

CLASS STRUGGLE ★

POLITICAL PAPER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF BRITAIN

15P

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BRADFORD 12

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN IS GROWING

By a "Class Struggle" Correspondent

Since the arrest last summer of 12 black youths in Bradford on conspiracy charges black people and organisations all around the country are uniting in their defence.

As the October issue of "Class Struggle" showed, these charges - conspiracy to damage property and life, conspiracy to cause grievous bodily harm and manufacture of explosives - are intended by the state to be an attack on all black people. In particular it is an attack on their right to organise their own defence against racist attacks and harassment. As such it is vital for these 12 comrades and for all black people in Britain, that these charges be defeated.

'CONSPIRACY' CAN MEAN 'LIFE'

The use of 'conspiracy' charges show clearly that the state intends to make an example of these comrades because it means that they can be given HEAVIER sentences than if they had actually committed the offence. In effect discussion of a criminal act becomes worse than the act itself. It also means that anyone present can be prosecuted irrespective of whether they had any intention of being involved.



By a "Class Struggle" Correspondent

On Tuesday November 3, British Leyland workers voted by 25,000 to 20,000 to go back to work and accept the pay deal. The agreement raised basic wages by 3.8%. When compared to the government 'tax and price' index (which shows the rate of inflation) which now stands at nearly 15%, it means that the majority of BL workers voted to accept a cut in real wages of around 12% - 12p in the pound! The Company's 'final offer' on basic pay was no different to the original offer which the workforce had already rejected in an overwhelming 8 to 1 vote. The only difference lay in BL's statement that it would guarantee a bonus of £3.75 a week, which meant

POLITICAL TRIAL

If there is any doubt that this is a political trial then a brief comparison of the way these comrades have been treated and racists who have actually thrown petrol bombs makes this clear. When, on July 14, 40 white youths giving Nazi salutes and chanting racist slogans threw a petrol bomb at an Asian pupil in Keighly only 2 were charged and then only with assault and stealing petrol to make the bomb. The Asian who was attacked was also charged, with possession of an 'offensive' weapon which he had to keep on him after a previous attack.

Similarly on July 24, 3 white men were arrested for the firebombing of 2 Asian homes on Leeds Rd., Bradford. Although they were charged with 'conspiracy to assault' the magistrate did not hesitate in giving bail.

Compared to the Bradford 12 this was like a pat on the back. The 12, who fire bombed nothing, were refused bail for up to 3 months. 2 have still not been released. Sureties of up to £20,000 had to be given and most of them are practically under house arrest. They have to report to the police every day, under curfew from 10 pm 'till 7 am and are NOT ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY, including any meeting organised for their defence. It is

clear why these conditions have been imposed. The state is trying to kill off the resistance by isolating the 12, from each other and from
Cont. p.5.

Inside...

SPECIAL FEATURE War and Peace

pps 2,6



Public concern over the threat of war is growing. CND claims a nearly ten-fold increase of membership over the past year. Marxist-Leninists have always had a distinct position on war and peace. Our Special Feature and Editorial outline our position, show where the threat of war comes from and look at CND and anti-nuclear movements in Europe.

The Deportations Continue p3

The British state continues its racist campaign of deportations. We look at the case of a Chinese student in Leeds.

"In the National Interest"? p5

Defending their privileged positions, Duffy and Co. call on the working class to put the "national interest" first. We call for a fight class against class.

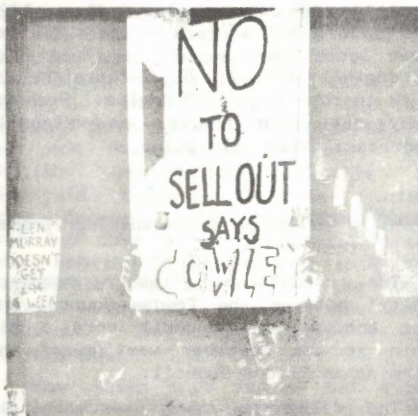
Sinn Fein Speaks p10

"Class Struggle" aims to give a platform to those fighting British imperialism. In an interview, Sinn Fein set out their views on the mood of the people, the campaign in Britain, the Anglo-Irish Council.

Irish Community Attacked p12

London's Irish community is under a sustained racist assault. We expose the repression and call for all democratic forces to fight against the PTA.

BL: Behind The Defeat



nothing to the majority of the workforce, who already receive more than

Cont. p.4.

Editorial The Communist Stand on War and Peace

As socialists we stand by the working peoples interests. So naturally we are deeply concerned about the suffering which a new world war, particularly nuclear, would cause.

But in order to do something about the war threat, it is vital to be realistic.

First, Lenin's analysis, confirmed by 65 years of practical experience, is that war is inevitable under the imperialist system. The danger of war can only be ruled out by socialist revolution.

Secondly, it is possible to delay war or prevent a particular war threat. To do this, we must be vigilant and shun wishful thinking like the plague.

We must accurately pinpoint the source of war. Today, it is the two superpowers whose level of armament far surpasses that of other states, who are locked in a struggle for world domination. This is the basis of the threat of a new world war.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

The so-called period of peace since World War II has been a constant succession of wars fought by the peoples of the third world against imperialism. The violent struggles waged by oppressed nations, nationalities and classes are just and progressive; they push society forward towards the era of communist society when war can really be abolished.

Above all we must look squarely in the face of the fact that the main thing precipitating a war is Soviet expansionism. The United States is declining, the Soviet Union is plunging into armed confrontation with the peoples of the world.

This aggressive and ambitious superpower must not be appeased, it must be fought. And it is already being fought - by the mighty struggles of the peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Eritrea, by the struggle which the heroic Polish people are preparing to wage.

Any consistent anti-war movement must give the strongest support to wars which are wars fought against war, against the inhuman imperialist system which engenders war.

FIGHT TO PREVENT WAR

And the British working people for their part must be prepared to fight to prevent war. To make the expansionists realise clearly that if they attack they can expect the same treatment as they are getting in Afghanistan, the same treatment as the great Irish people are doling out to British imperialism.

The present bourgeois defence strategy is typically imperialist. It puts weapons above everything, devalues the human being, cheerfully contemplates mass slaughter and devastation, fights shy of mobilising the masses, fails to cherish or to safeguard the civilian population.

We are opposed to this strategy. But let there be no doubt that we want to replace it by a more effective alternative aimed at engulfing the social-imperialist aggressors in the flames of peoples war.

We want to be prepared to wage war against aggressive imperialist war. We want to win it, and once they have won the working people must use their weapons to win a decisive victory in the class war by establishing socialism.

From Our Postbag

From: an East London reader

I am re-ordering a year's subscription to 'CS' because the last issue, with its report of the Second Congress, was so good. I hope the quantity, in number of pages and the frequency of 'CS' will soon increase along with the quality.

I would like to point out one omission in the last year's issues and that was any analysis of the growing CND and European Disarmament movement. This is an important political reaction by many people against the growing threat of superpower war. There are many different opinions among those involved and 'CS' could give a lead by stating the Marxist-Leninist position on world war and how to avoid it. This is rapidly becoming the main political question of the day and is drawing thousands of people into active opposition to their rulers. It cannot be ignored.

Editorial note

We thank the reader for this correct criticism. Please see Editorial and feature in this issue. 'Class Struggle' welcomes short contributions debating this important question.

From: a Birmingham reader

Begging in the street is not confined to third world countries. Walking down the road yesterday, I was approached by a young woman who asked me for 20p to buy a bag of chips. When I asked her if she was claiming Supplementary Benefit, she said 'They won't pay us until Monday'. Another person I know had to wait a week before she could even get an appointment with the DHSS, let alone get any money! People are literally starving because of the inadequacies of our so-called Welfare State.

From: a redundant steel worker in north Wales

It is reassuring to see the reaffirmation of the RCLB's stance towards the IRA published in 'Class Struggle', in view of the tragic death and injuries of civilians sustained in London. When the going gets tough, all the more reason that communists should stand full square with the oppressed people.

My congratulations and best wishes for the success of the new work plan following the Second Congress. It is heartening to realise that it will follow a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist path.

Lessons of 'unity' are being learned the hard way by British Leyland workers and it may be deserved retribution for their treatment of their convenor Derek Robinson a couple of years ago. We have got to be honest, pride comes before a fall. Opportunism has been prevalent amongst the rank and file workers as well as the union leaders. It is the Trotskyites and their ilk who maintain that the working class commit no mistakes.

Communists admit to us making mistakes but through scientific socialism are able to learn from them and rectify mistaken trends. BL workers and indeed all workers of this country must learn the lesson that 'unity is strength'. I say; BL workers better luck in your future struggles. Perhaps they may have learned an extremely important first discipline.

From: a delegate to Birmingham Trades Council

The traditional 'labour movement unity' between the Trades Council and the Labour City Council wore a bit thin at the November meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council.

The delegates voted overwhelmingly to condemn the hasty closure of an Industrial Centre for the Blind, which was threatening the jobs of 141 workers of whom 91 are blind or disabled.

The chairperson of the Labour controlled Social Services Committee spoke personally in favour of closing the centre. For the Labour controlled City Council to take this action in this, the International Year of the Disabled, is enough to earn them a medal.

