally attacked a ten thousand strong picket of the US embassy, leaving twelve protestors to be attended in hospital but the others successfully blocking Madrid's major avenue for two hours and so completely disrupting the city's traffic. Again it was 'unite to fight' as young and old from all left-wing parties, trade unions and associations

joined together to defy the police and maintained the roadblock for two hours despite repeated police baton charges. The purpose of the protest and the brutal police behaviour reminded more than one protestor of the links between Yankee imperialism and its support for Franco's regime before and a 'democracy' in which torture and murder still persist.

On Wednesday people took to the streets again but this time to celebrate Reagan's departure in an incredible fiesta in Madrid's Plaza Mayor, organised by the people and for the people, and with no official support. The Sandinista flag was again raised aloft in solidarity with the small country so successfully defying US imperialism when Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega visited Madrid on May 11 to be received with as much warmth and solidarity as Reagan was rejected by the deepest anti-imperialist feelings of the Spanish people.

Helen

The changing war in El Salvador

Representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) - Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) met President Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador in October and November 1984 for talks to bring the country's 5-year-old civil war to an end. In March's elections for the legislative assembly Duarte's Christian Democrats won a majority on a peace ticket, but have since refused to meet the FMLN-FDR for more talks. Duarte is now seeking a military solution, at the Reagan administration's behest.

Over the past 5 years El Salvador has received 1.8 billion dollars in aid, and will receive \$500 million per year over the next two years. Its army has increased in size from 19,000 in late 1983 to nearly 50,000 today. The army has a fleet of Huey helicopters and two gunships. The airforce has received dozens of ground attack aircraft. The army generals are so pleased with this massive growth in firepower and manpower, that they rushed to defend Duarte and the electoral system after the recent elections were called an electoral fraud by the fascist Arena party and National Conciliation Party (PCN). Duarte and the army are the best of friends and for the time being the fascist right has been left out on the porch.

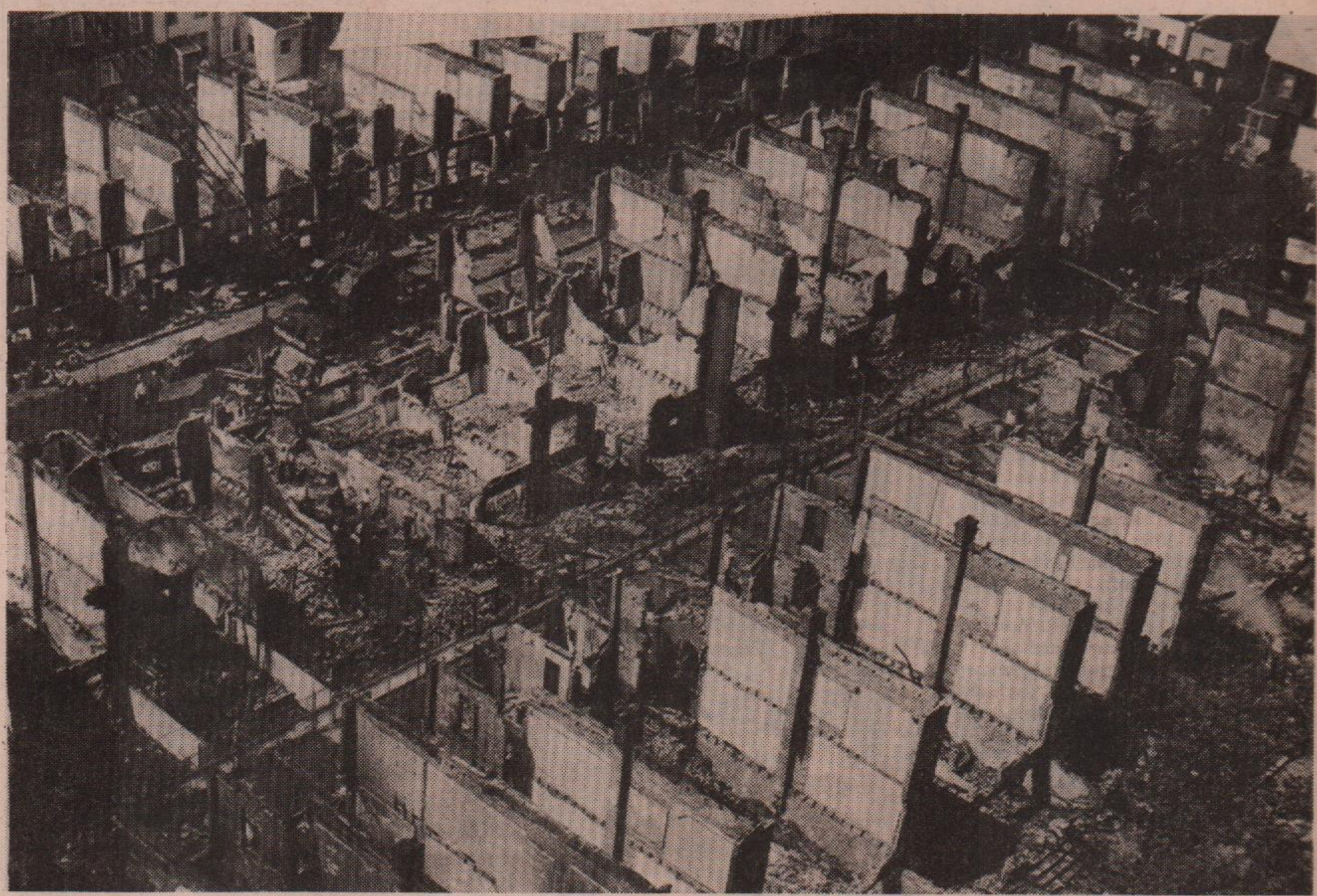
As Duarte's friendship with the generals improves, his isolation from the people grows. His promises of human rights, peace, agrarian reform and improvements in living conditions have all been discarded as so much electoral bunting. As Salvadorean trade unionists put it:

'Dollars have never poured into the country the way they are pouring in today; and all the same, there are no medical supplies, no raw materials, no government expenditures for education, or anything else of the sort.'

Unemployment stands at 39%. Real

wages have declined 30% over the last 5 years. Infant mortality stands at 75 per 1,000 live births, and 1/2 million people have been displaced to become refugees. Salvadorean trade unionists are fighting these conditions under severe repression and have organised strikes and demonstrations against disappearances and arrests as well as against wage cuts and economic conditions. 15,000 demonstrated through the streets of San Salvador on May Day, the first celebration of May Day in the capital since 1979.

The increase in size and firepower of the army has led the guerillas of the FMLN to reorganise into smaller units for greater flexibility and manoeuvrability. Many units have moved back into urban areas. Armed and masked FMLN guerillas joined the anniversary demonstration of the murder of Archbishop Romero in March. Three major armed attacks have taken place in the capital San Salvador this year. Leading generals and fascists have also been assassinated. In 1984 the FMLN inflicted 263.9 million dollars worth of damage on the economy, 10 million more than 1983, considerable proof that the FMLN are as effective today as ever. The prospects for the revolutionary democratic movement are better than before, for the meeting of the armed struggle with the mass struggles of the people is the new



Devastation after the bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia

US Imperialism on the rampage at home

For the first time in the history of the USA a bomb fell from the skies onto a residential street, killing and maiming people, and destroying homes. It was in the city of Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights were once signed, that on 15 May 1985 a police move against a black and Puerto Rican group of anarchists led to the firebombing of 60 middle-class black homes leaving 11 people dead and 270 people homeless.

US attacks on Vietnam continue

Imperialism never accepts defeat: it will attempt to destroy socialism for as long as it exists. In May the US Senate voted for the first time ever to give direct financial assistance to the counter-revolutionary gangs attacking the Kampuchean, Vietnamese, and Laotian revolutions from their bases in Thailand. Previous administrations have shown a reluctance to be seen arming the Pol Pot gangsters, but no such qualms inhibited the US Senate which went on to demand that its client regimes in the area also donate funds. An indication of just what the US supports was given by *Sunday Times* journalist Jon Swain who reported that up to 200 Kampuchean civilians were butchered by Pol Pot's terrorists on a train south west of Phnom Penh in early May.

