

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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The blood of the South African masses is on the hands of Botha, Thatcher and Reagan

Apartheid terror Black people fight back

Maggie Thatcher's Boot Boys

- 64 Metropolitan Police are suspended facing criminal or disciplinary proceedings
- 7 police officers are suspended in connection with the killing of John Mikkleson
- 4 police officers are charged with assaults on 5 youths in Holloway
- 1 is charged with shooting Cherry Groce
- 1 is charged with shooting 5 year old John Shorthouse

From mugging to murder, from perjury to political persecution, the increasingly blatant criminality of Thatcher's highly-paid police thugs is being daily exposed. See inside for the truth about Thatcher's police and how to fight them.



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The killing of John Mikkleson back page
Bad apples - a bumper harvest p6
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MANCHESTER TO LONDON
MARCH
AGAINST
DEPORTATION
BEGINS SATURDAY 5 JULY
ENDS SATURDAY 26 JULY
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Winnie Mandela leads funeral in Brandfort in defiance of apartheid banning order.

'Every day the blood of our children flows. While all this is happening, Reagan and Thatcher continue to call themselves friends of black people while in effect they are friends of racists.'

Nicaragua: Reagan's bandits on the run

President Reagan is waging a frenzied propaganda campaign against the Sandinistas in an attempt to obtain US Congressional approval for \$100m aid to Nicaragua's beleaguered counter-revolutionaries. Never short of a lie, a slander or a worn out anti-communist catchphrase he proclaimed the Sandinistas 'an outlaw regime' and claimed that Nicaragua was:

'...held captive by a clique of deeply committed communists at war with God and man.'

Whipping up anti-Sandinista hysteria and brandishing the dreaded spectre of communism, the US Administration is fighting to win a split Congress into backing Reagan's policy of salvaging the contras. They are on the verge of extinction and unless salvaged US imperialism could face severe political consequences in Central and Latin America as a whole.

In 1984 the Sandinista government declared that 1985 was to be the year for 'strategically defeating' the contras. This was no rhetorical flourish. By the close of 1985 the task was more or less accomplished. Specially formed elite Sandinista battalions have driven most of the counter-revolutionaries back to

their Honduran bases. Interior Minister Tomas Borge explained that:

'...the contras have passed their historical peak. It doesn't matter if they get \$100m or \$1,000m, they will never again be able to have the same effect.'

The 'effect' has of course been enor-

On 5 April, Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, once more defied apartheid terror. Speaking at the funeral of a young man killed by a police informer in Brandfort, Mrs Mandela called on the youth to become disciplined warriors who would march on 'the lily-white centre of Brandfort' and take the wealth and the land which is rightfully theirs. She called on the youth to take direct action against the regime, without which imprisoned leaders would not be released and she characterised the Pretoria regime as terrorist, not the freedom fighters of the ANC. Winnie Mandela's defiant speech came at the end of a month when the State of Emergency, imposed in July 1985 was lifted, but apartheid terror continued unabated.

Winnie Mandela's speech ended a week of speculation about the validity of the banning order which had exiled her to Brandfort since 1976. Two South African Sunday newspapers carried interviews with Mrs Mandela on 6 April although it is illegal under apartheid to quote a leading member of the Keagan Administration and the Conservative Government in Britain as 'criminals and collaborators' she said:

'Every day the blood of our children flows. While all this is happening, Reagan and Thatcher continue to call themselves friends of black people while in effect they are friends of racists.'

After the funeral at Brandfort, Winnie Mandela returned to her home in Soweto despite the fact that (In)justice Minister Louis Le Grange had stated that the banning order was still effective.

Winnie Mandela's courage and determination is reflected in the spirit and

of the counter-revolutionaries. Built and financed by the CIA, pillage, rape and murder has been the hallmark of these criminals dubbed 'freedom fighters' by Reagan. Since 1981 they have killed 5,000 people - peasants, workers, teachers, doctors. They have destroyed hundreds of schools, clinics and co-operative farms. In 1984 and 1985 they caused \$318m in war damage forcing the government to spend 50% of its revenue on defence. But now they have been reduced to 'an army in hiding', riddled with corruption, demoralisation and deserters.

This 'strategic defeat' represents a significant blow to imperialism and its puppet Nicaraguan capitalist class. The contra war is critical to the US's Low Intensity War strategy combining political, diplomatic and military means, rather than outright war, to wear down and engineer the collapse of the revolutionary regime. Imperialism's internal counter-revolutionary forces, the bourgeoisie and Church hierarchy, will also be severely weakened by the elimination of the contras. Lacking any mass support they have been able to survive only by exploiting the suffering and economic hardships arising from the war. Freed of the contra cancer the Nicaraguan peasants and workers can consolidate the revolution and resume the task of building on the enormous improvements this has brought them since Somoza's downfall in 1979.

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militancy of black people throughout South Africa who have met armed brutality with sticks and stones. Despite the lifting of the State of Emergency, hundreds remain in detention. 32 people face treason charges which carry the death penalty. Daily young people are shot down in the streets, but the demonstrations against apartheid continue. Botha's decision to lift the State of Emergency was an admission that its primary aim had failed miserably - to crush and isolate the mass resistance to white minority, racist rule.

In the last few months new structures of organisations have emerged in black communities throughout South Africa. The street committees, with their 'Comrades', have sustained organised resistance in the townships. Recently released United Democratic Front (UDF) detainees described how new ways of organising and mobilising had to be adopted to withstand extreme repression. Moses Mayekiso, Chair of the Alexandra Action Committee and a Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) official, recounted the fear the street committees instilled in the Botha regime. For 5 days he was tortured and interrogated about the work and organisation of these committees.

These new people's organisations are crucial to the struggle in the coming period, for in reality the State of Emergency has not ended for black people in South Africa. Every day brings news of more killings, of mass arrests and of further detentions.

Massacres continue

Over 100 black people have died since the lifting of the State of Emergency. On 11 March three schoolchildren were shot dead and a hundred injured when police, without issuing any warning, fired into a crowd of 3,000 students outside a Magistrates Court in Ka Bokweni township in the Eastern Cape. On 26 March, at least 22 residents of the Winterveld squatter camp in the Bophuthatswana 'homeland' were killed when police opened fire on a 10,000 strong demonstration. Over 1,000 were arrested.

The media coverage of these shootings is in stark contrast to the scant coverage over the last six months of Bophuthatswana's brutal repression of popular revolt. In response to the mass consumer and school boycotts, the stayaways and the fierce street fighting, the police have unleashed a reign of terror especially in the Garankuwa and Mabopane townships.

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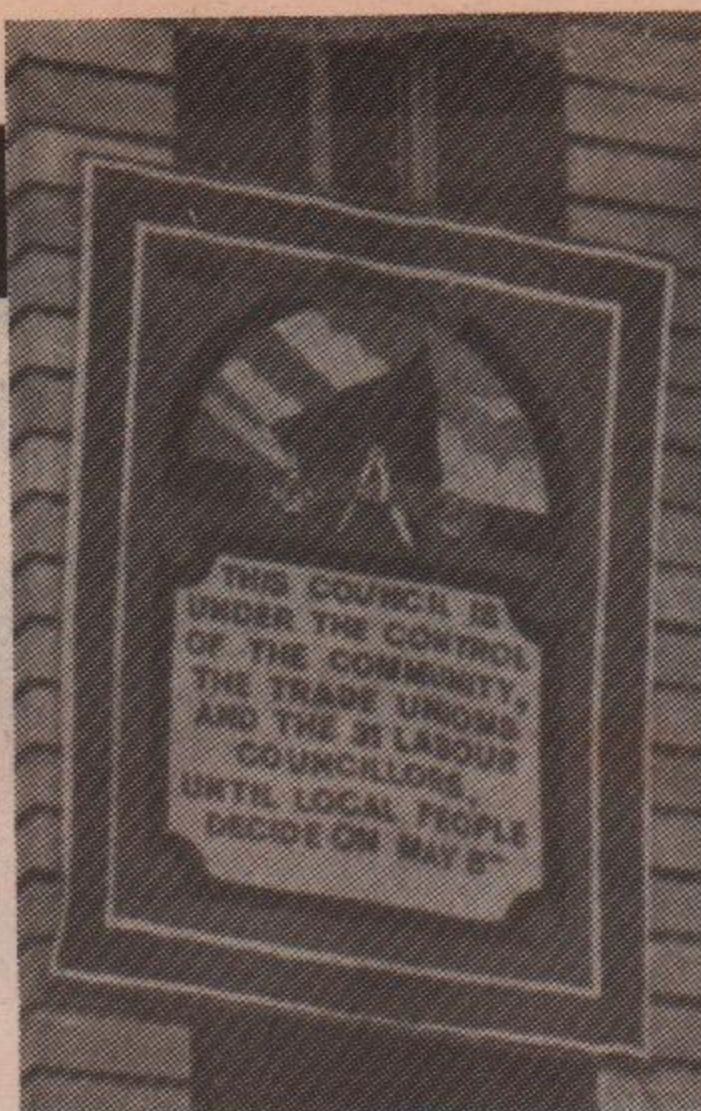
Witch hunt: Kinnock moves goalposts

Kinnock's attempt to expel 12 members of Liverpool District Labour Party suffered a setback on 26 March. Seven members of Labour's National Executive Committee walked out of the meeting where the 12 were to be confronted with their 'crimes'. The seven — Eric Heffer, Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner, Eric Clarke (NUM), Frances Curran, Jo Richardson and Joan Maynard — objected to the fact that the first 'defendant', Felicity Dowling, was not given a clear statement of the revised charges against her. They also objected that NEC members were only given a summary of the High Court ruling of the previous day which said that the Labour Party hearing would violate natural justice on two counts.

The NEC was ordered not to consider 'confidential' evidence on which the charges were based, but which the Labour Party did not intend to reveal to those charged. Secondly, the eight NEC members who formed the inquiry into Militant were ordered not to sit on the disciplinary committee. This still left the 12 with no right to produce witnesses or to have legal representation. So much for Labour Party democracy.

Despite the High Court ruling, Kinnock had been set to go ahead with the hearing. His response to the walkout which made the meeting inquorate, was to call the seven 'infantile and stupid'. Kinnock, well known for parrotting on about democracy when attacking the NUM or the left, was not slow to drop a few democratic procedures of his own when it came to carrying on the attack on Militant. He immediately proceeded to organise a special NEC meeting for 18 April whose business it will be to change standing orders on quorums. He also intends to propose changes to the Labour Party constitution to make disciplinary proceedings easier in general.

The further Kinnock's witch hunt goes, the clearer it becomes that his only concern is to show the ruling class and the media that he is a better defender of their system than they are. Hence his chosen theme for a speech to the Scottish Labour Party conference — patriotism. Kinnock's speech was a disgrace, even by Labour Party standards. The Labour Party's patriotism, he assured us, was 'the confident and generous patriotism of freedom and fairness



councillors have decided to apply for legal aid but it is not clear whether they will get it. Lambeth councillors have decided not to appeal and are hanging on to power with a committee of three Labour councillors running Lambeth council. Kinnock has always made clear his disapproval of the councillors' stand. Many of the 80 already surcharged face bankruptcy as well as a ban on political office for five years.



Smarny Kinnock entered Labour Party HQ with the dice loaded against Militant — minutes later his plans were thwarted by a walk-out led by Eric Heffer. Above: Sign over Lambeth Town Hall

... ours is a patriotism of jobs and justice... And yet the perpetrator of this drivelling and reactionary rubbish is actually increasing his grip on the Labour Party and trade union movement.

A reflection of Kinnock's power is that the 80 surcharged Lambeth and Liverpool councillors who lost their appeal in the High Court in March, have been unable to raise the £200,000 necessary to appeal to the House of Lords. The Liverpool

Typically, while Kinnock has given his approval to a hardship fund for the councillors, he says the money must not be used for an appeal. As in the case of imprisoned miners, he refused to commit a future Labour government to retrospectively lift the charges against the councillors. Kinnock does not have the slightest commitment to the class he supposedly represents, not even to members of his own party.

Olivia Adamson

workers know that the Yorkshire miners themselves are ready and willing to participate on the picket lines at Wapping or anywhere else. We have been trying to get down there and are having to fight an uphill battle with the Barnsley bureaucracy for the best part of five weeks. It is now the unanimous policy of this Yorkshire Area that we participate in the pickets. However, the catch is, first of all, that the print workers' unions must officially invite us.

Following the last meeting of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, Mr Sammy Thompson and Mr Frank Clark say they had a meeting with officials from SOGAT and NGA and that they have made no call for pickets. Instead, we are to spend £6,500 on taking miners down to the solidarity rally and walk round London on a Sunday afternoon. While there is nothing in itself wrong with that, it will without doubt be used as an empty gesture to show we do support the printers... but not their pickets.

Arthur Scargill at the Ollerton commemoration of David Jones' murder, called for the miners to make the Wapping streets black with pickets. The rank and file are straining at the leash, the printers want us in action beside them, so why can't all those factors get together? Mr Thompson and Mr Holmer at Barnsley say we must first have a letter of invitation from the official print workers' unions and leaders. Rank and file printers must demand now that those letters are sent and must confirm that they have been received so the bureaucrats of both unions cannot wriggle off the hook any longer.

Doncaster miner

The Doncaster miner will be writing in future issues for FRFI.



LAURIE SPARHAM/NETWORK

Budget: nothing for the poor

Last year, Chancellor Nigel Lawson hypocritically called his budget a 'budget for jobs'. In 1986, the Tories abandoned all pretence of helping the poor and unemployed. Instead, Lawson's budget aimed unashamedly at electoral success by bribing higher paid workers and the rich — while increasing support for finance capital.

Lawson's main move was to cut income tax by a penny to 29p in the pound. This regressive change benefits the better off — for example, a couple with one earner on £60-£100 per week gains 5p, one earning over £350 gains £2.56. A single person earning under £60 a week gains just one penny.

Other changes also help the wealthy. Capital Transfer Tax has been virtually abolished, enabling them to make life-time gifts to their heirs without paying tax. The *Financial Times* reckoned that if the Duke of Westminster's estate is valued at £2 billion, probably a conservative estimate, then Lawson has saved him at least £600 million at a stroke! By cutting stamp duty on share deals by half, Lawson has given a massive boost to the City. The Personal Equity Plan, which gives tax relief to those who can afford to gamble £50 a week on the stock market, brought further delight to brokers and bankers. Share prices gained £3 billion immediately, and a doubling of daily turnover on the Stock Ex-

change is forecast.

The budget also aims to set up 'profit-sharing' schemes. These, part of Lawson's 'popular capitalism' borrowed from the SDP/Liberals, mean only reduced basic wages plus performance bonus. Thus workers are held responsible for the crisis: 'profit-sharing' emerges after the boom is over. The 1.4 million unemployed for over one year will be offered inducements to take low paid work. The 'New Worker Scheme' offers £15 per week to employers who pay under £55 to 18-19 year olds, or under £65 to those 19-20. Again, this drives down wages without creating employment: the Low Pay Unit found that 84% of jobs 'found' under the similar young workers scheme would have existed anyway.

Lawson presented a political budget, designed to reassure the Tory faithful and to pay off those affluent workers whose votes Kinnock is so earnestly soliciting. A cut in interest rates was delayed to provide instant post-budget gratifi-

cation. The economic reality behind the budget lies in January's white paper on public expenditure. Here it is clear that tax cuts are paid for by massive cuts in public spending. 3% was cut from the housing capital programmes, while building is lower than ever and council housing needs repairs costing £19 billion. Higher education in 1986-7 faces an 8% real terms cut. Spending on repression will, however, rise. Prison spending will increase by £61m — 5% in real terms. Resources for the Home Office and Lord Chancellor's Department (police, prisons and courts) rose 40% since 1979.

This budget is consistent with Thatcher's policies. Prior to it, the bottom fifth of taxpayers got just 4% of tax cuts since 1979, while those earning over £20,000 (7% of taxpayers) got 43%. Households grossing over £50,000 have received £1bn. During the same period, benefits have been cut by £13bn. Hundreds have died of cold each winter. Prescription charges, 20p in 1979, rose to £2.20 on 1 April.

Yet the Chancellor cannot disguise the complete failure of Tory policies. The vast cost of mass unemployment means that overall public spending continues to rise. Taxation remains higher than in 1979, while manufacturing output remains lower. Lawson has only managed tax cuts by cooking the books. Firstly, he has over-estimated collapsing oil revenues by assuming a price of \$15 a barrel, well above the current price. Secondly, the Tories have sold off assets worth £4.75 billion.

The Labour Party has responded with Hattersley's 'alternative budget' — a mixture of employment creation and benefit increases designed to produce a million jobs in 3 years. Whilst imagining that the capitalist crisis can be reformed away piecemeal, Hattersley's concern for the poor clashes with Kinnock's stated priority: the protection of the better off. A glance at the record of the last Labour government suffices. Faced with the same crisis of profitability, the Labour 'mini-budget' of 1974 cut public spending by £1bn. This process continued unabated — with £3.6bn cut 1977-8, and £4.5bn cut 1978-9 — until Thatcher took it over.

Dave Burton

Hedging and backsliding

Of late the rank and file in the mining industry have begun to understand what must have happened in other unions during our strike when we asked for mass picket support. At the time of our dispute we were crying out for a mass intervention of pickets from some other industry. We could not understand why the members of those unions were standing by and letting us fight it out alone. Since the start of the print workers' dispute we have tried like hell to get involved in their picket operations but at every stage have been obstructed by the Barnsley leadership.

Of course, they don't just turn round and say 'no we aren't going'. They do, after all, wish to keep their class credentials, such as they are. When the lads (and lasses) from the branches said 'bugger this, we're going', they organised at branch level and put coaches on themselves — Armthorpe, Silverwood and Hatfield among others. The area leaders went crazy.

The branches were contacted and told that if any of the men were arrested the union would not defend them, wouldn't pay their fines, defend them in court nor treat them as victimised miners if they were sacked, which they very well might be. Of late there have been great complaints made by Sammy Thompson (the Yorkshire Area general secretary) that a group of militant print workers in the Liaison Committee of Print Chapels had put out an open letter to Yorkshire miners condemning the obstruction of solidarity.

open letter as a means of getting sympathy from miners' branch leaders and as a means of condemning all those who are trying to get the union actively involved on the print workers' picket lines. One could be led to believe that he is the injured party, when actually the instruction that miners at Wapping would be abandoned by the union is a matter of fact. If it wasn't, branches would have miners in action at every Wapping mass picket.

In order to get the thing on a formal and official basis the Askern and Hatfield NUM branches moved a resolution to the NUM Council meeting calling for us to send pickets when called upon by the print workers' unions. A composite from the platform along similar lines was passed unanimously. Of course we were aware that the leadership only passed it in order to sit on it, but we have no intention of letting them get away with it. It is vital that all print

Print unions stop a serious fight



JOHN STURROCK/NETWORK

On 2 April the print unions agreed to Robert Maxwell's demands for 30% job cuts and the restoration of a five day week at his Scottish newspapers, the *Daily Record* and the *Sunday Mail*. Two days earlier, on 30 March, the print unions had also agreed to 30% job cuts and the restoration of a five day week at United Newspapers (*Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, *Star*). These climbdowns only confirm that the print unions have no intention at all of conducting a serious fight against Rupert Murdoch in the News International dispute involving his plants at Wapping, London, and Kinning Park, Glasgow.

Murdoch's latest ploy is to offer his now empty Gray's Inn Road printing plant as a 'gift' to the unions in lieu of the reinstatement of the 6,000 locked out printworkers. This seems to be nothing more than a cynical stunt aimed at winning over public opinion.

The unions involved in the dispute — NGA, SOGAT, NUJ and AUEW — have done everything possible to prevent the dispute from be-

coming a serious political fight. When NUJ Deputy General Secretary Jake Ecclestone had his ribs fractured at the end of February by the police, the NUJ did nothing to publicise the incident. The mounting toll of arrests, now over 300, and continual police violence have not led to any serious attempt to organise a fightback. On 22 March some 7-10,000 demonstrators gathered, tore down 40 ft of security fencing

and delayed Murdoch's lorries for 5 hours. The union leaders, whilst condemning police violence, told 'outsiders' to stay away and called for peaceful protest. The following Saturday only about 4,000 gathered to mill around pointlessly for hours.

The political character of this dispute is shown by the publicity material featuring a child with a teddy bear saying that her Dad made Murdoch millions. The publicity committee were offered a picture of a sacked woman and her family. It was rejected. The woman was black.

The abject refusal of the print unions to mount any serious opposition to Murdoch undoubtedly encouraged United Newspapers and Maxwell to impose their deals. Waiting in the wings are Associated Newspapers, seeking 30% job cuts and a 'strife' free move to a new printing plant in South London by 1988, and *The Guardian* seeking 'significant' job cuts prior to its move to a new plant in docklands by January 1988.

The News International dispute has revealed just how far the 'new realism' — usually known as opportunism — has gone in the labour movement. The Labour Party is planning to lift its own ban on talking to Murdoch journalists for the Fulham by-election. Three scabs at Wapping are members of, or closely associated with, the Eurocommunist wing of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Malcolm Withers, leader of the scab Sun NUJ chapel, is the Labour Party candidate for Stevenage.

The leaders of the print unions are determined to end the News International dispute as rapidly as possible on the basis of a dirty deal. Unless and until the 6,000 sacked print workers decide to organise against this, the print union leaders will succeed in betraying both the jobs of the printworkers and basic rights of all trade unionists.

Terry O'Halloran
(NUJ London Freelance
Branch)

Planning more repression

On 6 March the government published its White Paper for the forthcoming Criminal Justice Bill. The White Paper, 'Plans for Legislation', proposes a further significant increase in repression. It follows the extended Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act and the Public Order Bill presently going through Parliament.

Central to the White Paper is the growing attack on juries. The right of peremptory challenge (see FRFI 57) is to be abolished or reduced (it should be noted that the two previous reductions in the right of challenge were made by Labour governments in 1948 and 1977). Apparently, defendants use this right to 'distort' juries (paragraph 34). Of course, no such 'distortion' is involved in the state's practice of jury vetting. A large number of 'minor' offences will be made triable in magistrates courts only: common assault and minor thefts are among the suggestions. A person accused of theft would only have the right to jury trial if s/he had not previously been convicted of any offence of dishonesty. Magistrates, however, will have the right to refer minor theft cases to Crown Courts for sentence. Finally, in 'complicated' fraud cases the White Paper suggests the abolition of juries in favour of a tribunal. So much neater than allowing 'bewildered' (para 44) juries to interfere. It will be but a short step from 'complicated' fraud cases to 'complicated' terrorist cases.

The attack on juries is prompted by two factors increasingly evident in the recent period. One is the fact that juries cannot always be relied upon to return the verdict required by the government. The Clive Pont-

ing case was a clear example of this. Two is the fact that juries are increasingly less willing to swallow police lies. Recent figures indicate that some 50% of defendants are acquitted in cases heard before juries. (This is, however, only a tiny percentage of all cases. In 1984 2.3 million cases were heard by magistrates and only 99,000 in Crown Courts).

The other major increase in repression contained in the White Paper concerns extradition. The Paper proposes to abolish the requirement that any government seeking extradition of someone from Britain, has to establish that there is a prima facie case against that person. It is also proposed to abolish the rule that an extradited person may only be tried for the offence s/he was extradited for. If these proposals become law then, for example, the Sri Lankan regime could seek extradition for theft, provide no evidence, and subsequently, try the extradited person for subversion. The White Paper claims that the right of political asylum is a safeguard against this. In fact, fewer and fewer people are granted political asylum in Britain.

Just a week after the White Paper, the crime figures, tailored for maximum impact, were published. 'Rape up 52%' screamed the gutter press.

The figures showed an increase in recorded sexual assaults in England and Wales of 6% and a 29% increase for rape. In London, recorded rapes rose by 52%. However, the rise was almost entirely due to the fact that public pressure has forced the police - especially the Metropolitan Police - to take women's complaints of rape seriously. The number of rape allegations made to the police in 1985 did not increase. Women's justifiable fear of rape is being cynically manipulated by the ruling class to justify its already-planned increase in repression.

The hypocrisy of this suddenly discovered concern for women was shown at the end of February - ie before the White Paper and the media blitz on 'crime'. The Court of Appeal reduced the prison sentences given to paratroopers found guilty of sexually assaulting a women soldier to a maximum of six months. They had been acquitted of rape - no outcry about 'distorted' verdicts here. The Court of Appeal decided that they were 'fine men and good soldiers' whilst their victim was 'dissolute and sexually depraved'. The British ruling class cares no more about women being raped than it does about black families being firebombed in their homes. Under the guise of defending women it is increasing its power to defend a social system based on women's oppression: capitalism.

The proposals contained in the White Paper must be fought. The cynical attempt to use women as an excuse for increasing repression must be fought. Douglas Hurd used the crime figures as the excuse for agreeing to provide Newman with 3,000 more police. These will be used not to defend women but to attack all the working class and oppressed including women.