From: A Bristol reader

Congratulations on the last issue of 'Class Struggle'. I think it is one of the best so far.

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A WORKER'S NOTEBOOK

★ To the 9,000 people made redundant this year by I.C.I., £18,000 is undreamed of wealth. But to the Managing Director of I.C.I. it is a mere 8% of his annual salary of £134,000 and he has agreed not to claim it as his wage rise this year. Another 100 Senior Managers earning between £35,000 and £110,000 have set a similar example ... how will they scrape by?

★ There is now a record 14,000 nurses on the dole. Unemployment amongst nurses has risen 43% during the last year. Assistant General Secretary of COHSE, David Williams, commented "What kind of a society is it where nurses, amongst the most vital of all workers, cannot find work when patients desperately need nursing care?" A DHSS spokesman said "It's not a grave problem."

★ While 753,300 are on the hospital waiting lists private pay beds are increasing rapidly. This year an extra 95 pay beds and 107 emergency pay beds in NHS hospitals (leaving aside the big private hospitals) have been approved. A further 106 pay beds are currently awaiting clearance from the Secretary of State. This would give a total increase in the number of pay beds in 1981 of 15%. Recent changes in legislation will encourage hard pressed hospital administrators to increase the number of pay beds. Pay bed profits can now be kept by Area Health Authorities instead of being given to the Treasury.

★ The Liberal Party controlled Housing Committee of the Wyre Forest District Council (which covers Kidderminster, Stourport and Bewdley) is to send snatch squads of bailiffs into the homes of council tenants with rent arrears. A week after a final warning to pay up the bailiffs will move in

to seize TVs, cars, etc. The goods will be sold to pay off debts. The council does not need a court order because the homes are council property. 3000 of its 8000 tenants are in arrears. Other councils are expected to try the same tactics. The scheme has already been tried by the Tory controlled Bromsgrove council.

★ A London pensioner came home from visiting her sick daughter to find that her front door had been smashed in by the police. They said they were looking for her son, who has not lived with her for two years. Afterwards the police admitted they had made a mistake and the young man was not a suspect. A month later the lady was still waiting for the police to come and mend her front door.

★ Unemployment is so bad that in Wellingborough, Northants, more than 200 people have applied for a part-time job in a mobile fish and chip shop. Is this what the Tories mean by job mobility?

★ Saturday night fever?
Police forces around the country are equipping themselves with sinister new weapons for 'riot control' in the wake of last summer's uprisings around the country. One of the latest is the familiar flashing disco strobe. Its aim is to deter 'rioters' by making them sick or inducing a 'mild form of epilepsy'. This obviously very dangerous piece of equipment is being produced by a British firm called Security Equipment Supplies. It has a range of over 40 yards. According to the magazine 'International Defence Review' all Britains police forces have been sent details of this new weapon called 'valkyrie'. Three of them have actually handled it.

★ Patrick Hill, one of six men beaten up by police and prison officers and then framed for the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974 commenced a hunger strike in Albany prison, Isle of Wight on October 31. He is married with a family. All six men have consistently maintained their innocence. A book written by two priests agrees that the men are innocent. Hill has told friends that he would rather die in a fight for justice than serve the rest of his sentence. All legal recourses for a retrial or appeal are now closed.

★ From a Correspondent in Wales:
During the recent royal visit, as expected there were numerous protests and the usual numerous arrests for dissenting citizens. While the massive majority of the population were trying to escape from all the ridiculous publicity and around the clock television coverage of the visit, the press and TV made out that Carlo and Di had a great welcome from the valleys. After being married to that famous Welsh speaker for three months, we were told by the Western Mail that the Welsh language was coming spontaneously from her lips. What a treat for her subjects! And what did she say? "Diolch yn fawr", or thankyou very much to our non-welsh-speaking audience, but said in such a royal way (in other words with such a snobbish upper class English accent) as to be almost indecipherable to a Welsh speaker.

And while she was treating us to the subtleties of the Welsh language, others had more sense. In Swansea, huge slogans were daubed in english and welsh opposite the hall she was to visit, telling her exactly what to do. In Pontypridd and Cardiff, posters appeared in many different places calling, in english and welsh, for:

Welsh Socialist Republic - not Brit royal parasites.
Gweriniaeth Sosialaidd i Gymru - Nid crach brehinol Lloegr.

Stop the Deportations

SUPPORT CHUN HEE LEONG

By a "Class Struggle" Correspondent

The Tory Government has made no bones of the fact that it considers national minorities in Britain to be "swamping Britain with an alien culture", to quote Thatcher. The Tories have followed in Labour's footsteps in stepping up forced deportations and harassment. They have tried to cut the numbers of third world students in Britain, pushing up their college fees well above that of British students. Labour and Tories have conspired to blame the crisis on immigration. They not only oppose the right of all people to live where they wish, but even go so far as to prevent those who have a legal right to live in Britain from coming here - if they are black. These bosses parties demand the right to impoverish the third world, to super-exploit the oppressed nations and take super profits from them, but deny the right of the people to move here.

SUPPORT CHUN HEE LEONG

The attacks on the rights of Chun Hee Leong illustrate this oppression. Chun Hee was born in Malaysia in 1964, and shortly afterwards adopted by Pow Shien Leong. The truth of this is well documented. In 1970 Pow Shien Leong legally moved to Britain. In 1977, (during the last Labour government) she applied for her son to come to Britain. The British immigration officials in Malaysia refused clearance, after long delays. In 1980 Pow Shien won her case at an immigration tribunal hearing in Leeds, and an entry certificate was issued. But the Home Office appealed against its own tribunal. Not surprisingly it won its appeal.

Pow Shien was denied her right to have her son join her but she did not intend him to forego the education she wished him to have. He was offered a place at Kitson College and set out for Britain.

When Chun Hee arrived at Heathrow last September, he was put in custody for 12 hours and questioned. He was refused an interpreter. Chun Hee was admitted to Britain after the intervention of Merlyn Rees, MP, but the statement made under duress while in detention is now being used against him. He has been denied a student visa. At the time of writing he has been given a weeks extension of stay in Britain before being expelled. For up to date information of his present circumstances and what you can do to help contact: The Friends of Chun Hee, c/o Box L, Leeds LAF, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2. who have already organised pickets of Leeds Town Hall and are backed by the Malaysian and Chinese communities and students in Leeds.

Even in their own terms, the crude racist actions of the British Government are backfiring. The Malaysian government, for example, is retaliating against the British government for attacks on third world students, among other reasons. It has instructed all government departments and requested all companies not to place contracts with British companies for services or goods which can be bought elsewhere.

Cont. from front page.

that. Why then did the majority vote for a return to work? And why was there a split between different plants?

UNION MISLEADERS

The immediate cause was the sell-out by the union leadership. The story of back stabbing by the Labour Party and union officials was told in detail by the Senior Shop Steward at the Cowley plant, Bob Fryer, to the mass meeting which then voted decisively to continue the strike.

THE EDWARDES AND FOOT SHOW

"On Friday morning Edwardes goes to see Foot" he said. "Why Foot? He tells him to use his influence with the General Secretaries of the unions involved to accept the offer."

On the Saturday the ACAS (arbitration) meeting was called and the joint negotiating committee of the Leyland workers told to be available. But when they turned up they were not allowed into the meeting. It was the General Secretaries who took over.

"We stopped in that building for 10 solid hours with no one telling us what was going on, in complete isolation. At 10.45 p.m. the General Secretaries came down and placed before us a document saying that this was the best they could get. What did they achieve?"

The Union General Secretaries then went on TV and radio and wrote in the papers telling the workers to go back to work. All the papers had statements by Duffy, Cure, Sanderson and other union bosses side by side with BL's advertisements telling workers to return. Only Kitson of the TGWU refused to make such a statement. But neither did he give any leadership. He sat on the fence and refused to make any recommendation.

On the Monday, 250 Senior BL Shop Stewards met to decide what to do.

Only 12 voted to end the strike. Immediately the vast majority were subjected to a barrage of abuse by the top union bosses. But the Senior Stewards strong stance at the meeting was considerably weakened by the refusal of many of them to give any leadership at the mass meeting the following day.

REVISIONIST NON-LEADERSHIP

Jack Adams, the Longbridge Convenor (and a leading member of the phoney 'Communist' party), for example, merely read out the stewards' resolution and then said "the choice is yours". Compare that to the lead given to the Cowley workers on the union bosses betrayal.

Undoubtedly the sell-out by the top union bosses considerably effected the vote, either because some were swayed by their claims that nothing could be won, or even because many felt they couldn't fight without the support of the union leadership who would just stab them in the back again.

BONUSES

One important question, however, is why is there such a disparity between plants, apart from the plant leadership being different? A comparison of Longbridge and Cowley partly illuminates this.

Towards the end of October, Longbridge's 15,000 workers earned £21.38 bonus per week. At the same time the 8,000 Cowley workers were earning less than £1. Many workers at both plants



have said that the plant-by-plant bonus scheme is so complicated that it is impossible to understand, and have accused the management of manipulating the bonus before the negotiations. Certainly Longbridge workers were receiving substantially higher wages, and this must have effected the response of many workers to Edwardes' claims and threats.