In a separate development the US Presidential Commission into organised crime heard evidence that former South Vietnamese Premier Air Vice-Marshal Ky, now based in Orange County, California, was head of a drug dealing network, the proceeds of which were used 'to organise subversion in Vietnam'. Also stationed in Orange County is Ky's old Laotian accomplice on the 1960s heroin trail, General Vang Pao. Vang Pao's mercenary band fled with him when the Pathet Lao won victory in May 1975 and are currently undergoing training in California from Cuban and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries. The Presidential Commission has refused to investigate the allegations made against US imperialism's old allies, obviously regarding them as an investment for the future.

Trevor Rayne

line of march. As the FMLN have clearly stated:

'Do the generals really believe that they will stop the peoples' rage triggered by hunger and unemployment that will combine with the power of our weapons, that are not carried anymore by inexperienced guerilla fighters but by experienced combatants determined to overcome or die?'

Dale Evans

A whole section of this city suburb was blown to smithereens by the police who had been mounting a policy of terror against the group for some years. The group MOVE (the name has no special meaning) was attacked in 1978 when the police went in to a MOVE house, guns blazing, with the result that one policeman was killed. In retaliation nine members of the group were imprisoned, where they remain today, after being severely beaten up.

This time the police used both water cannon and gun fire as the first stage of their planned operation. They fired 7,000 shots in a 90 minute siege of the house. This stage of the plan failed (although no statement has come from the authorities as to what their intentions were: to exterminate people!). The next stage was to drop the bomb which incinerated 8 adults and 3 children in the house. The impact caused a Dresden-type fire-storm blazing at several thousand degrees which then burnt out the neighbourhood.

The black mayor of Philadelphia, W Wilson Goode, has defended the police action, although agreeing that things 'did not turn out as intended'. He has been embarrassed by the support of the Reagan administration's senior legal officer who spoke of the action as 'a good example' of law enforcement.

Embarrassed Mayor Goode should be, because as a black Democrat, short-listed by Mondale for the vice-presidency, he does not want Reagan's support. But the fact is that this was a Reaganite police action, of a piece with the attacks on Grenada, Lebanon and Nicaragua, in the growing civil-war conditions of the USA. The poor and criminalised are increasingly under surveillance as soon as they politically organise. As US poverty increases so does the prison population which has doubled in 10 years to 439,000, 224,000 of whom are in prison for petty crimes or awaiting trial.

Philadelphia (the name means 'brotherly love') on 15 May is what US imperialism is all about. The middle-class black people have been bought off with promises of an 8 million dollar restora-

tion of their properties, the political prisoners, survivors of the bombing, are in gaol, one on 3 million dollars bail. Meanwhile the known clubs, houses and members of the city's Ku Klux Klan remain not only safe from police attention, but guarded by them.

We remember the words of John C Young who was strapped into the electric chair in the State of Georgia 3 months ago,

'I would like to say to the poor and Black people, we're all pawns of society as long as we sit back and don't do anything. You all say that America was built on Christianity. I say it was built on slavery.'

Susan Davidson

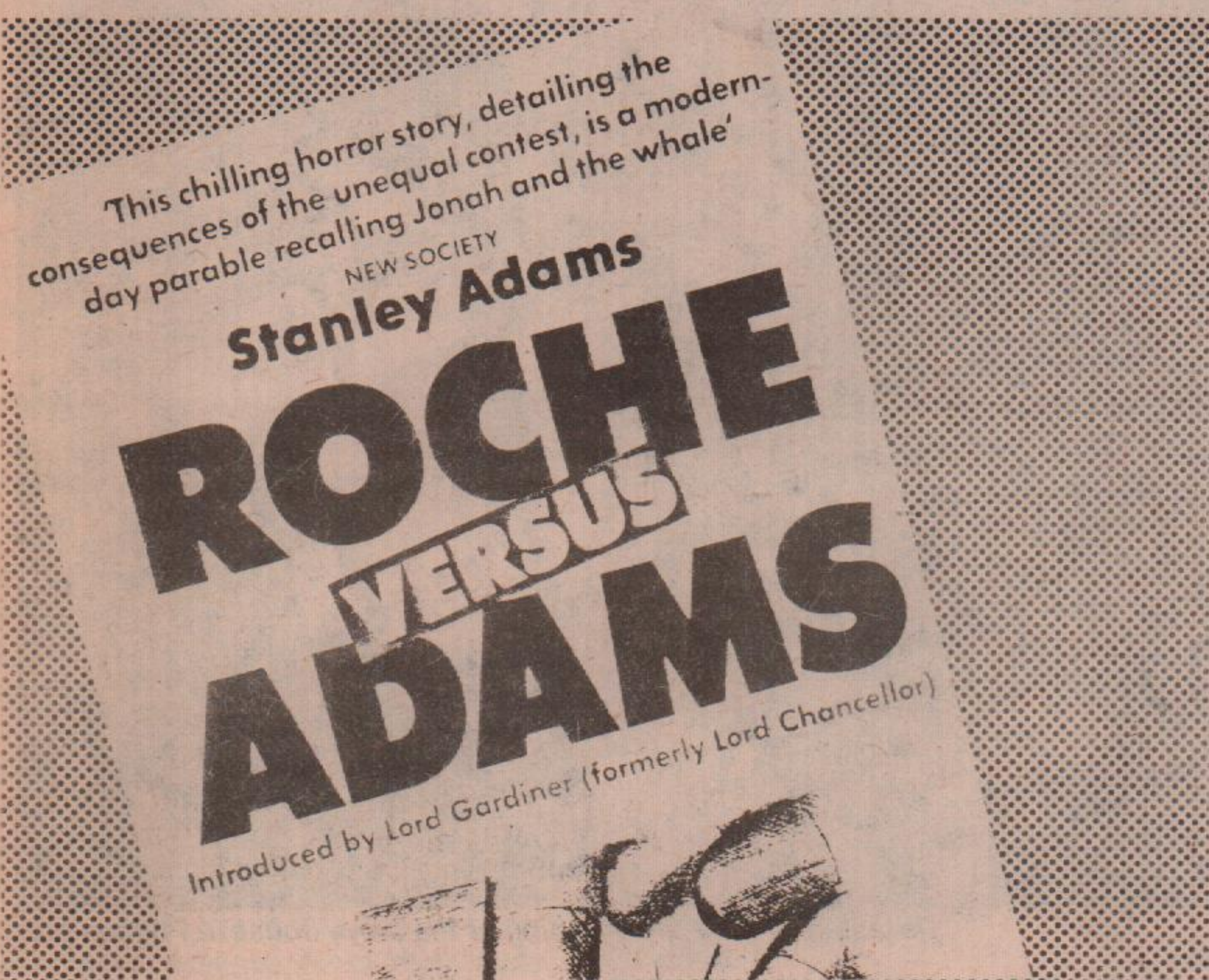
SUDAN

In mid-May the white-collar Trade Union Alliance rallied in Khartoum against Sower-el-Dahad's Transitional Military Council. One of the organisers said 'what we have now is effectively another military coup', and the rally called for strikes and civil disobedience to secure power for a civilian cabinet. It is now clear that the military is not prepared to enforce the promises it made to the people: the Sharia is still used, martial law and a state of emergency are being maintained.

Famine is acute throughout Sudan. The government, attempting to discredit the Sudan People's Liberation Army, cynically declared only the southern region, centre of the SPLA's operations, to be a disaster zone and urged its troops to push forward to deliver supplies. 750,000 are facing death from starvation in western Sudan. Food riots are frequent. As SPLA leader Colonel John Garang commented, 'in their vain effort to use the humanitarian weapon of famine relief against the SPLA they are unwittingly telling the wasted areas of the west that your problems get solved when you take up arms.'

The famine is being exploited by imperialism to shore up the regime. Colonel Garang explained SPLA strategy: 'the occupation of the countryside, the stopping of all transport in (southern Sudan), and the strangulation of the cities so that the enemy garrisons are forced to surrender or withdraw. This strategy is working'. On 5 June the EEC pledged £6 million to Sudan's railways, Britain's share is £1 million plus a token airlift. You don't have to be cynical to believe that they are more concerned with relieving the military garrison in Khartoum than with the mass tragedy befalling millions of Africans, only logical and familiar with Europe's unscrupulous treatment of the continent. Colette Levy and Trevor Rayne

DEALING DEATH the real drug pushers



Roche versus Adams, Stanley Adams, Fontana/Collins 1984 Pbk £2.50

In *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* Lenin wrote:

'A monopoly, once it is formed and controls thousands of millions, inevitably penetrates into every sphere of public life, regardless of the form of government and all other "details".'