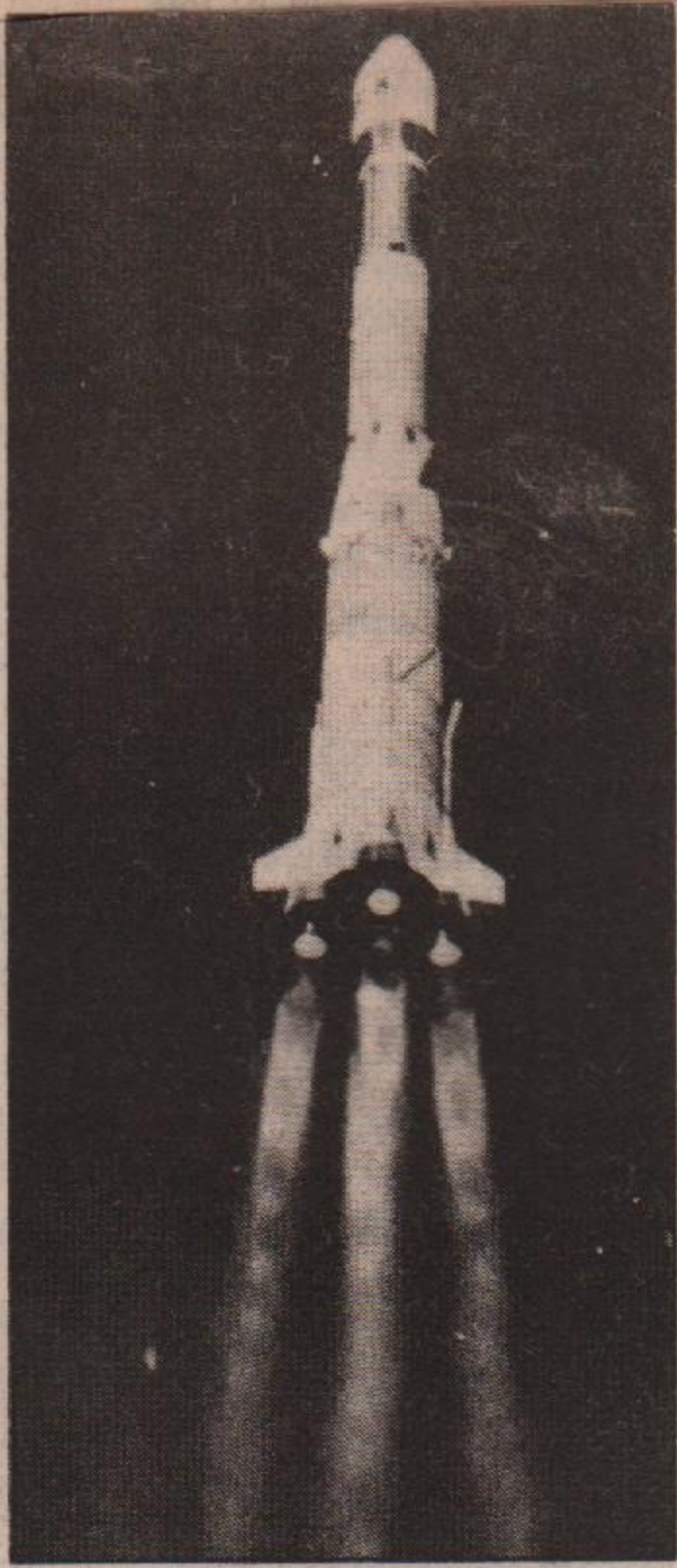
Terry O'Halloran

British and US warmongers

This month has seen British and US imperialism continue with their warmongering stance on nuclear weapons. Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals for the abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the Soviet Union's unilateral ban on nuclear testing, the Soviet offer to dismantle SS20 missiles in Europe - all these moves have been snubbed by Thatcher and Reagan in their quest for a nuclear stranglehold over the world.

The hypocrisy was clearest with Thatcher. In 1983 she had called for the dismantling of Soviet SS20s in Europe as a basis for arms reductions, but now that the Soviet Union makes just such an offer she rejects it out of hand as meaningless! No wonder the Soviet News Agency, Tass, said her response 'could not be worse'.

Behind Thatcher's refusal to discuss a reduction in nuclear weapons is her determination that British imperialism should have the armoury to back up its parasitic profiteering throughout the world. Britain already spends more money



Mikhail Gorbachev

per head of population on arms than any other NATO country and Thatcher intends adding the enormous Trident programme, estimated to cost £9,869 million, to this arsenal. Thatcher sees Trident as 'absolutely vital' to Britain's war plans and linked her rejection of the Soviet peace moves to her wish to develop it. The Labour Party's only criticism of Trident in the debate on the Soviet proposals was that the cost of it 'is bound to come out of the budget for conventional defence spending'. But then what can you expect from a party that introduced nuclear weapons to Britain and is very experienced at conducting 'conventional' wars on behalf of British imperialism.

Reagan's decision to conduct a nuclear test in Nevada on 22 March destroyed any hopes that the US would respond to the Soviet Union's self-imposed ban on nuclear testing by making a similar move. As the Pentagon implements its war plans against Nicaragua, Libya and other oppressed countries it wants an ever-expanding nuclear stockpile to back up its international bullying.

The imperialists in London and Washington have no intention of undertaking 'multilateral disarmament' with the Soviet Union - they want more weapons, nuclear and otherwise, and will not shirk from mass destruction to defend their blood-stained system. Anyone who wants to avoid a nuclear holocaust must realise that imperialism and war cannot be disentangled - and that if you want peace you must fight imperialism!

Colin Thorn

EDITORIAL

Police violence: tip of the iceberg

Recent reports on the treatment of two Manchester students by the police have exposed a criminal police conspiracy involving illegal surveillance, physical assault and burglary. Steven Shaw and Sarah Hollis were among those assaulted by Manchester police during a demonstration against a visit by the then Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, to Manchester University on 1 March 1985. In January and February this year they were again assaulted by the police.

The incidents are being investigated by Avon and Somerset police but students have had little confidence in them since the inquiry team handed over supposedly confidential reports to the Manchester police to use in court cases against the students. Despite accurate descriptions of individual policemen involved in these illegal activities, so far no arrests have been made or identity parades organised. Indeed it was Steven Shaw's solicitor who released artist's impressions of the two men who attacked him because of the lack of progress made by the Avon and Somerset team in identifying and charging those responsible.

Steven Shaw, who was beaten up on 2 February, says that the two men who attacked him in a Manchester street were the same two who took him to a Manchester police station last year for questioning over the demonstration where he was violently interrogated and stripsearched. The two thugs this time broke his nose, stamped on his hand, hit him with a club, causing bruises to his body, and cigarettes were stubbed out on his face three times.

In the last week of January this year, a second student, Sarah Hollis, was held from behind by a man in the centre of Manchester whilst another man punched her in the face, giving her a black eye. The man who hit her has threatened her on several occasions in the last year, with the latest threat concerning her giving evidence to the independent inquiry set up by Manchester City Council. Frank Logan, convicted of burgling Sarah Hollis's flat, has since told *The Guardian* that it was two Manchester detectives who suggested that he burgle her flat. Both students have been regularly followed and surveyed from cars registered at the DLVC at Swansea as being the property of Manchester police.

Predictably James Anderton, Chief Constable of Manchester, denies everything. In response to the allegations about the Manchester students he says that the demonstration showed that 'there exists within student circles in Manchester a group of violent people'. This is the highly paid thug who referred to the mass pickets of striking miners as 'acts of terrorism without the bullet and the bomb'. It is not a coincidence that the student demonstration was a protest against Leon Brittan's role in directing police violence against the striking miners.

Thousands of people are assaulted by the police every year. Violent attacks on peaceful demonstrations and pickets are becoming more and more common. So why have the liberal press and others made such an issue of this case? First, because the blatantly criminal and brutal character of this police vendetta threatens to undermine the image of the police as a neutral force impartially upholding the law. And second because this action was directed against essentially middle class and peaceful demonstrators. That is, a section of British class society who can normally be relied upon to stand by the British state, its law and its police.

A crucial component of policing strategy today is the attempt to ruthlessly stamp out 'subversion', that is serious opposition, whilst simultaneously strengthening 'moderate' elements who support the state (see *The Revolutionary Road to Communism* p114). The police action against the Manchester students threatens to force potentially 'moderate' people into opposition to the police and the state. The same consideration arises with other incidents of gratuitous police violence.

In the case of the Holloway 5 the police Complaints Investigation Board itself was forced to admit that 8 police officers had set upon and savagely beaten 5 youths in August 1983 (see FRFI 57). The fact that they were apparently unable to find, arrest and charge the thugs responsible only fuelled the outcry. The danger here for the ruling class was that the police were seen to be in public contempt of the law they supposedly uphold. Newman was forced to act and four officers were arrested. *Police Review* magazine referred to the behaviour of the police involved in

the assault and cover up as a 'conspiracy of bastards'. Kaufmann, Labour Shadow Home Secretary, blurted out the real purpose of the exercise: 'to clear the good name of the police'.

Sections of the ruling class now recognise that the 'good name' of their police certainly needs 'clearing'. At the time of writing 64 Metropolitan Police officers are suspended awaiting the outcome of criminal or disciplinary proceedings. On 20 March a Metropolitan policeman was charged at Bow Street Magistrates Court with mugging a man for £20 and causing him grievous bodily harm. On the same day three more police appeared in the same court accused of assaulting a man and causing actual bodily harm. Seven police officers are presently suspended following the inquest verdict that black Hells Angel John Mikkleson was unlawfully killed by the police. And this is only the tip of the iceberg of police corruption, violence and criminality.

The police have always been an organisation based on violence and corruption. The police are, after all, an instrument of state violence, designed to control the working class and oppressed, and prepared to use whatever means considered necessary to do this. With the growing crisis of British imperialism forcing more and more people into opposition to the government's social, economic and political policies, the police inevitably come into direct conflict with ever wider sections of society. And as a result the real violence of the state and its police becomes apparent to more and more people through their own direct experience. It is this that now seriously threatens the ability of the ruling class and their allies to maintain the fiction of an impartial police force acting in the interests of all. Yet they have to sustain belief in this fiction in order to retain the political allegiance of the middle class, the Labour and trade union movement and other 'moderate' elements without whose support the ruling class could not stay in power. This is why, when the violence of the police is publicly exposed, it is always described by the police, the government,

Paying the thugs

The average earnings of a police constable in London have risen by 85% from £9,392pa (1979/80) to £16,102 (1984/5). Today, a sergeant earns £19,555pa and an inspector £22,597pa. The ruling class is creating a highly-paid elite force against the people.

the media and the Labour Party leadership as 'the action of a few bad apples' or 'maverick officers'. This is why, if need be, a few sacrificial lambs will be offered to appease 'moderate' elements and divert attention from the systematic, organised and calculated use of violence against the working class and oppressed.

The outcry surrounding the Manchester students and other highly publicised incidents contrasts starkly with the complete silence surrounding the systematic and far more brutal police violence being inflicted on the black community in Broadwater Farm. By 18 March the police had made 346 arrests; 176 of those arrested were released without charge. The only evidence against most of those charged is 'admissions' gained under interrogation, lengthy detention and beatings. 70 people have been charged with affray, 13 with riotous assembly and six for the killing of PC Blakelock. The police operation since 6 October 1985 has violated all legal and democratic rights of the people in the area. There has been no outcry about this from *The Guardian* and other organs of liberal opinion because, in this case, we are dealing with a section of the working class driven into violent opposition to a state which offers them nothing but racism and poverty.

The police operation at Broadwater Farm is being organised at the highest levels of the police and government. It cannot be passed off as the work of 'a few bad apples' or 'maverick officers'. To tell the truth about Broadwater Farm is to tell the truth about the British imperialist state and its racist police.

The police represent and administer the interests of the British ruling class. They cannot be reformed. They must be fought. This demands the political organisation of all those forces who are beginning to see this violent and brutal police force for what it is. Experience has already shown that where such organisation takes place and the police are confronted at every level - through publicity, public campaigning, demonstrations and pickets, organised pressure on MPs etc, and organised legal defence in the courts - they can be defeated. The Bradford 12 were proof of this. City of London AA Group's/SAEPC's successful defence of the right to demonstrate outside South Africa House is proof of this. Dr Maire O'Shea's unprecedented victory against the conspiracy laws and the PTA is proof of this also. The police would have us believe that they are invulnerable, a law unto themselves. If we organise we can defeat them and eventually destroy the imperialist system they are there to protect and support.

JOIN THE RCG

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!

A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement—Join the RCG!!

A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!!

Help us build a revolutionary anti-imperialist alternative. Work with us in our anti-racist, Irish solidarity, anti-apartheid and other struggles—Join the RCG!

I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name _____

Address _____

Tel. _____

Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

Black people fight back against terror

continued from page 1

Anonymous documents have recently been published revealing torture and indefinite detention without trial in the Transkei 'homeland'. The authors give evidence of 2,000 arrests between June and December 1985, and they fear this to be 'but the tip of the iceberg'. Puppet 'leader' Kaiser Matanzima can only maintain his privileged position by viciously oppressing his own people. There has been a State of Emergency in the Transkei since 1980.

Black communities in action

More and more 'white' towns are beginning to feel the effects of black community action. At the beginning of March the arch Conservative town of Warmbaths in the Transvaal ground to a halt when black residents launched a nine day general strike. Furious white racists had for the first time in their lives to organise their own refuse disposal and pump their own petrol. The militant black comrades of the town are also creating new facilities and projects for the black community, such as play areas for the children. Buildings and parks are being renamed after heroes of the struggle.

In East London white businesses are bracing themselves for the resumption of the consumer boycott, which for four months last year saw a devastating fall off in their trade. Two leaders of the boycott were issued with five year banning orders - Mkhuseleli Jack and Henry Fazzie; these were then withdrawn by the Appeal Court. And in another part of the Eastern Cape, the residents of the Langa township are organising to resist lies to Kwanobuhle township.

Since the massacre of black mourners in Langa on 21 March Langa has organised itself into street and area committees designed to ensure that the residents could 'participate fully and democratically in all the social and political affairs

that affect the township'. The Langa Co-ordinating Committee has been set up to challenge these forced removals and it has drawn up a report with proposals of how living conditions can be improved in Langa. The residents of the neighbouring white suburb of Uitenhage, who are campaigning for the township to be moved, are being faced with a community determined to stay put.

Alongside the struggles in the townships are the militant workers' struggles.

TUTU CALLS FOR SANCTIONS

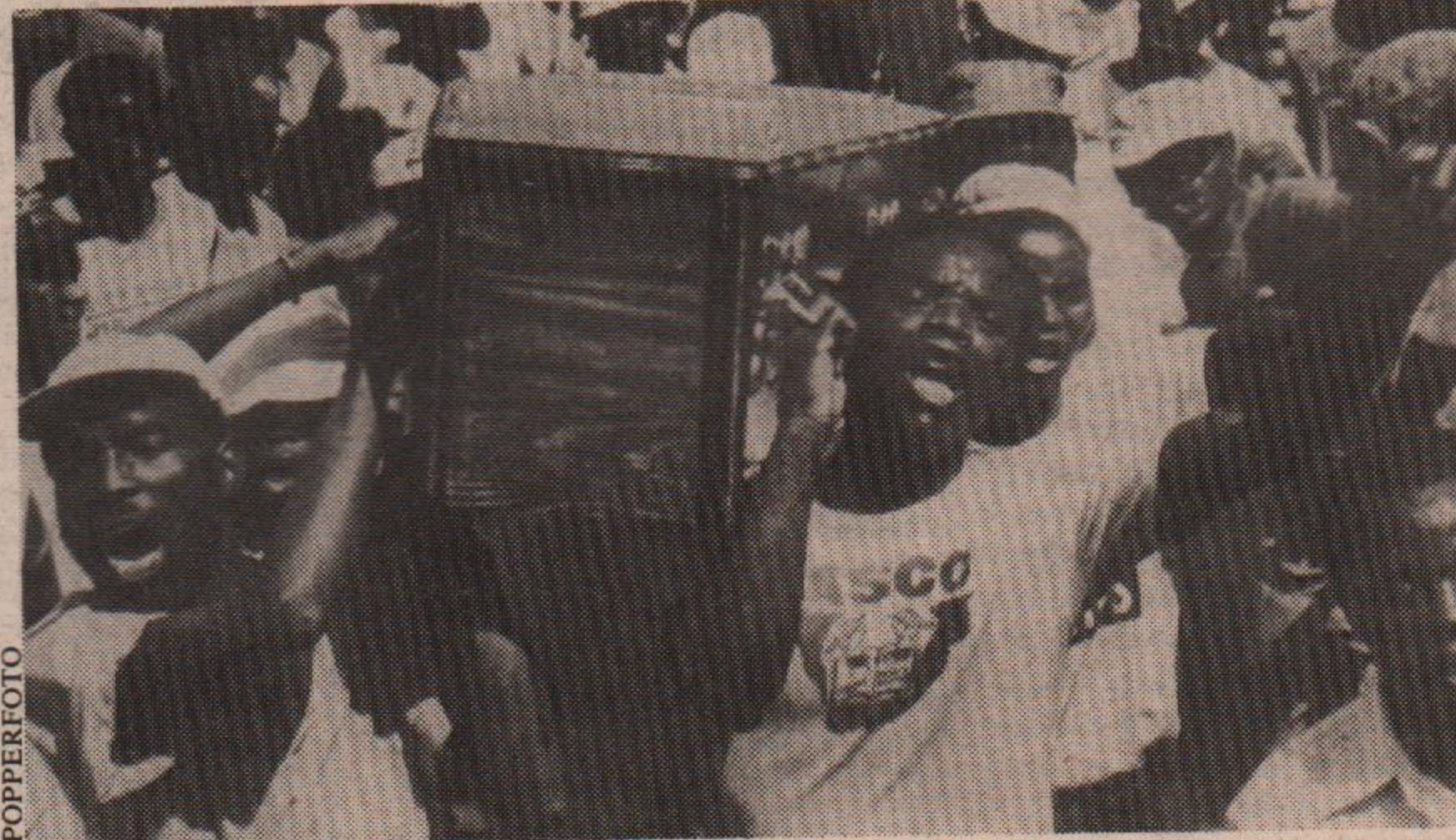
On 3 April Bishop Desmond Tutu issued a call for punitive sanctions against apartheid by the international community. Early in 1985 Bishop Tutu gave a public ultimatum to the regime that he would call for sanctions if apartheid was not dismantled in 2 years. Since then it has become clear to Bishop Tutu that Botha's promises of reform are empty. The black masses of South Africa and their allies recognised this fact long ago.

The response of the regime was entirely predictable. In angry response Louis Nel, Deputy (Mis)Information Minister, said that sanctions would be disastrous for black people in South Africa and neighbouring countries, 'but not for the Bishop of Johannesburg'. This was more hot air from a regime which specialises in lying, brutality and murder, and can scarcely claim to have the interests of black people at its heart.

The British government swiftly followed suit, declaring that 'we continue to believe that such boycotts would only make matters worse'. Worse for whom? British prof-

Meanwhile it is unclear if the apartheid regime intends to take out charges against Bishop Tutu. In South Africa it is illegal to call for sanctions and the charge of 'economic subversion' carries a maximum sentence of 20 years in jail. This is the 'democracy' and 'free speech' which Britain supports.

MAWU members have been staging a sit-in at the Haggie Rand Factory in demand of a public holiday on May Day and in demand of improved working and wage conditions. Throughout their occupation, Support Committees, set up by their wives and families, have provided them with food and have ensured that the sit-in has lasted for three weeks. Sit-ins are being used more frequently by unions in order to counter the management sacking all the strikers, locking them out and recruiting a new work-



force. On 18 March the 2 week long sit-in by 300 members of MAWU and the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAU) at the Pan African Outfitters factory in Germiston ended when police used teargas and dogs to drive the strikers out. Many suffered serious injuries and were hospitalised.

At a press conference called by the UDF, victims of police brutality described how they were taken to a mortuary, forced to strip naked and were then ruthlessly sjambokked (whipped). Accounts of arrest, beatings and torture are so widespread that the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court has been given sworn affidavits, accompanied by pho-

tographs, citing numerous incidents of brutality. Chini Mulondo, a black activist, has claimed that over 50 detainees have 'disappeared' this year alone.

In the gold mines tens of thousands of National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) members continue to carry out strike action and go-slows. On 13 March 1,200 miners ended a 36 hour underground sit-in at the Blyvooruitzicht Goldmine owned by Rand Mines. When the sit-in ended, the attack on two miners by mine security guards triggered mass protest. Teargas and rubber bullets were used against the miners and when the police were called in, live ammunition. Six miners were killed. Action in the mines is more and more influenced by wider political demands. At Blyvooruitzicht miners have been calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and for rule by the workers. At a mass rally last month Nelson Mandela was elected honorary President of the NUM for life.

Unity in action - the people will win

21 March 1986 was testimony to the unity of black people in struggle. Throughout South Africa the first anniversary of the Langa Massacre and the 26th anniversary of the murder of 69 unarmed demonstrators in Sharpeville was commemorated by mass rallies, memorial services and demonstrations. In the Eastern Cape the UDF and COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) called a one day stay-away to 'pay tribute to the martyrs of the past' and to 'force the bosses and the white ruling class to feel the latent power of a people determined to win their freedom'. Almost the entire black workforce of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage did not go to work, neither did three-quarters of the 'Coloured' workers. Instead 50,000 workers, students and men, women and children from the townships attended a memorial service in Kwanobuhle township near Langa. With clenched fist salutes, singing freedom songs and chanting slogans they put into action the ANC maxim - *Do not mourn - Mobilise!* The message from Winnie Mandela captured their mood and that of the South African people when she said that in remembering 'our comrades, the fallen in battle' black people would 'never accept that blood will continue to be flowing on our side only'.

VIVA THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Ruby Khan

CONFERENCE OF SELL OUTS

On 3 April a conference of wheeler-dealers opened in Durban, South Africa. The conference was jointly called by the Kwa Zulu tribal government, headed by arch sell-out Gatsha Buthelezi, and the white Natal Provincial Council.

With fine-sounding rhetoric - 'cutting the Gordian knot of racism and injustice' - the conference ostensibly seeks to set up a joint administration and legislative assembly for Natal province which will result in black majority rule. What is unclear, of course, is whether such an assembly will have the power to, for instance, repeal apartheid laws.

With liberation on the horizon in South Africa, many are rushing to pose as the

friends of the black masses. In reality they hope to stem the tide of freedom (even arch enemies of liberation like Barclays are playing the same game). By setting up this conference, Buthelezi, opponent of the ANC and sanctions, hopes to strengthen his own power. His aim is that liberation will leave power in the hands of an aspiring black bourgeoisie rather than in the hands of the masses.

The ANC, UDF and COSATU all declined to take part in the conference on the grounds that a special constitutional structure for Natal would be divisive and hamper the cause of black liberation nationally.

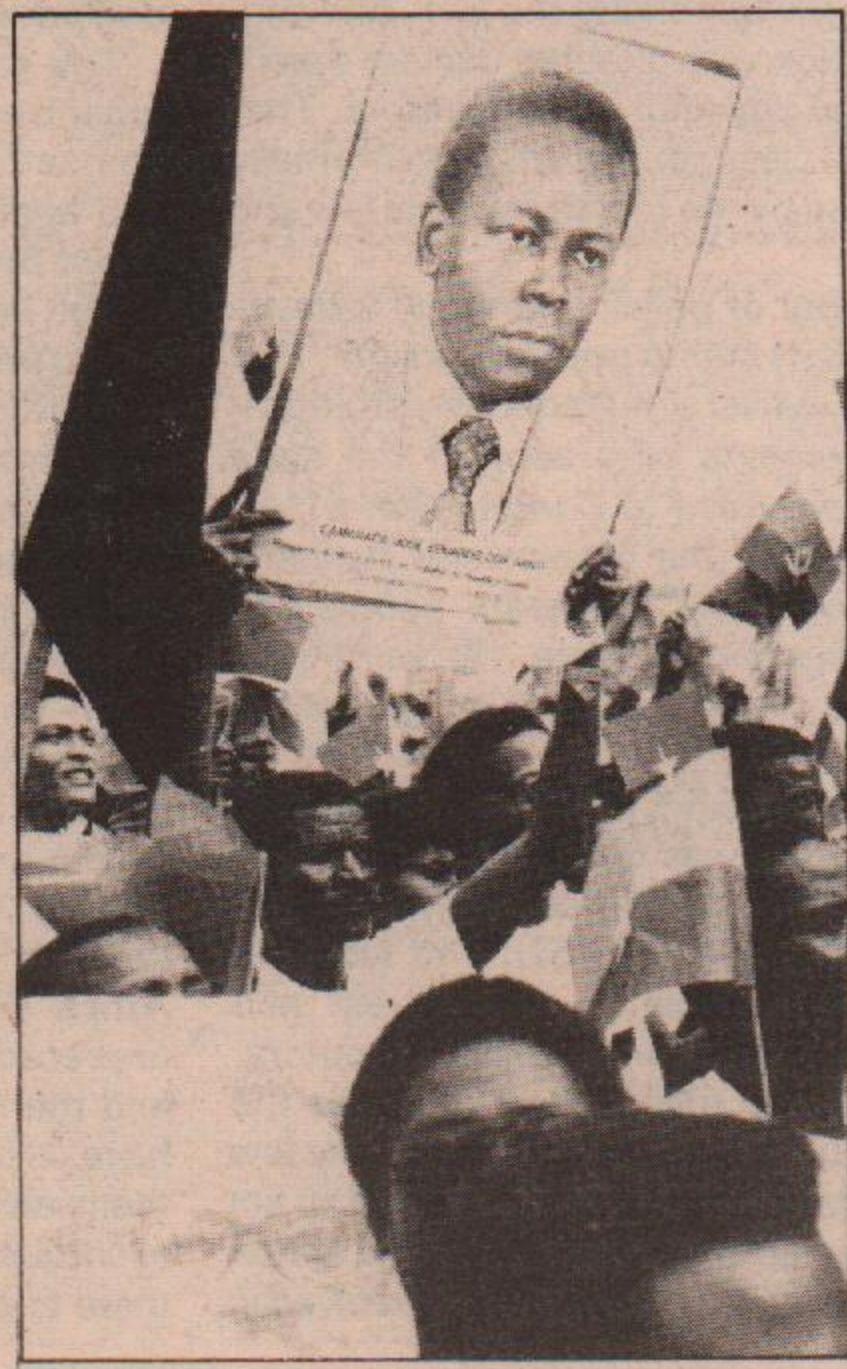
Amandla! Power to the People!