But, if so, the results of the agreement may change the situation substantially. Firstly, the process of corporatism (in this case involving the unions more and more in management) in Leyland is going to increase. Already the bonus system is 'monitored' by joint committees of workers and managers. They are mainly used in monitoring the 'productivity' of sections of workers, under the guise of checking the bonus. The management gains information by collaborating with workers representatives. But, as one Senior Steward remarked: "Blokes on the shop floor are not working any harder from week to week, but watch their bonuses go up-and-down like a yo yo", which shows how little help the committee is in letting workers check their bonus payment. The agreement aims to extend such committees. It is what Edwardes called a letter attitude by management to industrial relations; a statement enthusiastically welcomed by union leaders. So the unions will be asked to police the workers.

As for the bonus itself the upper limit is to be increased to £30 a week. Sounds great. At least until you see that the production levels to be reached before any bonus is earned are to be changed. The management will carry out its time and motion study unilaterally.

SERIOUS DEFEAT BUT FIGHT GOES ON

The return to work represents a serious defeat for Leyland workers, and the management were not slow to rub it in. Within hours of returning to work the Longbridge workers - judged by management to have caved in - were told that the company intended to implement a previous agreement on the introduction of the shorter working week. The reduction in the working week of one hour was to be achieved by cutting the workers rest periods of 51 minutes a day to 40 minutes a day! A saving of 55 minutes a week, and at whose expense? Despite the defeat on the wage claim the Longbridge workers refused to be pushed down further. A strike started and the others were laid off. Plants in Birmingham, Swindon, and other places were shut. At the time of going to press the dispute continues.

WORKING CLASS ON THE DEFENSIVE

Despite the later fightback, the defeat of the BL workers is a warning that the working class, as a class and including its traditionally most 'organised' sections, is very much on the defensive. High levels of unemployment, the crisis in general and lack of faith in a union leadership that has been exposed as bankrupt have all contributed to a certain demoralisation. All the more reason for the most conscious workers to pay careful attention to tactics in struggles throughout the coming pay round; to fight on claims that can unite the majority and on grounds of the workers choosing and not the bosses. As this struggle progresses, it is essential to develop the struggle against the opportunist misleaders within the unions to make them real fighting organisations of our class.

"IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST"

Contributed

It is not uncommon to hear government leaders rabbiting on about "the national interest" - as in "we've all got to work harder in the national interest" or "we must tighten our belts in the national interest". We get this from all the parliamentary leaders, despite their squabbles about what exactly is in the "national interest". We also get it from the union leaders. We've all heard things like "we must work together in the national interest", or maybe not so directly "pull together for Britain". It's enough to make you think there is actually such a thing. But a bit of reflection shows otherwise.

Just who tightens their belts, goes on the dole, or does the work in the first place?

When we go to work, we are of course paid. But what we produce is more than we get. That is the source of the capitalists' profit. "Ah" he says, "but I bought the machines" What with? we answer. "With the profit you made out of us in past years." Of course the biggest capitalists don't even invest their own money. Ford's for example, opened their Bridgend Engine plant at a cost of £180 million. But £148 million of that was paid by us in taxes, and given to Ford in the form of grants. It is not a question

of "working together" but of their share-holders being parasites.

Take wage claims for example. All firms set out to gain the maximum profit. They sell their goods at as high a price as they can get. The firms' income is thus fixed. If the workers get a higher proportion of the value which they created, the capitalist gets less. And vice-versa. A wage struggle then is a result of the totally opposed interests of the capitalist and the worker.

But to illustrate the union leaders attitude let's see what Duffy had to say at the negotiations between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with the Engineering Employers Federation over the industry's minimum time rate. "We believe", he said, "that this claim is positive, realistic, forward-looking and to our mutual advancement." (Quoted from the published minutes)

Duffy's whole stand was "in the national interest". "No other country in the world has a greater industrial heritage", he said.

"It is time the engineering industry had a long hard look at itself. The British 'Trade Mark', which stood for engineering reliability, innovation and competitiveness has now been seriously tarnished, as other nations have surpassed

us in areas where we once excelled.

"In Britain we have fallen behind other nations."

Duffy has no interest in talking about the contradictory interest of the workers and capitalists. On the contrary all he talks about is "the engineering industry" and "we" and "us" as though we, the workers, and they, the capitalists, were a single entity. He is not fooling the bosses. They know that British imperialism is a class system. His words are for the working class. "We have a common interest with our imperialists", he is saying "against the workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world".

Just to rub it in, he points out to the capitalists: "The great majority of employers will not have to pay any increase in earnings to men who are on day work and do not work overtime. The cost of the claim is, therefore, very small, as it mainly only involves a consolidation exercise, switching money already being paid from the bonus to the MTR."

The employers, needless to say, were not influenced by Duffy's toadying. They refused even the "very small cost" of the claim. We need effective union leaders, and that must be people who stand by our class. Conciliators are worse than useless - they are saboteurs.

BRADFORD 12 CONSPIRACY CHARGES (cont. from page 1.)

their friends and supporters. They will not succeed because the reasons why they picked on the 12 is the same reason why we cannot and will not desert them. These comrades, as members and supporters of the United Black Youth League, have been active in many anti-racist struggles in the past. It was this activity which encouraged the police to attack them, but this activity also gained them widespread respect which will guarantee them support.

ATTACK ON THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE

Primarily this attack is not aimed against the 12. Essentially it is an attack on the black community's right to organise. After the summers uprisings the state has wanted to hit back. Already we have seen the kangaroo courts, sentencing people indiscriminately on the flimsiest of evidence. Now we have this calculated attack on a black organisation which is designed to intimidate all militant black organisations and the whole revolutionary movement in Britain.

SUPPORT COMMITTEES AND NATIONAL MOBILISING COMMITTEE SET UP

The importance of this political trial has been widely recognised and support committees have now been set up in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Leicester and Coventry, with a national mobilising committee to co-ordinate between them.

These have organised a wide variety of activities from public meetings, fund raising socials, pickets and leafletting. The central

focus of their activities will be the demonstration in Bradford on December 12. Many Asian and West Indian organisations are mobilising and a massive show of strength is essential. We hope therefore that all our readers will attend.

ASSEMBLE	1.30 pm
MANNINGHAM PARK, BRADFORD	
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LONDON PICK UP POINTS:	
York Way, Kings Cross	7.30 am
Tooti, Reg St	am
Lambeth Town Hall	7.30 am
Cato's, Southall	7.30 am
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REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

The United Black Youth League was one of the only two organisations from Britain (the other being the Troops Out Movement) to have fraternal delegates at the recent Ard Fheis (congress) of Sinn Fein in Dublin. The UBLY delegate, Praktibha Parmar, received a standing ovation. Here was a clear statement: the revolutionary Republican Movement identifies itself with the emerging revolutionary forces of the oppressed in Britain, and those forces identify with the advanced example of the Irish freedom fighters.

FORD PAY CLAIM

At the time of going to press, Ford workers are preparing for the next stage in their wage struggle. Ford have offered a paltry 5% - a mere £4.50 for a worker on the production line, or £3 after deductions. In real terms, Ford are offering a wage cut of 8 pence in the pound.

Ford itself is hardly in dire straits. Over the last 2 years it has made £600,000,000 profit from the labour of its workforce in Britain. It has a strong position in the car market - producing 3 out of 10 of all new cars sold in Britain. Ford has already "increased efficiency" by cutting 3,000 jobs. A further 2,000 production and 700 staff redundancies are planned.

Ford have demanded acceptance of their "After Japan Strategy" as a condition for their 5% offer. If they succeed in forcing acceptance of this it will mean more redundancies, an end to job demarcation, and speed up. Workers at Ford are demanding that the "AJS" plans be separated from pay negotiations.

The National Joint Negotiating Committee of the Ford unions has rejected the pathetic offer and have said it is preparing for an all-out strike.

Meanwhile 'last ditch' talks have been arranged for the day before the strike is due to start. Now, have n't we heard all this somewhere before? Ah, Leyland wasn't it?

The workers' demand now is that the Union leaders stand firm and fight; and this time that means strong leadership and taking account of the company's strengths and weaknesses and using tactics.

IMPERIALISM AND THE NU

Weapons technology changes fast, but imperialism is still the essential question. In the first of two articles our correspondent traces US crimes in starting the nuclear arms race and the Soviet Union's degeneration from a socialist to an imperialist country. The following installment to be published in our January issue, takes up the story from when the USSR began to take the initiative in the late '60s and points to key issues in the arms race today.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Nuclear science and technology serves the use to which it is put under a particular social system. Under socialism this could certainly be developed in a direction which would serve humanity. Under capitalism - besides the development of civil nuclear energy in a way which neglects

C.N.D. - A Critical Assessment

Contributed

CND is a mass movement directed against an aspect of imperialism, its tendency to world war. As a Marxist-Leninist organisation dedicated to fighting imperialism in an all round way, the RCLB sincerely wants to unite with what is positive in this movement. This can only be done in a principled way by clearly stating what we think is negative.