Today, as in Lenin's time, giant multinational enterprises wield vast economic and political power. Governments, newspapers, politicians and laws are bought in order to secure and increase the profits of the monopolies. Oppressed nations are invaded, millions of people are exploited, wars are fought in the ruthless pursuit of a single goal - profit.

Small wonder then that a lone individual opposing the power of a monopoly should be crushed. Such is the story of Stanley Adams, a former managerial employee of Roche, the Swiss based drug company. He objected to what he saw as Roche's unfair, monopolistic practices and reported the company to the EEC's Competition department. What followed was personal tragedy and victimisation. He was arrested in Switzerland, charged with economic espionage and held incommunicado in gaol. His wife, interrogated and threatened by the police, committed suicide. His family was destroyed and he was financially ruined. His story sharply reveals the naked power wielded by one giant company.

As a senior manager Adams knew many of Roche's methods from the

inside. The company: systematically eliminated competition by 'persuading' smaller manufacturers to cease production, Roche then sold them drugs to be packaged as their own; met the major drugs companies and fixed world prices; estimated world demand and then produced slightly less; sold drugs to its subsidiaries at inflated prices so that while the subsidiary has only a small profit to declare for tax purposes, Roche operating from a tax-free haven such as Uruguay makes a gigantic profit. For example, Roche supplied the NHS with 60% of its tranquillisers. Roche charged its British subsidiary £370 a kilogram for the raw ingredients of Librium whilst in Italy these sold at £9. For Valium it was £922 a kilogram compared with £20 in Italy. With such fat profits at stake (£24m over a six year period) it was no surprise that Roche, when faced with competitors, simply drove them out of the market by supplying drugs free to the NHS for a short period. Finally the Monopolies Commission ordered Roche to cut prices and repay £12m. The company fought this and eventually in 1975 persuaded the Labour government to accept only £3.75m (and a new factory in a high unemployment area). Far from being 'the unacceptable face of capitalism', as it was called at the time, Roche's methods are the norm and all of these monopolistic practices were described by Lenin.

In the case of drug firms exploiting as they do the most basic needs of sick people, the human suffering caused by the unquenchable thirst for profit is obvious. Thus Adams describes how the company, on hearing of an epidemic in India, would immediately cut the supply of vitamins there and thus inflate prices.

As Adams says 'the drug companies do not exist for the good of mankind, they exist to make profits'. To this end drugs are produced and, barely tested, are marketed to the sick. The results are catastrophic. Thalidomide under the name Distaval was sold on the basis that it was safe for pregnant women although no tests had ever been done. Even after cases of birth deformities were reported it continued on sale for months in many countries and in consequence thousands of children were born severely disabled. In the oppressed nations even less caution is used. Thus the US company Searle sold Lomotil, an anti-diarrhoea drug (diarrhoea kills thousands of children in poor countries) with no warning that it caused coma in small children.

Roche's hands are equally filthy. In 1976 in Sovoso in Italy, a Roche factory exploded showering the area with dioxin. One of the deadliest poisons, dioxin is 70,000 times more powerful than cyanide. Terrible suffering and permanent injury resulted for the local people. Roche offered £42,000 compensation and Roche's President commented: 'Capitalism means progress and progress can lead sometimes to some inconvenience.'

Predictably this ruthless giant reacted with fury to Adams' revelations. They pressurised the Swiss government to arrest him and later when he was living in Italy, Adams realised that the long arm of Roche controlled politicians, papers, bankers and government officials there. He was driven out of business and gaoled in Italy. His story also exposes the uselessness of and levels of corruption in the EEC.

Adams having reported Roche to the EEC looked to them for help and was repeatedly kicked in the teeth. Bail money to get him out of gaol took weeks to arrive, his enormous legal expenses were promised and never paid and finally although the European Parliament had agreed to compensate him, the Commission forced him to accept £24,000 and washed their hands of him. The EEC's case against Roche, based on Adams' evidence led to a derisory £240,000 fine for the company, a mere speck on its balance sheet. Finally a question which had always bothered Adams was answered: who had told Roche his identity? The answer was Willi Schneider, the head of the EEC's Competition department. He had told Roche the name of his informant and thus brought down the company's wrath on to Adams.

Adams' case has been backed by a grouping ranging from businessmen to left politicians. Many of them see his fight as a struggle against the anti-social policies of a big company and believe that the monopolies can be controlled. But as Lenin said:

'... a fight against the policy of the trusts and banks that does not affect the economic basis of the trusts and banks is mere bourgeois reformism and pacifism, the benevolent and innocent expression of pious wishes.'

Maxine Williams

years in Hitler's concentration camps, and later told his story to the author of the book. We read of the medical experiments, almost always fatal, with gay prisoners being given priority; the constant deaths from cold, hunger, work accidents and physical exhaustion; the vicious punishments and beatings and cold-blooded murder; the killing of Soviet prisoners by injecting them with air - sometimes they were not killed outright and would suddenly come round as their bodies were being set alight in the incinerator; and we read the sickening description of the torturing to death of a gay prisoner by 3 SS men. It is a picture of inhuman cruelty and sadistic depravity, a picture of fascism - capitalism in its most barbaric form.

The persecution of gays by the Nazis was no accident. Fascism took the most oppressive features of capitalism to their logical extreme. Women's subordination and domestic enslavement were enforced through the slogan 'Kinder, Küche, Kirche' (children, kitchen, church). At the same time, male supremacy, both inside and outside the

family, was strengthened. Gays were put to death because they posed a challenge to this rigid and repressive division between dominant 'masculinity' and subservient 'femininity'. In 1943, as German defeat loomed larger, Himmler offered gay internees their freedom - on condition that they consented to castration and 'volunteered' as cannon-fodder!

The mass murder of gay people under Nazi rule has been the object of deliberate suppression. After the war 'pink triangle' prisoners were refused compensation on the grounds that they had been condemned for 'criminal' offences. Even though they were a very distinct category in the concentration camps, gay people were even omitted from memorials erected to victims of Nazism.

This valuable and important book will help to correct this injustice. The author ends with the words: 'May they never be forgotten, these multitudes of dead, our anonymous, immortal martyrs'.

David Jackson

THE SECRET COUNTRY

Channel 4 film by John Pilger

This useful film exposes the secrecy with which the history of the Aborigines has been surrounded for centuries - since, in fact, 1788, when Cook and his white slaves and convicts set foot in Australia. Why this long silence? Although their history goes back perhaps 40,000 years, Aborigines did not exist for the white invaders, who called their country 'the new land', until 1967 when they became legitimate citizens.

By 1920 ¼ million aborigines had been murdered. Torture and slow death were used against a people who had a very sophisticated civilisation, with real democratic practices. They were not allowed to sign treaties and were treated as 'less than animals', as Marcia Langdon, aboriginal anthropologist explained in the film.

Missionaries also played their part in this destructive process. The film recorded statements of first-hand victims who, as children, were snatched away from their parents by missionaries whose 'duty' it was to 'civilise' them. This harrowing scene was described by Margaret Tucker: 'I heard later how my mother cried and cried... we were taken away just like animals, our hearts were absolutely broken.'

Resistance was strong. The British fought for over a century, and in some areas the Aborigines fought to the last man. The massacres went on 'to get our land, to get rid of us' (Marcia Langdon). The aborigine way of life revolves around the land and sacred sites are

linked with their spiritual life.

From the 1960s the Aborigines effectively organised themselves for land rights legislation, health facilities and political status. Unfortunately, successive Australian governments refused to implement their promises. In 1984 Bob Hawke reneged on Labour Party policy to give the Aborigines control of the resources on their own land, allowing in foreign investors to exploit mineral resources. Queensland remains the most racist state - in 1982, it passed a special law to prevent Aborigines from attending the Commonwealth Games. In defiance, aboriginal flags were raised in the stadium and a huge demonstration followed, with 600 arrests.

There was also a protest in front of Queensland House, London, where 13 people sat in for 3 hours. None of these events featured in the film.