Angola hits back at US and South Africa

Like Nicaragua, the People's Republic of Angola is the target for a major mobilisation of reactionary forces under the CIA's orchestration with the aim of inflicting crippling blows on an independent anti-imperialist state and swinging the balance of forces in Southern Africa in favour of apartheid. The US and South Africa are working in close co-operation, with the bandit group Unita as their instrument.

In 1975 South Africa invaded Angola trying to murder the People's Republic at birth. The liberation movement MPLA called for assistance and Cuban internationalist volunteers joined the Angolan defence force FAPLA in heroic battles which beat back the FLNA approaching the capital city Luanda from the north and the South Africans to the south. Today there are 30,000 Cubans and 1,200 Soviet advisers helping to develop the country in social and economic spheres as well as its defence. If Angola's friends are clear, then so too are its enemies.

The US has never recognised the People's Republic and the central component of Reaganite policy has been to get the Cubans out of Angola, to which it now adds insistence on the inclusion of Unita in a government of 'national unity'. Last July the US Congress repealed the Clark Amendment which had since 1975 prevented overt aid to



Unita. Already Reagan has sent \$15m of military hardware, mostly anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, with further bills before Congress. During the last week it was announced that Unita would be supplied with US Stinger ground-to-air missiles. Angola gave its immediate reply. On Sunday 6 April a South African airforce transport plane delivering supplies to Unita was shot down by FAPLA.

During the MPLA's liberation struggle to kick out Portuguese colonialism Jonas Savimbi engendered tribalism, first in FLNA and then through Unita. He worked under cover as a collaborator with the colonial secret police. He graduated to become South Africa's stooge and was an honoured guest at the inauguration of PW Botha as apartheid State President.

Unita's bases near the Namibian border only survive because of South African protection. There are currently 5 SADF infantry battalions inside Angola. Last October FAPLA had repulsed an SADF raid 200km inside the country and was pressing in on Unita when the South African Air Force launched two devastating raids on FAPLA positions. Those newspapers which so sympathetically reported the abduction of 176 foreign workers from

the Andraba diamond mine do not mention that Unita has killed 1,000 Angolan civilians in the first two months of this year.

Counter-revolution in Angola has become a cause celebre of the US right to the extent that the Conservative Caucus chairman proclaimed: 'No politician will receive conservative support for the Presidency in 1988 who's not right on this issue.' The US adds enormous economic muscle to the direct funding and supply of Unita which it now shares with South Africa. Secretary of State Schultz warned the Chevron corporation to cease its co-operation in the production and export of oil from Angola as these activities 'do not serve US interests' in the region.

On the prompting of Reagan's emissary Chester Crocker, PW Botha introduced the policy of 'linkage' into apartheid's stand on Namibia. The US and South African governments argue that there can be no South African withdrawal from Namibia until Cuban forces leave Angola. Pretoria adopted this argument as the latest in its decades of manoeuvres to avoid negotiation with the United Nations or the liberation movement SWAPO. Botha's offer of 1 March that transition to self-determination under the terms of UN Resolution 435 would start from 1 August provided that 'a firm and satisfactory' agreement is reached on Cuban withdrawal from Angola is a move to shift responsibility for the Namibian impasse away from his own terrorist occupying forces.

The recent comments of South African General George Meiring belie Botha's smokescreen: 'As far as killing SWAPO is concerned, Koevoet ('Crowbar'), South Africa's paramilitary police - FRFI is a very effective machine... We do not want a SWAPO dominated

Namibia. SWAPO stands for a marxist, one-party state opposed to South Africa and could provide an ANC springboard into the Republic. We are working for the establishment of a country which will be favourably inclined towards South Africa.'

The British position is essentially the same. Three days after her Chequers talks with Botha in June 1984 Thatcher felt confident to state that Namibian independence 'will not occur until there is, in parallel, also the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola'. Against the reactionary Reagan/Thatcher/Botha/Savimbi alliance the MPLA and SWAPO have withstood all efforts to break their common bond of solidarity. Similarly Cuba has explicitly stated its solidarity with black people in the whole region of Southern Africa. At a recent congress Fidel Castro stated:

'I repeat here what I said in the closing speech at the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba: once the apartheid regime disappears in South Africa, the next day the complete withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops in Angola will begin.'

In December the MPLA held its second congress since liberation and in defiant mood reaffirmed Angola's full support for SWAPO's struggle. President Eduardo dos Santos welcomed the assistance of socialist countries and condemned US interference in Angolan affairs. The MPLA will not trade the people's freedom and there will be no reconciliation with Savimbi and his cohorts. As the congress slogan put it: 'The Struggle Continues. Victory is Sure'.

Andy Goddard

MONTH OF ACTION

The month of March was intended to be a major period of national action for the AAM. But, while black people die on the streets of South Africa and young people are criminalised by apartheid's courts for their part in the struggle, the month of action was marred by lack of action and lack of support. Yet the support of masses of white people could be mobilised to show solidarity to the struggle NOW when it is needed. The report below shows that, in Scotland, the Month of Action was rooted in bungling incompetence.

Month in the Life of the Edinburgh AAM

The main event of the Month of Action in Scotland was to be an all-Scotland demonstration on the 22 March in Glasgow. Posters and leaflets were late and the event was not publicised until just a few weeks before it. Two or three days before the 22 March, the Scottish Committee decided to cancel what would have been a miserable flop. They used the fact that the South African Consul General was to attend a meeting at the invitation of the British Youth Council that day in Edinburgh and said that they were merely changing the venue of the main event of the month by calling a picket instead. Of course, given the lack of notice, no more than 60 people were to the picket. The invitation to the consul had been cancelled by this time the picket was a bit aimless. A rally afterwards, addressed by SWAPO and the ANC was even less well attended. The venue was only known to those who had the good luck to have known where the picket was.

The day before this Scottish 'highlight', Worrall, the South African ambassador himself was in Scotland. Despite having been notified of this by Edinburgh District Council a good few days before, John McKinnon, the AA group secretary only announced it and a planned picket at the group meeting the day before. He had no excuse for this and no ideas of how to get people along. He wasn't coming himself). FRFI immediately contacted other groups and individuals and about 20 people were got to the picket.

The next meeting of the AA group was and to be a bit short of expected self-criticism about their disastrous month. FRFI asked for a report of events in the month of Action and this was refused. McKinnon argued that we were just asking in order to 'make a political point'. This was quite right. Any report would have revealed that the month of action had been a fiasco, with less people mobilised than in some ordinary months. On top of that, it was the month when the group's secretary and chair chose to leave home without leaving a forwarding address or telephone number. Their address and number was the official public contact point for the group!

Ever optimistic, FRFI proposed that, since the Month of Action had been so dismal, the group should quickly call a public event for the beginning of May and begin building for it. We suggested a 12 hour picket in the town centre. This was attacked as 'just off the top of our heads' and next business moved so that the Secretary could announce the sensible plans which he had made. This turned out to be a petition campaign for those under threat of execution in South Africa. But no date was set for this campaign to start. We asked for petitions and were refused as there had to be 'an official start'. In other words more of the same dismal efforts.

Undaunted, FRFI then asked the group to support the City AA Non Stop Picket - this was turned down flat by the action experts of the group. 'City AA' they said 'had done nothing but disrupt the AAM in Britain' and the proposal was nothing but another attempt to disrupt AA work in Britain. Clearly if our aim is to do nothing, and tell as few people as possible about it, plan nothing and go nowhere, then a group of activists which actually sets a date, goes flat out for maximum support, and then actually carries out its events successfully is incredibly disruptive!

NON-STOP PICKET OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE TRAFALGAR SQUARE

★ PICKET

- RELEASE NELSON MANDELA
- RELEASE ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
- CLOSE DOWN THE RACIST SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY

19 APRIL DEMONSTRATE
Assemble 2pm
Bidborough St, Nearest tube Kings Cross.

MARCH TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE TO START THE NON-STOP PICKET AT 4PM

SPONSORS

Jeremy Corbyn MP; Ernie Roberts MP; Denis Skinner MP; Richard Balfe MEP; Norma and David Kitson; Peter Heathfield (NUM); Mayor and Mayoress of Haringey, Steve King (Haringey councillor); Islington councillors Keith and Valerie Veness, Kathy Bundred, Bob Crossman (Deputy Mayor), Marjorie Ogilvie Webb (Mayor), Margaret Hodge (Leader); Lambeth councillors Ted Knight, Terry Rich, Sharon Atkin; GLC Ken Livingstone, Paul Boateng, Valerie Wise, Jenny Fletcher; Lawyers and barristers Louise Christian, Sarivan Singh, Lord Tony Gifford, James Wood, Thandi Huzworth; Individuals and organisations Spartacus R, Camden Committee for Community Relations, Revolutionary Communist Group, Altarf, Bengali Workers Action Group, Chinese Information and Advice Centre, Newham Monitoring Project, Migrant Services Unit, Standing Conference of West Indian Organisations, Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, Campaign against Police Repression, Breakout! Collective, Nalگو Voluntary Organisations Branch

SPEAKERS

So far confirmed: Richard Balfe MEP, David Kitson, Norma Kitson, Bob Crossman Deputy Mayor Islington, Mayor and Mayoress of Haringey, Revolutionary Communist Group, James Wood (Barrister), Spartacus R.

CITY OF LONDON ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP



COME AND HEAR MINT JULEPS RAGGED TROUSERED CABARET CITY GROUP SINGERS 4-8PM

Demonstrate on 19 April ★

City AA is forging ahead with its planned non-stop picket outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square. Support for this initiative is flowing in from a wide range of organisations and individuals - proving that the time is right for such a demonstration of solidarity with the struggle in South Africa.

Inside South Africa, pressure is still mounting for the release of Mandela. He has been elected honorary president of the South African National Union of Mineworkers, and a number of organisations have come together in the Free Mandela Committee. The offices of this committee were firebombed early in

March, a mark of the fear that demands for his unconditional release arouse in the racists of apartheid South Africa. Mandela, who could have won personal freedom at the end of last year at the price of distancing himself from the people's freedom, remains intransigent that his freedom must be the same as their freedom.

The regime still does not know how to act. The risk of his continued imprisonment seems as great as the risk of his release. So Mandela remains inside Pollsmoor prison - a continuing reminder to the world that apartheid is not reformable, and that South Africa is one giant

prison for its black population.

Commonwealth 'action' against apartheid has all along been dictated to by the Thatcher government's determination to 'do a little bit' (banning of Krugerrands) has still not been enforced. And Thatcher has no intention of enforcing it. Why would she unless she is forced to?

Protest against apartheid here in Britain is absolutely crucial to expose Thatcher's and the ruling class's hypocrisy. A real movement against apartheid would ensure that there is mass protest at every instance of British economic, military and political support for the regime.

That a much smaller organisation, City AA, outlawed and criticised by the AAM, should have the commitment and the courage to undertake the non-stop picket only confirms the political cowardice of the AAM.

City Group was very concerned to receive such a letter from SWAPO and discussed the question at length, recognising of course that SWAPO has every right to choose which platforms to speak on, and understanding entirely that SWAPO values its 'long-standing relationship with the AAM'. Nevertheless City Group did not wish to change its name as it is well known throughout London for its anti-racist standpoint and activity, and firmly believed that the AAM leadership had 'perpetuated the conflict' by expelling the group. The least that could be expected of the AAM - a reputedly democratic organisation - was that the issue of disaffiliation by the National Committee would be discussed at the AGM in November 1985.

Wishing to give 'genuine support' to SWAPO, City Group went ahead with its public meeting and benefit, both of which were highly successful and raised £300 for the appeal.

A cheque was sent to the Namibia Support Committee (NSC) - the British solidarity group which was organising the appeal. City Group was nonplussed when the NSC refused to accept the money on the grounds that SWAPO would not accept City Group's solidarity. No mention had been made at any point that money raised by City Group for urgently needed material aid would be turned away.

Such solidarity action is long overdue here. Support is coming in from every quarter - sponsors include MPs and MEPs, councillors and barristers, law-anti-racist and socialist organisations and many other people. Leaflets have been asked for from colleges and organisations throughout Britain. And this is only the beginning.

The RCG is giving its full support to the picket - our comrades will be there with our banners, papers and leaflets, winning people to action against British collaboration with apartheid and to the wider struggle against British imperialism and racism.

Come to the demonstration on 19 April. Be one of the people who are recognising the need to stand up and be counted in the fight. Make a commitment to support the picket in the weeks and months to come. Join Us!
Susanna Lloyd Maggie Mellon

It now became clear that the NSC and the AAM were hoping to 'freeze out' City Group, and that SWAPO, despite its wish not to become 'embroiled in the conflict', was in practice pursuing a very different course.

City Group was left with a large amount of money collected from ordinary people which it wished to hand over to the rightful owners. Consequently a letter was written directly to SWAPO in Africa enclosing a money order. Because of an administrative error made by City Group's secretary, for which he has unreservedly apologised both to City Group and to SWAPO, no copy of that letter was sent to SWAPO in Britain. It is for this mistake that the AAM has chosen to brand City Group as 'dishonest' and has applauded SWAPO's decision not to accept the money as 'principled'.

No one can doubt that the AAM's decision to print this tawdry tale in AA News is anything other than an unprincipled pursuit of its sectarian aims - to drive anyone organising around a different political viewpoint out of the AAM. Their behaviour only increases City Group's sadness that much needed funds have been sitting in a bank account for nearly a year instead of going to the freedom fighters who need them.

Carol Brickley

City AA counters sectarianism

The March issue of *Anti-Apartheid News* contained an anonymous article condemning City of London Anti-Apartheid Group for 'dishonesty'. Under the heading 'SWAPO condemns dishonesty', the anonymous author says that SWAPO has labelled City Group as 'underhand and manipulative'. With such venom, the author treats us to a sorry little tale which the AAM is currently peddling as part of its desperate campaign to undermine City Group. What are the facts?

In April last year City Group planned a public meeting and benefit to raise funds for the SWAPO Medical Kits Appeal. The public meeting was planned for 16 May and, amongst others, SWAPO was invited to speak. A letter was received from SWAPO dated 25 April declining the invitation on the grounds that City Group had been disaffiliated from the AAM and that 'by continuing to identify yourselves as part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement we believe you are perpetuating this conflict, dissipating a great deal of energy and confusing many

people in the process.' The letter went on to say that if SWAPO accepted City Group's invitation it would be seen to have 'endorsed City AA Group' and that SWAPO did not wish to 'become embroiled in this conflict'. The letter closed with the following paragraph:

'We want to make it quite clear to you that we recognise the goodwill and dedication of many of your members and wish to encourage their genuine support for our struggle. We find it particularly regrettable as a result to have to take this position.'

The showtrial that nobody could watch

For 6 days at the end of February and the start of March the British state put on a show trial at Highbury Magistrates Court. It was the committal hearings of 13 young men, half of them juveniles, on charges of murder, affray and riotous assembly arising out of the events of 6 October at Broadwater Farm Estate in Tottenham. 11 of the defendants were charged on their own alleged admissions, two were there on no admission of guilt, one of them a juvenile, the other Winston Silcott.

At the forthcoming Old Bailey trial the police hope to get 6 or 7 murder convictions and 13 very long sentences of imprisonment in revenge for the death of PC Blakelock. The wheel will have come full circle and police powers will be shown to be as almighty as on the day that Mrs Jarrett died in her home when the police invaded it. That, at least, is the intention of the British state, and the reason for a show trial. They traded off charges for information and the promise of protection. They used court-room drama - Winston Silcott in handcuffs flanked on either side by the younger defendants, like a captured war leader with his men. They used intimidation, harassment of relatives, all the tricks of the trade familiar to the courts in the North of Ireland in the last 10 years.

And yet the show trial was a pitiful affair. The police 'witnesses' were young boys who had been interrogated under pressure for hours on end. And they said so:

'I did not tell the truth, I was scared. I knew the police wanted names so I gave them names... I invented it to

Two promising young witnesses for the police retracted everything and said that their admissions were made under heavy duress. Another young defendant is supposed to have made an admission of murder in a letter he wrote while in custody to a friend. Neither the letter nor a photocopy were produced in court.

The hundreds of police photos that were taken on the night of 6 October are too dull and indistinct to mean anything and the prosecution has had to make up a case of identification from a fleeting glance in the dark of a friend last seen two years ago whose lower face was covered by a scarf!

Prima facie was the prosecution's favourite phrase to support its applications for trial. This 'on the face of it' evidence means, in the case of Winston Silcott, detention without access for 3 days, interrogation while naked, except for a paper bag, and frightened young witnesses who gave his name after hours of interrogation.

But pitiful as the prosecution case was, they were determined that as few friends and family of the 13 as possible

court room was chosen, seating 10. After complaints by the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign there were visits by MPs and Home Secretary Douglas Hurd. 5 more people were eventually allowed standing room in the public gallery, but even so close relatives had to sit outside waiting their turn to go in.

All 13 were committed for trial by a magistrate who said in his summing-up that while there was no evidence of a plan, there was the intent to give the police 'a bloody good hiding'. How convenient for him to use this famous quote of Bernie Grant!

The crowded court, the frightened youngsters in the dock, the distraught relatives queuing to listen, none of this was reported in the capitalist press. It is not the rules of sub judice that prevent reporting of this case, nor is it the belief that the 13 young men are guilty.

The 6 October rising saw the first death of a policeman in an uprising in Britain for decades. The media are more than willing to assist the courts in exacting revenge for Blakelock's death.

Susan Davidson, Ken Hughes



Rotten apples a bumper harvest

On 19 March, Derek Pascal, a young black man was awarded £3,500 damages against Stoke Newington police. The affair started in 1980 when he was arrested and taken to the notorious thugs den - Stoke Newington police station. He was tortured by a Sergeant Hunter: punched in the face, chest and stomach, flung against the wall and burned with cigarettes in order to extract a confession. Confess he did - to 13 muggings and burglaries. He was charged with 4 offences. Nine months later, after householders had made it clear that the alleged burglaries had not occurred and police records themselves showed that only 2 of the crimes had occurred at all, he was acquitted.

Yet despite public allegations of torture which an Old Bailey jury clearly convicted, it was not until 9 years later, in 1983, that an internal investigation started and then only because Pascal had started civil action for damages. Neither Hunter, nor his accomplice Detective Constable Rex Sergeant, who had held Pascal down during the torture, were suspended and Hunter was able to retire with 9 commendations and no blemish on his record.

After 11 months of 'investigation', the DPP concluded there was insufficient evidence to proceed. Pascal was undeterred, continued with his civil action and has exposed police violence yet again.

Following Pascal's victory, the Yard are consulting their solicitors to find out what further action may be taken although they have already said that 'no further action on our part can be taken against Sergeant Hunter who has now retired'. What's wrong with charging him with assault?

Superintendent John Peck from Stoke Newington police station may make glib disclaimers about how he 'had no personal knowledge of the case' as he 'was not at this station in 1980'. He

can even say 'Since then there has been a radical change at Stoke Newington and we now pride ourselves on the way we handle prisoners here.'

Black people are not so easily hoodwinked. Perhaps Superintendent Peck would tell the young black couple who are now suing the police after at least 12 police officers wielding guns smashed through their front door at 8am one morning last month, about 'radical change'.

Their two bedrooms and bathroom were wrecked, furniture broken and clothes strewn everywhere. Jackie Lewin describes the experience: 'I'm still shaking, I could have been shot like Cherry Groce... they burst through the door pointing guns at me and said "Don't move or we'll shoot."'

Chief Superintendent Roger Barr, who authorised the raid has said he 'cannot respond to specific allegations about police procedure unless a complaint is made' but he has pointed out that 'nobody was assaulted, nobody was shot.' Faced with racist thugs in blue, maybe that is something we should be thankful for!

Keinde Olawale

VASCO TATE IS INNOCENT

After nearly 2 years the charge of grievous 'bodily harm on a policeman have been dropped against Vasco Tate of Chapelton, Leeds. As reported in *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* last year, the charges arose from an incident outside the Hayfield Pub, Chapelton when a policeman had his nose broken. Police attempts to get Vasco convicted for this led to his door being smashed down with a sledge hammer, harassment of 2 defence witnesses and a week long trial in September 1985 at which the jury failed to reach a verdict. The police called for a retrial at which the charges were dropped and Vasco bound over for 12 months for £200 so that the police could maintain some face. The courts have in fact shown as the leaflets and posters in Chapelton and the picket of the court have said, that Vasco Tate was innocent.

Chas Millington

Strike against race checks

Last month, five of 15 staff at Hackney Job Centre were suspended for refusing to carry out race checks on claimants in dole offices. The suspensions led to strike action at 15 Job Centres, 15 Unemployment Benefit Offices (UBOs) and 2 Social Security offices throughout London, and in offices as far away as Sheffield.

The government has been trying to bring in what it calls 'ethnic monitoring' of the unemployed for two years. UBO staff are instructed to visually assess a claimant's race as 'Afro-Caribbean', 'Asian' or 'Other'/'Unclassified'. If a claimant falls under one of the first two categories, the information is stored on benefit computers using the claimant's National Insurance number.

Numerous threats of strike action by local union branches, plus official opposition by the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) nationally, initially dissuaded the government.

However, in January this year, the scheme was suddenly sprung on UBO staff in Toxteth, Liverpool and Thornton Heath, London, provoking a two week long strike in both offices, backed up by one day strikes in many others. This succeeded in stopping the race checks.

Unfortunately, the CPSA has now sided with the government by introducing these race checks in Job Centres instead, where union membership is generally weak. The CPSA's official line is that it accepts government assurances that the information cannot

be linked to claims made at the UBOs, and that they will be used to promote equal opportunity for black job seekers! A spokesperson for the Federation of Claimants Unions (FCU) who are opposed to the race checks, pinpointed the real reason, stating that the information could end up on police files or with the Immigration department. This is of course why they are being introduced.

Should more strikes prove necessary, we hope all claimants will support the staff involved. In the meantime, we suggest that people using Job Centres, UBOs and the DHSS tell the interviewers that they do not want to take part in 'ethnic monitoring.' If enough people do this, the government's information gathering exercise will be defeated.

CPSA Shop Steward

We must defend ourselves

At 11 am on 12 February, Delroy Lindo, an active member of the Winston Silcott Defence Campaign (WSDC) was arrested in Tottenham with his baby son by plain clothes police and taken to Chingford, Essex, police station. His wife was contacted by a witness who heard Delroy shout out his name and telephone number. When Sonia Lindo arrived at Chingford Police station, the police refused to let her see either Delroy or the baby unless she gave them a statement. She refused. The police said they were planning to charge Delroy 'in connection with the riot' (the Tottenham uprising). They finally agreed to hand over the baby, but kept Delroy, who also refused to sign a statement, in custody.

Sonia arrived home at 6pm to find police waiting for her. They demanded entry into the house and threatened to smash down the door. They again tried to get Sonia to sign a statement, and told her she could be imprisoned if she

refused. She did refuse, and pointed out to the police that they could not enter her home without a search warrant, which they did not have. The police eventually left.

Immediately FRFI comrades were

informed of Delroy's arrest, we began organising to get him out: we bombarded the police station with 'phone calls, contacted lawyers, the press etc... we were successful - Delroy was released without charge that evening.

At 7.45 am on 18 March, 13 police raided the house where Michael Jarrett, son of Cynthia Jarrett, was staying. Michael and his girlfriend were hauled off to Enfield police station where they were held without access to their families or a solicitor for most of the time. Again, FRFI comrades, together with members of the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee and others, acted swiftly to gain the couple's release by contacting the police station, helping to organise legal defence and gaining publicity. Again we were successful:

Michael and his girlfriend were released without charge after 10 and 13 hours respectively.

The above incidents prove what FRFI has said all along, that political organisation is a successful and necessary weapon in the struggle to defend ourselves against racist police harassment.

Charine James

The Winston Silcott Defence Campaign is continuing to fight the charge against Winston, who is being framed by the police for the death of PC Blakelock. Speakers, leaflets and petitions are available from the Campaign, and donations are urgently needed. The Campaign can be contacted at: Winston Silcott Defence Campaign, c/o The Triangle Centre, 93 St Anns Road, Tottenham, London N15

PEOPLE AND POLITICS

Viraj Mendis black communist

At the age of 17 Viraj Mendis came to Britain to study. He arrived in 1973. By 1975 he had run out of money and had to find work to finance his studies. As an immigrant on a student visa he had to accept whatever work he could get. His work experience was similar to that of many immigrant workers at the mercy of employers who use the immigration laws to impose intolerable conditions on their workers.



POLICE FILE

● It's those little things that get you into trouble. Nineteen policemen from nine different forces are facing disciplinary proceedings for misuse of the police national computer. It came in handy for the BP and National Oil car registration competition and was used a total of 529 times for tracking down those golden car numbers.

● Policemen are alleged to have lied in court when they claimed a man attempted to solicit three prostitutes in Bayswater, West London. The man they picked for the frame was Judge Colin Hart-Leverton. Bad mistake boys.

● Gerry Gable, publisher of the anti-fascist magazine Searchlight, is claiming that a right-wing Conservative MP plotted to kidnap and kill him after he published information about Tory collusion with fascists. Scotland Yard said that the case was 'a very emphatic "do not discuss"', and that the matter is being dealt with 'at a higher level than the Metropolitan Police'. High enough to smother any further disclosures.

● The problem of how to deal with a hostile police committee has finally been solved by the Police Federation. It is seeking to have all 30 members of the West Midlands police committee sent to prison.