Our slogan is "Disarm the Superpowers", and we highlight the Soviet initiative in the arms race. CND advocates unilateralism which leads them to concentrate attention against British and British-based US armaments.

The main current in CND would argue: "a unilateralist is a multilateralist who means it", in other words unilateral initiatives in each country will add up to multilateral disarmament.

This argument has a fatal flaw. In the West there exists a bourgeois-democratic right to demonstrate. We know from our experiences of campaigning against state racism and against imperialist oppression of Ireland how truncated this right has become. But in the case of the anti-nuclear movement - which is backed by large sections of the political establishment - this right is fairly extensive.

SOVIETS TAKING THE INITIATIVE

If the western imperialist bloc were really taking the initiative in war preparations it is inconceivable that they would tolerate the flourishing of a mass movement against these preparations. But in fact it is the Soviet ruling class which is taking the initiative, and it is the height of philistine day-dreaming to imagine that they would tolerate for a moment a serious unilateralist initiative. After his summer visit to Moscow, even Michael Foot had to admit this.

So CND is open to falling into Soviet-laid traps. Firstly the trap of accepting Soviet 'peace' campaigns at face value. The current issue of the CND paper 'Sanity' refers approvingly to recent statements by one of Brezhnev's doctors condemning nuclear weapons. But all too clearly this slots into a well-orchestrated campaign

safety and environmental considerations - nuclear science has mainly served the build up of a vast and appalling war machine.

This is an indictment of the capitalist and imperialist system. The American terror-bombing of Japan in 1945 will always be remembered as one of history's greatest crimes. For a while after this the USA brandished its atom bomb in order to cower opposition while it was expanding its spheres of influence. To counter this threat, it was perfectly correct for the Soviet Union, in 1949, to develop its own bomb. Even so the US threatened China several times during the '50s with nuclear attack, notably during the Korean War (1950-53).

to distract attention from the main culprit in the arms race; only the most naive wishful thinking could depict it as a spontaneous unilateralist initiative.

Secondly, there is the trap of viewing Soviet arms build up as a response to western armament, for instance the argument, again in the latest 'Sanity' that "The Soviet Union will no doubt feel it has to match the Trident missiles with more missiles of its own ..." This completely misses the point that the USSR has started deploying the SS-20s.

Professor E.P. Thompson, leader of European Nuclear Disarmament, recently said: "Our strength is that as non-aligned Europeans we oppose the idea of the two superpowers seeking to dominate our continent and subordinating the other states - in the Soviet block or the NATO block - to turn them into clients." There is much that is positive here, but we must be more specific. In general terms, the Russians would welcome any neutralist movement in Europe which tended to disintegrate the western bloc and further their 'divide and rule' policy. But as Marxist-Leninists we support the demand for non-alignment in the sense in which it is understood by the mainstream of the third world movement - as an ACTIVE policy against big power domination. Specifically, a non-aligned Europe should actively support the economic and political demands of the third world and assist the armed national-liberation movements which fight in the front lines against superpower domination, particularly against Soviet expansionism which is the main source of the war menace.

But this in itself is not enough. We do not welcome the current 'British' defence strategy (which is in essence a US-led NATO strategy) because it is anti-popular and is also inefficient in dealing with a Soviet threat which is all too real. But to campaign against the current strategy only makes sense if we can advocate replacing it by a stronger alternative policy which really mobilises and protects the people. There is a current in CND which is ready to begin concrete discussion of precisely these questions. We heartily welcome this.

But the heroic Chinese and Korean peoples refused to be intimidated, and public opinion throughout the world also helped restrain the American warmongers.

As we said, the class character of the social system determines how nuclear technology is used. This is true too of the Soviet Union. The attitude to nuclear weapons is quite an important pointer to the changes which happened there after Stalin died in 1953.

The immediate post-Stalin leadership headed by Malenkov already started arguing that nuclear war would mean the end of humanity hence, by implication, the Leninist view of the inevitability of war under imperialism didn't hold good any longer.

The early nuclear delivery systems depended on having bases quite close to the territory being attacked; hence the importance of American bases in Turkey and the submarine base in Holy Loch in Scotland. But a new element came in with the introduction of the inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM).

The Soviet Union beat America to this in 1957. The USA was still way ahead in armament and its stance was offensive and aggressive, but the USSR was now strong enough to give militant and active support to anti-imperialist liberation struggles, while making

EAST ASIA TOO.....

In a recent statement, the 'Communist' Party of Japan, (which follows a line broadly similar to the Euro-communists) demanded that all Soviet SS-20 nuclear missiles be withdrawn from Asia and the Far East.

it much more difficult for the USA to use nuclear blackmail.

But this is just what the Soviet leadership, because of their bourgeois class stand, did NOT do. On the contrary, in the late '50s and early '60s they began saying that liberation struggles should be soft-pedalled because they might precipitate nuclear conflict, they built up the arch-imperialist Kennedy as a man of peace, and argued that he and Khrushchev held the fate of the world in their hands. They saw Russia and America as having common interests in maintaining their joint position as dominant powers in the world: the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (1968) reflected this approach.

Khrushchev's superstitious reverence for nuclear weapons can be seen in the Cuba missile crisis (1962). Socialists had long taken a principled stand against imperialist military bases on foreign soil, yet here was a socialist country doing just that. Still, Khrushchev's attitude was basically defensive: he saw nuclear weapons as a cheaper alternative to conventional forces and argued that the latter should be reduced. During this time the USA was feverishly expanding its armaments under the slogan of closing up a so-called 'missile gap' which was in fact pure propaganda bullshit.

By the 1960s a certain pattern of strategic thinking was being worked out by American nuclear planners and increasingly accepted - because of their incorrect class stand - by the

CLEAR ARMS RACE

Anti-Nuclear Movements in Europe

N. A. T. O.

WARSAW PACT

Theatre Nuclear Forces in Europe, land-based missiles only.

Category	Type	Number	Warheads	Category	Type	Number	Warheads
IRBM	SS BS S2/3 (France)	18	1	IRBM	SS 20	230	3
SRBM	Pershing 1A (USA)	180	1	IRBM	SS 5	40	1
				MRBM	SS 4	340	1
				SRBM	SS 12	668	1

TOTAL WARHEADS **198**

TOTAL WARHEADS **1278**

Theatre Nuclear forces in Europe, including land-based missiles, SLBMs and air delivery systems.

Total number of nuclear capable systems	Estimated available number of Warheads.	Total number of nuclear capable systems	Estimated available number of Warheads.
1512	1928	4430	4004

The Soviet Union has vast superiority in land based missiles which could be used to fight superpower theatre war in Europe. Only their SS 20s have multiple independently targeted warheads. Taking into account all systems, the USSR still has superiority. US Poseidon missiles are stationed on roving submarine fleet, but some (an estimated 400 warheads) are under NATO command.

Source: based on material from International Institute of Strategic Studies, Military Balance 1981-2, and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Yearbook 1981.

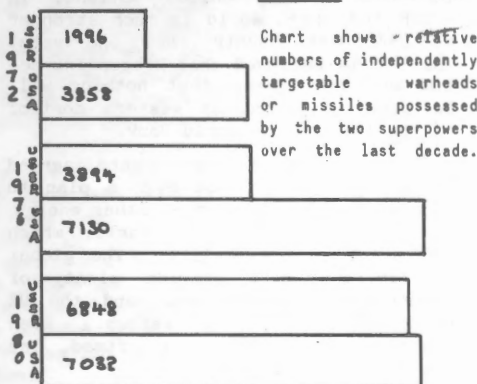
Soviet leadership as well. Strategic nuclear weapons were ones which threatened major targets within the adversary's territory. They could be land-based or submarine launched missiles (SLBM), or delivered by air. It is very important that, overwhelmingly, these weapons are directed against civilian population centres. By their own admission the imperialists - who often accuse liberation fighters of being 'terrorists' - aim to set up a 'balance of terror'. Once they arrive at a situation of 'mutually assured destruction' (MAD), it is argued, stability will ensue if both sides have 'second strike capability', that is the power to preserve, against an enemy surprise attack, enough of their weaponry to inflict 'unacceptable damage' on the adversary.

Such is the insane and anti-human logic both superpowers employ. But meanwhile, deep in the Soviet economic base, let's take up the story of the changed relations of production! The new, capitalist relations were becoming consolidated, and with them a fully-fledged imperialist policy of expansionism. An article of 1964 in the Soviet press sets the tone: "Nuclear weapons are powerful and formidable but they do not occupy territory." The same year Krushchev was booted out, and the new leadership began a long-term, systematic and planned build up to aggressive war.

The new strategy has two aspects: first a change from the old concept of strategic defence to a new offensive orientation. This fact, which is clearly and explicitly set out in the Soviet military press, the goofy 'left' in this country chooses to ignore: "In a just war, which can only be waged by our state (!!! - ed.), Soviet military strategy will have a decisive, active and offensive character" (Lomov, N., Scientific-Technical Progress and the Revolution in Military Affairs, Moscow, 1973). And secondly, a vast build up of conventional AS WELL AS nuclear arms.