Aborigine victims of nuclear tests

Between 1952 and 1957, 7 nuclear bombs were exploded at Maralinga. Aborigines living nearby were not warned - they died on the spot or later of cancer, and others contracted blindness years later. No white doctors or white nurses came to nurse them; at a subsequent Royal Commission an officer reported 'Either we decontaminated them or shooed them off like rabbits'.

In a land where the death rate of aboriginal children is 300 times higher than white children, trachoma is widespread, and the leprosy rate is the highest in the world, where people live in tin huts and running water is a luxury, what have the Aborigines to celebrate in 1988, the anniversary of Captain Cook's invasion?

Colette Levy

Miners Strike

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

The Great Strike. The Miners' Strike of 1984-5 and its Lessons, Alex Callinicos and Mike Simons, Socialist Worker Publications 1985 Pbk £3.95

This book adds nothing to the standard SWP analysis repeated throughout the miners' strike in *Socialist Worker*. For the SWP the main problem was that the trade union officials in the NUM and other unions were holding back the rank and file. Yet the real lesson of the strike was that there is a deep and growing split between the privileged sections of the working class and the growing section that has no interest in the continuation of British imperialism.

Miners worked throughout the strike, and power and steel workers used the scab coal brought through the picket lines by transport workers because they are a well paid section of the working class which chose to take the side of Thatcher, Kinnock and Willis rather than that of Scargill and the striking miners.

The SWP ignores the major gain of the strike, the development of new fighting class organisations outside the control of the labour movement, the women's and miners' support groups. They lament the fact that real workers do not live up to their fantasies - 'Alas, the 1984-5 miners' strike did not see even the remotest beginning of workers councils' (p251).

Finally, the SWP authors show their contempt for the struggles of black and Irish people by making only one, token reference to the fact that many miners began to identify with these struggles. All they can find to say is that miners 'met black people and discovered that they too were persecuted by the state... they started to see analogies between their villages under siege and the Catholic ghettos in the north of Ireland.' (p252).

Alan Jones

WHOSE DAY WILL COME?

Our Day Will Come, Mike Freeman, RCP pamphlet, 50p

The RCP's refusal to recognise the deep split that exists in the British working class brings them to the conclusion that the miners' strike was lost because of the 'bureaucratic manoeuvring' of the leadership of the NUM. Scargill is held responsible for the scabbing of Notts miners because he refused to call a national ballot, thus failing to unite the NUM behind the strike.

The blatant scabbing of Notts miners and other key industrial workers is explained in terms of the failure of the NUM leadership to put forward the correct arguments to win workers' solidarity. Sounds simple, doesn't it? Win the right arguments and you'll win the war. However, reality doesn't always conform to the ideas of the RCP.

According to the RCP, the miners' strike lost, not because the Notts miners scabbed, not because the power and steel unions scabbed, not because the Labour and trade union movement scabbed. Not even because of the enormity of state repression. No. 'The central explanation for the defeat of the strike lies in the policy of collaboration... from his (Scargill's) refusal to hold a ballot to the final sell-out'. Scargill's 'collaboration'? Scargill's 'sell-out'? No one more than Arthur Scargill embodies the shift that has taken place in working class politics as a result of the miners' strike. He made it clear he would rather go to prison than betray his class and refused to condemn miners' 'violence'. In this he not only came into conflict with the ruling class and its courts but also opportunists like Kinnock, Willis, Sirs and the rest. Whilst Thatcher stood by her class, Scargill stood by his.

Our Day Will Come leaves you wondering whose side the RCP is on. It certainly isn't on the side of the miners and their supporters who refused to let the strike be run by the scabs in their own ranks.

Lorna Morgan

THE PINK TRIANGLE

The Men with the Pink Triangle, Heinz Heger, Gay Men's Press, 1980, £2.50

At least 8 million people were slaughtered in the concentration camps and extermination camps of Nazi Germany. Six million of them were Jews. But they were not the only group to fall victim to the Nazi holocaust. Each category of prisoner was distinguished by a coloured triangle sewn to the left breast of the jacket and the right trouser leg: yellow for Jews, red for politicals, green for criminals, pink for gays, black for anti-socials, purple for Jehovah's Witnesses, blue for emigrants. Jews, gypsies and gays were singled out for the most brutal treatment and the most arduous and dangerous work. Out of the 50,000 homosexuals who ended up in concentration camps, very few came out alive.

The Men With The Pink Triangle relates the experience of a young gay man from Austria who survived nearly 6

Never the same again
cont from page 16

ernment that Sinn Fein be banned and to pledge their opposition on every front to Sinn Fein's participation in councils. Arch-bigot Paisley stated that 'the councils of Northern Ireland will never be the same again. They will be in the front line of the battle with Provisional Sinn Fein'.

The British response was to reiterate that the ban on government Ministers meeting Sinn Fein representatives would continue but refused loyalist demands that Sinn Fein be proscribed. Loyalists declared that 'the British government will not entertain these people and yet we are expected to sit with them in the council chambers'. But Britain has to maintain a pretence of democracy to the outside world - whilst they cannot tolerate meeting Sinn Fein publicly, to ban them would leave the British government without even the fiction of democracy.

Yet it was the Official Unionists who made it clear what the consequences could be if Sinn Fein were not banned. Their threat was clear: the British government must act for, 'otherwise it could soon be too late to entreat the Official Unionists and the DUP to restrain a hostile, rising majority in Northern Ireland; to prevent a direct conflict between the majority and the British government.'

Ten days after the election, as inaugural meetings of local councils began to take place, the loyalists' attempts to deny all rights to Sinn Fein councillors backfired. Two councils now have Sinn Fein chairpersons. In Omagh Seamus Kerr was elected when the unionists, so outraged that he had been proposed, completely messed up their voting. In Fermanagh Paul Corrigan's election was supported by the SDLP despite unionists proposing all four SDLP councillors instead. Unionist controlled Craigavon voted on 29 May to exclude the two Sinn Fein councillors, called the RUC to evict them, then established a special committee made up of all councillors except Sinn Fein through which virtually all the council's business would be channelled. The two, Brian McCann and Brendan Curran, successfully challenged this blatant discrimination in Belfast's High Court resulting in the judge granting an injunction preventing the first meeting of the special committee.

Throughout the Six Counties the Loyalists have reacted to Sinn Fein presence with bigotry and sectarianism resulting in uproar. A Belfast City Council unionist screamed, 'they are evil gunmen who crawled out of the ghettos of West Belfast; evil human pus and part of the republican poison of this city'. Derry unionists are standing through meetings, refusing 'to take their seats' until the name 'London-derry' is restored; Cookstown forced the expulsion of a Sinn Fein councillor from the chambers; in Magherafelt a Sinn Fein councillor was elected deputy chairperson as unionists sprayed air freshener at the Sinn Fein bloc, fighting broke out and a DUP councillor had to be taken out by the RUC.

Already it is clear that the very presence of Sinn Fein in the council chambers is rocking their tenuous stability as the loyalist reaction gathers pace. The British state will inevitably take the side of loyalist privilege in order to maintain the sectarian statelet intact and continue its brutal rule over the Irish people.

The Republican standpoint is clear,

'It is central to republican analysis that Britain cannot be talked or walked out of the occupied North. It is central to republican thinking that the biggest and most effective threat to British rule is nationalist support for the armed resistance of the Irish Republican Army'. (*An Phoblacht/Republican News* 25 April 1985)

As Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness said the day after the elections, 'The results are good, but at the end of the day it will be the cutting edge of the IRA which will bring freedom'.

David Reed and Pauline Sellars

Terror campaign

In the weeks preceding Sinn Fein's decisive victory at the polls a campaign of terror and intimidation was waged against the nationalist people by the forces of reaction. Marauding gangs of Loyalists invaded republican strongholds; the British Army and RUC, and in one case SAS men, smashed homes, issued death threats, harassed and detained Sinn Fein election workers; arrests and beatings in custody continued unabated.

On 28 April the Finn Square estate in West Belfast was attacked by loyalist thugs from the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). They threatened local people and plastered houses and cars with 'smash Sinn Fein' posters. On 2 May DUP leaders, Paisley and McCrea led a loyalist march through nationalist Gortalowry Park estate in Cookstown. The march was escorted by the RUC and a petition against the parade signed by 99% of local people was ignored. The provocative parade and rally ended with an attack on the home of Sinn Fein candidate Chris Neeson, but he and his supporters refused to be intimidated and Neeson won his seat.

