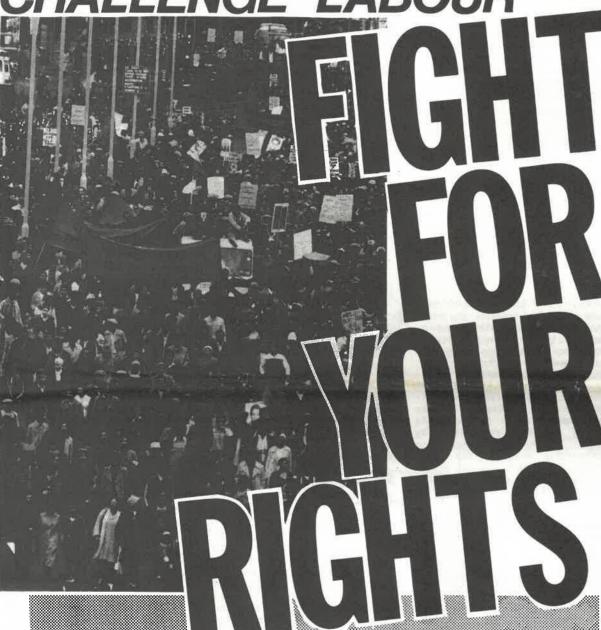


Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

VOL.12 NO.4 MAY 1988



It is the Labour party which controls most of the town halls in Britain's industrial areas. Thus, the main target in the local elections must be the Labour party establishment. They preside over the decay and misery of the inner cities.

In Birmingham's impoverished Handsworth district, scene of a major uprising in 1985, the Handsworth People's Campaign is fielding two candidates to challenge the anti-people Labour councillors in the Aston and Sandwell wards.

The Handsworth People's Campaign programme explains: years under the inatcher govern ment, attacks on our living standards and basic rights are being stepped up. The Labour party has not only failed to oppose these attacks, they have been Thatcher's partners in carrying them out."

The Campaign puts forward a 7-point programme:

1. A FIGHT BACK AGAINST ALL CUTS.

Every advice centre, nursery and local project is place needed and must be defended.

2. OPPOSITION TO ALL JOB LOSSES In Handsworth total unemployment stands at around 50%...Now they have a new scheme, Training for Employment, which amounts to working for your dole.

WE OPPOSE ALL THESE CHEAP LABOUR SCHEMES. WE NEED TO UNITE WITH ALL THOSE FIGHTING FOR PROPER "After 9

3. FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL SECURITY

4. FIGHT AGAINST BAD HOUSING CONDITIONS.

Many people in Fandsworth live cvercrowded, insanitary tions. Homelessness is conditions. chronic.

5. SMASH THE POLL TAX.

We are committed to breaking the Tory law by organising collective resistance against payment of the tax.

6. FIGHT AGAINST ALL FORMS OF RACISM.

Since the introduction of the 1981 Nationality Act, the government's attention has turned to curtailment of the black community. This means a high level of policing in the inner city areas. Labour's racist record is hardly distinguishable from the Tories.

POLICE OPPOSITION TO HARASSEMENT.

When Thatcher talks about "urban re-generation" in the inner cities, she really means bringing in the riot squads. The police are armed with rubber bullets, CS gas and water cannon to use against us.

The message for the oppressed people of all the inner cities is spelt out in the programme:

WHY STAND IN THE COUNCIL **ELECTIONS?**

"Our aim is not to promise the world, win the elections and sit back and do nothing. Our aim is to challenge people's lovalty to the Labour party by putting forward a programme which we will fight for now, during and after the elections, no matter who wins. ONLY WIN WHAT WE NEED BY FIGHT-ING FOR IT, BY TAKING DIRECT ACTION OURSELVES."





CLASS STRUGGLE LETTERS

Now well into its third term in office, the Thatcher government is attempting to reconstruct the fabric of British social life according to its "new realist" ideology. In doing so, the government is inevitably exposing itself to criticism and unpopularity as people appreciate what the doctrine of market forces and the dismantling of the welfare state mean to the majority.

A tax cut from 60% to 40% on the higher rate band had the champagne corks popping in the boardrooms and the City firms of accountants and stockbrokers. But the massive handout to the very rich only served to display, to most people, the increasing gap between the rich and poor.

The implementation of the new Social Security Act has brought home the reality of poverty and inequality and even forced the government to talk of "gainers and losers" - with the ironic connotation of people already on the breadline losing even what they have.

The Poll tax will force the poorest in society to shoulder still more of the burder which is being removed from the shoulders of more of the burden which is being removed from the shoulders of the rich. And there is plenty more to come, such as the changes in education and housing to benefit the strong at the expense of the weak, and the continuing rundown of the NHS.

All this presents the Labour opposition with an opportunity to capitalise on the unpopularity of the Conservatives. The rhetoric of Kinnock and his band is a siren song for those distressed by Conservative callousness. And there is even a haven for those who feel Kinnock too conciliatory, because Benn and Heffer and the "looney left" are offering an opposition within an opposition.

It is just this mirage of an alternative within the establishment and the present system which it is the function of Labour to What kind of equality and escape from poverty was provided by the Labour governments of Callaghan, Wilson and Attlee? Who runs the councils in the industrial towns and cities which provide slum housing, crummy schools and urban deprivation for working people?

Even without considering Labour's role as an imperialist, racist party, it is clear that they are merely another permutation of the same system. There are plenty of ordinary men and women who appreciate that. It is a pity that the majority of the "left", the groups who claim to be socialist and revolutionary, fail to see Labour's true nature, and insist on trying to recreate and reinforce the illusions of the working class in Labour.

On May Day, the working class and oppressed nations and peoples celebrate their solidarity in the struggle against their main enemy, the ruling class of the imperialist countries. In 1988, one of the most significant victories has been the defeat of the Soviet imperialists by the Afghan freedom fighters. After eight years of occupation, the Soviet forces have been sent back with their tails between their legs, just like the US superpower scampering out of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

The US imperialists are particularly involved with manipulating the politics of the Central American countries. Despite US efforts to sponsor counter-revolution in Nicaragua, the Sandinista government has managed to contain the Contras and force them into a

The people of Palestine are an inspiration to the oppressed people of the world as they fight the Zionist monster in Gaza and the West Bank, using stones against tanks and guns. And in Azania (South Africa) the uprisings of the black people against their racist, colonial masters continue to grow in strength.

Throughout the Third World the heavy shadow of imperialism lies over the struggling people. They cannot attain their livelihood nor even their freedom until imperialism is eventually driven out and destroyed. Even the revolutionary Chinese people cannot fully control their own destiny in a world still dominated by imperialism.

But the lesson of the Third World people, and of the Irish people closer to home, oppressed by British imperialism, is that self-reliant struggle is our only weapon in the fight for national and for class emancipation. With each victory, there comes a new obstacle, as the Afghan people are well aware, and the struggle will cont inue.

The working class in Britain must continue their own struggle, as military bases and one third while extending solidarity to all those fighting imperialism of the Turkish army is in Turkey throughout the world.

From the Organising Committee to Prevent General Evren's Visit

Dear Editor,

on 12th September Turkey, 1980, a military coup estab-lished an oppressive regime responsible for the arrest of over 500,000 people and the execution of 50 people. There are a further 400 political prisoners awaiting the decision taken by the military court to execute them to be approved National Turkish the Assembly.

More than 100,000 people have been tortured and systematic torture still continues in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan.

Whilst the Turkish state continues to win support with its charade of democracy, as exemplified by its attempts to gain entry into the EEC, millions of Turkish and Kurdish people have been denied basic democratic rights.

Legislation introduced after the coup of 12th September, 1980, has restricted trade union activities to such an extent that in reality it has taken away the basic right of all workers, the right to Trade union leaders strike. and activists are under constant threat of being sacked. One of the leading trade union organisations, DISK (the Trade Confederation Revolutionary Workers) has been banned since 12th September, 1980.