ABBREVIATIONS - ICBM - Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IRBM - Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile; SRBM - Short Range Ballistic Missile; MIRV - Multiple Independently-targetable re-entry vehicle; SALT - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

CHANGING LEVEL AND BALANCE OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS.



DISARM THE SUPERPOWERS

The struggle for disarmament must target the superpowers to make them disarm first. When they are armed to the teeth and eagerly intervening wherever conflicts exist, it is only to be expected that other states will arm to prevent themselves being trampled on.

In Europe, we do not support the installation of American cruise and Pershing missiles, because we reject the concept of a theatre nuclear war in Europe which is a basic part of NATO thinking.

But the simple fact is that the USSR has been taking the initiative in deploying nuclear missiles trained on Europe, and their SS-20s are actually there now. It would be the height of absurdity to campaign just against US-NATO policy.

Disarm the superpowers!

Scrap Soviet SS-20s!

No to deployment of Cruise and Pershing!

Following a large demonstration in West Germany a fortnight earlier, important demonstrations for nuclear disarmament were held in Paris, Brussels, Rome and London on the weekend of 24-25 October, a date set by the United Nations for activities in favour of disarmament.

The importance of these movements showed how the growing threat of war between the superpowers has impressed itself on public opinion. There is an aspect to this movement which can clearly be exploited by the Soviet Union. Only recently a leading figure in the Danish anti-nuclear movement has been arrested, accused of accepting finance from the Soviet Ambassador whom he met 23 times during the last few months.

But what the Soviet social-imperialists want to happen and what actually happens can be two different things. There is a possibility for the anti-nuclear movement to develop into a mass movement against the superpower war threat which will increasingly target the Soviet Union as it educates people by negative example.

Judged by this standard, the movement has developed to different degrees in different places. In Belgium, where Marxist-Leninists played quite an important role, slogans correctly targetted both superpowers. Giant puppet caricatures of Brezhnev and Reagan were noticeable. In France the demonstration was largely dominated by the 'Communist' Party of France, one of the most slimy and nauseating pro-Soviet parties: slogans mainly targetted the USA and a speaker who invoked the memory of the heroic Czechoslovakian martyr Jan Palach and called for an uprising of youth against both superpowers was shouted down by the well-drilled revisionist cohorts. In Italy the 'peace movement' had not made much impact previously but this demonstration was organised with the full resources of the powerful 'Communist' Party of Italy (PCI) which chartered twelve special trains and 600 coaches, and was very well attended. The PCI has a relatively progressive bourgeois-nationalist line in support of national independence from the superpowers and placards illustrated Reagan and Brezhnev playing darts using nuclear missiles aimed at a board representing Europe.

Attending the demonstration in Britain, one clearly got the impression that the movement here is among the most backward. Overwhelmingly, the USA was targetted and the Soviet Union let off the hook.

Michael Foot, a typical opportunist in every sense, now says that the question of nuclear war (together with the question of unemployment) will be his major concern. True, some Labour 'left' figures make token gestures of opposing the Soviet Union, but mainly in order to establish alibis against the obvious - and in our opinion, perfectly correct - accusations of capitulationism. Bearing in mind that among the 'left' forces, be they revisionist, social-democrat or Trotskyite, there is scarcely anyone who takes a half-sensible attitude to the Soviet war menace, there is enormous work for Marxist-Leninists to do in Britain and a pressing need to build the party.

STAND OFF IN MEXICO

"At present the world is confronted with two major questions: one is the maintenance of peace, and the other is the promotion of development." So said Comrade Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of China at the international summit meeting held in Cancun, Mexico in October.

Yet the summit appeared to achieve nothing. What happened, and what is happening?

What is happening is simple enough to tell. The human race can wipe out smallpox but it seems it cannot wipe out another sort of plague. A plague which makes 300 million people unemployed; which forces 800 million to live on the edge of starvation; a plague which forces fifteen million children to die each year, 5 million of them from diarrhoea. It is a plague which divides the world drastically into rich and poor nations.

One way of expressing the wealth of a people is to divide a country's total economic wealth (annual "gross national product") by the total population. This is called GNP per capita. The rich, developed countries of the world have 39 times the GNP per capita of the poorest developing countries. This is the scale of the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations.

Through protracted struggles spread over the post-war decades, most of the third world countries have now won political independence - but only to be faced with the scourge of neo-colonialism. They have increasingly had to fight the imperialist world system which strangles their independent economic development. In the 1970s they put forward the demand for a "new international economic order" and they pointed out that the world is divided into rich developed countries of the "North" and the poor developing "South", The "North-South" label has stuck.

NORTH - SOUTH BACKGROUND

"Arising from the seaward expansions of the 15th and 16th centuries onwards, the countries of western Europe were able to seize and concentrate in their own coffers a wealth of plunder of a magnitude far beyond any ever before imagined, far less seen, in world history hitherto. To the gold and silver looted from Latin America, to the Dutch fortunes built on the bones of the Indonesian people, and to the British booty from India, has to be added the huge rewards of the trade in human flesh, supplying slaves to pioneering white planters and mine-owners in sparsely populated lands of recent settlement such as the Americas ... the capital thus accumulated by the most primitive of means enabled western Europe to make the transition to industrial capitalism; its loss to the rest of the world aborted whatever progress had been made along the same lines and speeded them down the road to underdevelopment."

Malcolm Caldwell - "The wealth of some nations"

Dr. Caldwell was one of Britain's foremost anti-imperialist scholars. This month is the third anniversary of his murder by Vietnamese agents at the conclusion of his visit to Democratic Kampuchea.

Last October the pressure of the Third World succeeded in forcing the Mexico summit to be held. This meeting of major heads of state from both North and South countries was a symbolic milestone of how far that campaign has come. But it is also symbolic of how far it has to go.

President Reagan, who had insisted on the summit being delayed six months for his personal convenience (he still managed to turn up 20 minutes late for the opening session) dared to preach good old self-help and capitalist private enterprise to the third world peoples crippled by imperialist plunder. Yet some of the second world countries, like France and Canada, argued for further North-South negotiations, and in the end even Britain, America's closest supporter, accepted the same position as the rest of the EEC countries on this. Reagan had to give way to avoid complete isolation. Accordingly the 22 representative countries at Mexico unanimously agreed to call for "global negotiations".

WHAT ARE "GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS"?

The United States was particularly keen that further negotiations on the world economy should be organised by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in which the US and its allies have a majority because voting strength is linked to economic might. By contrast the Mexico summit agreed to hold the "global negotiations" under the United Nations, in which the third world is much stronger because each country has one vote. But it is believed that Reagan extracted an undertaking that nothing will be done to undermine western control of the IMF and the World Bank.

No concrete measures were agreed at all at Mexico, not even a plan to promote the development of other energy resources in the third world, which had seemed a possibility. The global negotiations will provide plenty of opportunity for the West and the US to stall on any real reform. Even the date has still to be fixed, let alone the agenda.

The third world, which includes about 120 states with different geographical characteristics and a wide range of political systems, has shown remarkable unity and persistence in winning these concessions. But further hard struggle by them, together with progressive movements in the imperialist countries, will be needed if there are to be some concrete steps in the direction of a juster world order.

SOVIET UNION SABOTAGES WORLD DEVELOPMENT

The North-South division highlights the contradiction between rich and poor and shows who the exploiters are. Every genuine revolutionary must support this concept and take a clear stand on the side of the oppressed. The United Nations has set a target for industrialised countries to give 0.7% of their GNP in development aid. Most fall short of this. We demand as an initial, urgent step that Britain implement this straight away.

But the USSR, a self-styled 'natural ally' of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, refuses to accept the concept of the third world and the north-south division. This is

a touchstone exposing its phoney socialist character. It chose to boycott and ignore the Cancun conference altogether, a position which should be given maximum publicity in order to expose its real nature. Its contribution to development aid is only 0.03% of GNP, a tenth of the already miserable contribution of the west. Moreover, it's well known that imperialist 'aid' can often be a disguised form of exploitation; this applies especially strongly to Soviet 'aid', a large proportion of which is military (% during the period 1954-78).

Quantitatively the west is still the main profiteer, and the chief orchestrator and controller of the oppressive system. The ultra-reactionary policies of the Reagan administration, enthusiastically backed by Thatcher, help to delay the exposure of the USSR and get it off the hook where it uncomfortably wriggles whenever the North-South division is on the agenda. This is an added reason for revolutionaries in the imperialist countries to wage a militant struggle in solidarity with the oppressed, to force the bourgeoisie to begin implementing the third world's just demands.

Coolie Labour Revived

Probably the most graphic example of Soviet social imperialist 'aid' is provided by Vietnam.

The Vietnamese leader Le Duan visited Moscow in September. Having pushed Hanoi and encouraged it in its programme of regional expansionism, Moscow now cynically uses the situation where Vietnam is isolated in the world, bogged down in fighting in Laos and Kampuchea and facing rising discontent at home to tighten the screws on Hanoi.