In Belfast's Ardoyne, Patrick Connolly was shot in the lung on 5 May when two loyalists opened fire in the area. Two days after the elections, 17 May, loyalist bands paraded in Newtownstewart. One band, the 'Red Hand Defenders' entered a nationalist area, the RUC withdrew leaving the loyalists to attack local homes. One woman was hit in the leg with broken glass and needed 25 stitches.

On 19 April more than 60 British Army soldiers invaded Derry's Rossville flats searching empty flats and sealing off balconies and stairways. A week later the RUC, with SAS backing launched massive raids in the Shantallow and Bogside areas of Derry.

Immediately the polls had closed on Wednesday 15 May the RUC once again invaded nationalist areas. They met with strong resistance from youth defending their areas. The RUC retaliated with plastic bullets in Derry and teenager Fergal McDaid was struck in the eye from point blank range. The following evening British Army vandals rampaged through the Republican Plot in Milltown Cemetery wrecking graves and causing thousands of pounds of damage. Sinn Fein President, Gerry Adams commented that this attack 'is the first manifestation of the British reaction to Sinn Fein's overwhelming successes throughout the occupied Six Counties.'

Pauline Sellars and Beth Summers



Sean MacStiofain

Sean Mac Stiofain attacked

Once again the British media, instigated by British intelligence has attempted a character assassination of a prominent republican. In the *Sunday Times* of 5 May 1985, Barrie Penrose alleged that Sean Mac Stiofain, former Chief of Staff of the IRA, had been a police informer for nearly 20 years.

In a statement Mac Stiofain said:

'The reports about myself in the *Sunday Times* are absolutely without foundation. Republicans all over Ireland know that both within the Movement and in my personal life I have always tried to live to a high standard of conduct. I'm sure that my former comrades will support me against this latest attempt of character assassination'.

Leading Republicans have refuted the allegations. Martin McGuinness of Derry Sinn Fein said:

'I firmly believe that the allegations levelled against Sean Mac Stiofain are malicious and totally untrue.'

This *Sunday Times* story clearly came from British intelligence in an attempt to sow disunity amongst Republicans. Not only Republicans but also the more honest Irish journalists have derided the *Sunday Times*' flimsy concoction of British inspired lies. Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! condemns the attack on Sean Mac Stiofain.

Portlaoise - Promises broken

Three months ago, after a year long struggle by Portlaoise prisoners, their relatives and friends for open visits, no strip searches and humane conditions, the Twenty-Six County Department of Justice promised nine open visits a year and an end to strip searches on those visits. Open visits have not been implemented, no definite date has been given for their introduction and strip searching continues.

On 30 April the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise made this public saying that the authorities had had more than enough time to implement its promises. The prisoners stated, '... It seems that our worst fears have been confirmed - that once our relatives suspended their street protests and the publicity died down, things would be as usual at Portlaoise...'. The prisoners had 'to bring to the attention of all our relatives and friends who worked so hard for almost a year to achieve open visits that the authorities have reneged.'

The Portlaoise Prisoners Relatives Action Committee reacted with anger and defiance in a statement aimed at the prison authorities and Minister of Justice Michael Noonan. '... we have certainly not wound up our campaign and will shortly be on the streets again to highlight this disgraceful outcome'. FRFI pledges its support to their stand against the brutal prison regime. Victory to the Portlaoise prisoners!

Pauline Sellars

Fight the PTA

The latest Irish political trial goes to committal on 1 July in Liverpool. One of the five charged, Maire O'Shea, has chosen a full committal in order to challenge the prosecution case. Since the arrests under the PTA over the Xmas/New Year period, only Dr O'Shea has been bailed, and this was thanks to a very successful public campaign. She was released on 8 February. One of the four remaining in prison, Peter Lynch, was refused permission to apply for bail on 10 May. The charges against a sixth defendant, William Gallagher, were suddenly dropped on 18 April.

Everyone must now back Maire O'Shea in her brave public stand against her frame-up. A national day of action has been called by the national committee of the Maire O'Shea Support Campaign to coincide with the committal on 1 July. The committee also decided to hold a national demonstration in early October. The major demand will be the dropping of the charges. This important event deserves the support of all Irish solidarity organisations, anti-PTA committees and political activists. Further details will be available shortly. Contact FRFI or the ISM, or write to the Maire O'Shea Support Committee, c/o 448 Stratford Road, Birmingham, B11 4AE.

LONDON MAIRE O'SHEA SUPPORT COMMITTEE

Street leafletting and display
Saturday 22 June, 11.30-2pm, Brixton (outside Prince of Wales, opposite Lambeth Town Hall)

Day of Action for Committal Hearing Picket of the Home Office

Monday 1 July, 12-2pm, Home Office, Petty France, Queen Anne's Gate, London, SW1 (St James' Park tube)

Closing day for petitions 20 June

All copies of the Maire O'Shea Support Committee petition must be sent to the committee, c/o 448 Stratford Road, Birmingham, B11 4AE

For further information write to the London Committee, PO Box 3, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

SHEFFIELD COUNCILLORS ARRESTED

Two Sheffield Labour councillors were detained in Manchester airport under the PTA returning from a housing conference in the Six Counties. Tony Damms was detained on 26 April and Sheena Clarke on 5 May. They were questioned about their political views on Ireland and Sheena was asked if the Labour Party intended to invite Republican speakers to Britain. NUJ member, Jo Boatman was arrested for photographing the 5 May hunger strike commemoration march in Belfast. She was released the next day. In Glasgow, seven men and a woman were held on 2 June. The circumstances are not known. Tony Sheridan

POWS' BIRTHDAYS

The following Irish Republican prisoners have forthcoming birthdays. FRFI sends our greetings and we ask readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival.

Con McFadden, 130662, HM Prison, 5 Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF2 9AG. 19 June.

Paul Holmes, 119034, HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight. 22 June.

Sean Hayes, 341418, HM Prison Albany. July (exact date not available).

Robert Cunningham, 131877, HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs. WR11 5TZ. 12 July.

Brian Keenan, B26380, HM Prison, Welford Road, Leicester, LE2 7AJ. 17 July.

COMMON CAUSE

IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT SUPPORTS RIGHT OF REPATRIATION FOR IRISH POWS

The struggle of the Irish people against imperialism in Ireland

ISM Campaigning Leaflet

Common Cause with the Irish People!

Build the Irish Solidarity Movement!

50 copies - £1 inclusive of postage and packing

UNITE TO FIGHT THE PTA!

DEFEND MAIRE O'SHEA! DROP THE CHARGES NOW!

ISM Pamphlet

Unite to Fight the PTA!

Defend Maire O'Shea!

Drop the Charges Now!

30p plus 15p postage (5 or more copies postage free)

IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The ISM campaigns on the basis of 'Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Right of Repatriation for all Irish POWs!' The ISM has held events in protest at the informer strategy, plastic bullets, strip searches in Armagh gaol, the PTA and all aspects of repression used against the Irish people. The ISM has consistently campaigned in solidarity with Irish POWs in English gaols. The building of a campaign against the anti-Irish racist Prevention of Terrorism Act has been a central part of the ISM's work this year.

Join the ISM, order copies of the ISM pamphlet and the ISM campaigning leaflet to aid the building of a strong solidarity movement that can make common cause with the struggle of the Irish people for freedom from British rule. Send the form off NOW and order your ISM publications.

JOIN THE IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT!

Name _____ Tel _____

Address _____

Affiliation: individuals £5/£2 unwaged. Organisations £20

Write to: ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

Cheques/PO's payable to ISM and crossed.

INFORMATION PACK

produced by **Dr Maire O'Shea Support Committee**

Very useful pack containing background information and the facts about the attempted framing of Maire O'Shea. Price 50p including postage, extra donations welcomed. Available from the Dr Maire O'Shea Support Committee, c/o 448 Stratford Road, Birmingham, B11 4AE. Tel: 021 773 8683

unite to fight racism and imperialism

Anti-imperialist weekend

PEOPLE versus STATE

Saturday and Sunday
29-30 June 1985
London

**FIGHT RACISM!
FIGHT IMPERIALISM!**
**WORKERS AND
OPPRESSED PEOPLES
OF THE WORLD UNITE**



SATURDAY 29 JUNE

Anti-imperialist breakfast: to welcome comrades travelling to London for the weekend
8.00-10.00am, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
50p/20p unwaged

Street activities

Picket the racist embassy!