Thousands of political prisoners are still fighting for the right to be treated fairly and to retain their human dignity in the face of the appalling conditions in Turkish prisons. More than half a million people are being denied the right to travel abroad because of their political activities. Freedom of expression in the media is being further restricted by which are increasing laws censorship even in the daily press. Art and cultural activities are often banned and, as in Hitler's Germany, books are burned. Thousands of intellectuals, writers, journalists, educationalists and artists are being suppressed and denied the right to express their views.

THE KURDISH PEOPLE DENIED SELF DETERMINATION

The denial of self determination for the Kurdish people perpetuated by the assimilationist of the Turkish state policy is further strengthened by the use of coercion against the Kurdish people in the guise of fighting "terrorism". order to break up the Kurdish community, new legislation has been introduced allowing the resettlement of whole villages to new areas in Turkey. Today the Kurdish areas of Turkey open prisons; even the schools are being used

Since the massacre Kurdistan. of an estimated 20,000 Kurds by Iraq's regime using chemical weapons in the Kurdish towns of Halabja, the Turkish government is planning to invade Mosul and Kirkuk as part of the US policy in the Middle East.

GENERAL EVREN: HIS HANDS ARE STAINED WITH BLOOD

architect of the 12th September 1980 military coup and the murderer of thousands people committed to the ideals of freedom and democracy, Dictator General Evren. General Evren is not an elected representative of the Turkish and Kurdish people but was put in power by the military regime in 1980. Last year, General Evren was invited to West Germany as a result of an effective and intense campaign led by German trade unions, political parties, German and Kurdish groups, Turkish human rights and other democratic organisations, his visit was cancelled. This is the man who is to be the official guest of the United Kingdom in July. | And the United in July. And the United Kingdom is the first western European country to invite General Evren whose hands are still stained with blood.

We call upon the working class Kingdom, the United and all people socialists committed to democracy to join us in preventing this visit taking place and to show solidarity with the working class of Turkey and Kurdistan.

Yours in solidarity,

Organising Committee

Anatolian Cultural Centre Enternasyonal Kurdistan Workers Association Left Unity Revolutionary Path Rizgari Turkish Community Centre -(Halkevi)

Vatan Party

Dear Editor,

Your readers should not be fooled by all the recent media coverage of the nurses pay award. It still leaves many award. It still leaves many of the basic nurses, particularly those living in the South East, without a reasonable living wage.

It must also be remembered that there are many people working in the NHS (ancillary workers, lab workers, engineers etc.), who won't be offered anything like the increases the nurses

It was a political move on the part of the government to head off criticism about what they are doing to run down the NHS.

The crisis in the NHS continues to worsen.

The need to build an effective mass campaign to defend and extend the NHS remains an urgent

task.

What I find most worrying is the predominant trend amongst those locally who claim to be building an NHS defence campaign. Despite the fact that they start from a position of strength, having built a 7,000 strong demonstration on March 5th, they now seem to want to wind the campaign down. They have an ideal opportunity to build for even bigger protests in July to mark the 40th anniversary of the NHS. This would be ideal as it would focus activity prior to the expected Tory re-organisation of the NHS, to be announced probably in the autumn. Everyone expects that re-organisation to result in a partial dismantling of the NHS and an expansion of the private medical sector which would be a disaster for ordinary people.

Yet what do these (mainly Labour party supporters) so-called activists propose? Letting off balloons from every hospital as a celebration and organising birthday parties for the NHS! Oh yes, and there is to be a torch carried from Liverpool to Birmingham.

The reality is that they saw the March protests as a way of getting the Labour party noticed on the streets prior to the May local elections.

Their only response to proposals for demonstrations and protests is that there is really nothing that can be done until Labour is elected at the next general election.

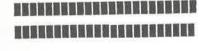
And, of course, there is no point in hoping the TUC will By the end of do anything. March, they had already taken the decision not to organise any protests in July.

As one who was involved in anticuts campaigns during the last Labour government, I have no Labour government, I faith in the Labour party.

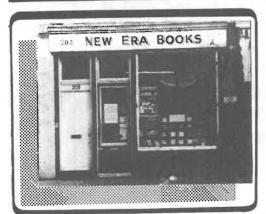
Furthermore, as far as I can see, even in opposition the Labour party is very good at heading off people's protests against the system.

It is to be hoped that all the protests that built up so far about the NHS will not be subverted by the Labour party and that the growing protests can be turned into something that can shift the government's plans.

A Birmingham shop steward.



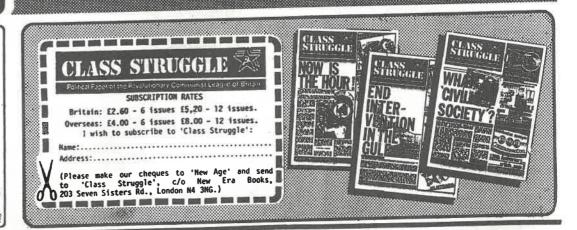
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Robbing the Poor to Pay the Rich

`C.S.' Correspondent

In an attempt to stem the rising tide of anger over its attitude towards the NHS and the pay of those who work in it, the government has now agreed to fund a substantial pay increase of around 15% to the nurses. At the same time, it has accepted the recommendation from the review bodies on Top Salaries and Armed Forces that increases to some of the highest paid should be less than half that figure, with only 4% of it being paid from 1st April, with the balance in October.

At first glance, it seems that some of the lowest paid are, for once, going to do a little better. But this is a case of the difference between how things appear and the actual reality. For example, the present maximum of an enrolled nurse will rise from £7,750 to £9,200, an increase of 18.7%. If the figures for pay AFTER tax are considered, that increase will actually be 19.6%.

WHO WINS, WHO LOSES, FROM THE SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES?

This use, or misuse of statistics to prove how caring they are, has been employed consistently by the government in speeches in the House of Commons. John Moore has continually emphasised that only 12% (i.e. ONLY 960,000 people). Will be worse off under the new Social Security benefit system. At the same time, the government has been trying to give the impression that as far as the other 88% are concerned, things will be either better or no different and the whole system of Social Security will be a lot simpler.

But statistics lie; if one were to accept the way the government has produced its figures and engaged in its own creative form of arithmetic, it might be that the figure of 12% would relate to the first week or so of the new scheme. But as claimants find themselves in situations where they have to

CHILD BRADFORD BRADFORD ACTION AGAINST SOCIAL SOCIA

Protestors march in Bradford, April 9th.

On the other hand, a High Court judge is only going to get 5.4% (4% now and 1.4% in October.) However, his pay AFTER tax will rise by almost 25%. This is directly a result of the Budget which removed all tax bands above the 40% level from early June.

apply, and so come onto the list at the lower levels of benefit, and as inflation continues, that number will rise phenomenally.

But despite all the claims and counter-claims about who and how many are going to lose out,

the actual reality of the new scheme was soon being felt on both sides of the counters at DHSS offices throughout the country from 11th April onwards.

PROTESTS

In Leeds, the local Claimants Union noted that two million pensioners will be at least £4 a week worse off, while many disabled and handicapped people will lose up to £18 a week. At the same time, members of the National Union of Civil and Public Servants showed their disgust at the new system by leafletting DHSS offices in the city during their lunch hour. They wanted to show that not only were they on the side of the claimants but they were also concerned at their own position, since because the system was now supposed to be simpler to run, more jobs were on the line.

In Bradford, the previous Saturday, the Child Poverty Action Group sponsored by a number of other organisations held a march to protest at the growing level of poverty. At a rally afterwards, the crowd heard a fighting speech from a pensioner, who vividly recalled his experiences from the 30's and spoke of the similarities between then and now.

Noting the presence of many young people on the march, he told them that one thing they ought to do was to go and talk their grandparents about what things were like during the Depression of the thirties. Then he went on to say that the only thing the working class had was its ability to organise. Young and cld had to get into, or where they did not exist create, organisations such as tenants' committees, old-age tenants' committees, old-age pensioners' organisations, claimants unions etc and then take up every issue of injustice.

His views went down very well with the crowd who were probably typical of thousands, who are wanting some sort of lead

and ideas on how best to fight back against the government's open attack on their living standards. His speech was in sharp contrast to those of three Labour MP's, who spoke later, and all of whom wanted to emph-

asise the importance of voting Labour at the forthcoming local elections.