During the visit an agreement was reached for the Soviet Union and Vietnam to jointly build 40 projects of 'enormous economic significance'. These joint undertakings will have Russians participating in managing Vietnamese enterprises, for the first time. Summing this point up, a Vietnamese leader, Nguyen Khac Vien wrote that Vietnam's economy is now like "a coach of the Soviet train hauled by the locomotive of the whole (Soviet economic) community."

"From now on it is no longer a matter of seeking aid (from the Soviet Union) but one of international division of economic performance."

In other words, Vietnam is now to be integrated into the Soviet "international division of labour", an imperialist system where the Soviet ruling clique gets richer and poor, agrarian countries stay poor and agrarian because everybody must do what they are "best" at!

And what the poor people of Vietnam are best at doing is, apparently, exporting agricultural products, mainly food. Never mind that the Vietnamese people have one of the lowest standards of living in the world, that the rice ration for a Vietnamese peasant is lower than in Bangladesh, that the Vietnamese leaders tour the world with begging bowls, that rice harvests and fish tonnages are falling. No, the Vietnamese people must step up their exports to the Soviet Union of rubber, timber, handicrafts, garments and coffee, tea, fruit and vegetables in order to finance their leaders' insane military adventures in Laos and Kampuchea. In particular, there will be

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SWEDEN: On the night of October 27, a Soviet submarine ran aground whilst on an illegal spying mission inside a restricted Swedish military zone outside the Karlskrona naval base. The submarine was discovered by Sweden the next day. Investigations showed that the submarine almost certainly had nuclear warheads aboard. Sweden strongly protested to the Soviet Union about this flagrant breach of its sovereignty and, defying Soviet threats and bullying, it detained the craft under guard and interrogated its captain. They thus made sure that the Soviets earned the maximum amount of unpleasant international publicity before escorting it out of Swedish waters on November 6. This is by no means the first time that Sweden has been threatened by Soviet naval craft in the Baltic and Arctic seas. The fleet in Murmansk is the largest of the Soviet fleets and the naval base bristles with nuclear weapons. At a time when the Soviet Union is actively trying to turn the growing peace movement in Europe into a weapon at its service, all people who want peace should reflect on this incident to see who really is threatening the European countries and peoples. Actions speak louder than words, and despite the honeyed words of peace, Brezhnev is really an old-style bandit. Not only in Sweden, but in other Scandinavian countries, Soviet piracy has been condemned by governments, political parties and public opinion.

KAMPUCHEA: In a recent speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Comrade Ieng Sary, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, gave a very moving description of how Soviet social imperialism presents itself to the revolutionary countries and peoples of the third world. An extract follows:

"Since the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan, one year apart, in similar conditions and under identical pretexts, an undeniable fact has become evident to the international community in all its acuteness, cruelty and scope: the emergence of a new kind of imperialism, an international expansionism of a global and regional character, which now constitutes the greatest danger to the independence of peoples and the peace and security of the world. This new force of domination and enslavement speaks of anti-imperialist struggle but acts as an expansionist and hegemonist. It speaks of support for the struggle of national liberation and proclaims that nothing is more important than independence but in fact is cynically destroying the independence that has recently and heroically been acquired by peoples and nations. That force constantly speaks of respect for national sovereignty and of the territorial integrity of countries but at the same time cruelly invades neighbouring countries, using as a pretext "internationalist solidarity", "special friendship" or "fraternal aid". Rarely in the history of the world has the gap separating words and deeds and proclaimed ideals and macabre realities been so great. Never in the annals of international crime against independence and the freedom of peoples has demagogy been used in such a cynical fashion to serve a strategy of regional and world domination."

In an interview with the Chinese newspaper, "Liberation Army Daily", Comrade Nuon Chea, Chairman of the Peoples Congress of Kampuchea said that the Vietnamese strategy of a quick decisive war had been defeated. Because the Kampuchean people support the resistance forces the Viet-

namese aggressors can only occupy the main communication lines and the major cities.

"Vietnam often rails at us, alleging that the Kampuchean people hate the government of Democratic Kampuchea. If that were so, how could we have kept on resisting and expanding steadily in such a war without the support of the people."

Nuon Chea said the Vietnamese troops used a kind of poison gas bomb which explodes with a hissing sound. These bombs are made in the Soviet Union.

It is reported that the three anti-Vietnamese liberation forces in Kampuchea, have made substantial progress towards an agreement on forming a coalition government. Details are expected soon.

BELGIUM: The general elections of 8 November were marked by a general weakening of the 'left', important advances by the ecologists and a sharp decline of the revisionist 'Communist' Party (PCB). It is significant that the Marxist Leninists of the Parti du Travail (PTB) consolidated or improved their electoral positions. In many centres of industrial struggles the revisionists declined particularly sharply and were overtaken by the PTB. Making a preliminary analysis, the PTB pointed out that its support reflected the quality and intensity of concrete mass work: in certain places where they administer popular medical practices and at the same time do thoroughgoing industrial work they won 4-5% of the vote.

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA: The Caribbean nation of Antigua and Barbuda finally won its independence from British colonialism on November 1. Since being "discovered" by Columbus in 1493, it has suffered successively under Spanish, French and British colonial rule. The people have waged a sustained struggle for freedom. In 1967, internal self government was granted while Britain continued to administer foreign affairs and defence. Since then, the people have been waging a struggle for full independence, as well as developing their economy. In an independence speech, the country's Prime Minister, Vere Bird said that the suffering of the Antiguan people for independence had become "a flame to ignite the fire of freedom in their bones".

"Our efforts now will be turned to building a free country; a country free from oppression, free from racial prejudice, free from hunger and free from want."

On being sworn in as Prime Minister, Bird said that as a small developing country "we have to safeguard our freedom by ensuring that we never become dependent again".

Calling on the people to build up the country self reliantly, he said "If we fail to do so, the consequences of our failure will be dependence on a new master who will once again dictate our policies and direct our affairs."

71 year old Vere Bird has been a trade union activist since 1939, becoming a President of the first trade union in Antigua - the Antigua Trades and Labour Union - which has always been an opponent of colonial rule and a proponent of independence and better working and living conditions for the working class.

large deliveries of Vietnamese fruit and vegetables to Siberia.

COOLIE LABOUR

But here is worse news yet. The Moscow-Hanoi axis are even reviving the hated "coolie" labour system that so degraded Asian workers in old imperial days. One east European diplomat in Hanoi told western diplomats that at least 15,000 Vietnamese workers would be brought to work in his country every year for periods of between three to five years each. And there are reports that thousands of Vietnamese will be sent to work on industrial projects in Siberia, where climatic conditions could not be in bleaker contrast to those of Vietnam.

In pursuing expansion abroad, the Vietnamese leaders have led their own country to ruin and exposed the phoney nature of Soviet "aid".

continued from page 12

SMASH THE PTA!

This shows the urgent need for all democratic, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces to take up a campaign to expose and smash the PTA. Democratic rights can only be defended and extended on the basis of grasping the true nature of British imperialism and by fighting. The ruling class gives nothing away.

Democratic and progressive people should draw a firm line of demarcation between themselves and the line that says that the IRA military campaign simply provides an "excuse" for an attack on democratic rights. This line, promoted by some on the British left, is the line of those who wish to be Marxists and revolutionaries from the comfort of an armchair in a well heated room. It is

not a line they promote when the struggle is far away. Yet by their logic, we should say that fascist death squads in El Salvador and famine and poison gas in Kampuchea are the result of 'provocations' by the freedom fighters. These people, wrapped up in a petty, paranoid obsession with their own worthless hides, do not want any anti-imperialist struggle close to home to become serious enough to threaten their own pampered existences.

Like the other minority nationality communities in Britain, the Irish community is living under a regime of sustained racist oppression. Communists in Britain stand for the defence of the Irish community and resolute solidarity with the Irish national liberation struggle, in good times and bad.

'THE ENEMY IS IDENTICAL'

"Class Struggle" is very pleased to publish an interview with a Press Officer of Sinn Fein. In this interview, the views of Irish patriots are presented on such questions as the military campaign in Britain, the proposed Anglo-Irish Council and the attitude expected of revolutionaries in Britain. Those directly involved in the struggle against British imperialism should have a platform to express their views in their own words. It is in this spirit that we publish the interview that was given to "Class Struggle" in Belfast in November.

* * * * *

CS. First I'd like to ask you what effect you think the present bombing campaign in Britain is having on the morale of the nationalist people of this area; and also, how did the Marines locally respond to it?

SF. On local morale, the morale of the nationalist people generally, it had a very positive effect, obviously. Especially coming, as it did, so soon after the end of the hunger strike - there was a possibility that with the hunger strike ending and the way it ended without the achievement of the five demands that there could have been a demoralisation - the bombing in Britain, in London, re-emphasised that the struggle would continue, and it demonstrated to the people in our areas that the I.R.A. was in a position to carry the struggle on, and to, in fact, escalate the struggle. So that it turned what could have been a demoralising situation into one of increased energy and enthusiasm on the part of the nationalist people generally and of course everybody was glad the targets were well selected - didn't attack the English working class and that they were striking at the people who were responsible for the situation in the North. People were glad that those responsible were finally feeling the effects of what they were doing in Ireland. Those are a few of the reasons that people generally welcomed the bombing. Also it gives them a break from the kind of war just constantly on their doorstep. They saw that the war could be extended, that the war didn't necessarily mean that they would have to do all the suffering.