● The Police Complaints Authority is 'powerless' to deal with a complaint against PC Frank Geraghty, said to have hit a man over the head so hard his truncheon broke, because he was off duty at the time. And Scotland Yard can't do a thing because it has 'no record of any complaint'. (The victim's solicitor sent a complaint to the Chief Superintendent of Limehouse police station in August last year, two days after the incident took place). Meanwhile the victim, Mr Gerald Farrelly, was charged with actual bodily harm to the officer, viz, grazing the base of his little finger. Farrelly was cleared, and is having to take out a civil action against the Metropolitan Police due to its and the Police Complaints Authorities' complicity.

● Shortly before the Guardian made its allegations that Manchester police have pursued a vicious campaign against two students involved in complaints against the police - a campaign including violent assaults, numerous suspicious burglaries, and death threats - Manchester police Chief Constable James Anderton wrote the following hollow letter to the same newspaper: 'Chief officers of police utterly reject any allegation, suggestion, or inference that criminal violence or the excessive or unwarranted use of force by police officers in the execution of their duties is condoned by senior officers, or that there is any unwillingness or reluctance to bring alleged police offenders to justice'. Fact: since the assaults on the students, which have taken place over a period of one year, the students, have not once been asked to attend identity parades by the Avon and Somerset officers 'investigating' their complaints, despite having given detailed descriptions of the police involved. The students have finally resorted to publicly releasing artists' impressions of these officers with the assistance of Manchester Council. Anderton's band of thieves and brigands have merely denied the allegations and made veiled threats indicating that charges of wasting police time or similar will follow.

VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY!



GERARD LIVETT

VIRAJ MENDIS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN LAUNCHES

Manchester to London march

On Saturday 5 July the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign (VMDC) will begin a 3-week long march from Manchester to London. This is the VMDC's response to the Immigration Court's rejection of Viraj's appeal against deportation. Focussing on Viraj's case the march is set to become a major campaign against all deportations and all immigration controls.



Anwar Ditta speaking in support of Viraj Mendis on 26 March

ston Silcott Defence Campaign, David Kitson and many other MPs, individuals and groups.

You can help!

United together, we can make this march an enormous success, ensure that Viraj remains in Britain and deliver a powerful

blow against immigration controls.

Wherever you or your organisation are, commit yourself to the march! Can you raise money? Do you have contacts in the towns we are marching through? Can you help with publicity, food, accommodation or in any other way? If you can then contact us.

MARCH AGAINST RACISM, DEPORTATIONS AND IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

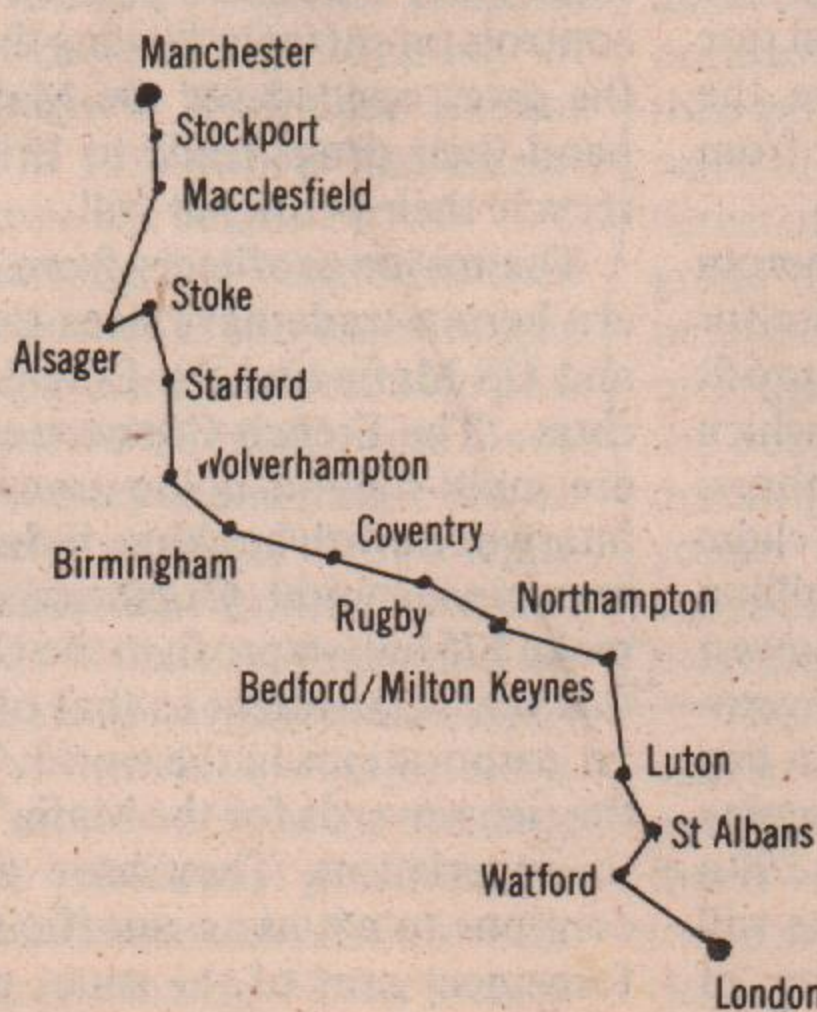
MANCHESTER-LONDON

BEGINS SATURDAY 5 JULY
ENDS SATURDAY 26 JULY

Route of march

Manchester	Coventry
Stockport	Rugby
Macclesfield	Northampton
Alsager	Bedford/Milton Keynes
Stoke	Luton
Stafford	St Albans
Wolverhampton	Watford
Birmingham	London

Route of march



The VMDC needs your help: with publicity, organising meetings, food, accommodation and much else. If you can help fill in and return the slip below

Name _____
Address _____
Telephone _____

VMDC c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester M15 5AL

Over 170 people packed a Manchester City Council hall on 26 March to launch the march. The meeting was addressed by Viraj, an RCG supporter, Eddie Abrahams, on behalf of the RCG, Anwar Ditta, Ken Strath, Chair of Manchester City Council and many others.

'We all know Viraj. My campaign is willing to give him as much support as we can.' Immigration Wives and Fiances Campaign

'We won our case a few months ago against deportation. A march to London, I feel, is a very good idea. The Home Office are not listening to us. This time we have a chance to prove ourselves.' Mohammad Azhar

'Something new has to come up. If the Home Office can play new tactics, why don't we start off something new? So this march can help in a lot of ways. In Viraj's case and other brothers and sisters as well. If everybody commits themselves it can be done.' Anwar Ditta

The VMDC's open and democratic principles of organisation - allowing all participants and supporters equal rights in discussion and activity - ensured that support came from a very wide range of organisations.

Six anti-deportation campaigns based in Manchester pledged their support. One after another, Bakula Chaudhari, Garnett Korler, Nasim Bibi, Manchester Immigration Wives and Fiances and Mohammad Azhar defence campaign representatives, urged everyone to support the march.

Other speeches and messages of solidarity were given from the Direct Action Movement, Manchester Federation of Anarchists, Paul Weller, an ordained Christian clergyman, a member of Man-

'... In this march we have the possibility of a national focus that could be a very powerful event not only to save our brother Viraj but also to challenge racism here and imperialism throughout the world.'

Paul Weller, clergyman

'I fully support the march from here to London. I don't think it is just a fight for Viraj. This fight is for everybody, especially for the Asian community and black people in this country.'

chester SWP, City of London and Merseyside Anti-Apartheid Groups, Campaign Against Police Repression, Sheffield Defence Campaign, Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee, the Win-

'I worked 72 hours a week, 12 hours a night, six nights a week. I was labelling. Life was extremely hard. Most of the foremen were white. Most of the workers were Asian. It taught me the reality of life for the oppressed even in one of the richest imperialist nations in the world.'

Viraj lost his job through racism and was forced onto the dole. He lived in Hulme, a huge poor working class estate in Manchester. Now he experienced what it means to be poor, black and unemployed in racist Britain. It was these experiences that turned Viraj to communism. He became a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG).

'I was looking for a way to fight racism. And communism was the most effective way. The RCG understood that underneath racism was the imperialist system. Without fighting the force that is behind racism you cannot really have any effect on eliminating racism.'

As a supporter of the RCG Viraj threw himself into 'fighting the force that is behind racism'. In Manchester he became well known, and widely respected, as a supporter of the Irish people's right to self-determination, of the Tamil people's fight against genocide in Sri Lanka, and most of all, of all black people threatened by deportation. It was undoubtedly this work that made the British state determined to be rid of Viraj Mendis, a black communist.

M Patey, MBE, Immigration Appeals Chief Adjudicator, made this clear in his rejection of Viraj's appeal: 'It ill behoves

ority to participate in campaigns against the deportation of others.'

M Patey will soon learn that it 'ill behoves' the racist Home Office to attack Viraj Mendis. 'I am inspired by the memory of Bobby Sands. I am inspired by the courage of the South African people. I am inspired by the struggle of people like Anwar Ditta who fought for years and forced the 'mighty' Home Office to let her children live with her.' Such inspiration will make the national march from Manchester to London not only a massive display of solidarity with our comrade Viraj Mendis, but also a united people's challenge to the Home Office and the racist immigration laws.

SRI LANKA - STATE TERROR

'I must accept that Sri Lanka is inherently a democracy where the rule of law applies.' M Patey, MBE, Immigration Appeals Chief Adjudicator in rejecting Viraj Mendis' appeal against deportation.

'In November 1985 the Sri Lankan government decided to establish a human tissue bank in Colombo and to export the tissues abroad. Human corneas, heart valves, skin, bones, kidneys, membranes etc are sold abroad in large numbers. Tamil youths murdered by the Sri Lankan armed forces are the source of supply for this gruesome enterprise.' Statement issued by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

'In the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka more than 80 persons working in paddy fields were gunned down by the security forces on 19 February.' Moderate Tamil Times March 1986

'... at the village a Roman Catholic priest Chandra Fernando has been quoted as saying he found piles of charred, half-burnt bodies and about 60 severed heads.' Daily Telegraph February 1986

In the ten months to February this year human rights workers in Sri Lanka recorded 2,578 killings of civilians by the 'security' forces; 12,105 arrests; and 547 people 'disappeared'. The Sri Lankan 'security' forces are trained by British and Israeli personnel and use South African equipment.

This page compiled by Eddie Abrahams, Viraj Mendis, Terry O'Halloran and Chris Proctor

Hard drug consumption has risen with unemployment and deteriorating social conditions. It is no accident that these wasting poisons have flowed down the social order from being a decadent pastime of the rich into the working class. Working class youth in particular were targeted as the most likely and profitable market. Packaged in the marketing language of 'rushes', 'hits' and 'highs', drugs are presented as an alternative to the daily reality of capitalist society. Their illegality enhances this appeal, pits street pushers' wits in a mock and fruitless battle with the law, but the law always remains.

Heroin is an instrument of social control employed by the imperialist ruling class. Its raw material, the opium poppy, is cultivated in the oppressed nations by peasants who receive a mere fraction of the final goods' selling price, it is processed by chemists employed by big business crime, and its distribution is monitored and guided by imperialist state intelligence agencies into the oppressed communities of the capitalist heartlands.

Britain fought two 'Opium Wars', 1839-42, 1856-60, to enforce an opium trade on China which left that country with 15 million addicts. From China in the last century to Turkey and Iran, South East Asia and Afghanistan in this century, the opium and then heroin trade was developed and then relocated as imperialism's strategic interests changed. Nowhere has the scourge of supplies and addiction been uprooted without socialist revolution: China, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos sliced-off the tentacles of the drug dealing Mafia. Thatcher's 'war on drugs' is a cover for extending the powers of the state, its police, courts, customs and immigration officials, and armed forces against the people, both in Britain and the oppressed nations.

In April 1985 Royal Naval officers participated in Operation Blue Lightning, carried out by US and Bahamian units. A section of the Caribbean was blockaded by helicopters, planes and 85 ships. Territorial rights of Caribbean nations were waved aside as the joint forces claimed that they 'had broken

As in the Caribbean so in Britain. In his report on the September 1985 Handsworth rising West Midland's Chief Constable Geoffrey Dear claimed that the fightback against police repression 'was orchestrated by local drug dealers who had become fearful for the demise of their livelihoods'. Black people in Britain do not have a tradition of using 'hard drugs', in fact, they have a tradition of keeping them out of their communities. Nevertheless, drug use and drug laws have been used to legitimate the police invasion of St Pauls, Bristol in 1980, Brixton in 1981, and the continuing repression of black people in their communities and homes.

The Flowing Poison

'Capital eschews no profit, or very small profit, just as Nature was formerly said to abhor a vacuum. With adequate profit, capital is very bold. A certain 10 per cent will produce eagerness; 50 per cent positive audacity; 100 per cent will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent, and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. If turbulence and strife will bring a profit, it will freely encourage both. Smuggling and the slave-trade have amply proved all that is here stated.' T J Dunning, cited in Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I.

For a major trader an ounce of heroin can contain, depending upon its purity, perhaps between ten and fourteen times the value of its weight in gold. The illegal drug market in the USA is estimated to be worth around \$100 billion annually, with profits exceeded only by the arms industry and giant oil corporations. Figures are notoriously unreliable in this business, dealers may employ accountants and lawyers but do not pay taxes and are not bound to publish their accounts. However, on the assumption that there are between fifty and one hundred thousand heroin addicts in Britain their annual expenditure on this drug alone would exceed £100 million at the very low price of £30,000 a kilo.

During the first five years of Thatcher's government, 1979-84, there was a 400 per cent increase in the amount of heroin smuggled into Britain, producing a 50 per cent drop in street prices; one of the few goods to drop in price in Thatcher's Britain. The press dwell in detail upon the results: council estates riddled with 'junkies', ten year old addicts thieving off family and friends and the countless other horrors. Condemning the drug trade is good publicity for the politicians. It is also rank hypocrisy coming from the guardians of a capitalist system which nurtures the very conditions which give rise to the demand for drugs, which organises the production and distribution of the drugs in conformity with its strategic and economic interests, and which treats the addicted victims with brutal contempt.



Australian youth in Sydney, injecting themselves with heroin.

Given a purchase price in Pakistan of £4,000 enormous profits are being made.

Last year customs officials netted £120 million worth of drugs. No customs service anywhere in the world believes that it catches more than 10 per cent of the drugs traffic. Even if Thatcher doubled the number of customs officers, rather than reduce them as she did, 80 per cent of the drugs would still get through. A one in three survival rate was considered sufficient to give the slave traders a worthwhile profit from their human merchandise.

Slavery, pornography, and heroin will all attract capital and enterprise for as long as they yield sufficient profit under a capitalist system. That which does not yield a profit capital abhors: the government's compassion makes much of its claim that it is currently spending £19 million on its 'war on drugs'. Given the lowest estimate of 50,000 addicts the government's compassion runs to £1.04 a day per addict. The average cost of keeping a person in hospital on the NHS is £90 a day! Even if its politicians had the will capitalism could not stem the flow of poison.

The addictive qualities of heroin and

cocaine give it a rapid and expanding turnover, it is marketed and advertised at no extra cost to the major dealers by its users, and enormous amounts of exchange value can be compressed into small quantities. When Britain gave shelter to the Shah of Iran's torture police, *Savak*, in 1979 they transported their wealth with them in the form of heroin rather than gold. When, in the same year, Thatcher removed exchange controls on currency leaving the country the gates opened for the Mafia to expand their drugs trade to Britain, and recycle their profits at will.

The major profiteers from the modern heroin trade have been the Sicilian and US Mafia and the Corsican Syndicates, 'The French Connection'. These are multi-million dollar transnationals interwoven with banking, industrial and municipal capital. Organised crime will make \$75 billion profit in the USA alone this year: equivalent to that of the largest corporations in the world. These are the rich rewards for the Mafia's services to imperialism. They have acted and continue to act as an unofficial law enforcement arm of the state, and as an auxiliary force against the oppressed nations.

The Mafia's Political Trade

'Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it get in. We have got to organise against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from Red literature and Red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy'. Al Capone in *Liberty Magazine*, produced by the US National Association of Manufacturers.

The methods used by the post-1945 Mafia narcotics industry were devised by Meyer Lansky and Charles 'Lucky' Luciano. They heeded Capone's advice and struck a deal with the US ruling class. During the Prohibition Lansky struck up a friendship with the future Cuban dictator Batista who supplied molasses for 'bootleg liquor' production. With the ending of Prohibition the Mafia moved into heroin and prostitution. Luciano's trademark was prostitutes addicted to heroin, forced to increase their turnover of clients to pay for their habit (a method used by many pimps and dealers today). In 1936 he was gaoled. However, in 1943 the US government turned to Luciano's services. New York's West Side docks had been subjected to strikes and sabotage: Luciano, who ran the unions from prison, obliged his gaolers by stopping the disruption.

General de Gaulle's intelligence services. The 'French Connection' enjoyed virtual immunity while it plied its heroin trade until the late 1960s. By then imperialism needed to deploy its heroin trade against the revolution in South East Asia. Its funds were needed to buy loyalty and guns for its local puppets.

The Global Industry

In 1965 Richard Nixon, then a prominent Republican politician seeking the US Presidency, visited Laos. While he was there he promoted the establishment of a Pepsi Cola bottling plant. The plant was duly built with the assistance of USAID. Not a single bottle of Pepsi ever left that plant: it was a heroin refinery, run by one General Phoumi Nosavan. The heroin was shipped out on CIA-run Air America helicopters. Today, Nosavan serves as a senior South East Asia adviser to President Reagan.

A great fanfare surrounded President Nixon's decision in 1971 to grant Turkey \$100 million in aid to run down its opium production and so stifle supplies to the Marseilles heroin refineries. At the time Turkey accounted for just 3 to 8 per cent of the world opium market: 80 per cent of production came from 'the Golden Triangle' of Laos, Burma and Thailand.

Opium production had been increased in Burma by Kuomintang remnants in

Trading in O

When the Allied forces landed in Sicily in July 1943 they were shepherded through the mountainous terrain by local Mafiosi. Luciano had again come in useful to the US government. One of his agents, Vito-Genovese was made interpreter-liaison officer at US Army HQ in Naples. Mafia leaders were made mayors throughout Western Sicily. Lansky negotiated Luciano's release in 1946, with a US naval intelligence officer giving evidence on his behalf. In 1947 Luciano travelled to Cuba to establish it as a major trans-shipment point for drugs into the USA.

At the end of the war the Communist Party threatened imperialism's plans for Italy. The Allies turned to the Mafia for help. In Sicily alone in 1948, 498 people, mainly Communists, were murdered. CIA operative Miles Copeland commented, 'Had it not been for the Mafia the Communists would now be in control of Italy.' For three decades Sicily was to become the Mafia's major trans-shipment point and refinery for the heroin trade.

The Mafia were not the only gangsters to benefit from the Allied victory in Western Europe. During the war, sections of the Corsican Syndicates had collaborated with the Gestapo. Upon the Allied victory they found new employers. By 1947 French industrial production had almost returned to its pre-war level, the length of the working day had been extended and wages held down to 65 per cent of their 1939 level. Strikes spread across France and a Communist Party candidate was elected mayor of Marseilles. One of the CIA's first acts was to recruit the Corsican gangs into an alliance with the Socialist Party against the Communists. The Socialist Party split the trade union movement, and the gangsters fired upon picket lines. The Guerini gang provided bodyguards and campaign workers for the Socialist Party in Marseilles until the family's downfall in 1967.

Other Corsicans were recruited into

the 1950s, seeking to gain money to buy guns for raids against the victorious Chinese revolution. However, it was a French officer, Major Roger Trinquier, who established a model for opium and heroin production in South East Asia in the service of imperialism. Seeking allies for French imperialism during its war against the Laotian and Vietnamese people in the early 1950s Trinquier chose the Meo hill tribesmen. Their allegiance was won by the French military's purchase of their opium and marketing of it in Saigon. Trinquier's mercenary methods explained in his book 'Modern Warfare' are favourably cited in the former Commander-in-Chief of UK Land Forces Sir Frank Kitson's book, *Low Intensity Operations*.

When the US replaced France as the major imperial power in Indo-China in 1955 they quickly learnt from Trinquier, and even invited him to supervise their operations. US stooges President Thieu and Premier Air Vice Marshall Ky were repeatedly accused of being the major opium smugglers in the late 1960s. A US Senate subcommittee reported that 'Ky took advantage of this situation to fly opium from Laos to Saigon'. He was using Air-America planes to transport opium from Nosavan's refinery and another run by General Vang Pao, also in charge of mercenary Meo tribesmen. Ky placed General Loan, (better known for his summary street execution of a National Liberation Front suspect in front of television cameras in 1968) in charge of police intelligence. Loan depended almost entirely on Saigon's drug trafficking gangs for information on NLF movements after the Tet-offensive.

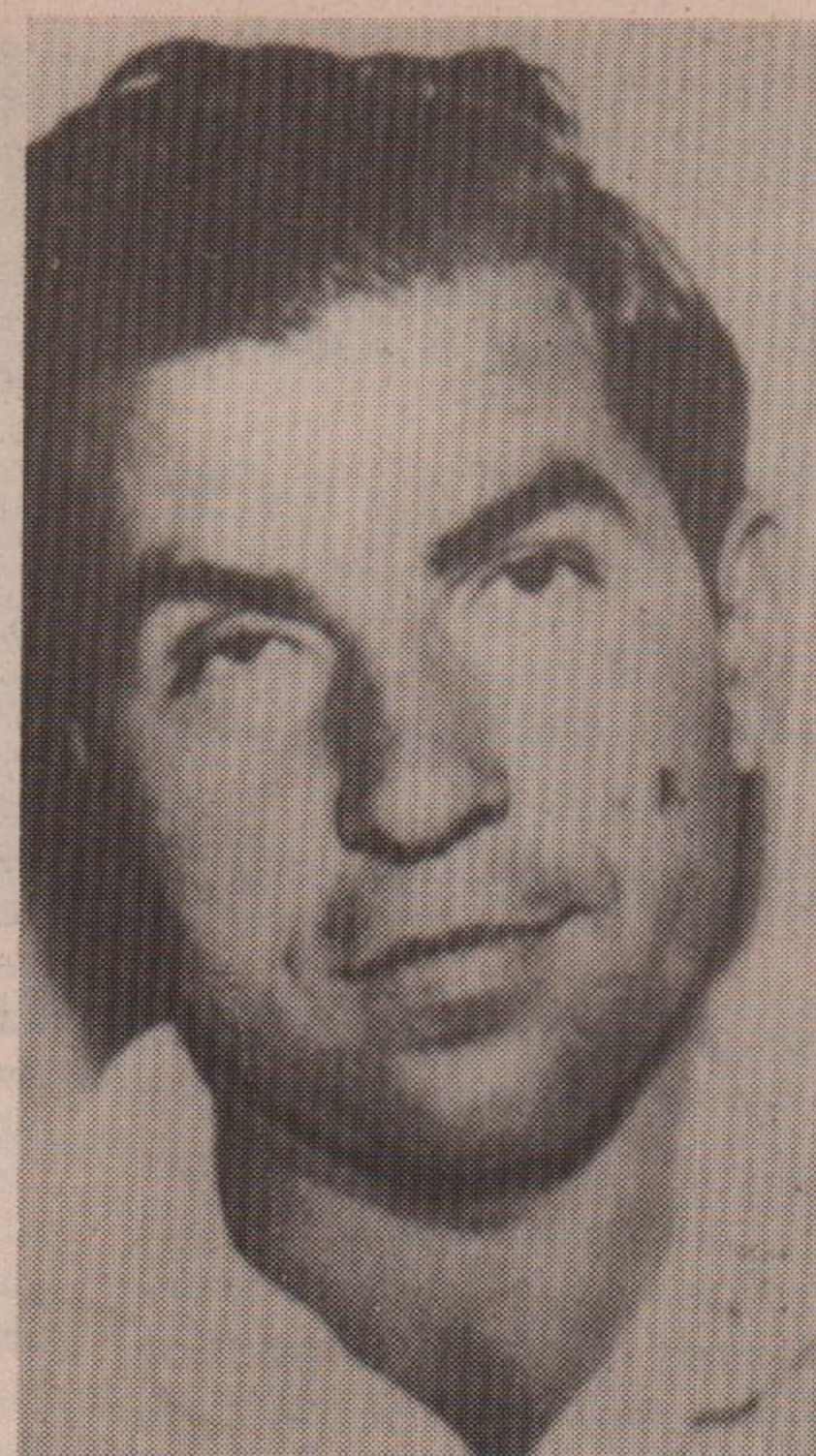
Just as in the 1960s and 70s the US protected its puppet rulers of South Vietnam and Laos, so it finds use for them and protects them today. During 1985 the US Presidential Commission on Organised Crime heard evidence that Ky, now based in California, today heads a drug dealing network across the

country, the proceeds of which are used 'to organise subversion in Vietnam'. Vang Pao also fled to the US taking with him a band of Meo mercenaries. They are being trained by Cuban and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries. The Presidential Commission has refused to investigate allegations against Ky. Nguyen Van Thieu now resides in Surrey, England.

Hong Kong

As imperialism's war against the Indo-Chinese people went on so the output of opium increased and sought new markets where its profit potential was to be realised. In 1968 Mafia boss Santo Trafficante Jr set sail for Hong Kong and Saigon. Trafficante had recruited Cuban counter-revolutionaries into his gang and in 1961 co-operated with the CIA in a plot to murder President Fidel Castro. Though a known Mafia leader Trafficante was allowed by the British and US intelligence services to complete his mission. This was to establish heroin refineries and distribution networks to the US and Europe. After the 1969 decline of Marseilles, Hong Kong became the major heroin refinery in the world.