Not surprisingly, many of the crowd thought they had heard this one before, and soon started voting with their feet.

New Rules cut Mary's Income to Zero.....

LEFT WITH NOTHING

Benefit Cuts bring Threat of Eviction

A forty year old woman is facing eviction from her home so that it can be sold to pay fees for her highly dependent mother to continue staying in an old people's home......Bolton

"Last year the entire budget for Single Payments for the whole of Leeds will only be enough to cover the tax cuts of one man ... Burton's Sir Ralph Halphern who will have an extra £5,000 a week to play about with."

Leeds Claimants Union

褟麗莎保衛行动



DEFEND LISA HUEN

Lisa Huen, and her small son Silas, are currently fighting deportation to Hong Kong. Her campaign to fight for her right to stay is continuing and building support among the Chinese community and other people around the country.

The Lisa Huen Defence Campaign point out: "This campaign is about Lisa's and Silas' struggle against the racist and sexist immigration laws which put women in a vulnerable position. It is about challenging the right of the Home Office to invade the private relationship between a couple. It is about condemning the right of the Home Office to embroil victims of male violence in an uncertain immigration future."

Lisa originally came to the UK from Hong Kong in 1982. She married her small son Silas' father in 1985 after a short stay back in Hong Kong. But she left her husband because of his violence towards her.

Now Lisa is under threat of deportation. If deported, she faces the choice of leaving Silas in care or taking Silas,

back to Hong Kong. The defence campaign points out: "It puts all of us to shame that this so-called civilised and democratic country we live in, causes such systematic hardship to a woman and is prepared to deny the birth right of a two-year old."

The campaign points out the need to give Lisa support, by:

1. Attending campaign meetings in Birmingham or London.

2. Affiliate to the campaign

3. Invite a speaker from the campaign $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) ^{2}$

4. Sign the petition

5. Write a letter of protest to the Home Secretary (and send a copy to the campaign). Quote her Home Office reference number: H214052.

6. Collect money and send it to the campaign.

For copies of leaflets, petitions, etc. contact: Lisa Huen Defence Campaign, 152/156 Shaftesbury Avenue, London WC2H 8HL. Tel: 01-836-8291/01-379-5098.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST BLF

STATEMENT OF THE BLACK LIBERATION FRONT

We reprint below the full statement made by the Black Liberation Front about recent events and "smear campaign" against them:

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE SMEAR CAMPAIGN

On Friday 8th April, there appeared in a number of national newspapers, including 'The Independent', 'The Guardian', 'The Telegraph' and others, a series of slanderous articles which sought to link our organisation with a number of alleged attacks The obvious Wolverhampton. source of these allegations is the West Midlands police for reasons which will shortly be explained, are seeking to organise a national slander campaign against us.

As is well known, the Black Liberation Front is a revolutionary organisation of the black working class and other black people living in Britain. We seek to unite and organise the black community to fight for our rights against the racist attacks of the rich and their state. This we do within the context of the unity of all working and oppressed people, and for the triumph of socialism. Our political approach is based on the united mass actions of the people and has nothing in common with individualist bomb attacks as

concocted by the West Midlands police in their propaganda piece. It is therefore perfectly clear that our organisation could in no way be connected with these alleged incidents in Wolverhampton, and those who started up and spread this slanderous story are fully aware of this.

WHO KILLED CLINTON MCCURBIN?

However, it is not surprising that this story should be given national prominence at this time. It is now over a year since a young black man, Clinton McCurbin, was chocked to death on a Wolverhampton high street members of West Midlands police force. To this day, no-one has been punished for this crime and in fact, those responsible for it have returned to work. The aim of this entire fire-bomb propaganda campaign is to draw a smokescreen over these unanswerable facts in order to hide them from public attention. The real killers of innocent people are once more trying to paint themselves as victims, while black people are placed in the role of wildeyed bombers placing fire bombs in flats. In this way, the truth is turned upside down, the attacker is labelled as the victim and the victim is labelled as the attacker.

SILENCING THOSE WHO SPEAK OUT

Secondly, those familiar with the way in which the FBI under its COINTELPRO programme, used disinformation and lying prop-

aganda to assist them in their efforts to attack and smash up the Black liberation movement in the USA during the 1960's, will see the immediate similarities. This whole concoction about fire bombs in flats, This whole concoction attacks on the individuals and the accompanying propaganda campaign smacks of the work of the British state, their secret police and fascist gangs. This is where people must look for answers to the this questions surrounding incident, not to the Black Liberation Front.

It is clear that the state's intention is to silence those in our community who speak out against the racist state attacks, the police murders and the daily violation of our human rights. This is to be done by labelling all such people as so-called "terrorists" and "fire-bombers" so as to isolate them and launch new and vicious attacks against them.

These are the real aims behind this crude campaign of slander against the Black Liberation Front. But this attack does not in any way weaken our determination to continue our struggle for our people's freedom nor can it divert our attention from the main issue at hand, namely the unresolved case of the brutal murder of Clinton McCurbin by the West Midlands police force in February 1987.

GLIMPSES INTO HERSTORY PART 3

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

In trying to understand the relationship between the family and women's oppression, we need to study the family in a historical and non-Eurocentric way. This is very difficult. Our experience of the nuclear family in imperialist Britain is particular in time and place and should not be generalised. On the other hand, it is significant to us because it is the concrete reality of the position that we are in.

BOURGEOIS FAMILY

present concept of the family - the monogamous nuclear family - is a bourgeois one. Even the concept of 'family' became popular only towards the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, and to begin with, was only promoted among the propertied classes. It was only these classes who were supposed to have a family: that is, a family as a combination of co-residence and blood relationship based on the patriarchal principle, with the man as the 'head' of the patriarchal

ment in the 19th and 20th also made its The organised contribution. working class (mainly made up of skilled men) used the argument that a man's wage should be sufficient to maintain a family so that his wife could stay at home and look after the household. The principle of equal pay for women was consistently rejected by most unions until quite late in the 20th century, for this reason.

The question of women's work in factories was discussed at the 1866 Congress of the First International in Geneva where Karl Marx stated that the tendency of modern industry to draw women into production had to be seen as a progressive tendency. The French section and also some of the Germans, however, were strongly opposed to women's work outside the house. The German memorandum contained such sentiments as:

"To wives and mothers belongs the work in the family and the household. While the man is the representative of the serious public and family duties,

so that she prepares his meals for him, rather than pay him a wage on which he could afford to eat regularly at restaurants. If housework is socialised, and those workers paid a proper wage, the value of labour power (and therefore wages) would rise dramatically. However, as we saw in World War 2, if However, capital is desperate enough for women to enter the labour market, then housework will, certain extent, be socialised.

As stated earlier, the state promotion of the bourgeois family in Europe was bound up with the destruction of kinship systems in the colonies. Without the vicious exploitation of the Third World, the capitalist states would not have been able to promote the ideal of white women being wives and mothers. This is bound together not only in purely economic terms but also openly in eugenic terms - that white women should breed pure and healthy white children to continue the colonial system.

opportunity for media influence.

The present attack and rundown of the welfare state is happening alongside a voluble Tory promotion of the family. Like Mr Jenkin (1980):

"If the good Lord had intended us all having equal rights to go out to work and to behave equally, you know, he really wouldn't have created man and woman."

But the Labour Party do no better, like Prime Minister, Callaghan, (1978):

"We have to pay much more attention than we have done in the past as to how industry organises women's role at work, so that her influence at the centre of the family ... is not weakened."

Despite this, there is growing evidence that the family is breaking up, especially under the strains put on it by the economic recession. Over one

were not interested. By the end of the decade, the importance of comprehensive childcare. for all under-fives was recognised on paper, by the TUC, the Labour Party and Equal Opportunities Commission. But nurseries were being closed down. Under pressure from public services cuts since then, things have represented. things have worsened and such provision is a pipe dream to most women. Experience has shown us that this demand is not realisable in the capitalist system. But it is one which is top priority under socialism.



and 'breadwinner' for wife and children.