Smash British Collaboration with Apartheid!
12.00 noon - 3.00pm
South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square (nearest tube Charing Cross)

People versus state!

Street rally with theatre, music, singing and speakers representing struggles in Britain and internationally
12.00 noon - 2.30pm
Wood Green Free Speech Area, Wood Green Library, London N22 (nearest tube Wood Green)

Special advance price for the whole weekend £3.00, £1.50 unwaged
Dayschool only £2.50, £1.50 unwaged
Rally only £1.00, £0.50 unwaged

Name _____ Address _____

Donation £ _____ I want leaflets and posters to help build the events _____

Make cheques payable to Larkin Publications and return slip to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

Anti-imperialist rally

Unite to fight racism and imperialism: people versus state

7.00 - 10.00pm
Large Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
Admission: £1.00, 50p unwaged
Over 300 people attended our first anti-imperialist rally in April last year. That rally had a central theme: that the working class in Britain must unite in common cause with all oppressed peoples fighting imperialism in order to advance its own struggle. The momentous fight of the miners and their communities has reinforced the urgent need for unified action against British imperialism. This year's rally will build on the lessons learned.

Speakers invited: leading representatives of liberation movements throughout Africa, Central America, Palestine, Ireland, prominent leaders of the miners' strike, anti-racist, democratic and peace movement speakers.

SUNDAY 30 JUNE

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Dayschool
PEOPLE versus STATE

9.30 - 5.30
Caxton House, 129 St John's Way, London N19 (nearest tube Archway)
Admission £2.50, £1.50 unwaged

This year's dayschool will be an assessment of a year of momentous struggles - the miners' strike, the battle to defend the right to picket the South African embassy, the massive upsurge of revolutionary struggle in South Africa and Britain's continued collaboration with apartheid. There will be workshops on the lessons of the miners' strike; the fight against racism and deportations; political economy of imperialism; political prisoners in Kenya and Uganda; is Ireland the key to the British revolution?; and the revolutionary upsurge in South Africa.

A plenary session will be introduced by David Reed

Also films, exhibitions and displays. Food and creche facilities available.

EDINBURGH

RALLY

AGAINST APARTHEID

'End British Collaboration with Apartheid!'

Friday 21 June at 7pm
Pleasance Theatre, 60 the Pleasance, Edinburgh

Speakers:
David Kitson, South African Political Prisoner 1964-1984
Ron Brown MP
Councillor Eleanor McGlaughlin
Carol Brickley - Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!
Brian Millar - ex jailed miner
Faslane Peace Camp
Edinburgh Anti-Apartheid Group
Chile Democratico
Also music!
Organised by 'Rally Against Apartheid Organising Committee' and supported by Edinburgh District Council

Next Day Saturday 22 June: March against apartheid in Glasgow. Organised by Anti-Apartheid Movement.

FRFI
SUPPORTERS
GROUPS

meet regularly in the following areas to plan and carry out our work - education, discussion, funds, sales and campaigns are all on the agenda.
JOIN US!

LEEDS

Next meetings on Thursday 20 June, 4 and 18 July Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7 For more information contact Leeds FRFI, Box FRFI, 59 Cookridge St, Leeds 2

EDINBURGH

The FRFI supporters group meets regularly to discuss and plan our work. Further details from FRFI, c/o Box 40, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

SOUTH LONDON

Next meeting Tuesday 18 June Discussion on the socialist countries Meets fortnightly after that. For details contact South London FRFI, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

GLASGOW

meets fortnightly on Thursdays. For details contact FRFI sellers or FRFI Box 10, 340 West Prince's St, Glasgow

BRADFORD

Meets fortnightly on Mondays. For details contact Bradford FRFI 6 Edmund St, Bradford 5

NORTH LONDON

meets on Mondays, next 1 July and fortnightly thereafter at 7.30pm All at Red Rose Centre, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7 (Finsbury Park tube, or Buses 253 and 29)

DUNDEE

Meets fortnightly on Mondays. Contact FRFI sellers for details.

MANCHESTER

Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 7.30pm at Slade Lane Neighbourhood Centre, Slade Lane, Longsight, Manchester 12. For further details contact Manchester FRFI, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 4BN.

TRANSPORT TO ANTI-IMPERIALIST WEEKEND

Edinburgh buses leave from Waverley Bridge, 10.30pm Friday 28 June. £17 waged, £14 students, £10 unwaged. Prices include cost of travel, food and entrance to rally and dayschool.

Leeds leaves from Queen's Hotel, City Square, 7.30am Saturday 29 June. £12 waged, £8 unwaged. Prices include cost of travel, food and entrance to rally and dayschool.

Manchester coaches leave from All Saints (under Mancunian Way), Oxford Road, 7.30am, Saturday 29 June.

Transport also coming from Dundee, Glasgow, Liverpool, Bradford and Bristol. For details write to FRFI (AIW), BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX.

LONDON

Anti-Apartheid Demonstration, Sunday 16 June
Transport: Leeds Coaches leave from Corn Exchange, Vicar Lane, 7.30am. Tickets £6, £4 unwaged.
Manchester coaches leave from All Saints (underneath Mancunian Way), Oxford Road, Manchester at 7.30am



SOUTH LONDON

Event organised by South London FRFI to mobilise for AAM 16 June demonstration. Saturday 15 June 12 noon - 4pm The Brixton Centre, opposite St Matthews Church, near Lambeth Town Hall, nearest tube Brixton. Videos, exhibitions, workshops, poetry, music and liberation songs, poetry, crafts, food, books.

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In May again the contribution of London comrades to the Fund stood out with £348.61. Other supporter groups raised: £50.25 in Manchester, Edinburgh £18.73, Leeds £15, Dundee £10.08, Liverpool £8, Bradford £6.50. Individual supporters and readers sent in £1.70.

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New FRFI pamphlet

South Africa Britain out of Apartheid Apartheid out of Britain

Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed

The imperialist crisis has sharpened the struggle for freedom both in the imperialist and in the oppressed nations of the world in the last ten years. The peoples of Southern Africa are in the frontline of this struggle.

South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid Apartheid out of Britain examines recent developments in Southern Africa: apartheid's war against the Frontline States, its occupation of Namibia, the economic crisis in South Africa, Botha's phoney 'reforms', the brutal repression and the mass revolutionary resistance. It details the enormous British stake in apartheid and analyses the British Anti-Apartheid Movement's response to the new challenges before it. In particular it reviews the dispute between the AAM leadership and one of its local groups, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, and the possibility of building a mass movement in Britain in solidarity with the struggle for freedom in Southern Africa and against British collaboration with apartheid.

56pp, 95p (+ 28p p&p) ISBN 0 905400 06 2

From Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

SOUTH AFRICA

Britain Out of Apartheid
Apartheid Out of Britain



Imperialist guinea-pigs

Dear FRFI,
You reported in *FRFI 45* how the United States have arrogantly used the Pacific Islands of Micronesia for their imperialistic purposes for the last 40 years. It is becoming clear that these purposes have included the cynical use of the inhabitants as guinea-pigs to test the effects of radiation, according to information in the *New Scientist*.

About the same time as the British tests at Maralinga, Australia, the US exploded nuclear bombs in the Marshall Islands. The Bravo hydrogen-bomb at Bikini in 1954 was the largest above-ground explosion: 1,000 times more powerful than at Hiroshima. This went ahead despite prior warning that winds were heading for the inhabited island of Rongelap. The islanders received 380 times the current legal annual radiation dose for US residents. All showed the signs of acute radiation sickness - burns, nausea, vomiting, diar-

rhoea - and many became bald. They were removed from the island two days later.

Not content with the data from this human experiment, the US returned the islanders to their home only 3 years later, with assurances by the Brookhaven National Laboratory that the island was now safe. The lab, however, kindly continued to monitor the health of the Rongelapese, commenting in 1958 that 'greater knowledge of [radiation] effects on human beings is badly needed... The habitation of these people on the island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings.'