The attitude of the British run Hong Kong police is significant: they would raid the occasional opium den, or set-up fake dens for discovery, even hiring addicts to put up impressive performances for the press, who were



Charles 'Lucky' Luciano, who pioneered the international heroin trade for organised crime in the 1950s.

frequently invited along to the event. Last year a senior British police inspector admitted that over 80 of his officers in the Kowloon area were connected to the drug gangs, however, 'we

could spend all our time trying to wipe them out, and nothing else would get done'!

Pakistan

Today, imperialism is trying to overthrow the Afghani revolution of 1978-79. By 1980 the opium harvest along Pakistan's North West Frontier Province was 800 tons. Among the best drug couriers are the vehicles of the Khyber Rifles, a British trained paramilitary frontier police. They have been protected by Lieutenant-General Fazal-Haq, governor of the North West Frontier Province who claimed that his forces cannot operate in the areas where the Afghani bandits grow their poppies. However, when Lord Carrington, as British Foreign Secretary, visited the Khyber pass in 1981 he passed within 8 kilometres of the world's biggest known complex of heroin refineries, surrounded as he was by the Pakistani army and Khyber Rifles.

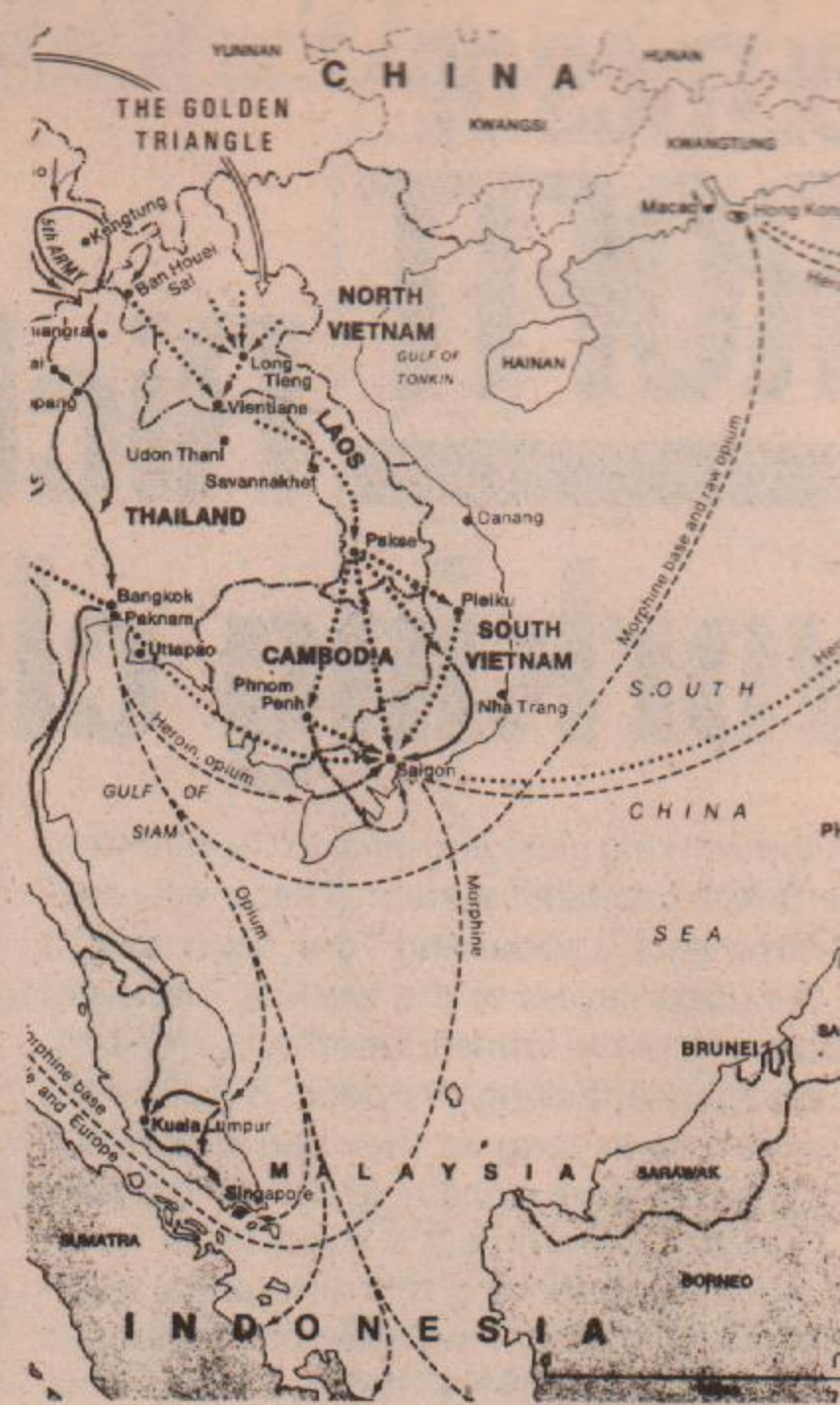
The US, with \$20 million and Britain, with £3 million, are currently making much of their crop substitution programme for Pakistan. This is eye wash when it is recognised that a poppy crop is worth forty times the income from wheat and other crops whose prices are depressed on world markets: some estimates suggest the street value of the 1980 harvest, if realised, would be over \$70 billion.

retary, David Kennedy, head of the Continental Illinois Bank.

Fighting back

In 1984 over 3,000 people were gaoled for drug related offences in Britain. Of these, 846 were heroin users. None of these were the 'man down town'. The British state is cynically using drugs to criminalise whole communities of working class people in Britain. The men's toilet at the London Stock Exchange is known as 'The Powder Room' among cocaine users. When has it ever been raided! Instead, the government recently formed the National Drugs Intelligence Unit. It is headed by Colin Hewett, formerly chief of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch and its 'anti-terrorist squad'. Hewett is an 'expert' in terrorising the Irish community in Britain and orchestrating frame-ups.

Under the Drug Trafficking Bill now before Parliament the government intends to extend its powers. The proceeds of drug trading will be confiscated, and this power may be extended to other crimes. The accused trafficker has to prove that assets did not come from crime; the assets may be frozen while investigation proceeds: thereby the assumption of innocence until proven guilty is removed. 'Assets' may include property of any form. The police will be given powers to have access to private bank accounts. Those found guilty



The Golden Triangle, centre of the world's heroin trade, showing routes into Saigon during the US and French occupation.

ng death

The Criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles - those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown'. Malcolm X



Sicilian police inspecting a heroin lab



Dubliners protesting in the streets against heroin pushers, February 1983.

Drug Banking

The vast fortunes to be made out of drug trafficking require banking and reinvesting if further profits are to be made. The banks have served the Mafia and the State intelligence services by 'laundering' illegal money into legitimate enterprises, and by transferring it to meet new strategic needs as they arise.

Only when a bank collapses do you see its insides. The 1980 collapse of the Nugan Hand Bank in Australia revealed it to be a channel for CIA funds. The Chairman for New South Wales Corporate Affairs charged it with 'drug conspiracy, perjury and passport offences'. \$4.5 billion had passed through it in a few years. Its founders were officials of the very same Air America that airlifted heroin out of Laos, and US generals who had served in South East Asia. Its tax adviser was former CIA director William Colby. Among Nugan Hand's operations were the financing of arms sales to South Africa, the funding of fascist coups in Latin America and the toppling of Gough Whitlam's Australian Labour government in 1975 after it had threatened to remove US bases.

The Mafia long ago combined their image of the cosh and sub-machine gun with the cheque book and fountain pen. Last year some 50 US banks were investigated for 'money laundering': recycling drug money overseas or into legitimate enterprises. The British Turks and Caicos islands in the Caribbean and the Channel Islands are used for these operations. One of the Mafia's major bankers relaying money across the Atlantic was Michele Sindona, poisoned to death in an Italian prison cell in March. Sindona helped finance Nixon's election campaigns. He was an investment partner with Nixon's first Treasury Sec-

Rules of the Black Panther Party:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.

would have to prove that any assets they had were legally obtained. These new powers will not touch the 'man down town'; he recycles his profits out of the country through the banking system, courtesy of Thatcher's removal of exchange controls.

The strategy of the British police is to allow a steady flow of the drugs, stage the occasional raid and seizure as it suits their political needs, and establish a network of pushers they blackmail with the threat of arrest to provide a supply of low grade intelligence on working class communities. At the same time, the seeping of drugs through the working class has the beneficial effect for imperialism of draining the energies of oppressed youth, forcing them into a lifetime's dependency in exchange for a moment's pleasure.

Whenever the working class has mobilised in its own defence it has had to root out the scourge of drugs. The Black Panthers, vanguard of the black people in the USA in the 1960s, recognised that their people would achieve nothing unless the tentacles of big business crime were chopped off from their communi-

ties necks. They linked the fight against drugs with the fight for the liberation of black people and cleared whole neighbourhoods of pushers. It was the first step in erasing anti-social crime from their communities and directed the people against the state which protected the pusher 'man downtown'.

In Dublin in 1984 a survey showed that more than 50 per cent of 12-16 year olds in one area had been offered heroin. On the St Theresa's Gardens estate parents held meetings to discuss the problems. The meetings grew to become a 300 strong crowd which marched upon the pushers and threw them out. As anti-drugs groups spread to 11 other working class districts the press began to bellow about 'mob-rule'. The police, who had always claimed that evidence would not stand up in court and was impossible to come by, decided to act. Their target was not the pushers but the Concerned Parents Against Drugs Committees. MPs bleated that Sinn Fein was behind the anti-drugs campaign 'trying to undermine the state'. With the help of their Sinn Fein comrades the people moved the pushers out.

The availability of drugs, both 'medicinal' and narcotic, in prisons is widely known. Heroin is frequently freely available in Dublin's Mountjoy prison and British prisons. Prisoners often emerge as addicts. The guards monitor its arrival and distribution among the captives. It can be a profitable business for the guards and it renders the captives harmless and manipulable. The drug itself is a gaoler. The prison is a microcosm of British capitalist society. The guards, chemical, corporate and political, must be smashed.

Trevor Rayne

POLITICS OF PROFIT

Rich get richer working class divides

The split in the working class is crucial to the maintenance of the British capitalist system. That is why successive governments, Labour and Tory, have sought to protect the upper layers of the working class and the middle class from the immediate effects of the crisis, whilst savagely attacking the poor. But they are only able to do this as long as they can ensure the profitability and therefore viability of British imperialism. The Thatcher government's success so far in preserving and even extending this differential treatment of sections of the working class has depended on the monopoly profits of North Sea Oil and from the profits generated by the export of capital abroad. The rapid decline of Britain's industrial base has been cushioned by the massive earnings abroad, in particular by 'The City' and parasitical banks and the profits from North Sea Oil.

Oil prices - further falls

The very factors which have allowed the government to pursue its present strategy also reveal the real vulnerability of the British economy. As has been argued in this column, the earnings from investment abroad will not be enough to compensate for the run down of North Sea Oil revenues and the growing deterioration in the balance of trade (exports/imports) that has followed the run down of manufacturing industry. The collapse of oil prices this year has dramatically highlighted this weakness. On 1 April oil prices dropped below \$10 a barrel for the first time in 12 years. The Tory budget was based on an assumption of oil selling at \$15 a barrel in the course of the financial year. This would have meant a fall in revenues from oil to about £6bn, £5bn less than expected before the oil price collapse. With oil selling at \$10 a barrel and with an exchange rate of about \$1.50 to the £1, according to recent estimates, these revenues could dramatically fall to between £2-3 billion. Although some recovery in the oil price is expected, the prospects for the British economy do not look very good.

Dramatic increase in overseas investment

The imperialist class has very little confidence in the economic prospects of the British capitalist system. In 1985, according to preliminary estimates, the outflow of private investment overseas reached a massive £22.2bn, some £6.9bn or 45 per cent above the level of the previous year. Most of the increase was due to a rise in portfolio investment from £8.9bn to £15.6bn, an increase of £6.7bn or 75 per cent on the previous year. The outflow of private investment overseas has grown from a size equal to 20 per cent of total gross private sector fixed investment in Britain in 1972 to 47 per cent of it in 1985. In 1972 private investment overseas was equal in size to 69 per cent of gross fixed investment in manufacturing industry. In 1985 it was three times as large as fixed investment in manufacturing industry.

Year	Gross domestic fixed Capital formation (£m)		Private investment overseas (£m)
	Total private sector	Manufacturing	
1972	7,100	2,044	1,402
1982	34,029	5,384	10,428
1985	47,442	7,386	22,281

The importance of oil exports and overseas earnings including those of 'The City' and the imperialist banks is shown by the preliminary figures for the balance of payments for 1985. There was a deficit in visible trade of £2,068m. This was made up of a surplus of £8,123m on oil trade and a deficit of £10,231m on other visible trade. The invisibles surplus (profits from overseas, tourism, shipping, finance etc) was £5,020m, giving an overall surplus on the current account of £2,952bn. The dramatic fall in the oil price will ensure that this surplus on the current account is wiped out and will go rapidly into reverse in the coming years.

Record profits for the banks

Once again there is one sector of the British economy which continues to make record profits almost every year. The imperialist banks grow and feed off the financial helplessness and misery of millions of people all over the world. This year the profits of the four major banks increased by a massive 35.5 per cent to new record levels of £2,570m in spite of bad debt provisions of some £1,442m (down from £1,705m last year).

	Pre-tax profits (£m)		% increase
	1985	1984	
Barclays	854	623	37.1
Lloyds	561	468	19.9
Midland	351	135	160.0
Nat West	804	671	19.8
	2,570	1,897	

Barclays makes great play on the reduction in its shareholding in Barclays National Bank of South Africa from 50.4 per cent to 40.4 per cent. Apparently Barclays' name will in due course be removed. Sir Timothy Bevan, Barclays' chairman, has suddenly

found it opportune to call for 'an end to the bankrupt policy of institutionalised racial discrimination' in South Africa. He also warns that Barclays would not be party to formal rescheduling of some \$10bn in frozen debt until South Africa provided 'convincing evidence of moves to end apartheid'. In reality Barclays is concerned about getting back its money tied up in South Africa. It is getting worried about the political and financial viability of the present racist government. All this 'anti-apartheid' rhetoric in practice amounts to little more than Barclays protecting its South African interests and also no doubt is an attempt to stave off the growing loss of British domestic accounts by ordinary people, local authorities and organisations opposed to its collaboration with the racist regime. In reality little has changed. Barclays' chairman is on the 12-member committee formed by creditor banks to study a proposal reached by South Africa and the banks for handling the country's \$24bn foreign debt. The proposal includes repayment by South Africa of 5 per cent of the funds due, about \$500m of the \$10bn frozen debt - a proposal that the chairman of Barclays thought 'small but welcome'. Meanwhile, last year Barclays received some £31m from its share in Barclays National Bank (South Africa) - profits wrung out of the brutal exploitation and repression of 22m black people in South Africa.

Cutting down one's stake in an increasingly unstable South Africa is becoming all the rage. Standard Chartered Bank has cut its stake in its South African affiliate, Stanbic, from a controlling 53 per cent to 39 per cent. Stanbic's profit rose by 19 per cent last year to 190m Rand (about £61m). However, the reduced shareholding in Stanbic and the rapid fall in the South African Rand has meant that Stanbic's contribution to Standard Chartered's profit overall fell from 19 per cent to 12 per cent. Nevertheless, Standard Chartered managed to increase its pre-tax profits overall by 12 per cent to £268m.

The rich get richer

It is not only the banks which are benefiting from Thatcher's economic policies. The Thatcher government continues to foster divisions between rich and poor. The richer you are the more you will have gained. Company profits last year, for example, rose three times as fast as personal incomes. Gross company profits rose by 6 per cent in real terms while real disposable incomes grew by 2 per cent.

Within the working class, those with a job and reasonably well off saw their wages rise on average by 8 1/2 per cent before adjusting for inflation (a nominal rise of 7 1/2 per cent after taxes and a real rise of just over 2 per cent). The recent budget measures continue to widen the gap between the poorest sections of the working class, and the privileged upper layers and the middle classes. Couples (one earner) receiving between £60 and £100 a week gained 5p per week whilst those earning £180 to £250 per week gained £1.06. Those on £350 and above gained £2.36 per week. The 4 million unemployed gained nothing. (See News page 2 for details of other benefits for the well off.)

Differences in real take home pay (after tax, national insurance contributions and child benefit) between high and low earners have widened considerably under the Thatcher government's tax policies. While a married man on average earnings has seen his tax deductions as a percentage of earnings rise a small amount, from 20.9 to 21.9 per cent between 1978/9 and 1986/7, someone on half average earnings has seen more than a doubling of tax contributions from 2.4 to 5.7 per cent. A married man on five times average earnings has seen a reduction of tax contributions from 48.8 to 42.9 per cent. The real post-tax income of a couple with two children on half average earnings has risen by 14.9 per cent between 1978/9 and 1986/7. For a couple on average earnings it has risen by 17.4 per cent. And finally for a couple on five times the average earnings it has risen by some 32.4 per cent.

	Take home pay (married couple with two children under 11) Deductions as % of earnings		
	half average	average	five times average
1978/9	2.4	20.9	48.8
1984/5	5.0	22.0	42.4
1986/7	5.7	21.9	42.9

	Real post-tax income 1978-9 = 100		
	half average	average	five times average
1978/9	100.0	100.0	100.0
1984/5	109.8	111.1	126.6
1986/7	114.9	117.4	132.4

Average earnings are assumed to be in the region of £214.00 per week in the coming financial year. What the figures demonstrate is how the Thatcher government has sought to protect the incomes of the rich, better off sections of the working class and the middle classes while increasing the divisions between rich and poor. However, even this policy will become more and more difficult to sustain as the monopoly profits of North Sea Oil go into rapid decline and the economy moves into deeper and deeper crisis.

David Reed

Aquino walks the tightrope

The jubilation and exuberance of the 'Aquino revolution' is wearing thin. On assuming power, she appealed to the people to:

'... support our drive to make this government a government of the people.'

She promised to crack down on graft, corruption, extravagance and abuses of human rights. She initiated a highly publicised international campaign to recover the billions Marcos had stolen from the Filipino people. And as a gesture to the poor she cut, only slightly, fuel, electricity and transport costs. She also released hundreds of political prisoners, including four leading members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).



Such measures, whilst welcomed by the people, have not convinced them that Aquino presides over a true people's government. As a wealthy landowner herself, she has refused to say anything about radical land reform, a fundamental policy of any real people's government. The demand by hungry and poverty stricken peasants and farm workers for 'one or two acres of the land' has found no response. A farm worker expressing widespread sentiment said 'I am not against Cory, but I want to see if she will help the poor'. She has no intention of doing so.

Instead, on coming to power, she has tried by means of bribery and threats of violence to disarm and isolate the organised political and military vanguard of the poor - the CPP and the New People's Army (NPA). She has called on the NPA to declare a ceasefire and surrender its arms. NPA fighters have been promised jobs, money for education, loans to open a business and even plots of land if they surrender their arms. By offering land to a section of the guerillas, Aquino hopes to leave the mass of peasants and farmworkers defenceless against continued exploitation by landlords, capitalists and multi-nationals. If this does not work, Aquino has threatened to turn a 'strong and reinvigorated' army against the NPA which has

for nearly a decade defended peasants against their ruthless exploiters.

Aquino is no doubt hoping that such moves, combined with her other promises, will create an opportunist trend in the revolutionary movement prepared to compromise with the bourgeois class and imperialist interests that she represents. If successful, she can move with force against the revolutionaries, isolate them from the masses and destroy them. Such schemes show no sign of working. The NPA and CPP have stated their readiness to consider a ceasefire but have rejected outright all demands to disarm. Antonio Zumel, a leader of the National Democratic Front (NDF), closely aligned with the CPP/NPA, declared:

'The revolutionary movement stands for peace but it must be a principled peace, not an artificial peace of the oppressor who holds a gun to the head of the oppressed.'

The gun clearly remains pointed to the oppressed. While Aquino, cashing in on her popularity, counsels the masses to be 'patient' - in order to allow the new government politically to isolate the communists - her Chief of Staff General Ramos an ex-Marcos criminal is using the opportunity to reorganise the army and is ever more insistently

Haiti:

No more Duvalierism

The festivities that greeted the departure of Jean-Claude Duvalier on 7 February have given way to angry street barricades and angry anti-American marches where slogans such as 'We Want Communism' are enthusiastically chanted. The objects of the people's mobilisation have been the ex-Duvalierists included in the military-civilian regime headed by army chief of staff General Henri Namphy. The people's mobilisation has included the blockading of Port-au-Prince international airport (to prevent the smuggling out of Duvalier's henchmen), burning street barricades and a series of strikes demanding better wages and living conditions. Tensions can be gauged by an incident involving an off-duty soldier and civilians on 19 March when a dispute resulted in crowds stoning the troops who opened fire, killing five and wounding ten people. Bus and transport workers in Port-au-Prince immediately struck in protest at the state's actions.

The US and its Duvalier replacements are clearly worried. They have already yielded to the

masses' demands and removed the most notorious Duvalierists from the new regime, and have

demanding an offensive against the NPA.

In the absence of any proposed radical land reform or measures to improve the conditions of the urban poor, Aquino's declaration of a provisional government, her scrapping of the Marcos constitution and parliament and her postponement of local elections, did not enthrone the masses. But it did spark strong opposition from the still powerful Marcos political machine and from her own Vice President Laurel's UNIDO party. The former feared losing their opportunities for graft and corruption, the latter were frightened lest Aquino became the plaything of unknown forces which would deny them also the juicy fruits of bourgeois power. The 'provisional government' is set to be no more than a means whereby Aquino can build an independent political base for herself by installing her own appointees in state and local government office.

Aquino still enjoys widespread popularity among the population. Conflicts with other factions of the ruling class can serve to sustain support for her. But she will not be able to plead patience from the masses for very long. Already in the countryside, under pressure of starvation and witnessing no change, the armed struggle has resumed. Since 25 February, when Aquino came to power, over 182 soldiers have been killed in hundreds of NPA operations. The pressures of economic crisis, unemployment and poverty will inevitably accelerate the class struggle and in the course of this Aquino's standpoint will become ever more clear to the masses.

Eddie Abrahams

PERU THROWS OUT IMF

On 2 April Prime Minister Luis Alva Castro ordered the closure of the IMF offices in Lima. His government had already stated that it would not pay more than 10 per cent of its export earnings to service its foreign debt of \$14 billion. Speaking in Argentina in March, President Garcia said 'The question of the foreign debt is vital for all peoples since indebtedness stands for the expression of imperialism today... you are either with or against imperialism.' The IMF was attempting to force Peru to increase its debt repayments, and threatening economic sanctions if it failed to do so.

The Institute of International Finance, mouthpiece for the world's largest commercial banks, recently pointed out that for the first time in many years debtor nations paid out more than they received in loans. If interest payments are included, the outflow of funds from Latin America is over \$100 billion over the last four years - during which time per capita income has fallen 12 per cent. Peru has received no loans or credits in 20 months, yet is still expected to pay on its debt no matter how impossible the burden.

Malcolm Ellis, Trevor Rayne

offered price reductions on petrol, sugar and flour, plus the promise of a future general election, after a new constitution has been drafted. No date for the election has been set.

A Committee to Ignite Democracy has been formed which includes priests, journalists and students. Its intention is to replace the current ruling council. The leading opponent of Duvalierism within the new regime, Justice Minister Gerard Gourgue, has been forced to resign saying 'I realised slowly that my reputation was at stake...' Imperialism's plans for Haiti are unravelling in the face of the masses' new taste for freedom and power.

Trevor Rayne

Libya - US aggression escalates



Following rapidly on the 24/25 March US military attack on Libya, President Reagan announced that counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua would, for the first time ever, receive advanced US Stinger surface-to-air missiles. The aggression against Libya, which destroyed 3 Libyan patrol boats, damaged a SAM missile site and cost 100 Libyan lives, had greater significance than just providing bellicose imperialism with an opportunity to rearm counter-revolution across the world. It was a warning to the oppressed that the US would respond with military might every time the oppressed asserted their rights. It was also a continuation of US imperialism's longstanding campaign to bring about Colonel Gadhafi's downfall.

This was not the first time that the US has carried out military aggression against Libya. In 1981 US F-14 jet fighters shot down two Libyan military planes over the Gulf of Sidra legitimately claimed by Libya as part of its territorial waters. The US denial of this claim has nothing to do with international law, the US government having refused to sign the 1972 Law of the Sea Convention

limiting territorial waters to 12 miles. Reagan couched his defence of the US operation in terms of the US navy's 'right to exercise in international waters'. A mere glance at a map of the Gulf of Sidra (see above) shows that the only purpose for the presence of hostile military forces is to provoke, intimidate and plan attacks on the Libyan government.

The US 'exercise' was carried out by 3 aircraft carriers with 240 war planes armed with air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles. They were backed up by 27 other cruisers, destroyers and frigates as well as AWAC ground and air surveillance aircraft. Together they constituted the largest US task force since World War II. What purpose can such a task force ever have close to Libyan shores? So when on 24 March US ships and planes crossed the 'line of death' dividing the Gulf of Sidra from the Mediterranean, the Libyan government fired six Sam missiles at the US forces. While this incident has more or less ended, the US remains ever ready to seize further opportunities for aggression against the Libyan people.