Until the middle of the 19th century, there were a number of marriage restrictions for people without property. Agricultural labourers, workers etc. were expected to work ceaselessly, both men and women. Indeed, many of these women worked as domestic servants and were allowed no family life of their own.

In the second half of the 19th century, these restrictions were abolished in European countries and the family was promoted and put under the protection of the state.

The reasons why the bourgeoisie encouraged the establishment of the modern family within Europe are many and complex. At the same time, they were systematically destroying kinships and societies in the colonies: the other side of the same coin.

PUSHED INTO THE FAMILY HOME

Women and children constituted a large part of the early industrial proletariat. But their extreme exploitation quickly led to such high infant mortality and disease that the next generation of workers was under serious threat. This was undoubtedly one reason for the reforms and for the strong promotion of marriage and patriarchal family. Unlike the peasants, the propertyless proletariat had no material interest in the production of children. Many were unmarried or deserted and lived a mobile existence with their children.

A combination of legislation. police measures and church ideology forced this class towards the bourgeois family. Legislation was passed criminalising infanticide, sexual intercourse outside marriage and abortion. What the state called a crime, the church called a sin. Thus women were forced into the home to take on the role of housewife; labour costs were reduced for the bourgeoisie and a new consumer market eventually created.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE FAMILY WAGE

This process, whereby women 's place was to be in the home was pushed forward by the bourgeoisie and the state. However, the working class move-

the wife and mother should represent the comfort and the poetry of domestic life, she should bring grace and beauty to social manners and raise human enjoyment to a nobler and higher plane." (Thonnessen, 1969, trans. Maria Miers).

Other revolutionaries such as Bebel and Clara Zetkin had similar views on women as primarily wives and mothers and upheld the creation of the upheld the creation of the bourgeois nuclear family within the proletariat. This has led to a basic contradiction for socialists, that on the one hand, the entry of women into social production is seen as a pre-condition for women's emancipation, but on the other hand, man is upheld as breadwinner and head of the family and woman as dependent housewife and mother, and the nuclear family as "progressive".

The material basis for this contradiction lies in the advantage which working class men gain from women's role in the family: both his ability to dominate paid work, his control over all money income to the family and the benefit of unpaid labour for him at home. Coming home to food bought and cooked, clothes washed, children cared for, loo paper on the roll etc. etc. is, let's face it, one hell of an advantage.

Thus women's role within the modern Western family means to the capitalist that all the labour required to serve and reproduce his workforce is provided free, and to the working man, the everyday burden of existence invisibly is lightened.

DOMESTIC LABOUR

The way in which women's domestic labour fits into the wage labour system must be dealt with at length another time. As domestic labour produces use values, not commodities, it is not directly paid for by the capitalist. But it does. affect the profit made by them. The contribution which domestic labour makes to surplus value (profit) is one of keeping down "necessary labour" to a level that is lower than the actual subsistence level of the working

For example, it could be argued that it is cheaper for capital to pay a male worker a wage sufficient to, at least partially, maintain his wife

FAMILIES WORLD-WIDE

In order to have a more allround view of the family, we need to do more investigation into family structures in non-European countries. National minority women in this country bring with them experiences of quite different family life from, for example, the Caribbean, from India and from Pakietan from Pakistan. Many of these families will have suffered from interference from colonial rule and have also been disrupted by emigration to an alien and racist culture.

THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

The evolution of today's small nuclear family from the more extended family continued until well after the industrial revolution and the state promotion of the family has continued in varying intensity up to today's strident calls of Mrs Thatcher.

In the more extended form of family, women toiled physically with no mechanisation. criptions of the never-ending drudgery of their lives also illustrate, however, the support women gave each other in childrearing and coping with extreme poverty.

The transition to the small nuclear family began with the industrial revolution and the move from land to towns, the mobility of labour, poor provision of housing, and the individualism, competititiveness and consumerism of capitalist society.

Within this family, women are virtually owned by their husbands. On marriage, many of their legal rights disappear; economically, they require his signature for HP, rent, mortgage, tax: and once tied by children are completely are completely dependent on him for money. Physically, there is little legal protction from assault. Rape by a husband is still not illegal. Morally, women are responsible for family harmony and burden the guilt if it fails. Old people and children are excluded from useful social work and varied communal living. The small nuclear family makes roles and sexist stereotypes very difficult to change: it provides an intense social situation, isolation from friends and alternative models, isolation especially of women from other women, and an ideal

headed by women.

CHILDCARE

Many of the basic demands taken up by the women's movement of the 1970's, relate to their oppression within the family: especially the demand for free 24-hour nurseries. For many women, it is the first baby and thereafter, which suddenly loads onto them their oppression as women. They are immediately unable to compete in the labour market; unable to have any time to themselves; tied to a demanding and exhausting routine round the clock; and often because they are now 'at home' all day their husband expects his meals all cooked, his shirts ironed, his shopping done, etc. etc.

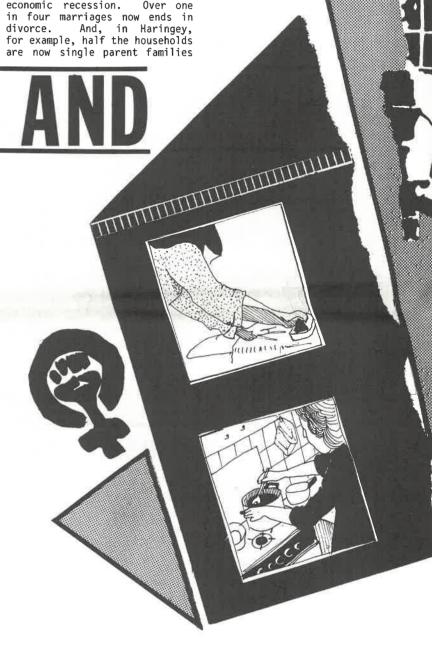
Society at one and the same time puts women on a pedestal ultimate achievement and offers them no help whatsoever. In the 1970's, many women's groups campaigned for nurseries or set them up themselves. But they were too expensive to run privately and employers



Underlying much of the inequality and exploitation which experience within the family, violence against In contrast to the defeat on childcare, however, women have organised, exposed and made some practical advances in their struggle against violence.

In 1972, Erin Pizzey set up the first refuge for battered women in Chiswick and since then, the Women's Aid movement has grown, to a total of 99 groups and 200 refuges in 1980.

The extent and brutality of domestic violence that was uncovered has been mirrored in many other countries once women got together to talk about it. In India, for example, dowry killings had been covered up for decades. Women's Aid offers battered women a place where they can talk and discover they are not alone, and also some degree of safety amongst other



In 1976, the Domestic Violence Act was passed which simplified and strengthened court orders to stop a violent husband. This was a step forward although the police remain very unwilling to act in "domestic disputes" and the immense practical diffculties of housing, income, etc. for women on the run with children, remain.

During the 1980's, there has been an upsurge in violence against women and pornographic violence in the video industry and rape, both inside and out-

are even nomad women fighters sharing the frontline of battle with men. Women are now active in village assemblies. (In the past, if women had dared to stand up and speak, they were publicly humiliated and beaten by their husbands.) Land distribution has given many women land for the first time.

Within a socialist system which follows such a struggle, there will be, for a long time, conflicts between old family structures and the new social organisations which will grow to replace them. In China, for example, a leap was made from a feudal society to a socialist one only one generation in many cases and many contradictions still remain between women's traditional family roles and those required and demanded by today's women.
This is complicated by other changes, for example, the population policy of one-child families. Despite these diffculties, most women in new China totally different and liberated life compared to only

WOMEN AND GERMAN COLONIALISM

Martha Mamozai has made a study the impact of German colonialism on women.

Germany entered the race for the looting and re-distribution of the world rather late. The German Colonial Society was founded in 1884 and from then to the beginning of World War l, the German government encouraged the establishment of German colonies, especially in Africa.

usually As happened with conquerors, invaders and the Germans who colonisers, first came to West Africa as planters around the 1880's, came mostly as single men. They entered into sexual and matrimonial relations with African women and many formed regular families. It became evident that this would lead to a new generation of mixed-blood Euroafricans who, following the patriarchal and bourg-eois family laws in Germany, would be Germans with full economic and political rights.