As to the Marines; there was an immediate reaction from the Marines especially after Pringle was blown up. The Marines were notorious for their terror tactics in the area but that increased dramatically after Pringle was blown up. What was kind of strange was that people were less frightened of them after Pringle was blown up you know. I can remember a few incidents of people shouting at them various comments about Pringle - "buy him slippers for Christmas" and things.

CS. Do you know how the war is going in this area?

SF. Well it's something which is very difficult to judge. Political activity is still fairly intense. The Hunger strike brought a great increase in political involvement and awareness on a much wider scale than ever before, and many of the people who became actively involved in politics during the hunger strike kept up that political activity. A lot of people have given a commitment to the Republican Movement - a more definite commitment than before, so that politically, the Movement is much, much stronger. There were a few setbacks on the part of the IRA in recent weeks (capture by the British state of war material - CS) which I'm sure they'll overcome fairly rapidly, but in political terms the Movement is much stronger and the struggle can be carried on here as well.

CS. I understand that over the last few months, during the hunger strike, there's been a fair level of lawlessness by "hoods", and from talking to people locally - they say that there's been a sort of punishment campaign recently - more punishments than normal. How do you find the local population reacts to the punishments being carried out at the moment?

SF. Well as you would know that wouldn't be our sphere of activity. I do know that punishment shootings are carried out by the IRA very reluctantly. They usually say to people who report these incidents that another remedy should be found. Only in the very last resort, under very strong pressure from the local people, would they go ahead with one of these. So usually it's because of a general consensus within the community - that someone is just going really beyond the limits

and some drastic measure would have to be taken, under those circumstances, but they're things that the IRA do very reluctantly.

CS. It's widely recognised that the "Anglo-Irish Council" being hatched up by Thatcher and Fitzgerrald is a ploy to strengthen British imperialism and the Irish capitalists against the national liberation struggle. Can you tell us in what way you see this latest ploy developing?

SF. This idea has been on the cards for several years now. Thatcher seems to have made a conscious decision that with the loyalists refusing to make any moves to create an illusion of a democratic society, and therefore with the loyalists guaranteeing that the instability will continue in the North; then she would have to look to other solutions - other solutions in her opinion.

I think that she now realises that the best way for British imperialism and Irish capitalism to move against those involved in the anti-imperialist struggle is through the strengthening of her influence in the 'Free State' and the removal of the overt military domination in the North - and that responsibility would be taken on by the Irish capitalist state and that seems to be the direction in which she is slowly moving in - that Irish capitalism will guarantee the sectarian state and therefore she hopes, and Fitzgerrald hopes, that they can bring about a situation where there is an illusion of a solution - that the nationalist folk believe that there is a move towards a united Ireland, and that the loyalists will accept that their situation is not in danger and therefore stability of some sort will return. That being recognised, the danger is immediately reduced because everybody does recognise it for what it is. But it is a very, very dangerous situation that that illusion could be fostered. So it seems to be that that's the direction they're moving in - Thatcher because her political viewpoint is very reluctant to move away from the traditional position of complete defence of the loyalist position and British presence in Ireland. But I think she is realising that the national liberation struggle will not be crushed, so that she is looking for some way to undermine it. That's what the whole manoeuvre is about.

CS. "Trying to rescue what she can from the fire!"

SF. Yes basically that's what it is. In fact, if she was able to pull off what they're attempting to pull off, then it would undermine the national liberation struggle. That's why we see a very pressing need for an increased political awareness among the people as a whole. Not only in the North but also in the 26 counties. So that they can resist that movement which will, if any unity of any sort comes, be a unity under a stronger British influence. In other words it's a very, very reactionary step in Ireland.

CS. Among those in England who ostensibly support the Irish national liberation struggle, there are many who take a step back when it comes to the I.R.A. taking the war to England. Recognising that all sections of the English nation are, to a greater or lesser degree influenced by chauvinism, can you say something about the role you would like to see those revolutionary organisations in England, Scotland and Wales, who genuinely support the struggle, playing in relation to the present and continuing military campaign in Britain?

SF. Basically, it should be a similar position to the one Sinn Fein, as a political organisation in Ireland, takes. That is to educate people as to the real nature of the struggle. The revolutionary organisations in England should be attempting to educate the English working class, and to show them that the enemy of the Irish people is the same enemy as they have. The enemy is identical, that is the British ruling class. And that the Irish struggle is not directed against the British people. It is directed against the British ruling class who are maintaining the British presence in Ireland. That is fundamentally the role that any revolutionary party should be playing, and that's the role that we attempt to play in Ireland. That is to explain why the struggle is necessary and explain its political origins and the ultimate conclusion that will have to come from that struggle. So it's a different setting

and obviously completely different circumstances but the role doesn't change. The circumstances are much more difficult in England - trying to educate people but by simply condemning the bombing it's facilitating those who attack the struggle - it's a very, very mild attack on the struggle itself but those groups who attack the bombing in England - what they should be doing is saying, "these bombs are not directed at the British working class, they are directed against our enemies as well; and even if we disagree with the tactics being used by those struggling for Irish freedom we must accept that the British ruling class is involved in a terrorist campaign against the nationalist people, and support the right of the nationalist people to resist that terror campaign in whatever way they deem necessary." So - obviously - not everybody is going to agree with that, but that's the position we would take.

CS. We've noted that organisations that call themselves left in Britain who are only too happy to support military struggle in the third world, suddenly turn round and are all against it when it's brought from Ireland to Britain - it's fine when it's far away, but when it's on your doorstep they don't like it. As we see it, it's not up to us. It's up to the Irish people to decide how they're going to fight their war, we are the oppressing nation.

SF. Aye - at the same time we recognise the difficulties people find themselves in under those circumstances. It is difficult - it needs a lot of courage to defend the bombings in England - to actually stand up and say "these are the result of our presence in Ireland. If we had woken up earlier to what was going on, then it wouldn't be happening." It's a truth that a lot of people just don't want to hear. That is the difficulty.

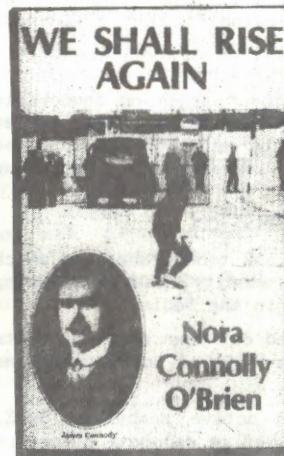
CS. Well - just one final question. The British security forces in London are, at present, harassing the Irish community in connection with the I.R.A.'s military campaign. Is there a message you can give for the Irish community in London to reinforce their morale in the current situation?

SF. Well I think again the Irish community in Britain is suffering greatly and obviously they bear the brunt of any attack which comes as a result of any campaign in England. All we can remind them of is that the whole history of Ireland and the Irish people has been one of oppression, and that until the British presence is removed from our country, there's no hope of that oppression or that suffering being removed. The sooner

the British are removed, the sooner the suffering ends. It's just as simple as that. It's very hard to say to somebody who is at the moment suffering directly, at the hands of the British police, "it's in a good cause". But the people here in the North, the nationalist people, have suffered intensely. Even in the last year, during the hunger strike, the use of plastic bullets has done untold damage. But the people here see the necessity for the struggle to go on because without the struggle, it's a return to complete subjection, subservience; and that is unacceptable. So that while the British presence remains in Ireland, basically, suffering will continue. It may lessen in degree at times but that suffering and exploitation of us exists and the only way to remove the British presence is through the armed struggle, and unfortunately our people suffer greatly as a result of being involved in that struggle. But in the final analysis, it will remove the root of the suffering, and that is the British presence. So that would be the only thing that you could really say to the Irish community in London - stick it out and build the movement.

It can only get better. The bombs in London are greatly weakening the will of the British ruling class to remain in Ireland. The immediate reaction is going to be a very violent reaction, but it does call into question their position in Ireland.

CS. Thank you very much.



A major event in anti-imperialist publishing in Britain! - the last thoughts of Nora Connolly O'Brien, lifelong Republican and daughter of Ireland's greatest revolutionary, James Connolly, on Ireland's fight today and yesterday, and world events. Published by Mosquito Press. Nora shows the unbroken revolutionary tradition. "The unbroken tradition is saved by the Provos..." "We shall rise again, and we have risen. This is a continuation - so that the tradition has not been broken. Here we are rising again. And if we go down, we'll rise again!"

To be reviewed in the next issue of "Class Struggle".

POLICE STATE IN WALES

By a "Class Struggle" Correspondent

At the end of October the South Wales Police arrested and detained over twenty Welsh republicans and sympathisers in the Cardiff and Pontypridd areas. Although the pretext for this action was the discovery of an incendiary bomb at the army recruitment office in Pontypridd, it was very clear that the aim of the police was to harass republicans and gather more information for their political files.