Sixth Fleet US Admiral James Watkins has repeated:

'We are ready as a nation to hit him (Colonel Gadhafi) a hard lick if he pops

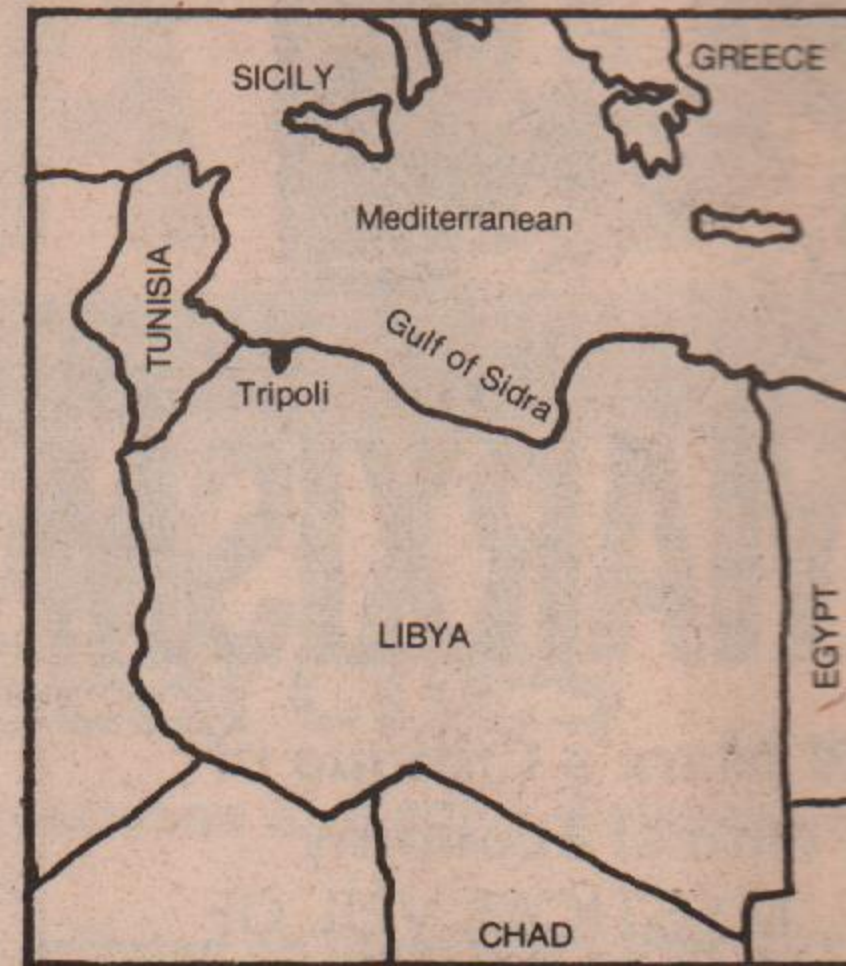
that head of his above the parapet.'

No doubt he will be supported by the Thatcher government which endorsed the US aggression with cool hypocrisy, stating that it:

'...accepts the right of the US to exercise in international waters and the right to act in self-defence.'

Thatcher brushed aside a reminder that Britain during the Malvinas war extended its right to the waters round the island to 200 miles. Libya, being an oppressed nation with an anti-imperialist government, of course has no such rights!

Since the US adventure, editorials in the bourgeois press have copiously written about US imperialism's new-found confidence for military intervention in the oppressed nations. They conveniently forget that such intervention has never ceased. The fact is that behind the talk of 'new found confidence' is a certain des-



peration to increase such military intervention to unprecedented levels in the face of weakening imperialist positions in the oppressed nations. In Afghanistan and Nicaragua pro-imperialist counter-revolutionaries are in disarray and on the road to defeat. In Angola the government is preparing a major military offensive to destroy the US-backed UNITA. Stinger missiles are but a small part of the weaponry with which the US hopes to halt the defeat of counter-revolution. And the US's direct intervention against Libya is a warning to the oppressed that where indirect counter-revolution fails, the armed might of the US is ready at hand.

Eddie Abrahams

SPAIN

Seven million stand firm against Nato

Five years of campaigning and mobilisation finally resulted in the 12 March Referendum on Spain's membership of NATO. The result was a pyrrhic victory for the Socialist Party (PSOE) government and its leader Prime Minister Gonzalez who, having been elected to power in 1982 on an anti-NATO platform, placed all their forces in support of NATO membership.

39.8 per cent of the votes were against NATO, 53 per cent for. 7 million voters have been left with no parliamentary representation, 7 million who refused to succumb to three months of the most intense manipulation of radio, TV, and the press. Strikingly, the Basque people of Euskadi and the people of Catalunya came out strongly against NATO.

The rest of the world were shown a Referendum that was a 'fair and just' test of public opinion, the result hailed as a confirmation of the 'maturity' of the electorate. The reality of the vote had nothing to do with democracy:

- a rumour suddenly appeared that those pensioners that did not vote would have their pension removed;
- the Yes voting slip was sent to all households;
- the Foreign Minister, Fernando Ordonez said that if Spain voted No she would be expelled from the EEC. The fact that the EEC said this was not true did not produce his resignation. The TV being in government hands anyway they pretended that he had not said 'exactly' that;
- Felipe Gonzalez said that if Spain voted No there would be no one to administer the consequences! In other words, the Referendum had no value;
- the US announced 'aid' of millions of pesetas two days before the Referendum;
- a massive scare campaign was mounted to frighten workers that pulling out of NATO would mean the loss of thousands of jobs. Many employers refused to pay workers if they took time off to vote;
- many young people (often unemployed and thereby immune to the jobs' threat) found their names missing from electoral lists;
- postal votes were actively laundered.

The Spanish ambassador in Nicaragua succeeded in preventing the Spaniards there from voting by a succession of bureaucratic ploys;

- within Spain itself many postal votes did not arrive on time.

Gonzalez and the PSOE may have won the election but they have lost credibility. The result is also a setback for that section of the European peace movement that stresses the parliamentary route. The parliamentary Spanish Communist Party only joined in the Referendum campaign once it had been well founded and mobilised on the streets. E P Thompson's END movement at first refused to support the campaign for the Referendum. These election-minded bodies immediately accepted the result of the vote; no doubt a mark of their 'maturity' and respectability, and intend to confine future agitation to the bi-lateral US-Spanish treaty concerning US bases.

The alliance of extra-parliamentary left forces, Co-ordinator Estatal de Organizaciones Pacifistas, has refused to accept the result of a Referendum in which there was no fair debate and which was won by cheating, tricks and threats. It has pledged to campaign not just against the bases, but against the anti-imperialist targets of military spending and service, repression and for the right of nations to self-determination. The fact that 7 million voters rejected NATO is a significant step forward for the anti-imperialist peace movement, but one that has left an indelible message in the minds of many: capitalist governments cannot afford to lose their own referendums and anti-imperialists cannot win conforming to bourgeois tactics and rules.

Helen

continued from page 1

NICARAGUA

US imperialism is not prepared to tolerate this. Beginning with the \$100m, it plans to revive the contras, providing them with US military trainers, and transform them into a viable military force. On 12 March Reagan lost the first Congressional vote on contra aid. But it was only a temporary setback: Congress is, after all, packed with imperialist scoundrels. Knowing full well that the contras would eventually obtain the \$100m and much more, the Sandinistas lost no time in delivering another serious blow. On 22 March Sandinista soldiers crossed into Honduras and smashed a number of contra bases, including their main supply base.

The US remains determined to revive the contras whatever the cost. On 28 March the Senate voted in favour, and the issue will now return to Congress. Since the Sandinista's Honduran operation, Reagan has provided a further \$20m to the Honduran government and hinted that the contras will be supplied with advanced Stinger surface-to-air missiles.

Reagan's maniac-like attacks on the Sandinistas are not the ravings of a lunatic irrationally obsessed by a tiny country of 3m people. Amidst all the lies and slander, Reagan recognised that Nicaragua's survival would be 'a strategic disaster' for US imperialism. In neighbouring El Salvador, the revolutionary FMLN has successfully resisted the vicious aerial bombing of its liberated zones.

Simultaneously, in San Salvador, the urban working class movement, set back in 1980, is reviving and preparing to challenge the Duarte regime. A strong and stable Nicaragua led by the Sandinista workers and peasants government can only be to the advantage of El Salvador's oppressed and revolutionary forces. A strong and stable Nicaragua led by its revolutionary democratic government and capable of feeding, clothing and educating its population can only act as an inspiration and example to the masses of Central and Latin America. Suffering the plunder of multinational banks, seeing the IMF snatch the last morsels of food from the mouths of their children, the masses of Central and Latin America can see in the Nicaraguan example the first step of their own path to liberation. This is why Reagan is determined to destroy Nicaragua and this is why revolutionaries worldwide extend to the Sandinistas their whole-hearted solidarity.

Eddie Abrahams

Letter from Palestine

Dear FRFI,

I was pleased to receive a copy of the paper (Jan '86) very kindly sent to me by a friend. But I was disappointed that there was no coverage of Palestine. As I am living alongside Palestinians under occupation perhaps I could share with you some of my observations.

Some women friends of mine recently commented 'we hear so much about peace and peace negotiations on the TV, the radio and in the newspapers, but still we do not have any peace.' I ask them what peace means to them and they are quick to reply that they want their land and they want their own government, that the PLO is their representative and none other, that so long as there is occupation there will be no peace for them.

The remote world of diplomatic manoeuvres under the pseudo-title of 'peace negotiations' which are designed to consolidate Israeli and US power of influence in the region is far removed from the tough realities of living under occupation. Israel, let it be said, has no intention of letting go of a single inch of the Gaza Strip which has been described as Israel's bantustan, providing a pool of cheap labour for industry and services within the Green Line. As in South Africa the Palestinian workers must return at night and are subject not only to all the insecurities of the day labourer but also to increasing unemployment.

Parallel with the process of subordinating the Gazan economy to that of Israel is the development of settlements in the Strip. I myself have witnessed the recent sudden swift appropriation (theft) of Palestinian land near Khan Younis camp where it appears that an airstrip is being built and is now almost completely surrounded by a new road and 2 barbed wire fences. The arrogance of the Zionists is such that they will bring the fence right up to the edge of the camp.

How can the Palestinian people live in 'peace' under such conditions? The 'iron fist' policy of repression declared in August '85 is still in operation in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Harassment, arrests, administrative detention (based on the infamous British Mandate regulations of 1945) and deportations continue unabated.

Deportation is a particularly vicious method of repression, uprooting a Palestinian from the beloved land and family. To date (since August '85) 34 people have been deported, 22 of whom were released in the May '85 prisoner exchange. Those detained include trade unionists, students, journalists. The evidence against them is deemed 'secret evidence' by the authorities and the lawyers are 'fighting ghosts' as Felicia Langer said recently following the deportation of three of her clients. Ali Abu Hilal, Dr Azmi Shuabi, and Hassan Abd Al Jawad Farrajeh. The legal process is a mockery of justice designed to preserve the fiction of a democratic 'Israel'.



Palestinian women protest

'Democratic Israel' brings its army to Gaza, which patrols the streets of Gaza, the camps, curfews the beach by night, raids homes at night, stops young men to check their identity card (pass book in South Africa) and will shoot with ease. Last Saturday, 8 February, a young man, father of 4, was shot in the head and killed by soldiers posted in their customary place above the busy, crowded square. Six people were wounded.

Conditions in Gaza make it difficult to organise resistance given the atmosphere of repression and control, assisted of course by collaborators. However, an attack in the square one evening last week resulted in 5 Israeli soldiers wounded. Needless to say a curfew was imposed for 48 hours following the attack and many young men will have been rounded up for 'questioning', which invariably includes beating and other forms of torture.

Women in Palestine are not as vulnerable as men to arrest and are strong in their active support for brothers, husbands and fathers in prison, especially when the men are on hunger strike for better conditions. The Women's Work Committees in the Gaza Strip are growing and extending their influence. Activities include kindergartens, sewing and literacy classes and cultural projects. There is also a women's biscuit co-operative in the south of the Strip. These projects are aimed at developing women's skills and self-reliance both as women and as Palestinians in the struggle against occupations and in defence of the Palestinian people's national rights.

This was the message of one of the women in struggle in Neve Tirza prison against the prison regime: 'we are not instruments but human beings. We will not obey orders that are against our principles, no matter what they do to us. Inside these walls, behind these doors you can see how Palestinian women can struggle.'

All strength to the Palestinian women and to the Palestinian people in their struggle for peace and justice. With best wishes, Name supplied

CORRESPONDENCE

A guide to the rules

It has to be said that the rules relating to prisoners' correspondence are at best complex and at worst ambiguous. The rules are set out in Standing Order (SO) 5B (1-42). A copy of SO5 can be purchased by prisoners for £1; though any amendments will have to be requested on a governor's application.

Broadly speaking, letters can be split into two categories; legal and non-legal letters. The latter category consists of all letters which are not to a solicitor, barrister, court or witness.

1. Legal letters

Every prisoner has the fundamental right to seek legal advice from a solicitor. This is a right that is protected by the European Convention on Human Rights and was established in the case of *Golder v UK* (1975:1 ECHR, 524). No person, of whatever rank, can stop a prisoner writing to a solicitor for legal advice (SO5B (35)).

Censorship

The position on censorship of legal letters depends on 3 things:

- a Where you are a 'party' to legal proceedings;
- b Where there is a forthcoming adjudication;
- c Request for advice other than in (a) and (b) above.

Party to legal proceedings

Rule 37 (a)(1) states that where an in-

mate is a party to legal proceedings, letters to, or from, a solicitor in connection with those proceedings shall not be read unless the governor has reason to believe it contains matters not relating to the proceedings. A person is a 'party' to proceedings when, (i) he or she has been charged or is a witness to, any criminal proceedings (ii) where a civil summons has been issued on or by a prisoner, or (iii) where an inmate is a witness to civil proceedings.

Forthcoming adjudication

SO5B states that letters to a solicitor for legal advice about a forthcoming adjudication shall not be read or stopped unless the governor has reason to suppose it contains other material. In order to make use of this, prisoners must have been served with an F1127 Notice of Report.

Other requests for advice

In all other cases letters to a solicitor may be censored but they cannot be stopped merely because they contain unventilated complaints about prison

treatment as long as it is made clear that legal advice is sought (*R V Secretary of State, Ex P Anderson* (1984:1 ALLER, 920). Any complaint can be made and there is no longer any rule that states complaints must first be raised with the governor (this rule was quashed in *Anderson*).

All of these provisions refer to 'legal adviser', so the letter could be to a barrister as well as a solicitor.

Letters to a court

The landmark case of *Raymond v Honey* (1983:1AC,1) established the principle that a prisoner can start any legal proceedings by writing to a court and such a letter cannot be stopped or delayed under any circumstances. Nor can such letters be censored, *Raymond* held that Rule 33(3) which authorises censorship does not apply to such letters - this is set out in SO5B (33) (A).

'Court' also includes of course, letters to the European Court of Human Rights.

2 Non-legal letters

Any other letter, be it to a private person or MP etc, can be censored and stopped if it breaches any of the provisions in SO 5B (A-O). Briefly this prohibits material in a letter that consists of: escape plans;

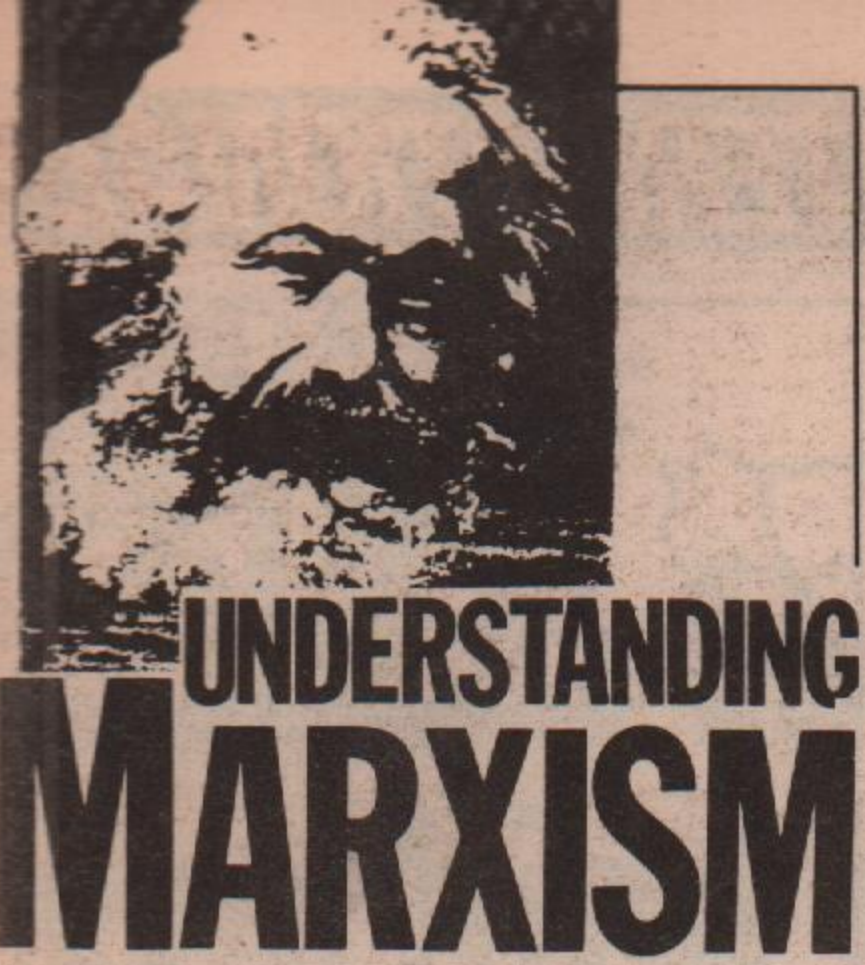
encourages the commission of a disciplinary offence; jeopardises national security; describes how to make a weapon or explosive device; is a threat of violence; blackmail; obscene material; complaints about prison treatment that have not been raised with the governor or in a petition (once it has been raised that is sufficient; there is no need to wait for a reply); or material that is intended for publication or transmission on radio or television or material which amounts to conducting a business (convicted prisoners only).

If a letter breaches any of these provisions, it can be stopped and a re-write issued. An appeal lays to the Secretary of State by way of petition.

On one point there is a loophole. Letters to an MP containing a unventilated complaint can be stopped. However, a prisoner has the fundamental right to petition Parliament and so if an unventilated complaint is sent to an MP in the form of a Parliamentary Petition it cannot be stopped.

For those prisoners who cannot purchase their own copy of SO5, then a copy will be found in the prison library.

Mark Leech
HMP Lewes



Marx's Critique of Political Economy 3. MYSTICAL VEIL OF COMMODITY PRODUCTION

A commodity at first sight appears to be a very trivial, easily understood thing. However on analysing it we find that there is much more to it than was at first thought. It turns out to be 'a very strange thing abounding in metaphysical subtleties' (Marx). What is it then that makes commodity production so mysterious?

Regarded as a use-value, the commodity has nothing mysterious about it. A table, for example, is the product of labour and Nature. It is a natural product modified by human labour to satisfy a human need.

The mystery of the commodity does not come from its use-value. Neither does it come from the nature of the determinants of its value. In the first place (regarding the qualitative aspect of its value), however different the useful kinds of human labour, it is clear that, as human labour, they are expenditures of human energy. In the second place (regarding the quantitative aspect of its value) there is clearly a difference between the character of being human labour and the quantity of that human labour. In all states of society the necessary labour-time it costs to produce the means of subsistence is of importance to humanity, even if not to the same degree at different stages of development. Finally that the commodity is a social product is easily understood. As soon as people start to work for each other in any way their labour assumes a social form.

So where does the mysterious character of the product of labour arise from as soon as it assumes the form of commodities. It arises from the commodity form itself - from the commodity being both a use-value and value. This is because:

1 The equality of one kind of labour with another kind of labour is not expressed as such equality, but it is only expressed objectively by another kind of equality: the equality of different commodities in all being equally values (the value in linen being equal to the value in coats).

2 The quantity of socially necessary labour-time in commodities is not expressed as such quantity, that is, in a direct comparison of time, but only as another quantity: indirectly as equal quantities of value.

3 The mutual relations of the producers of commodities, within which the social characters of their labour manifests itself, are not expressed as such relations, but as relations between the products of labour.

The real mystery of commodity production lies in the fact that social relations between people are disguised. 'The relations connecting the labour of one individual with the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work but as what they really are material relations between persons and social relations between things'. Similarly the relations of the labour of individuals to the total labour of society are presented as something else; as the value relations of different commodities to a universal equivalent, namely money. And it is precisely this ultimate money-form of the world of commodities which actually conceals, instead of discloses the social character of private labour and the social relations of individual producers.

Marx calls all this the fetishism of commodities. To find an analogy with this we must go to the 'mist-enveloped regions of the religious world'. In that world 'the products of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life and entering into relation with one another and with the human race'. What is the product of the creative imagination of people, controls them and determines their life. So it is with the world of commodities. What people produce as a result of their social labour takes the form of objects which rule them, instead of being ruled by them.

This will be the case for as long as capitalism exists. It will disappear only in a socialist society when social production is carried out by freely associated individuals and 'stands under their conscious and planned control'.

David Reed

INSIDEN NEWS

Remand Prisoners - Rights Threatened

The Home Office is threatening the right of remand prisoners to have a daily visit - a change first proposed by Leon Brittan last year. Until now remand prisoners have been allowed a 15 minute daily visit and relatives and friends have been able to bring prisoners their own food. In future these rights will be dependent on the 'operational needs' of each prison and a remand prisoner may have 2 or less visits a week.

According to the latest NACRO figures, at the end of May 1985 800 untried prisoners had been in custody for more than 6 months and 300 for more than 9 months. Figures also show that there are cells in remand centres for 2,594 men, though the population has reached 3,677-1,083 too many. In local prisons where many remand prisoners are held, there are supposed to be places for 11,120 men, but the total population is 5,246 above this. Women on remand suffer the same appalling overcrowding. There are 103 too many women on remand in Holloway alone.

Remand prisoners are locked up for 23 hours a day. The daily visit gives them 15 minutes relief from their cells, a chance to see family and friends and a brief but vital link with the outside world. Marie Staunton of the NCCL has said that remand prisoners are already being treated as if they are guilty and the daily visit 'should not be waived as a result of prison bureaucracy or operational efficiency'.

Statistic

In 1979/80 the percentage of the Prison Department's spending of education for prisoners was 2.3%. In 1984/5 this had dropped to 1.85%.

Graded Cells in Frankland

FRFI has received more information on the continual harassment endured by comrade Jimmy Anderson at the hands of the British prison system. For 3½ years Jimmy has been in solitary confinement, ghosted from prison to prison under Rule 43b (Good Order and Discipline) and 10/74 and has had his mail, visits and medical treatment severely interfered with. He is currently imprisoned in Frankland segregation unit on Rule 43b where the cells are 'graded' to punish and 'reward' prisoners. Although denied by the prison authorities, this is blatantly a control unit regime being quietly implemented by

the prison.

Jimmy has been held in a cell which is no more than a 'concrete cube with a piss-stained blanket'. If 'he behaves' - in other words does what the POs say - he may be moved through stages of cells to a fully furnished cell with a wash basin and toilet. For the time being Jimmy can only look forward to being allowed books and a radio.

As can be imagined, these conditions are placing great strain on Jimmy and his family who can never be sure where he is being held from one week to the next and all readers should write urgently to Jimmy with letters and cards of solidarity and protest to the Home Office and Frankland prison about his brutal treatment.



Jimmy Anderson, B40396, HMP Frankland, Brasside, Durham. Home Office Prison Department, Cleland House, Page Street, London, SW1.

Prisoner Behind Double Doors

Robert Mawdsley is a regular reader of FRFI who, having been moved from the strong box in Leeds jail, is now being incarcerated in a double-doored cage in Durham. All comrades at FRFI send Robert warmest greetings and urge all readers to send him cards and messages of solidarity. Robert Mawdsley, 467637, HMP Old Elvet, Durham, DH1 3HU

Alexa Byrne

STOP PRESS

FRFI has been informed by the Breakout! Collective that John Bowden is on hunger strike after being moved suddenly to Lincoln prison at the end of March. He had been promised a transfer to the south, nearer his family and friends.

Please send solidarity to John, B41173, HMP Greetwell Road, Lincoln.

Prison numbers increase

On 25 March the fourth edition of *The Sentence of the Court*, the Home Office's official guide to sentencing policy, was published. As is the way with such official publications, it is full of regret about 'over use' of imprisonment. This regret is nothing but hypocrisy in the face of the government's present £350 million prison building programme which will provide 7,700 extra prison places. The reality is that the ruling class is bent on locking up more and more of the working class and oppressed.

Last year there were more than 75,000 new prison receptions. By March this year, the daily prison population had reached 47,123. This compares to average figures for 1979-1984 of 42,200 to 43,700. The massive leap in the prison population has been the result of deliberate government policy primarily the removal of parole rights and lengthening of maximum sentences. Since 1979 the proportion of people convicted of indictable offences and sent to prison has risen from 14% to 16%. The combined effect of this and longer sentences has been the rapid rise in the prison population.

The breakdown of the figures in the

Home Office guide also reveals the priorities of the British imperialist system based on profit. Whilst 75% of all persons convicted of robbery are given custodial sentences (including suspended and partially suspended sentences) the figures for sexual offences and violence against the person are 36% and 23%. The same relationship holds for those actually sent to prison (ie unsuspended sentences): robbery 36%; sexual offences 20%; violence against the person 9%. In this society offences against property are more serious than offences against people.

Terry O'Halloran

SCOTTISH PRISON MEETING

Nearly 60 people, including communists, anarchists, prisoners' relatives and many youth, attended the FRFI public meeting in Glasgow on 2 April to launch our new pamphlet: 'Scottish prisons: lift the lid'.