Debates raged over this question

alongside the problem of the subjugating and disciplining of sufficient African labour power for the German estates and projects.

Basically, it was thought that the white minority in Africa could only preserve its dominance over the "coloureds" by keeping "its race pure". There-fore in 1905 a law was passed prohibited which marriages between European men and African women. In 1907, even previous marriages were declared null and void and those living in such unions lost all civil rights.

At the same time, German men were encouraged to recruit African women as prostitutes and concubines: quite openly, black women were good enough to service the white men but not become proper 'wives' because this would change the property relations in Africa.

African families were disrupted, men and women forced into labour raped

prostituted.

However, African women were not in any way helpless victims in this colonising process, and understood their relative power as producers of the future force for labour colonialists. In the case of the German colonisers, for example, the Herero women went on almost complete birth strike and between 1892 and 1909, the Herero population decreased from 80,000 to a mere 19,962 which produced grave problems for the German farmers.

Back in Germany, the 'Women's League of the German Colonial Society' was founded to give peasant and working class girls special training in colonial housekeeping and them out as white brides to Africa. And all women in Germany, first the bourgeoisie and then the working class, were moulded into wives, mothers, breeders and housewives.



MEN'S OPPRESSION

SOCIAL PRODUCTION & THE **EXCLUSION OF WOMEN**

GLIMPSES INTO HERSTORY

A Contribution

Thinking about the very useful articles on Herstory in March and April 'Class Struggles', there are one or two points worth raising even though this contribution is not well worked

Starting from the premise that class society excluded women from social production, the question in my mind is: why did only men become the social producers, and not women and

There seem to be two main reasons. One: women had, and have, the essential responsibility for child-bearing and rearing. And two: the greater physical strength of men which was essential for the heavy labouring work necessary for the development of settled agriculture.

However, with the development of classes, ruling class women ceased to be oppressed as a class but still became oppressed as women. Why? In those far off days, were men already aware that they were onto a good thing by being the only earners and women the home-makers and a stable element in the society? Or were women who could afford the so-called luxury of being the home-makers only too pleased to be free of the enormous toil of working on the land?

Even in Diop's analysis (see March 'Class Struggle') although matriarchy still held sway in many African countries as far as inheritance was concerned, women generally speaking, in fact passed on hereditary rights to sons or brothers not to daughters: that is, hereditary rights were transmitted 'through the women' not to her. Also, from my very limited reading of early societies, Diop's theories for Africa do not hold up for some early South American

as the Maya, the Aztec and the Inca. here did have some political and social rights but they were oppressed as sexual objects and never, as far as I could tell, were equal with men.

OPPRESSION BEFORE COLONIALISM

As for the Aboriginal people in Australia, whom I read about in Robert Hughes' excellent book 'The Fatal Shore', they lived, at the time of the imperialist invasion 200 years ago, in a state of near primitive communism. With no private property, land rights and no surplus beyond their needs, the women were cruelly oppressed by their menfolk just the same.

Their marriage was usually arranged at birth and they then became the property of their husbands. They had absolutely no rights within the clan and were physically assaulted by their menfolk if they tried to stand up for themselves in any way.

ity over women gained credence after generation of women being and acceptability over the made to feel inferior to me generations because nearly always the men were physically the strongest. Strongest for hard physical labour, for going out to war and always with the dominance of physical force over women. She, on the other hand, was always responsible for the essential child-bearing and rearing which took place during the most productive years of her life.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Exceptional women have historically stood out against this oppression. But for the mass of women, the laws made over the ages dicriminating against them have always pushed women's efforts at freedom back into the home and at the service of men. And, of course, physical violence against women in the home has played a large part in the action.

But now the superior physical strength of men is not a necessity in our daily lives, with machines, science and technology taking the place of strength in nearly all fields of work. Women are not handicapped from that point of view any more, and can be equally capable in an all-round way.

The only exception is still in the home, where vialent men can still overcome women physically, again generally speaking.

COPING IN A MAN'S WORLD

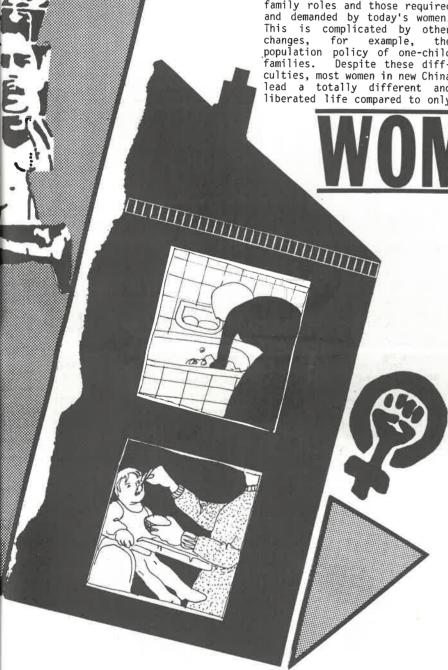
So now women have to undo all the discrimination and violence perpetrated against them over the centuries and win their equal partnership with men in the world. Most importantly, they have to realise deeply their equal ability and stand up to this task ideologically as well as practically.

I think we underestimate the The ideology of men's superior- enormous burden of generation and how they can overcome this inbuilt subjugation.

> But they still have the double task of fighting for equality and being the necessary bearers of children, and at present the rearers, too. How to ccpe with that dilemma in this man's world, is a problem that even socialist countries such as China, are finding very hard to solve.

THE REPORT OF THE PROPERTY OF

'Class Struggle' would welcome readers' responses and contributions to this series and other items in the paper. Please sent them to: Class Struggle, c/o 203 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 3NG



side of marriage, is still dealt 50 years ago. It is certain with as minor offences.

THE FAMILY IN REVOLUTION

revolutionary situations, traditional patriarchal family systems need to be overthrown so that women can take a full part in the revolution.

The tremendous changes that have taken place for women in liberated areas in Eritrea, for example, are described in 'War On Want''s publication 'Eritrean Journey'.

health programmes education, women's needs have been given more than equal attention to those of men. There have been special campaigns against traditional customs which particularly affect women: the practices of infibulation, for instance, arranged marriages and the dowry system. Not long ago, it would have been unheard of to see a nomad woman talking to a man in public. Now, there

that women will have to continue and refine their struggle for fair and equal family relationship. A successful outcome will, in many respects, liberate men as well as women.

NO HAVEN IN THE FAMILY

The specific form taken by the family at any time or place is linked to the mode of production. It is a creation of that social system and will reflect its culture. In most of the world today, and certainly in Britain, the family is essentially oppressive to women. Although women seek shelter and warmth within the family from the uncaring, racist and sexist society outside, the bourgeois nuclear family cannot provide this. The bourgeois family is part of the capitalist system and is built on exploitation, isolation, suppression and violence towards

"What we now expect is that Mengistu will collect whatever forces he can, and throw them into another major offensive against us. I think that will be a desperate act. But it will be decisive, and we shall be ready for it." These were the words of Secretary General of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), Isseyas Afeworki, reported by Basil Davidson, in 'The Guardian' of April 4th, 1988.

It is no accident that the papers and news bulletins on radio and TV have not reported the decisive victories won by the liberation forces in the Horn of Africa. While we are daily bombarded with information about how the two superpowers have negotiated the future of Afghanistan, we have not been told of the significance of the self-reliant struggle of the people of Eritrea and Tigray that seems to be close to victory. Neither is there a public outcry against Soviet support for the Ethiopian regime which would have collapsed many years ago without this outside help.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END
Reports of recent battles that

have been printed, such as 'The Guardian' article, and press releases from both the Eritrean and Tigrayan organisations make it clear that the scale of recent victories is great. Basil Davidson was inside Eritrea at the time. In his article, he reported:

"In what has become a rapidly evolving shift of the military balance in Eritrean favour, these leaders confront an evidently demoralised Ethiopian army, patently nearing the last of its resources in military manpower ... The scale of this demoralisation became grimly evident during the battles of March 17-19, when the Eritreans, somewhat to their own surprise, were able not only to destroy an army corps and capture all its armament, but also to clear the occupied town of Afabit.