After returning to Rongelap the caesium-137 isotope levels in the bodies of the islanders increased 60 times in one year. Zinc-65 increased 10 times, and strontium-90 increased 6 times. Children's growth was stunted, thyroid cancer and miscarriages are still prevalent, and chromosomal damage has been detected which will probably lead to genetic defects in babies born to them.

It was only in 1979 that US offi-

cialists advised the Rongelapese to stop visiting the north of the island where they normally collected food. Presumably after 21 years the scientists had obtained enough data. The islanders have appealed in vain for help from the US to move away from Rongelap. Now, in desperation, they have turned to Greenpeace, who sent a ship to remove them to Ebadon Island in the Kwajalein Atoll. There they will have to rebuild their homes, schools, wells, clinics and all other facilities from scratch, without even any token compensation for their forced participation in this grotesque experiment.

Jennifer
Liverpool

PS Who knows whether similar experiments were covered up at Maralinga and other British tests? The British government allowed Crown officials to give evidence to the Australian Royal Commission on one extraordinary precondition that none of them would be prosecuted for perjury!

Ealing 5 Whitewash

Dear FRFI,
Just a few lines to thank all the people at FRFI for taking the trouble to publish the article on our case and appeal. As you can tell from the result of the appeal (it was dismissed) it was a right whitewash from start to finish, even though we had served 8 years in prison, compiled massive dossiers on different aspects of our case and had even secured the help of the leading glass expert in Europe. The BBC supplied their own video expert, we were still refused leave to be present at our appeal, so it was held in our absence, so you can imagine how we feel about the whole thing.

Anyway I would like to thank everyone at FRFI for their concern about our case, and just say that myself, my brother Joe, Mick Jones, Jim Farrell, Guy Maggioni will be continuing the fight to prove our innocence, and any new developments in our case, we'll let FRFI and its readers know about as soon as possible.

Yours
Patrick Lee
HM Prison Albany

Aiding Nicaragua

Dear FRFI,
I see that the US plans economic war against Nicaragua. After Reagan's failure to obtain either military or humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan rebels, the contras, Reagan is poised to wage economic warfare against Nicaragua. The Sandinista government of Nicaragua has to devote too many of its resources to fight the mercenaries of the United States and their surrogates, instead of implementing the kind of programmes necessary for the creation of a free, just and equal society, where the needs of the masses are met.

The necessary programmes which the government would like to put more effort into are not reaching as many people as they would like. It is a country in need of help, from the conscious of Europe and in particular Britain, we should do more to aid our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua.

No longer can Europe and Britain sit idly by while the Reagan administration and its mercenaries continue to cripple that country. Much of the impressive gains made by the revolution are now in serious trouble due to the escalation of the contras' war, aided and encouraged by the United States. Nicaragua desperately needs the people of the World to lend their voices to its struggle.

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!
Yours in struggle
M A Russell
HM Prison, Wakefield

Britain out of apartheid

Dear FRFI,
The coverage of the South African situation in FRFI makes good reading. Actually I must confess that it is only during the past year or so that I have become fully aware of what is going on in South Africa. This country has billions invested in SA and yet does nothing when innocent blacks are murdered in the streets. The press obviously do not want people to know the true horrors of South Africa, probably because the owners of the British gutter-press have most of their money invested in gold and diamond mines there. We need more coverage of the situation so as to make people aware of the true facts on the totally unacceptable regime that has the blood of thousands of blacks on their hands.

In solidarity
Alan Lee Byrne
A Wing Remand, HM Prison
Brixton

'We will never submit'

Dear FRFI,
I give my thanks to Terry O'Halloran for exposing in FRFI the vicious assaults to which two other comrades and myself were victims. The incident in question is but a weak example of the brutality which is an undeniable buttress of the racist and imperialistic British prison system. However, what the arrogant state thugs do not realise is the counterproductive nature of their brutality. Far from being beaten into submission our resolve is in fact tempered and increased as we experience first-hand the repressive state's methods of intimidation and repression. Our message is clear and direct, 'We will never submit! We will resist until the day of victory is ours!' I warmly congratulate Shujaa Moshesh for the truly excellent centre page article about the struggle for basic rights in prison. The analysis within the article is both clear and accurate. An article of this nature is a source of encouragement to all those who are imprisoned and are striving for a clear understanding of their position.

I hope that your demonstration with the AAM on June 16 is well attended. Smash apartheid, close the racist South African Embassy now! Let there be no compromise! 'Negotiation' with the police is not merely compromise but an unmitigated betrayal of the South African people. In solidarity
Danny Breaks
HM Prison Albany

Murder in the Philippines

Dear Comrades,
I would like to request you to kindly give publicity in FRFI on the brutal murder of the Italian Catholic priest Tullio Favalli on 11.3.85 at Esperanza, Cotabato Province, Philippines.

Tullio Favalli, born on 10.12.46 at Sustinene Mantova, Italy, was working in the Philippines with Fr Peter Jeremias.

Since the killing of Aquino, President Marcos, while allowing a show trial to try to deceive the people on his responsibilities, has intensified brutal actions against all the oppositions and the leaders of the Catholic Church who are backing the request of lifting martial law and giving freedom and democracy to the country.

I got news that all those who are supporting such requests are constantly threatened with being killed so that they feel secure only in the territories controlled by New Peoples Army or Moro National Liberation Front. The space of activity is being unprecedentedly reduced. The media has given very little importance to the fact, which is more shame to the US supporters of the Philippines' regime - the murder is the first of its kind - previously there had been only deportations.

I hope you could write an article, publicise the issue and eventually call for a sit-in outside the Philippine embassy to demonstrate against the policy of killing which is the only strategy of Marcos and the military regime.

Thanking you for your work.
G Colombo

Making the poor rootless

Dear FRFI,
I am a member of Dundee branch of the RCG who is unemployed. I am not fortunate enough to have a house, and so have to live in private accommodation. New fraudulent measures by the Government implement a policy which makes people homeless who are unemployed and 'bloody poor'! I do not wish to become rootless in order to qualify for payment as a boarder, once my month in a new area is at an end. I now feel closer than ever, in unity, with the oppressed people of South Africa and Britain in the struggle against imperialism.

Because of a 50% cut in my allowance for accommodation by the DHSS this month, I will be forced to move or face eviction, by my greedy landlady. My stay under this woman's roof has been far from happy.

- I get no breakfast
- I get flung out at 9.00am
- I get woken up by screaming kids at 6am. As she has six kids which like to bang doors, run up and down stairs and jump about on the floor above
- Find it difficult to get access to the toilet
- And usually get attacked by her dog when I come in late at night, in which he barks till 1am frequently.

That is not all! After only three days in the place she cut my gas off, and sometimes my electricity if I was late out in the morning. During freezing cold January and February, I had to borrow and save up for my own heater, as a gas fire cannot be expected to light without gas.

I have been told by the DHSS that I shall have to take cheaper (money wise) accommodation or go back to my parents. 'Oh dear the latter is not possible, as my dad only is living, and has only room for himself'. As a grown lad of near 23 years I took offence to the suggestion.

Yours in struggle
LM
PS The room I sleep in is damp anyway.

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HANDS OFF IRELAND

SIX COUNTIES LOCAL ELECTIONS

Never the same again

It was the historic election of hunger striker Bobby Sands as MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone in 1981 which gave the Republican Movement the impetus to participate in elections in the Six Counties as 'another dimension to popular resistance to British rule'. Since the hunger strike Sinn Fein has participated in elections for Westminster and the Northern Ireland Assembly on an abstentionist basis and the EEC and local government elections with the intention of taking their seats if they won. The local government elections of 15 May 1985 saw the Republican Movement's first major intervention in local elections since the 1920s.

Sinn Fein's stated aim in the local elections was, in the words of Gerry Adams, 'to consolidate the republican vote' and to push forward 'a new middle leadership' within the Republican Movement. To achieve this end they stood 91 candidates in areas where they felt they could broaden their support. They won 59 seats.