The broad based platform included Les Robertson, a Labour councillor who spent time in Barlinnie prison for opposing nuclear weapons, and Dave Godwin of the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties. Sean a young Irishman who spent three months in Longriggend remand centre, gave a moving account of life for young offenders. He spoke of the petty harassment and beatings dealt out by the prison officers.

Graham Johnson, for the Revolutionary Communist Group, outlined the communist position on the state, the increasing attacks on our democratic rights both inside and outside the prisons, and the need to build a movement based on the most oppressed sections of the working class. Solidarity messages from a number of prisoners and a poem by Jimmy Anderson were read out. Chairperson, Lorna Morgan, closed the meeting by calling on everyone to play their part in really lifting the lid on Scottish prisons. Graham Johnson

POWs: NEWS AND GREETINGS

Reports are that there is now a prison within a prison at Hull - a control unit of some 20 cells. In the last few weeks Irish POW, Martin Brady has been moved from Long Lartin to join Paul Hill in that unit. Once again our solidarity to the comrades there. No news yet as to where Paul Norney is located, having been sent on 28 day lie-down to Strangeways, from Hull.

Our greetings to the POWs whose birthdays come soon. We ask our readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival:

Eddie Butler, 338637, HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX. 17 April.
Patrick Hackett, 342603, also in Parkhurst. 28 April.
Special greetings also to Martina Anderson, on remand, whose birthday is 16 April. Greetings to Martina, D25134, HM Prison, PO Box 369, Jebb Ave, London SW2 5XF.

Tony Sheridan.



HANDS OFF IRELAND!

Loyalist attacks on RUC

Crisis for agreement

Loyalist opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement erupted into serious clashes with the RUC on Easter Monday in Portadown. Sectarian attacks on Catholic areas also took place in Lisburn, where Catholic homes, a school, shops and cars were burnt and destroyed. Sir John Hermon, Chief Constable of the RUC had applied for and been granted a ban on the loyalist parade in Portadown, claiming that 'paramilitary and subversive elements' were going to take it over and cause violence. In addition, police raids on UDA members homes resulted in 28 arrests.

Undoubtedly the intention of these measures was to try and rehabilitate the tattered image of the RUC after the open collaboration between RUC and loyalists during last month's one day strike. Soon after the strike also came the embarrassing exposure of a taped RUC meeting with speeches against the Agreement gaining wild applause.

Having ruled out further public displays of such RUC/loyalist collaboration, particularly if these resulted in a sectarian rampage through the nationalist areas of Portadown, the scene was set for a confrontation of some sort. The Anglo-Irish Agreement could not have survived a major loyalist assault on nationalist areas left undefended by the RUC. However, despite the much publicised firing of plastic bullets and the arrests of some loyalist rioters by the RUC in Portadown, it should be noted that the RUC, having banned the parade, actually allowed two marches to take place. One at around midnight, led by Ian Paisley, followed the route of the banned parade close to nationalist areas in a display of sectarian bigotry. The other march came when, after hours of skirmishing between crowds and the RUC, the police withdrew and allowed a parade through the town centre.

Despite such concessions and the comparatively soft treatment of loyalist protest, the RUC has come under fierce attack by loyalist organisations. Some RUC homes have been attacked and they and their families driven out of loyalist areas. This campaign, aiming to prevent the RUC from carrying out even token anti-loyalist police functions, is adding to the worries of the British government. Will the RUC hold up under the pressure, they wonder.

In line with these fears it is likely that the British government and RUC chiefs had decided in advance to try and avoid a head-on clash between the RUC and the loyalist crowds by not fully imple-

LOYALIST TERROR

Three horrific murders within the last three months have highlighted the increased threat to nationalists as the loyalist paramilitaries take up a more dominant role in the opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Leo Scullion died in January after being shot in the back of the head; Martin Quinn, 34, was shot in bed when his killers burst into his home in January. The latest victim is John O'Neill, 25, whose body was found on 15 March. His head and face had been so badly beaten that his family could only identify him by the colour of his hair. All three men lived in isolated nationalist estates in North Belfast and none had political connections. These were random sectarian attacks designed to terrorise the nationalist community.

All recent loyalist political mobilisations, such as the one day strike and the Portadown parade/riot have involved sectarian attacks on Catholics. During the strike, for example, 250 nationalist women workers in Lurgan were besieged all day by a mob of masked loyalists. They were stoned and attacked and at least two women were hospitalised and others injured. They finally managed to escape at 3pm after which the crowd burned the factory down.
Jim O'Rourke

menting the ban in Portadown. Also, lest the RUC proved unwilling to police the situation, the British Army was standing by in reserve. But, for the purposes of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and long-term British strategy in Ireland, it is essential that the RUC is seen to be acting as a 'normal' police force. The present period of conflict is putting this carefully fostered image under great strain and threatening to expose the sectarian character of the RUC for all to see.

This was well demonstrated during the one day strike. Once again, the policy of the RUC was not to intervene and journalists throughout the world reported that the RUC not only refused to prevent intimidation but in many cases collaborated with loyalist paramilitaries. Barricades were erected, roads blocked and whole towns sealed off during the strike. And the RUC simply stood by while people trying to get through barricades were questioned, abused, threatened and in some cases physically attacked. As *An Phoblacht/Republican News* said, the nationalists were simply 'thrown to the wolves'. *Irish Times* reporter Willy Clingan managed to get through the roadblocks into Portadown on the day of the strike, but was then attacked at other roadblocks and became trapped in the town. He wrote in the *Irish Times*:

'Nine RUC men, an inspector, a sergeant and seven constables in a minivan, seemed sympathetic when I explained my plight... But they felt they could do nothing. Nothing at all. They had to remain where they were, they said, they couldn't escort me through a roadblock - they couldn't escort me to a "safe place".'

Evelyn Glenholmes is on the run again. Named by Scotland Yard and the Fleet Street gutter press as Britain's most 'wanted woman terrorist' in 1984, warrants were issued for her arrest and extradition. Underground since then, she was captured by Irish police in Tallaght, Co Dublin on 12 March 1986.

After many legal battles she was released, re-arrested and then released again on 22 March after the Courts had ruled British warrants for her extradition to be defective. Unused to courts that give even passing scrutiny to its legal practices the British DPP had made a series of technical legal blunders with the warrants.

After her first release, the Irish Special Branch, intent on re-arresting her before she could leave court, blocked off the exits. But helped by her lawyer and Sinn Fein supporters she escaped through the Judge's area and ran to freedom. Extraordinary scenes followed as, chased by dozens of gardai and three car loads of armed detectives through streets crowded with shoppers, she was finally cornered off O'Connell Street. Again she bravely attempted to escape by running through British Home Stores. Here the Gardai went mad and she and her supporters were punched, kicked, abused and dragged along the ground. Police fired shots into

The same scene was repeated throughout the Six Counties with some towns literally in the hands of loyalist crowds all day. A sectarian attack was launched on a nationalist estate in Portadown and nationalists defended themselves. The RUC moved the nationalists back but allowed loyalists to continue stoning them. Seamus Mallon MP complained that Armagh had been blocked by tractors and trailers and police did not intervene even when tractors were driven at his car. Indeed in many areas the RUC were reported directing people to the hooded men guarding the barricades.

The British government responded to the strike with a predictable restatement of commitment to the Agreement accompanied by various efforts to woo the loyalists back to the negotiating table. Similarly, after the Portadown riot, Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King, reiterated the government's wish to sit down and talk. The government is probably hoping that a section of the Unionists will be sufficiently worried by the breach taking place, to agree to talk. However (and this has always been the problem with the Agreement) efforts to appease the loyalists by stressing that the Agreement will not alter the sectarian status quo, tend to undermine the position of the Dublin government and the SDLP, who have sold the Agreement on the basis that it would improve the condition of the nationalists. In fact, even the tiny reforms once talked of, have disappeared. The Flags and Emblems Act which was to have been repealed is now merely being 'reviewed'. Even President Reagan's long heralded financial 'aid' has turned out to be a mere \$290m over five years, half of it in loans. Four inter-governmental conferences have taken place (the latest discussing such great issues as tourism and roads) and nothing has altered for the nationalists. Or rather, one thing has, repression North and South has increased, as the Agreement designed it should.

Continuing loyalist gun and fire bomb attacks aimed at splitting the RUC, present a serious threat to imperialist stability in the Six Counties and to the Agreement. In the coming months, as the British government and the Unionists test how far each will go, the cost will be paid in nationalist injuries and lives. The only defence for the Irish people lies with the Republican movement's campaign to end British rule in Ireland.
Maxine Williams

Evelyn Glenholmes free!

the air in their panic. Evelyn Glenholmes was then recaptured and returned to court. Later, another Judge ordered her release, ruling that a telephoned request from Britain to keep her in custody was insufficient. She was then released but faces the life of a fugitive as the Twenty-Six Counties government is bent on re-arresting her.

In Britain, Labour's Peter Archer

'... People will say that if I had nothing to do with those offences then I would have nothing to fear if brought to court in England. The truth is that I have already been tried and convicted by the British and I have no intention of ending up like the Maguires, the Birmingham Six or the Guildford Four, serving a sentence for something I was not involved in. Nor will I allow myself to be used by FitzGerald & Co in their efforts to suck up to Margaret Thatcher...'

Open letter from Evelyn Glenholmes to AP/RN

(Shadow spokesperson on Northern Ireland) failed to condemn extradition in political trials and concentrated on attacking British officials for 'carelessness'. Likewise Gerald Kaufman (Shadow Home Secretary) said 'Slackness, incompetence and complacency have brought about this discreditable botch up.' He also spoke of a 'propaganda

Unity in action stop strip searches

The brutal and degrading strip-searches of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer continue unabated:

- 800 strip-searches have been inflicted on them since their arrests last July
- in February Ella endured 34 strip-searches, Martina 31
- their maximum 2 hours free association time is frequently taken up with strip-searches, body searches, cell changes, cell searches
- sleep deprivation is a further weapon used against them - they are woken up every 15 minutes

The Home Office has declared this torture to be 'routine'. It is in fact an attempt to create a new precedent in the repression of Irish women prisoners in British gaols.

The campaign to stop the strip-searches is going forward. In October 1985 SLISC began a campaign of street events and the lobbying of MPs and councillors to put direct pressure on the Home Office. This went alongside support for the welfare of the women carried out by the Irish Prisoners Appeal (IPA). In February 1986 the IPA began a series of weekly pickets of Brixton prison. The pickets of Brixton prison were the impetus for the campaign to grow, to involve wider forces and for it to go forward. The Irish Solidarity Movement, taking inspiration from the victory of Maire O'Shea, knew that for the campaign to grow it had to be open to all organisations and individuals opposed to the strip-searches with equal participation by all: the right to speak, express their view, distribute political literature and initiate activity to achieve the common aim. It was on this basis that the Maire O'Shea Defence Campaign was conducted, which culminated in victory.

FRFI, through the ISM, was instrumental in fighting for these rights at IPA meetings and all events on this issue. It is to the credit of those in the IPA that they *did* agree to broaden the campaign and allow all organisations to join, bring their banners, and to sell their literature. This has taken the campaign forward and laid the basis for greater unity and the involvement of even wider forces in the future.



triumph' for the IRA. Not a word about the fact that after trial by Fleet Street, Evelyn Glenholmes faced only the prospect of a further British show trial

The pickets of Brixton prison have now become events which have the support of other prisoners in Brixton. FRFI, in its work on prisoners and in particular in support of Irish POWs, has always supported the struggle of all prisoners in their fight against the repressive British prison system. At first the pickets only took up the issue of strip-searches, however, ISM speeches and slogans stressing solidarity with all prisoners against brutality, racism and censorship brought an enthusiastic response to the pickets from the prisoners.

Prisoners now join in singing, clapping and shouting with the picket. On Saturday 29 March a banner appeared through a cell window saying *End Harassment of Legal Correspondence Rule 37a not respected in Brixton prison*. Brixton prisoners are not alone in their support for Ella and Martina, the ISM march and picket on 5 April against strip-searches received many messages of support from Irish POWs in the H-Blocks, Albany prison and prisoners from all over Britain. Opening up the campaign against the strip-searches and in support of Ella and Martina laid the basis for the successful mobilising committee for the 5 April demonstration and picket of Brixton prison.

Sian Bond and Pauline Sellars

Revolutionary greetings to Martina on her birthday on 16 April



Left and above Evelyn Glenholmes attempts to escape the Irish Special Branch.

political battle to unite Ireland and secure the departure of British troops from Ireland. The court also ruled however, that Brendan McFarlane could be extradited. During the court hearing Sean MacBride and Fr Des Wilson testified about the political nature of the war in Ireland. MacBride said:

'Nothing short of violence has had any effect on British policy.'

Such evidence and the prisoners own statements clearly had an impact on the court.

Cathal

The letter from the Militant supporter, MK, Oxon, which we printed and replied to in FRFI 56, has sparked off a huge amount of correspondence.

Firstly, a reply to the Militant from Laurence McKeown, Republican POW in the H Blocks.

Lawrence McKeown was imprisoned for life in August 1976. In 1981 he was one of the Republican prisoners who went on hunger strike for political status. The hunger strike ended after ten POWs had been murdered by the Thatcher government. FRFI takes this opportunity to send solidarity greetings to all POWs in the Six Counties, Twenty-Six Counties and Britain.

Our book *Miners Strike 1984-1985 People Versus State* contains a revolutionary message of support from him as an Irish POW to the British miners then engaged in battle against the British state. His reply to Militant's narrow chauvinism is an example of the immense lessons and benefits which the experience of Irish revolutionaries can contribute to our struggle here.

The other letters published on these pages take up Jimmy Anderson's criticism (see FRFI 57) that our publication of and reply to the Militant letter was irrelevant to the tasks of building a movement which represents the oppressed.

I would like, through the columns of FRFI, to challenge the views expressed by MK, as printed in the February edition. Although I thought the reply by Eddie Abrahams was excellent I feel that comment should be made by someone associated with one of the groupings condemned by MK.

I don't know how serious MK is when s/he states that the USSR has never 'given aid to any revolutionary situation in the world', and I can only view such a claim as a reflection of a narrow ideological belief. While I would in no way attempt to portray the USSR as the 'model for socialism', I am firmly of the belief that other countries which have achieved a more ideal form of socialism – or at least have embarked on the road to such – have only been able to do so because the USSR exists. Eddie has adequately outlined how the USSR has helped developing socialist states and, while neither he, nor I, have the time or space to develop the argument on that line, I feel the claim by MK has been sufficiently discredited.

Criticism, where criticism is due, is always welcome, but to make generalised statements/allegations which are easily refuted only lower the debate to rhetoric and to the levels of a Reaganite who views the world simply in terms of communist or anti-communist. Possibly 'if Trotsky had come to power... we would be living in a true workers' state', but possibly if the international proletariat had not displayed such abject surrender to national chauvinism the present state of world politics would be in total contrast to what it really is. But then we cannot, if committed to the struggle for revolutionary change, continue to wring our hands in regret of what *may* have been, *could* have been, if only...! Instead, we analyse the cause of failures and attempt to ensure that they do not re-occur.

However, it is in relation to my own country and the liberation struggle being waged here that I particularly wish to challenge MK about. He begins by saying that, 'The IRA promised to rid Ireland of British soldiers within five months, then five years now an indefinite period. What have they achieved?' Possibly someone caught up in the spontaneous outburst of civil resistance in '69 and seeing the cohesion of a risen people, who had of necessity to fight and defend themselves from attacks on their communities by the sectarian state armed forces of the RUC and 'B' Specials (backed by loyalist thugs) possibly did make such a statement. However, to use that as an apparently major criticism of the Irish Republican Army appears rather childish. I'm sure that if s/he had only searched around they would doubtless have been provided with much better 'criticisms' of the IRA – their critics are many.

MK asks, 'what have the IRA achieved?'. Firstly, let us put the IRA in its proper context, ie, as part of the Republican Movement. Yes, the IRA is the 'cutting edge' of that movement, as described by Sinn Fein spokespersons, but, it is to the movement as a whole, and the people in general that we look for achievement. But, to what do we look to measure such achievement whilst in the midst of a revolution? A revolution which, by the nature of all 'non-text book ones' (ie real ones), changes constantly this way and that – now takes one form,

now another – now places emphasis on one form of struggle, now another. Possibly, MK has some standard by which s/he can provide that measurement of achievement, but I don't, nor do I believe such exists.

The fact that the Republican Movement is today stronger in terms of ideology, structure, organisation and general capability to continue the struggle, is achievement in itself; though that doesn't say we now sit back in smug satisfaction but rather, that we ensure such progress continues. Over the past seventeen years attempt after attempt has been made by British imperialism to smash our struggle. But in the course of that struggle our people have become politicised and aware of the true nature of our objective, ie not only an Ireland free from foreign rule but a socialist republic, independent economically, politically, socially and culturally. The Hillsborough Accord, signed recently, is but one, though probably the most major, of a long list of such attempts to defeat our revolution. However, we are confident that as the months pass even those

"The fact that the Republican movement is today stronger in terms of ideology, structure, organisation and general capability to continue the struggle, is achievement in itself..."

people of the nationalist community who presently 'want to believe' that it may offer some hope, some form of redress for the injustices suffered at the hands of a corrupt illegitimate government, will discover it's true nature. As Garret FitzGerald of the Free State has stated on countless occasions 'the main thrust of the Accord is to defeat the IRA'. He, more so than Thatcher, knows just how much he and his people involved in, or having experience of, the struggle can now define clearly the particular class interest within society and can identify the real nature of the various 'Agreements' which are constantly proffered as the 'end to all their troubles'.

MK claims that all the IRA has achieved is to give 'ammunition to reactionary bigots like Ian Paisley' and that 'their immoral actions have seen the introduction of the PTA and... put the working class struggle back decades'. What MK fails to recognise is that since the 1798 rising of the United Irishmen there have been numerous 'Ian Paisleys'; not as a result of the actions of the IRA, which obviously didn't exist then, but because British imperialism and the loyalist ascendancy class which benefited from Britain's presence in Ireland saw how dangerous the unity of 'Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter' was to their vested (economic) interests. Even when there was no organised attempt by any section of the peasantry or working class in Ireland to challenge the oppressive system under which they live, nevertheless, the ongoing 'religious crusades' by numerous Protestant

MILITANT

A reply from the H-Blocks

clergymen (of which 'roaring Hannah' was but one and upon whom many believe Paisley bases his style of oratory) to ensure that no such unity of the peasant and working classes, of all religious beliefs and none, would emerge. Sectarianism was but the method adopted to 'divide and conquer' – the perpetuation of the status quo was the objective.

Of course the Catholic side wasn't short either of these clergymen who certainly feared any socialistic movement, or any challenge to the role of the Catholic Church which would come about as the result of the coming together of the lower classes of all religions and who likewise used sectarianism to protect their economic and political interests.

In his/her letter MK appears to me to imply that the PTA was introduced as the direct result of IRA action and thus its introduction was justified. This ignores the fact that since the creation of the Six County Statelet there has never been a time when the state did not have some form or other of 'special legislation' on its books. In fact the 'Special Powers Act' eventually became an internal part of the state itself, which, by the way, Vorster, of South African fame, once said (in words to this effect) 'I would end all of S African special legislation for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act!' With such special legislation went the formation of 'special' forces to support the armed RUC, namely the A, B, C Specials. These forces were equipped with uniforms, rifles, heavy machine-guns and any other such military device by which to keep the 'subversives' subdued, ie the Nationalist community. In case the RUC and Specials should find themselves under pressure from any determined IRA campaign the British Army was already there also to give whatever assistance was necessary. During this period 1928-1969 – apart from the Border Campaign of 1956-1962 – I don't believe anyone could claim that at any time the IRA appeared to be on 'the brink of victory' or that 'the masses had arisen' which could possibly 'justify' the extreme measures adopted by the Stormont government. For MK thus to imply that IRA actions led to the British government being forced into introducing the PTA seems to me to betray a determined naivety or an outright refusal to go beyond the barriers of the narrow theoretical belief to which s/he dogmatically holds in spite of how it is seen to be discredited by the force of evidence from events happening around him/her and throughout history. Does s/he not even accept a basic marxist principle that the capitalist ruling class will make the laws necessary to ensure its own survival and that 'liberal-democratic' democracy only is allowed to work when it is seen to work in the interests of the ruling capitalist class? Once that form of democracy does not provide the desired results then law is promptly changed as was so blatantly

evident upon the election of Bobby Sands.

Are all the recent anti-trade unions laws in Britain the result of military actions by the trade unions? Or even militant action? We all know only too well how the NUM strike was portrayed by the British ruling class through a controlled media, and how such portrayal was used to 'justify' the extended powers given to police and judiciary. But are we then to say that Scargill and the NUM instigated such repressive legislation? Are we to ignore the fact that Thatcher had as her objective from the time of first being elected, the destruction of trade union power and in particular the destruction of the NUM? Are



Newman's militarised police

we to forget that Kenneth Newman who got all his specialised training in how to oppress political activists whilst being Head of the RUC, was put in control of the Metropolitan Police so as to exercise his skills there in terms of police re-organisation and training to meet the forthcoming 'battles' which Thatcher knew would be waged against the British labour force – and any other 'dissidents'? Does the photo (in the February issue of FRFI) of having armed police at Heathrow Airport not say something to MK about how the ruling capitalist class are going to suppress any future challenge to their authority? When repressive legislation is to be introduced the relevant 'justification' and 'scapegoats' will be found by which to 'explain' its necessity.

MK looks to the working class as the one and only hope for socialism and revolution in spite of how the NUM were treacherously treated by their comrades (sic) in the TUC; in spite of how the print workers of SOGAT 82 and the NGA are presently being betrayed by their 'comrades' of the electricians' union, and in spite of all the examples of working-class disunity, MK still looks upon them as a homogenous body of

... for socialism with the struggle against national oppression at home and abroad' then the forces which impede that unity must be exposed and destroyed. Although revisionists such as 'Militant' have no credence among the vast oppressed sections of society, they do influence large sections of the working class who must be won to the new revolutionary movement. Therefore, we cannot ignore them. If we do, why stop there? Why give credence to the labour aristocracy, such as Kinnoch, by opposing them? We fight them because they stand between the broad mass of the working class and society's most advanced sections. Not to expose both their treachery and the need for a revolutionary alternative is to abstain from the class struggle and allow their influence to remain unchecked. It is a luxury we can ill afford.

Barry Thompson
London E9

which all members have identical interests and who will eventually rise up in their masses and create the workers' republic!

If in fact s/he was only referring to the 'working class' of the 6 Counties then the claim that their struggle was 'put back decades' becomes even more ludicrous. The Protestant working class here have never truly reached any working class consciousness, so much have they been imbued with the tradition and values of the Protestant ascendancy class which has used sectarian bigotry to ensure a united workforce remains a dream only. Just as the labour aristocracy in Britain sees its interests aligned to Tory Party politics, so too does the Loyalist working class here feel their interests lie in maintaining the link with Britain – and that in spite of the reality of their own deprivation. Even those who could be referred to as the 'more enlightened' representatives of the Loyalist workforce still cannot join with workers of other religious persuasions (apart from minor exceptions) to fight for common goals unless being first assured that no danger to their Loyalist British allegiance exists.

As a member of the Labour Party and a supporter of Militant I wonder where MK's loyalty lies in light of the present witchhunt of Militant members within the Labour Party! And particularly since Kinnoch's condemnation of them at the Party Conference! Just as the NUM discovered in the course of their strike that they had more comrades, friends and supporters outside of the Labour Movement than within, so too MK may someday discover that the force for revolutionary change and struggle today is not simply to be found amongst the working class in general, but amongst the poorest sections of that class, amongst the unemployed, the ethnic minorities (who suffer added racist discrimination and attacks) and all others who suffer oppression and exploitation as a direct result of the capitalist system. Many members of the British working class have mistakenly in the recent past placed their trust in the Labour Party and its leadership, then watched as the folly of their actions was exposed to them, and then indeed listened with disbelief as their cause was denounced by the very people they believed were there to fight on their behalf.

The Republican Movement has indeed still much to achieve but the development of our struggle up to the present day has been an ongoing progressive one and its base is firmly rooted amongst a people who know exactly what it is they want to remove from our society – and who intend to achieve that goal. We no doubt also have much more to learn, but we look to the history of our own struggle and that of other peoples to discover how we best can overcome our difficulties and bring closer the day of victory. We see nothing to be gained from condemnations of other groupings or organisations who are involved in their own struggles against one form or another of oppression – provided that such struggles are not reactionary or 'anti-people' in nature.

In conclusion, I would like to extend greetings to all comrades at FRFI, particularly Maggie, who has ensured that, despite determined attempts at censorship by the prison administration, the publication is still regularly available to the Republican prisoners. I would also take this opportunity to say 'hello' to Gerry in Brixton (who I see receives his copy also!), not forgetting Martina and Ella, and all other Republican comrades imprisoned overseas. Keep the spirits up, and 'blute', all the lads are asking. Onwards, ever onwards to victory. Tiocfaidh ár lá,

Lawrence McKeown, H-Blocks

Crucial polemic

Dear Comrades

I'm writing in response to the question raised in the March issue of FRFI by comrade J Anderson as to whether the paper should use up space in reply to 'Militant' – or any other group, for that matter. It was Lenin, I think, who said that 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement', and throughout the history of the socialist movement the polemic has played a crucial role in developing revolutionary theory. Some of the greatest works in the history of Marxism have been polemic, such as Marx's 'The Poverty of Philosophy', Engels' 'Anti-Duhring', Lenin's 'What is to be done?' Getting things right often happens in the struggle against people who get things wrong!