The discovery of the incendiary bomb on Monday morning, 26 October came at a critical time for the police - the royal visit to Wales by Carlo and Di was to start the following day. Losing no time, they detained a disabled nurse, the Valleys secretary of the Welsh Socialist Republicans, Anne Powell and her husband, Malcolm, a man who is so chronically ill that he has not worked for six years. After being questioned for over four hours the police impounded their car and held it for over 5 days.

In Cardiff the Secretary of the Welsh Socialist Republican Movement, Robert Griffiths was detained for questioning. The police took all his clothes and left the house with bagfuls of pamphlets and political papers. He was kept in solitary confinement for over 15 hours and a further 10 hours under questioning without being

given any food. When he was finally offered food, he refused in order to hurry the police to release him. Eventually, just before a demonstration was about to be held by the Republican Movement and the Welsh Campaign for Civil and Political Liberties, (WCCPL) outside the City Police station he was released. Even to this day, three weeks after the raids most of his clothing has still not been returned by the police and he has to borrow clothing from friends. As he commented, "The police held me in custody against my will for over 25 hours ... They did not have, nor do they have, a shred of evidence to connect me with the Pontypridd incident. The only thing they have against me are my political beliefs."

Before being released, Griffiths was charged under the Theft Act in connection with a Wales Gas street lamp which had been left in his house by a workman. His solicitor, Mr. Jonathan Evans was denied access to him until the time of his release.

Another well known Republican John Jenkins was arrested on his way to lectures at the university where he is doing a social work diploma. After a long interrogation he was let out after being charged with alleged burglary, although he doesn't even know where the alleged offence occurred.

He was allowed out of the police station on a very wet night at 10 p.m. without any shoes on - the police confiscated the pair he was wearing and a further pair sent to him at the station.

In another incident a Republican was taken to the police station with his wife and brother and sister in law who were visiting him for the day. After over 1½ hours questioning, his wife was told that he would be sent down for at least 5 years!

In all cases, the police questions were almost solely on political beliefs! "What is your attitude to the Royal Family?", "What is your attitude to Ireland?" and attempts to obtain names and addresses of other Republicans. According to Dr. Phil Thomas of the WCCPL, the pattern of police questioning points towards them trying to build up a conspiracy charge, such as those currently being used against Asian youth, the Bradford 12, and used against Irish patriots, against leading members of the Republican Movement.

As in Operation Fire, last year's massive swoop by the police, allegedly in search of second home arsonists, those taken in were questioned not about the bomb incident but their politics. Such questioning combined with the sticking plaster, jam pots, matches, empty petrol cans and fire-works in which the police showed great interest during the recent house searches are the basis for such a frame-up.

RACIST ASSAULT ON IRISH COMMUNITY

The continuing military campaign by the Provisional IRA in Britain, is exposing bourgeois democracy for the farce and fraud it is for the poor and the oppressed. When the oppressed begin to fight imperialism seriously and systematically, the mask is ripped off and the true face of bourgeois society is revealed - the face of dictatorship, the face that has always been shown to the masses in the oppressed nations. As was explained by Lenin long ago,

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

In the wake of the IRA's revolutionary strikes into the heartland of British imperialism, the police, government, press and TV have unleashed a racist witch-hunt against the Irish community. Whilst they are in the frontline of the attack, the anti-democratic attacks are being rehearsed for all working people who are being driven to resist, as the crisis of imperialism deepens.

With an alternation of media black-outs and massive coverage homes are being raided, all garages in and around London searched and roadblocks are established on main roads in and out of London.

THE RACIST, ANTI-IRISH PTA

The main weapon being used in this attack on democratic rights is the racist, anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), under which people can be arrested and detained incommunicado with no access to lawyers and without any charge or even excuse offered.

POLICE TERROR IN PIMLICO

Pimlico, where the first IRA attack took place, and which has a large working class Irish community, has been living under a reign of terror unreported in the media.

After the bombing, police carried out dawn raids on flats in Ebury Bridge Estate. Doors were kicked in, possessions overturned and people questioned.

A local man, Larry Quilty, an active member of NUPE, and his 18 year old son were arrested on separate occasions (one at work, one at home) by heavily armed police. They were held for two days. Larry described the cell he was kept in:

"You can't hear anything. It's total isolation. The whole atmosphere is set up to psyche you out. Even the interrogators don't wear watches so that you remain disorientated."

Over nearly 60 hours of questioning Larry was rarely asked about the bombing but more about his work in the trade union movement. He said of his experience:

"The whole thing has been done in such a way as to sow seeds of doubt amongst my workmates."

All pubs and clubs in Pimlico are crawling with Special Branch men. On one occasion four Irishmen having a drink in a pub were seized. A fifth man walked in. He was asked his name. He had an Irish name. For this monstrous 'crime'

he too was arrested under the PTA. All five were released after a few hours, without being charged.

Irish communities throughout London are experiencing various degrees of harassment. The manager of the "Eaton Arms" public house in Camden Town was asked by the police for the names and addresses of "all Irish customers". Two Irish sisters enjoying a Friday night out ended up being detained under the PTA for 64 hours. Geraldine and Patricia Garvey were arrested as they walked past Hornsey police station. Initially, they were told that they were to be charged with being drunk and disorderly, but gradually the mood changed.

"We were asked if we supported the H-Block hunger strikers ... Then on Saturday the bomb squad arrived to interview us."

Speaking of how they were treated whilst held in police cells, Geraldine, 19, said:

"Two of them came to the door and said if I was not quiet they would come in and rape me."

They also threatened to put mice in the cell. On Monday afternoon, the sisters were released without any charges being laid.

DAWN RAIDS

On Wednesday, 4 November, London police arrested 14 members and supporters of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) in dawn raids across London. They included active members of trade unions and student unions. The comrades were known as members and supporters of the IRSP, so they could have had no possible connection with an IRA military campaign, because the IRSP and the IRA are completely separate organisations. Indeed, the press and police made no pretence that these comrades were suspected of involvement with any military campaign. On the contrary, they gloated that they were arrested on account of their political views and to obtain information on their political activities and associates. Whilst stating that they were not suspected of involvement in any crime they were arrested, held, denied access to their lawyers or to anyone from the outside world, interrogated and in the cases of comrades suffering from asthma and epilepsy denied medical treatment. They were threatened with being deported to Ireland, where the rumour would be spread that they were informers. Both solidarity pickets and protests from more 'respectable' quarters like MPs, academics and members of the legal profession were ignored. All 14 were eventually released with no charges preferred, but at least one has lost her job. Some are planning to sue the police - the first time that the PTA will be challenged in the courts on strictly legal grounds.

REACTIONARY STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

Revolutionaries in Britain have long known that law in Britain is class law and justice, class justice. They know that the British state harasses, frames, tortures, imprisons and murders its opponents. What is new and sinister is the shameless boasting of this by the police and press.

By whipping up a climate of hysteria, where anybody with an Irish name or accent is suspect, British imperialism is preparing the ground (by preparation of public opinion) for fascism, a part of its reactionary strategy for survival

CONT. ON P.9.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sunday November 29

MANCHESTER MARTYRS MEMORIAL MARCH

Assemble 2 p.m. St. Patrick's Church, Oldham Rd., Manchester. March to rally at Mostyn Cemetery. Organised by Sinn Fein (Britain).

Wednesday December 2

PICKET OF GLASGOW DISTRICT COURT, St. Andrews St., Glasgow. To defend demonstrator arrested on May Day March after shouting "Victory to the Hunger Strikers!" 1.30-2.00 p.m.

Friday December 4

3rd VICTOR JARA FESTIVAL OF LATIN AMERICAN MUSIC IN EXILE

Special guest, Cesar Isella (Argentina). Tickets £2.50 from Carila Resource Centre, 29 Islington Park St., London N.1.
7 p.m. Camden Centre, Bidborough St., London

W.C1. Sponsored by Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador Solidarity groups.

Saturday December 5

SUPPORT AZIZ MALIK!

Held in Armlay Jail awaiting deportation. Assemble for march 1.30 p.m. Dewsbury Baths, Dewsbury. Details from Friends of Aziz Malik. Phone Batley 477500.

Thursday December 10

VICTORY TO THE IRISH PEOPLE! THE STRUGGLE GOES ON!

Public meeting organised by South London Irish Solidarity Campaign. 7 p.m. Room 29 Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton.

Friday, Saturday, Sunday December 11, 12, 13.

MEMORIAL WEEKEND FOR CHARLES PARKER

Working class folk music and socialist theatre. Performers include Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger and Banner Theatre Group.
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

Saturday December 12

FREE THE BRADFORD 12! DROP THE CHARGES NOW!

March organised by Action Committee. Assemble 1.30 Lister Park, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

Coaches from London, Southall, Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester, Leicester, Birmingham.

London and Southall coach details from Southall Rights: 01-571 4920.

Other coach details from July 11 Action Committee, c/o 4th Idea: 0274-585913

Saturday December 19

VICTORY TO THE IRISH PEOPLE! TROOPS OUT NOW!

Demonstration organised by North London Irish Solidarity Committee. Assemble 1.30, Archway Tube. March to rally at Islington Green.

Sunday January 31 1982

REMEMBER BLOODY SUNDAY

Demonstration in Coventry. Organised by Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee. Details in next issue.