"This debacle for Mengistu and his Dergue, the size of which I found no reason to doubt, must probably be seen as the beginning of the end of the dictatorship. But not as yet the end of it...."

Further news releases from the Eritrean Information Service have confirmed the extent of their victories.

At the same time, the EPLF is clearly co-ordinating its military activities with those of the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF). News releases from the TPLF have spelled out the scale of their victories. For example, a release on April 4th, stated:

"The offensive that was started by the gallant TPLF forces against the Dergue's army on 25th March 1988, has been successfully completed on 30th March, 1988. The enemy's army has been completely crushed. The towns of Endselssie, Selekleka, Axum and Adwa have been liberated.

"This attack was to be carried out in accordance with the TPLF's plans to destroy the 17th division of the Dergue's army and was to be implemented stage by stage....

"...While the regime's army was under an intensive attack in Tigray, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front scored brilliant victories in Afabet and Nacfa over the Ethiopian army. The enemy panicked over the heavy losses suffered and began to prepare for an offensive against the EPLF by pulling its troops out from garrison towns in Eritrea and Ethiopia, even from Tigray where there had been intensive fighting..."

Further confirmation of the critical military situation came from the order of the Ethiopian government to aid organisations in Tigray and Eritrea, to withdraw their workers. Representatives of these organisations, such as James Firebrace of 'War On Want' have expressed the fear that the Ethiopian regime has ordered aid workers out of the areas in order to avoid having foreign witnesses present as it launches a desperate battle against the liberation forces.

The liberation forces are confident that they can defeat the demoralised Ethiopian army. However, it is likely that civilians will catch the full brunt of the Ethiopian army. James Firebrace said that there were reports of massive troop movements into Tigray and Eritrea, and reports of preparations to use chemical weapons. The Ethiopian army is known to depend on Soviet advisers and supplies.

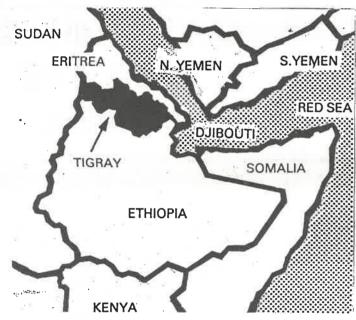
While such preparations can only postpone the final victory of the liberation forces, they can cause much unnecessary suffering. We should call on the British government to make the end of Soviet aid to the Dergue as important an issue

as the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. At the same time, aid organisations should cease giving any credibility or material aid to the Dergue unless it agrees to the demands raised by the liberation groups for free passage for aid.

At the same time, it is important to understand how it is that the liberation forces have managed to sustain their long struggle to this point. EPLF was established over 25 years ago and the TPLF recently celebrated its 13th anniversary. They have grown stronger from year to year, as they have gained increasing support from the people by extensive programmes of social reforms as well as their armed struggle. reforms have affected every aspect of people's lives: from education, health and agri-culture, to questions of basic democracy and women's liberation.

On the rest of this page, we reprint extracts from accounts by people who have recently travelled in the liberated areas to illustrate the way the liberation struggle involves not only freeing people from military dictatorship but touches on every aspect of their daily lives.

SEE YOU IN ASMARA ON LIBERATION DAY



ERITREA

'Eritrean Journey' is an account of a visit to the liberated areas of Eritrea by four women from this country. The following extracts give some idea of the life of the people in the liberated areas:

"The Central Hospital cares for 1,200 in-patients in wards hidden under the trees, and it stretches for five kilometres along the valley floor. "It's the longest hospital in the world" they told us. (To avoid bombing: Ed.) It's also the school for training barefoot nurses and medical doctors, technicians.... Like most things in Eritrea, the hospital looks makeshift and rustic - but its workings are efficient and professional.... It by-passes the pharmaceutical companies by manufacturing eleven of the most commonly used drugs, and some intravenous fluids. These are produced in sterile labs which have been converted out of container lorries. ...

"Literacy is fundamental to ensuring women and peasants are not marginalised or politically impotent. As one woman said: "There is great joy in being able to read and write in being part of the changes." Another said: "It was like being in darkness and now I am beginning to see the light."

"Being able to read and write is seen as a prerequisite for political literacy. Illiteracy has long since been eradicated among the fighters but they face a daunting task in improving the literacy rate of 5% among the civilian population. Armed with a blackboard and Kalashnikov, young student-teachers, sixteen year olds from the Revolution School, set off on the literacy campaign trail. We watched the celebrations which marked the end of one such two year campaign. Girls with hair cropped like the fighters sang and danced in front of their students—their mothers, sitting veiled, hair traditionally styled. But the very fact that these women attend public classes, as well as their new ability to read and write, is an indication of a revolution in their lives, too."

"In Fana's village, the Assembly divided the people into 27 cells of 40 people each. All the land, inherited and communal, was made available for redistribution. Not everyone could have access to the best land, so lots were drawn for it; each group of families would distribute the land allocated to them amongst themselves. No outside help was needed. Fana said: the EPLF gave seed and technical help and encouraged the establishment of mutual aid teams to help those in the community, such as women, who were receiving land for the first time. Some land was

farmed cooperatively and the surplus from this went to help the very poor in the village and to buy things for the People's Shop which is run by the People's Assembly."

The extracts above describe a visit made some time ago in 1985. A more recent visitor to Eritrea was Glenys Kinnock, who was also in the liberated areas at the time of the great victories over the Ethiopian army. She wrote afterwards that the most common greeting in the liberated areas is "See you in Asmara on Liberation Day". When that day comes, it will be an inspiration to all people around the world, fighting for justice, peace and liberation.

FIGHTING THE FAMINE

In December 1987, James Firebrace, of War on Want, wrote in an appeal for funds about his recent visit to the drought-stricken areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea:

"... The tragedy is that official aid, channelled through the Ethiopian government, is simply not getting through to the greater part of the rural areas where the famine is at its worst.

"That is why War on Want is working to provide emergency aid where it can be most effectively used....

"... over the years we have built up a close working partnership with two major nongovernment organisations: the Eritrean Relief Association and the Relief Society of Tigray.

"These two organisations are run by Eritreans and Ethiopians, not by people from outside. They know what help is needed, and how to get it through to the people who are suffering most, in the far-flung rural areas of this vast country.

"And already they are proving the most effective at getting the food aid through to the people...."

TIGRAY

"I am old. I have never before been able to participate in a democratic situation and I never thought I would.

"I am glad to be part of this. I am glad to be alive, to see this in my lifetime.

"The people of Tigray have paid the price with their blood. They have fought for liberation and democracy."

This quote comes from a recent leaflet from the Tigray Solidarity Campaign. The leaflet sums up the social changes brought about by the TPLF as follows:

*** Grassroots Democracy

Local administration is carried out by local councils of democratically elected representatives. Sub-committees deal with agriculture, education, health, relief and rehabilitation, judicial affairs. Previously there was no democracy at any level.

*** Land Rights

A radical land reform programme, benefiting almost four million people, has been carried out in the liberated areas. Implemented by the local administrations, land has been distributed taking demographic changes into account. The first redistribution was successfully carried out early in 1987.

*** Women

Of all the socio-economic changes which have taken place, the advances for women have been the most radical and extensive. Before, women were sold in marriage from 8 years of age, had no property, divorce or legal rights and no part to play in public. affairs.

Now, women cannot be married before 15 or against their will, they have equal rights to divorce, land and property. Women are active in all spheres, economic, social and political, although it will take a long time to fully eradicate the effects of centuries of oppression. The Women Fighters Association of Tigray, formed within the TPLF four years ago, has been instrumental in furthering the cause of women within Tigray. Two special women's schools, Marta and March 8th, have been established.