They were successful in consolidating the Republican vote. While in the Assembly elections of 1982 the share of the nationalist vote went 65 per cent to the SDLP and 35 per cent to Sinn Fein, this time it was 60 per cent for the SDLP and 40 per cent to Sinn Fein. The total figures - 75,685 for Sinn Fein against 113,967 for the SDLP - in fact underestimate Sinn Fein's relative position since the SDLP contested 23 out of 26 district councils and put up 168 candidates compared to Sinn Fein's 17 district councils and 91 candidates. There are six councils which could be controlled by a nationalist majority if the SDLP, Sinn Fein, the Irish Independence Party and independent nationalists combined.

For the record the Official Unionists are still the major loyalist party with 29.8 per cent of the vote and 190 seats compared with Paisley's DUP with 24.3 per cent and 142 seats. The pro-British Alliance Party has been squeezed and the pro-imperialist Workers Party continues on its way to oblivion with 1.6 per cent of the vote and 4 seats.

	Councillors elected	First preference votes %
Official Unionists	190	29.8
DUP	142	24.3
SDLP	101	17.8
SF	59	11.8
Alliance	34	7.1
IIP	4	1.2
Workers Party	4	1.6
Others	32	6.4

There can be little doubt that Sinn Fein's presence on local councils will have major repercussions for their stability and the functioning of local government in the Six Counties.

Armalite and the ballot box

Inevitably with every Republican victory in elections the relationship between the overall liberation struggle and the electoral strategy of Sinn Fein is brought to the fore. In an interview in *Magill* magazine (July 1983) the IRA made clear the Republican Movement's overall standpoint,

'Our strategy has been by military and political activity, to frustrate the British aim of making the six counties governable through local power-sharing-type institutions. So far we have succeeded in this and the Brits can only govern in a direct colonial way using 30,000 armed men.'

It is only in this context that we can examine the consequences of Sinn Fein's recent election victory.

Undoubtedly Sinn Fein's election gains have undermined British propaganda and the lies that Britain has peddled to the world about the level of support for the liberation struggle. These gains will also instil confidence in the nationalist minority and give the people an organised political voice to fight for their rights. However there is a limit to what electoral successes can achieve in a sectarian state in terms of real social and economic advance for the nationalist minority.

The loyalist minority will fiercely resist any inroads into their political power and social and economic privileges and in doing this they will be backed by British imperialism. For this reason the very presence of Sinn Fein representatives in the local councils of the Six County statelet serves to undermine the local government structure and further 'frustrate the British aim of making the six counties governable'.

The power of the local councils

Whilst it is the case that local councils in the Six Counties have little or no say in matters of finance, security and overall political control - powers which Britain wields to maintain its domination and rule - it is not true to say that the local councils are powerless. Local councils have consultative powers on housing and nominate 100 per cent of the advisory Housing Councils; they control the provision and siting of leisure facilities; administer grant funds to local community groups; have limited powers on planning, and consultative roles in roads, water and sewage facilities. They nominate representatives to the stat-

ory public bodies - 40 per cent of education and library boards, 30 per cent of health and social services boards. They are themselves employers. Through these powers loyalists, excluding nationalists from the most important committees, boards and delegations, have continued to exercise sectarianism and discrimination against the nationalist community.

As employers, local councils' discrimination against Catholics is widespread. Only seven out of twenty-six councils have signed the Fair Employment Agency's 'Declaration of Intent' to provide equality of opportunity. Cookstown District Council was found in 1980 to employ 74 per cent Protestants in its manual workforce, and Protestants were almost twice as likely to be successful in job applications to the council, yet Cookstown is equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. Leisure facilities are consistently denied to nationalist communities by loyalist run councils. Belfast City Council has refused to build a leisure centre in the nationalist areas of North Belfast. Councils have refused to give grants to GAA clubs and banned Gaelic sports from being played on council pitches.

Housing is another target. In the 1970s the Poleglass project for 8,000 homes in West Belfast, proposed by the Housing Executive, met with fullscale opposition from Lisburn Council. The council crusade succeeded in slashing the project to 2,000 homes. Lisburn Council has minimised refuse collection and street cleaning in nationalist Twinbrook. The loyalists use the local council to wield their sectarian discrimina-

tion and so maintain their privileged position. The existence of local government in the Six Counties, however, allows Britain to claim a fiction of democracy there. Yet any attempt by Sinn Fein to fight for the rights of nationalists is a direct challenge to loyalist privilege and power and inevitably leads to major clashes between nationalists and loyalists.

Election campaign

The British authorities and their loyalist representatives understood only too well the significance of the Sinn Fein electoral gains. They recognised that the Sinn Fein presence on councils would challenge the loyalists' privileged position and so undermine the stability of the Six County statelet. Paisley's DUP and the Official Unionists are united in their sectarian hatred of Sinn Fein. During the election, the DUP declared that their aim was to 'tramp Sinn Fein down' and 'devastate the IRA'. The Official Unionists (OUP) launched an anti-Sinn Fein poster to 'put Sinn Fein out of business'. Loyalists paraded, with RUC escorts, into nationalist areas and attacked local homes. The RUC and British Army harassed, arrested and threatened Sinn Fein candidates, election workers and supporters; they invaded republican strongholds with gangs of armed thugs. Local Ulster Television denied space to all parties who had polled less than 15 per cent of the vote in previous elections - Sinn Fein was the target for this blatant censorship. The British authorities directly intervened by placing identification restrictions on voting rights. Voters could

only exercise that right if they produced one of the following documents: current driving licences, current British or Irish passport, a medical card issued after 1972, a pension or allowance book, a marriage certificate (issued to a woman after 15 May 1983). UB40 cards were not acceptable. This move was directed against Sinn Fein which, the British government claimed, had in the past obtained 20 per cent of its vote through personation. Many working class nationalists did not have any of the documents and were denied the vote.

This move was initially backed by the unionists and the SDLP but they soon realised that it would also affect their vote and attacked the British government for 'bungling incompetence' and an 'attack on democracy'. On polling day many voters were turned away as a result and a strong RUC presence was maintained at polling stations to ensure that democracy, British-style, took its course. A course designed to repress, intimidate and defeat the Republican Movement's struggle for freedom. Yet with Sinn Fein's gains, Britain was once again reminded,

'...that Sinn Fein, by popularising political and cultural resistance and by defending the right of the IRA to wage war, has consolidated and made permanent the sympathetic base from which the armed struggle is launched. (An Phoblacht/Republican News, April 1985).

After the election

The loyalist response to the Sinn Fein gains was to demand of the British go-

Continued on page 13



Victorious Derry Sinn Fein Councillors

Revolutionary resistance

The cutting edge

On Monday 20 May, five days after the Sinn Fein electoral success, the IRA detonated a massive 1,000lbs bomb by remote control, instantly killing four RUC travelling in an armoured Cortina.

The attack took place 50 yards from the Killeen border crossing near Newry on one of the most heavily invigilated roads in the Six Counties. Acting on detailed intelligence, the ASU ambushed two RUC vehicles as they escorted a security van carrying millions of punts, completely devastating the lead vehicle. The attack, coming as it does after the mortar assault on 28 February on Newry RUC Station, which killed 9 RUC, brings the total of RUC killed in the area to 14 in the last 3 months.

It is no surprise then that the repercussions of this devastating blow extended far beyond the immediate locality. RUC Chief Constable Sir John Hermon pre-

empted an investigation into what had occurred by releasing a statement saying:

'...the explosives used and the terrorists involved came from the Republic of Ireland.'

This was the opening round in a public dispute between Hermon and Laurence Wren, Commissioner of the Garda, in which the Free State and Loyalist 'alliance' around the concept of 'cross border security co-operation' was in danger of being shaken apart.

As the row raged on in the bourgeois press the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) and Douglas Hurd assumed the role of

peacemakers between the recalcitrant Hermon and Commissioner Wren showing a marked willingness to see the affair at Hermon's expense. He made the statement after consultation with the NIO as a calculated attempt to bounce Wren into a high level meeting with himself on cross border security according to RUC sources.

The Garda have branded Hermon (and the NIO's) tactical flourish 'counter productive' and a 'misjudgment'; Hermon must be beginning to agree as he is left to carry the can. The NIO is on the cake of cross border security co-operation in the form of a meeting between himself and Wren seems further away than ever.

Sian Bond and Malcolm Ellis



Pieces of the armour-plated RUC car in which three policemen and one police woman were killed by the IRA