Also, if, as the RCG manifesto states, we must 'unite the struggle of the working class

Ignore Militant's Verbal Gushings

Dear Comrades
In reply to Jimmy Anderson's letter (FRFI 57). Presumably J Anderson would extend this policy to gushings from the rest of the British 'left' including the great 'socialist' organisation, the Labour Party? I would tend to agree, if it weren't for the fact that these groups do use the titles socialist and some even claim to be communists. Now, everyone knows what Kinnock means by socialism—he means open scabbing, back stabbing and betrayal of every conceivable struggle of the oppressed. What about Militant? This is the subject of a much longer article (overdue in my opinion). Though, just briefly: can we just dismiss the fact that here in Liverpool the lead was given against the YTS, cheap labour schemes? It was the school strikers of Liverpool who Kinnock chose to call 'Dafties'—daft for opposing the slave schemes. Can we just dismiss the fact that in Liverpool the most serious attempt to oppose the attacks on people's jobs and services took place and that once again Kinnock

scabbed and openly attacked this defence of services etc?

Can we just dismiss the fact that the media ran a most vitriolic campaign against Militant and, in Liverpool, a campaign organised by the businessmen and comprising rallies of the most reactionary, neo-fascist and fascist elements, dredged up in opposition to Militant, took place? Now, we see the democracy of the Labour Party in action with the Diplock style courts leading to the expulsion of Militant. Their reward for defending jobs and services. Why? and a few other questions relating to Militant which need answers—why does Militant stay in the racist labour party? And what is their policy on Ireland? and on South Africa? These are the questions which ask 'Which side are you on?' 'Are you on the side of the imperialist British ruling class and its interests or are you on the side of the oppressed?'

In the development of a people's movement, a genuine socialist movement, these questions need answers. Yours in solidarity
T G O'Connor
Liverpool

Serious undertaking

Dear FRFI
Comrade Jimmy Anderson (letters FRFI 57) raised some important questions about what and how FRFI should deal with different issues. We all want to see a revolutionary movement built in this country. The question is, how to go about it? FRFI rightly concentrates on the oppressed sections of the working class. However, if a Communist Party worthy of the name is to be built then the people that belong to it must be fully aware of the workings of the capitalist system. This task can't be left to an elite few but must be seriously undertaken by all those who are involved in the struggle. If not then the opportunists will easily succeed in the political battles that occur in the future.

Secondly, Jimmy questioned the worthiness of replying to letters by Militant. Although it is a tiresome task it is important that their ideas are challenged. Working class youth are often familiar with Militant's politics and the politics of other petit-bourgeois organisations; however, they can't simply be written off but must be won over to real revolutionary politics.

Graham Cleveland

Why no campaign against Zionism?

Dear FRFI

'There is no such thing as Palestinians... they did not exist.' Golda Meir Israeli Prime Minister quoted in the Sunday Times 15/6/84.

'But they (Palestinians) are not human beings, they are not people, they are all Arabs'. David Hacohen Israeli Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Knesset quoted by Tory MP Maxwell Hyslop in the House of Commons on 18/10/73. From the massacres of Deir Yassin (1948), to Kufir Kassen (1956), to Jordan (1968), to Libya (1973) when Israel blew a Libyan airliner out of the sky killing all 107 on board, to Lebanon (1982), to Tunisia (1985) to name but a few of the many atrocities, Israel has pursued a policy of systematic genocide against the Palestinian people and their allies.

Zionism (the state ideology) has been condemned by the United Nations in Resolution 3379 on 10/11/75 as '... Determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination'. Israeli soldiers train and arm death squads in several Central and South American state 'security forces'. Israel also openly collaborates with apartheid South Africa.

Today Israel still does not recognise the existence of the Palestinian people, even in the West Bank (of Jerusalem). Here Palestinians are forced to live in conditions similar to those of the Jews and other 'undesirables' in Nazi Germany of the early 1930s. Why is there no campaign in Britain to protest against these Neo-Nazis of Israel? Perhaps Eddie Abrahams could explain why this is so, following his excellent article in February's FRFI (No 56).

Yours
SM
London

NORTH LONDON PUBLIC MEETING

Irish POWs—Britain's Hostages
Video 'Prisoner of War'
Monday 14 April, 7.30pm

Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road (nearest tube Finsbury Park)
Speaker: Paul McKinlay—author of FRFI pamphlet on Scottish Prisons

Organised by North London Irish Solidarity Committee

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Your questions answered

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Farrakhan — black Reagan?

Dear Comrades

I am writing in reply to an article by Susan Davidson, *The Lost Legacy of Malcolm X*. Although I am in no way defending capitalist Farrakhan I was nevertheless angry in seeing that Susan Davidson had fallen into the capitalist trap. The view that Farrakhan is an 'anti-Semite' is absurd. It is the view taken by the imperialist WASPs of North America. In calling Farrakhan a racist they relieve the guilt felt by their anti-Semitic past (white) history. Farrakhan is just the target being fished as a means of flogging their own consciences. Whether they really feel guilty is, of course, another question. Before Farrakhan they used Malcolm X.

Just because Hitler's Nazis were Germans, it doesn't mean that all Germans are Nazis. Just because the Jewish businesses in New York exploit their black workers, it doesn't mean that all Jews are exploiters. Malcolm X said, a year before his death, 'we're anti-exploitation, and in this country the Jews have been located in the so-called Negro community as merchants and businessmen for so long that they feel guilty when you mention that the exploiters of 'negroes' are Jews (businessmen). This doesn't mean we are anti-Jews or anti-Semitic—we're anti-exploitation'.

It is clear that Farrakhan loves the white Parliamentarians. He wants to convert the Black masses to capitalism. He excites his oppressed crowds with slogans—'all whites are evil'. Farrakhan, however, is two-faced. I have seen through him. He loves wealth and power. Unlike Malcolm X, he is not anti-exploitation. To take everything that he says seriously is as foolish as calling him a 'Black Hitler'. He is not even a black man. He is a 'nigger'. I call him the Black Reagan. He is not a racist; he wishes he was a white man. (BLACK SKIN WHITE MASK). RCG Venceremos!
Pixote X
Commandante
London

Susan Davidson replies

I do not apologise for calling Farrakhan an anti-semitite. He does not locate the role of the Jewish community in the USA as Malcolm does (Autobiography, Penguin Ed. pp 490-491). Farrakhan, in contrast, uses popular anti-semitism, which is ever-present in America, as a rallying call. When he repeats the question, 'Who killed Christ?' before a large and devoted audience, when he baits Jewish people about the concentration camps with the question 'Why didn't you wait for the Messiah?' and, 'I am your last chance, Jews. You can't say "never again" to God, 'cause when He puts you in an oven, you are in one indeed!'—when he says such things it is anti-semitism.

This anti-semitism totally negates Farrakhan's attack on Zionism.

No—the only apology that I will make is that Malcolm's name was misspelt in the paper. This is unforgivable!
Susan Davidson

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Supporters Groups meet regularly in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Leeds, Bradford, Liverpool and North and South London.
Join them!

For details write to:
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Bradford—FRFI c/o The Starry Plough Bookshop, 6 Edmund Street, Bradford
North and South London—FRFI, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX (or phone 01 837 1688)

Manchester FRFI supporters group meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 7pm, 8411 Centre Moss Side precinct. Next meetings: 17 April, Understanding Marxism Part 3, May Day—public forum.

Please note our new address: FRFI, c/o Through the Wire, 8a Progress Buildings, 491 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester M8 7HY

Racist RCP

Dear FRFI

At the last Anti-Apartheid meeting in Leeds a debate took place on the boycott of apartheid South Africa. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) stated their opposition to the consumer boycott. As a member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and supporter of Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! I defended the consumer boycott and characterised the position of the RCP as racist since in essence they were saying that the RCP knew better than the people of South Africa themselves what was best for their liberation struggle.

The next night at the bar of the Trades Club in Leeds, two supporters of the RCP came up to me whilst I was talking with friends. The RCP challenged me to a fight, pushed me in the chest, spat in my face and punched me in the face, knocking off my glasses. The RCP then left the bar leaving the 20 or so witnesses astounded at their behaviour.

Many FRFI readers will already have their thoughts about the RCP but this thugery only emphasises their sectarian isolation and the weakness of their politics. I can now add the RCP to a list, including the police and NF, of forces who have assaulted me during political activity.

Readers will not be surprised to hear the RCP have done nothing to help build the Leeds Anti-Apartheid demonstration on 22 March.

Yours
GT
Leeds

LETTERS

Write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

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to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI. In March, we only raised £467; in 1986 overall £1,385. This leaves us £142 short so far this year. If you haven't yet sent us your donation, do so now! Consider making a monthly pledge to our funds or just send whatever you can. If there is an FRFI Supporter Group near you and you haven't yet helped it raise funds, start now! Last month, their collective effort raised £393. The remainder came from individual supporters including Mary in Canada. Our thanks to all.

If you are still hesitating, consider this to help you make up your mind: over the last 7 years, the state increased its spending on the forces of repression—police, courts, prisons—by 41%. Your contribution will help to build a movement ready to counter the attack on us all.

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Labour & TUC as Judas

Dear FRFI

... I read with interest the article in this month's issue on the Wapping dispute and I couldn't help but notice the similarities between this and the miners' strike, what with the TUC playing its usual role of Judas Iscariot betraying the workers who are struggling to fight state oppression, and Maggie Thatcher and her cronies using the police thugs and the courts to try and bring them to their knees. I just hope they get the much-needed public support to continue the fight. They can expect no support from Kinnock and his bunch of pseudo-working class imperialists. They will be too concerned about their image so close to an election run-up to worry about people's lives and jobs being destroyed by a machine ever eager for more...

It's about time that people had a real say in ruling their own lives but as long as the bloodsuckers—that-be are in control that will never happen so first priority must be given to exposing and defeating them in every possible way and using every possible means, such as Westland—which I think was a wasted opportunity to inflict a great deal more damage upon this government than was actually the case.

North London Public Forum

Nicaragua: with slide show and talk by FRFI supporter recently returned from Nicaragua

Tuesday 22 April, 7.30pm
Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road (nearest tube Finsbury Park)
Organised by North London FRFI

I also agree with the comments by Jimmy Anderson (who is incidentally my next door neighbour in solitary!) who quite rightly points out that instead of the lengthy explanations of the ins and outs of high finance skulduggery more emphasis should have been placed on who was doing the skulduggery and how they were allowed to escape virtually without any public outcry. I should also point out that as long as the people are divided by the state, using such tools as racism, sexism etc, then they will continue to get off scott free, which is why your efforts to smash racism and other forms of division are so important...

Power to the People!
Mike Ryan
In solitary confinement HMP Frankland, Durham

An Appeal to Readers and Supporters

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FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM! STOP THE STRIP SEARCHES

Hundreds march against strip searching

On 5 April over 350 people marched through Brixton in protest against the brutal strip-searches of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson (see page 13). The successful demonstration, culminating in a mass picket of Brixton prison, was organised by the Irish Solidarity Movement, in which FRFI plays a leading role. It was built on an open, democratic basis – all those prepared to actively oppose strip-searches had the opportunity to unite on an equal basis in public mobilising committees and to address the picket.

As Sian Bond, for the ISM, argued, 'British imperialism divides and rules... we must unite to fight against the strip-searches in an open and democratic campaign.'

The wide range of organisations who participated on the day illustrated the strength of this position – from the Irish Republican POW Campaign Committee to City AA Group and WRP (Workers Press), from Winston Silcott Defence Campaign to Tower Hamlets Trades Council, Red Action, the Irish Prisoners Appeal, the London Irish Women's Centre, Laing's Lock-out Committee, Lewisham IBRG, CAPR, Greenham Women, Leninists of the CPGB, RCP-BML, RDG and many individuals.

The RCG played a major part in the event. Speaking for us at the picket, Ruby Khan asked,

'How is it that there is no public outcry when two Irish women are strip-searched daily in a British gaol. For too long the Irish people have been

left to fight alone while the Labour Party and trade union movement have supported British rule in Ireland, while socialists in Britain have put their own interests before building solidarity with the Irish people.'

'When a woman is abused we must all become women and fight on their behalf'

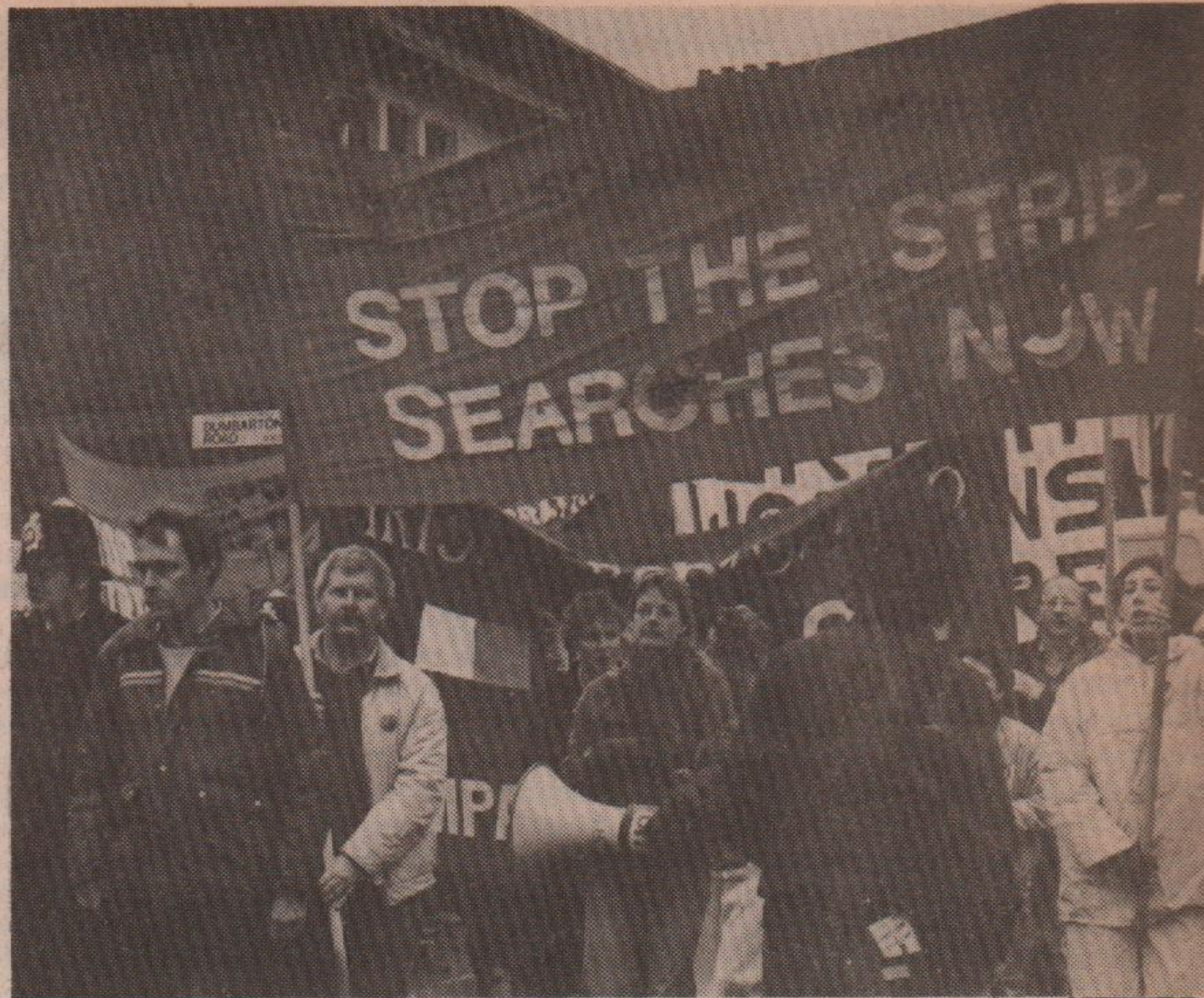
Republican prisoners in the H-Blocks

Ella and Martina were deserted by the Labour Party and trade union movement – only Tony Benn MP lent his name, only Tower Hamlets Trades Council, ACTT (Hemel Hempstead) and West Midlands Health Service ASTMS gave support. The Troops Out Movement refused to support the event along with the SWP and the RCP/IFM.

In contrast to this sectarianism black

people picketing Brixton police station against police racism and brutality took up the slogan 'Brixton-Belfast! One struggle-one fight!' and joined the

Irish Solidarity Movement march approaches Brixton prison.



brother Paul Hill was framed and imprisoned for life reiterated this in calling for support for the campaign to free him.

Irish POWs are in the forefront of the struggle against British imperialism and their solidarity was expressed in messages from the H-Blocks, Albany and Brixton. The Republican POWs in the H-Blocks wrote,

'when a woman is abused we must all become women and fight on their behalf'.

Prisoners in British gaols, including 62 from Lewes, took up this call and sent messages.

Terry O'Halloran, NUJ and RCG member, summed up our common struggle,

'... in fighting for Ella and Martina we are fighting... for the rights of all. To achieve that we must organise in unity. That way we can win.'

Pauline Sellars Beth Summers

Black Hells Angel murdered in custody

On 27 March, seven police officers were suspended from duty on full pay following a unanimous verdict of unlawful killing returned at the inquest into the death of black Hells Angel John Mikkleson – a rare verdict in recent times. Mikkleson was the only black Hells Angel in Britain. Some of these officers now face civil action for assault on Mikkleson's friend, Alan Krafft, and wrongful imprisonment of Krafft's father.

Mikkleson was arrested with Alan Krafft, another friend Martin Griffin and Krafft's father at Feltham, West London, last July. John Mikkleson, Martin Griffin and Alan Krafft had been followed to Krafft's parents home by PCs Peacock and Renton. They accused Krafft of having stolen the car he was driving and attempted to arrest him. A struggle broke out, and Martin Griffin went to get Krafft's father. Coming back, Mr Krafft Snr clearly saw his son and Mikkleson being hit on the head 'over and over and over again'. When he came to his son's assistance, Mr Krafft was accused of being drunk and arrested for obstruction. The charge was later dropped, as was a similar charge against Griffin. Alan Krafft was also arrested and charged with assault and obstruction: these charges were dismissed by Feltham magistrates.

At Hounslow police station, the badly beaten Mikkleson was left on the floor of a cell for twenty minutes, despite repeated pleas from Mr Krafft Snr for an ambulance. He was dead on arrival at hospital, having suffered brain damage and choking on his vomit.

The inquest into John Mikkleson's death was marked by police intimidation and lies. At the start, the police,

acting on the instructions of Coroner Dr John Burton refused to admit anyone unless they gave their names, which were immediately written in a notebook – apparently for 'security reasons'. Burton, despite strong evidence that the severe bruises on Mikkleson had been caused by police violence, claimed that Mikkleson was drunk and had taken drugs.

During cross-examination it was revealed that not only did at least one police officer, Renton, make his notes on the incident over 12 hours later 'On the orders of a senior police officer,' but also that most of the officers involved were kept together in the same room at Hounslow police station. Renton was unable to explain his lack of injury despite his claims of having been part of a violent struggle in which he was strangled by Mikkleson and punched in the face by Alan Krafft!

The inquest became legal controversy after the Police Federation and the High Court prohibited a television showing of a reconstruction of the events. Coming on the heels of the much publicised Holloway 5 incident, the police clearly wish to ban any further exposures of their brutality.

Keinde Olawale and Ken Hughes

Easter Rising 1916

Hold on to your rifles

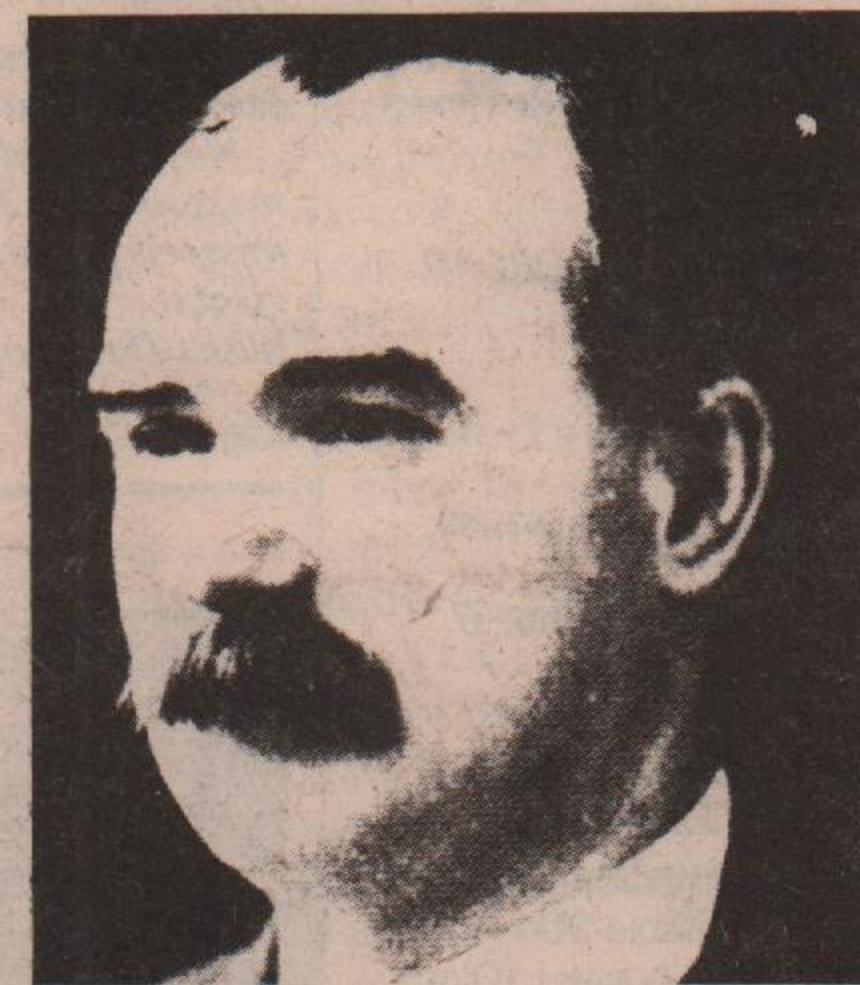
Seventy years ago on Palm Sunday 1916 the green flag of Ireland was raised over Liberty Hall in Dublin, a symbol of the commitment of the Irish working class to the revolutionary struggle for Irish freedom. That night James Connolly addressed the Irish Citizen Army, informed them of the uprising, planned for Easter Sunday and said,

'In the event of victory, hold onto your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic, as well as political liberty.'

Connolly correctly anticipated that a section of the nationalist movement, the bourgeois nationalists, would oppose them. Indeed Eoin MacNeill, formal head of the Irish Volunteers, sent out orders demobilising the volunteers two days before the Rising.

Nevertheless on Monday 24 April 1,200 men and women seized buildings in Dublin and declared the foundation of the Irish Republic. PH Pearse read out the proclamation setting forth the democratic aims and intentions of the provisional government of the newly-born Irish Republic. On Saturday 29 April 1916 Pearse issued orders to surrender to all the Republican units in Dublin. The order was countersigned by James Connolly. The leaders of the Rising, including Pearse and Connolly, were executed by the British. But the defeat of the Rising did not mark the end of the struggle. On the contrary, the Easter Rising represented the birth of the modern revolutionary nationalist movement in Ireland. The events leading up to and following the uprising were to illustrate the significance of Connolly's warning to the Irish Citizen Army.

The Easter Rising united two revolutionary forces, the Irish revolutionary nationalist petit bourgeoisie and the Irish working class. It came at a crucial historical moment when British imperialism was engaged in a world war and revolutionaries in Ireland saw that Britain's difficulty should be Ireland's opportunity. British imperialism had been trying to solve its crisis in Ireland by giving limited independence to the Irish bourgeoisie and allowing the exclusion of Ulster which would remain under direct British rule. Connolly recognised that by partitioning Ireland Britain would succeed in retaining its hold over all Ireland, deepening the division in the Irish working class and paralysing all



James Connolly progressive developments. Connolly wrote, 'we would much rather see the Home Rule Bill defeated than to see it carried with Ulster, or any part of Ulster left out'.

The Irish bourgeoisie had already shown its hand when, on the outbreak of war, its leaders had called on Irish people to enlist in the British Army. In deciding on an uprising at this time Irish revolutionaries were not only attempting to free Ireland but to give impetus to the revolutionary struggle world-wide.

The Irish working class' support for national independence had nothing in common with that of the Irish bourgeoisie. Bourgeois nationalism aspired to political freedom only in order to achieve an independent capitalist Ireland in which the working class would continue to be exploited. They hoped as

Connolly pointed out,

'that in a free Ireland their 'privileges' would not be interfered with... that when Ireland is free of foreign domination the green-coated soldiers will guard the fraudulent gains of the capitalist and the landlord from the 'thin hands of the poor' just as remorselessly and just as effectually as the scarlet-coated emissaries of England today'.

Connolly knew that the working class must not limit its struggle to political independence but go further to the organisation of a socialist republic. He said,

'If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain'.

Irish capitalists are only interested in their own selfish ends, a fact which Connolly recognised, 'all bourgeois movements end in compromise, the bourgeois revolutionaries of today become the conservatives of tomorrow' How right he was. That trend in the movement which had opposed the Rising later accepted the disastrous partition of Ireland and, with the aid of British imperialism, defeated the revolutionary wing of the national movement in the Civil War.

Today, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, cementing the collaboration of the Twenty Six County government with British imperialism, attempts to maintain partition and again destroy revolutionary nationalism. Reaction is the rule in the neo-colonial Twenty Six Counties, presided over by a ruling class which, like the bourgeois traitors of Connolly's time, is determined to put down the national struggle and suppress the Irish working class. Those fighting for the liberation of Ireland and the emancipation of the Irish working class, have to confront not only British imperialism but also its Irish allies.

Pauline Sellars Beth Summers