*** Education and Health

There are primary schools and clinics in every area where before 1975, there were only high schools and 3 hospitals, located in the towns, leaving the entire rural population without any services. Literacy programmes are gradually reducing the previous 97% illiteracy rate. Training centres have been set up to tackle the serious shortage of qualified people in all fields in Tigray.

*** Economic Development

The TPLF set up the first agricultural training centre in Tigray in 1978, and have initiated programmes including soil and water conservation, afforestation, training in improved farming methods. Demonstration terracing sites were producing good harvest even at the height of the famine.



An Eritrean fighter relaxing in Afabet after the battle for the town.

SOVIET UNION TO WITHDRAW TROOPS BOOK

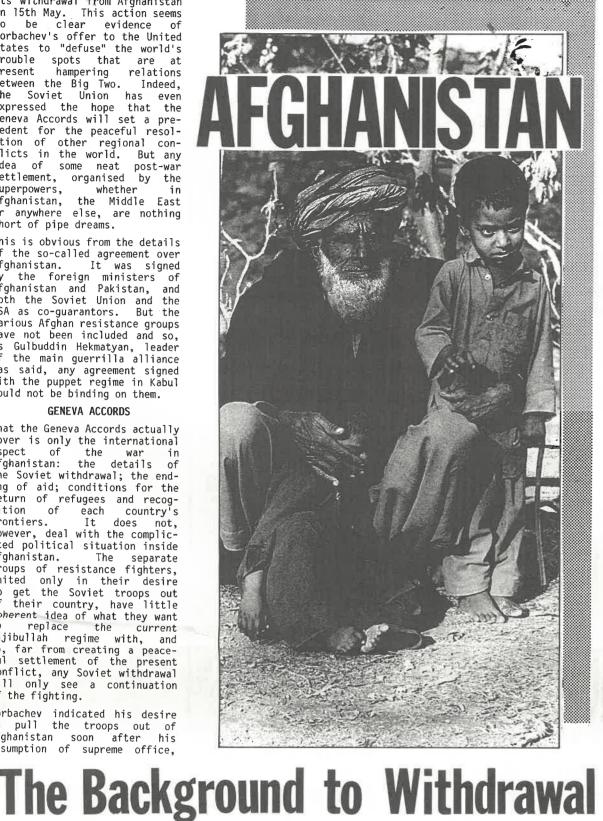
its withdrawal from Afghanistan on 15th May. This action seems to be clear evidence of Gorbachev's offer to the United States to "defuse" the world's trouble spots that are at present hampering relations between the Big Two. Indeed, the Soviet Union has even expressed the hope that the Geneva Accords will set a pre-cedent for the peaceful resolution of other regional con-flicts in the world. But any idea of some neat post-war settlement, organised by the superpowers, whether Afghanistan, the Middle East or anywhere else, are nothing short of pipe dreams.

This is obvious from the details of the so-called agreement over Afghanistan. It was signed the foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and both the Soviet Union and the USA as co-guarantors. But the various Afghan resistance groups have not been included and so, as Gulbuddin Hekmatyan, leader of the main guerrilla alliance has said, any agreement signed with the puppet regime in Kabul would not be binding on them.

GENEVA ACCORDS

What the Geneva Accords actually cover is only the international of the Afghanistan: the details of the Soviet withdrawal; the ending of aid; conditions for the return of refugees and recogof each country's s. It does not, nition frontiers. however, deal with the complicated political situation inside Afghanistan. The separate groups of resistance fighters, united only in their desire to get the Soviet troops out their country, have little coherent idea of what they want to replace the current Najibullah regime with, and so, far from creating a peace-ful settlement of the present conflict, any Soviet withdrawal will only see a continuation of the fighting.

Gorbachev indicated his desire to pull the troops out of Afghanistan soon after his



"a bleeding wound". The present Soviet leadership has recognised that their troops have not been able to achieve what they set out to do because the Kabul government lacked any popular base. As the war dragged on, it was becoming increasingly unpopular within the Soviet Union itself, and causing severe problems for the economy. other factors must also have been to the fore among the policy-makers in the Kremlin: firstly, the consequences of a continued war against Islamic guerillas by the Soviet army could lead to unrest in the Central Asian Republics of Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tudzhikstan. Secondly, it was damaging Soviet international relations, as shown by the vote in the United Nations last November, of 123 to 19, demanding their withdrawal.

Thus the Geneva Accords will provide some cover for the twists and turns of Soviet diplomacy, helping them to get out of a war that they cannot

THE FIGHTING CONTINUES

But what will happen afterwards? The Najibullah regime may well seek to strengthen its position by concentrating its forces in the northern areas, dominated by Farsi-speaking people, and leaving the Pushtu South to the resistance movement.

In addition, the vast stockpiling of arms by all parties to the conflict makes the question of future deliveries more of a symbolic matter although it must be noted that the USA has pledged continued support to the resistance.

Thus the withdrawal of Soviet troops will only leave a complicated and confused situation Afghanistan at war with

But one thing is clear from the experiences of the last eight years, that the withdrawal the Soviet troops is also victory for the principle of the right of nations to selfdetermination and for the right fight a11

The eight-year long occupation of Afghanistan and war against its people by the Soviet Union many parallels with the US war against the people of Vietnam. In both cases, a superpower moved in its army, to prop up a regime that it had supported, more for strategic reasons than for the need to control a small country. An army equippped with the latest weapons and great resources got bogged down in a war against guerillas, a popular war that it could never win. A powerful airforce bombed and dropped napalm and anti-personnel weapons that inflicted huge suffering on the civilian population and created millions of refugees. Finally, in the face of mounting casualities in the army, unpopularity at home and condemnation in international circles, the superpower has been forced to admit that it is fighting a war it can never win and seek a political solution.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan with 85,000 troops on 27th December, 1979. But interference in the affairs of Afghanistan went back many years. This culminated in April 1978, when a coup led by elements from the Moscow-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) established a one-party state, the so-called Democratic Republic Afghanistan.

Armed resistance to the new government began within a few months. By March 1979, there was outright civil war when thousands of soldiers and civilians rose up against the government in the western city of Herat. Herat was reduced to rubble, with the help of Soviet jets.

Six months later, in September another faction of the PDPA staged a successful coup. The resistance however continued and after a major victory by the resistance over the government's forces in October, the regime seemed on the point of collapse. It was at this point, that the Soviet Union stepped in with thousands of troops to prop up the regime.

The level of troops committed to Afghanistan by the Soviet Union never reached the half a million American troops sent to Vietnam. However, the number has remained at about 115,000 throughout the eight years of its occupation.

It is difficult to find out precisely the number of Soviet troops killed. However, one estimate puts the number at between 12,000 and 15,000.

Before the Soviet invasion, the population of Afghanistan is estimated to have been 15.5 million. Eight years on, at least one million people have been killed in the war, the vast majority of them Afghan civilians. Five million more Afghans have been driven from their homes to the relative security of settlements and camps in neighbouring Pakistan They are the largest single refugee population anywhere in the world today.

The war has taken the classic pattern of guerilla wars. The badly armed guerilla forces control most of the countryside while the Soviet army and its Afghan allies, can only keep a hold main cities. Most recently, the Soviet army has even had to commit great numbers of troops to keep a hold on some of the cities. In 1987, in the eastern province of Paktia, 8,000 resistance fighters gained control. In January of this year, the Soviet army managed to regain control of the main city, at the cost of 400 men and a dozen aircraft.

More typical of the war, however, has been the bombing and killing of unarmed civilians. In November of last year, 'The Observer' carried a report by Radek Sikorski, of such an attack. He wrote:

"In August this year, 70 civilians, all but four of them women and children, were killed in a bombing raid on a village near Pashtoon Zargoon in North West Afghanistan.

"It was typical of the indiscriminate attacks against civilian targets which are now the principal method used by the occupying Soviet forces. Most incidents are never reported, occurring far from the eyes of Western journalists. This time I was on the spot, a witness to the attack and its appalling consequences."

The report went on to describe the attack, against which the villagers had no protection. The author pointed to another method of method of the Soviet pilots if people left their homes, homes, thev were attacked with frag mentation bombs which killed many and injured others.

Since the guerillas have received Stinger missiles, an effective anti-aircraft weapon, the Soviet command has avoided flying close to guerilla fighters who may be armed with the missiles. The author reports:

"The Soviet command, therefore, seems to have turned to attacks directed exclusively against civilians, in the hope that this might erode support for the Muslim resistance. is a mistake.'

The new Soviet tactics will cause much suffering but are unlikely to pacify the country and end the fighting. They are also unlikely to convince many Afghans that their government is sincere in its proposals for national reconciliation."

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FREEDOM FOR IRELAND

AMNESTY INVESTIGATES

Once again, the British government has rejected a criticism of its oppression of the Irish people from Amnesty International. Amnesty, awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1976, world-wide respect commands investigations into for its human governmental abuse of rights. When Amnesty criticises a country like Argentina or the Soviet Union, the British government is fulsome in their

But when Amnesty wrote to Mrs Thatcher calling for an explanation of the killing of the unarmed IRA volunteers Gibraltar, she condemned the organisation as "disgraceful". Amnesty suspects that the were "extra-judicial executions" and drew attention to the eye-witness reports that the three were shot at pointblank range without warning and that at least one of the volunteers was shot again on the ground.

A letter from the National Council for Civil Liberties also met with short shrift. NCCL asked Northern Ireland supremo Tom King: "As the suspects did not display arms and were walking down the street in daylight, why were they shot dead rather than arrested and later prosecuted in a court of law?" Mr King failed to Mr King failed to answer the question at all.



BIRMINGHAM SIX

Amnesty has also been investigating the appeal of the Birmingham Six, wrongly convicted of the 1974 pub bombings. Amnesty's report concludes that there is strong evidence of the six being beaten up by police and of their confessions being obtained involuntarily. It points out that, whereas the law provides that the prosecution must prove confessions have been obtained voluntarily and without oppression, the Court of Appeal seemed to require the defendants to prove that they were ill-treated. Given the judges desire to protect their own, it is perhaps

not surprising that the House of Lords have refused the six leave to appeal.

Amnesty's concern over Gibraltar executions parallels its investigations of the RUC shoot-to-kill policies uncovered by the Stalker report. record of exposure of British human rights violations includes the 1971 charges of torture in the six counties, used by the Irish government to obtain a conviction of torture by the European Court, the 1978 dis-closure of RUC ill-treatment prisoners in Castlereagh interrogation centre and the questioning in 1980 of the numbof convictions based on confessions alone.

MANAMINOTEBOOK Message for Thatcher

published in Economist' (26th March) shows the continuing support for withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

50% thought the British troops should be withdrawn; 35% thought they should remain and 14% did not know.

"keeping Ulster far as British" is concerned, only 27% thought the six counties should remain part of Britain; favoured union with the Republic and 29% went for independence.

A poll organised by 'The Sun' met an even stickier end. 22nd March, the editorial fulminated about capital punishment for the IRA, while a call was printed on the same page for readers to take part in a telephone poll on whether Britain should get out of Ireland.

The next day, 'The Sun' printed the results in a five line article tucked away on an inside Out of 50,000 callers, demanded British withdrawal.

The Anglo-Irish accord in which the British government placed so much faith, is proving increasingly fragile. A recent

poll in the North of Ireland, carried out by Coopers and Lybrand for Fortnight magazine and Ulster TV, asked whether the Hillsborough Agreement had benefited the nationalist 0f nationalists community. polled, 81% said no and 16% yes, while the Unionists lined up 72% no and 25% yes.

Irish Prime Minister, Even Haughey, rubbished the accord on his US tour. He complained about Britain's refusal to prothe shoot-to-kill cors, the Gibraltar conspirators, the Gibraltar executions, the rejection of the Birmingham Six appeal, the killing of a Sinn Fein worker by a British soldier and the early release of British murderer, Private Iain Thain.

He said: "It is with sadness that I tell you that I cannot report any improvement in the situation in Northern Ireland. You will have seen and read of the continuing violence and division there, the harassment of civilians by the security forces, the persistence of injustice and discrimination and the lack of confidence in the administration of justice.'

If these signals from the Dublin "allies" are disappointing, the Republican people's message is enough the chill the spines of the British rulers. In the statement on the anniversary of the Easter rising, the Republican leadership said:



"We have a message for the we will British government demoralise you. We will make the Six Counties into a millstone which will strangle you and we will eventually defeat

"Our strategy is clear. is to sap the political will of the British government and the British people to remain The means are in Ireland. limited guerrilla against crown forces..." warfare

BRITISH

About 350 people attended a meeting organised by the Troops Out Movement and held at Leeds Trades Club, on Friday 25th March. They were there to hear Ken Livingstone put the case for British withdrawal from the North of Ireland. Livingstone had accepted an invitation from Leeds TOM which Ireland. supported his castigation of the Attorney-General as an accomplice to murder because of his refusal to prosecute RUC officers involved in the shoot-to-kill conspiracy.

Livingstone gave details of Britain's dirty tricks policy, based on the revelations of intelligence officers Wallace and Holroyd.

Holroyd was in charge of MI6 operations in South Armagh over several years. He worked side side with Captain Robert Nairac, and he saw Nairac come in one day with photographs of the body of John Francis Green, a republican Volunteer who had been assassinated the night before in Southern Ireland by a team of loyalist paramilitaries led by Robert Nairac.

"Equally, and this is something I have confirmed with Merlyn Robert Nairac actually provided the guns and bombs for the loyalists who went out and killed the Miami Showband - simply because they wanted to unleash a wave of sectarian violence to end the ceasefire that was taking place at the time between the IRA and the Harold Wilson government."

STOP PRESS STOP PRESS

IMMINENT VICTORY FOR BABA BAKHTAURA

The six year campaign to stop the deportation of Punjabi folksinger, Baba Bakhtaura Singh, is about to end in victory.

Baba was made subject of a deportation order in 1981 as an Since then he "overstayer". has put up a determined resistance through a popular campaign centred in Birmingham and by fighting in almost every court in the land. His victory in the House of Lords, which upheld the principle that the interests of a national minority community must be taken into account when a person's deportation is con-sidered, was circumvented by a decision in the Appeal Tribunal based on a legal loophole.

While the legal battle against deportation proceeded, Baba married and his wife bore him two daughters. He applied for leave to remain as a husband and the Home Office has now granted this. Although the Home Office may have saved face by this move, it is clear that only the sustained and militant support of the community has prevented Baba's deportation.

Stop the **DEPORTATIONS**



ANTI-IMPERIALIST MAY DAY RALLY

Sunday May 1st, 2 - 6 pm

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

Cultural Performance Pula Arts Kommune Balsa Choir Pitika Ntuli and others

Speakers invited from: Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Eritrean People's Liberation

Front Tigray People's Liberation Front

Anti-Bicentenary Aboriginal Solidarity Group A.M.Babu, former Minister of Economic Planning, Tanzania.

Organised by: Political Economy Study Group and Revolutionary Communist League (London)

PUBLIC MEETING

Thursday 5th May, 8pm, West Indian Centre, Laycock Place, Leeds 7.

Getting Away With Murder The Case Against Plastic Bullets

Speaker: Jim McCabe

Organised by West Yorks Campaign Against Plastic Bullets and Leeds Troops Out Movement

COMMEMORATION DAY

Sunday 8th May, 1 pm

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1

> James Connolly **Bobby Sands**

Music, Videos, Bookstalls, Workshops and Rally.

Organised by the Wolfe Tone Society.

IRISH HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION MARCH & RALLY

Saturday, May 14th, 12 midday

Assemble: Sparkhill Park, Stratford Road, BIRMINGHAM

Organised by Irish Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee.

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

In Support of Palestinian Uprising

Sunday May 15th

To mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel in Palestine

1 ONDON

Organised by the Interim Joint Committee for Palestine

AFRICA LIBERATION DAY 1988

30th ANNIVERSARY Forward to a Socialist Africa Public Meeting with Speakers

and Cultural Events Sunday, May 29th & Monday May 30th.

Bay 63, Acklam Road, London W10