

CLASS STRUGGLE

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Fists through the Wire

As Cruise missiles were flown into Greenham Common on November 15th, the defiance and militancy of the Peace movement rose into huge demonstrations and a commitment that the fight is only just beginning. "We can't stop the helicopters and aeroplanes. But they are not going to be able to get them out of here by road. They are effectively locked up in gaol."

Despite the secrecy surrounding the date and manner of arrival, hundreds of demonstrators, mainly women, rallied at Greenham, Westminster and in hundreds of towns all over Britain. More than 300 women were arrested at Westminster after blocking the entrance to the House of Commons for two nights running, and at Greenham 141 women were hauled away from blockading the gates and arrested. They were singing: "You can't kill the spirit. She's like a mountain - old and strong. She goes on and on." In Scotland, Faslane nuclear submarine base on the Clyde, three protestors were arrested after spending five hours up a radio mast 12 feet high.

In West Germany even larger demonstrations against the deployment of Pershing II missiles were violently dispersed with water cannon and tear gas and 180 people arrested. The Bundestag (West German parliament) voted by 286 in favour and 226 against, to deploy the missiles. The Norwegian parliament voted by only 77 to 76 in favour of stationing NATO medium-range missiles in western Europe.

These last few weeks have proved that the movement against the deployment of Cruise missiles is not one that is going to fade away. On the contrary, it is still growing and involving more and more people, especially women. A succession of opinion polls continue to show that the majority of people are against American Cruise missiles and the experience of Grenada has increased public horror over Reagan's finger being on the button. Peace groups in almost every town in Britain have supported the October 22nd rally, have funded eleven Greenham women to go to America and fight a court battle there, and were on the streets protesting on November 16th. They are now quite determined that Cruise will never parade in "exercises" around the roads of Britain. They shouldn't be difficult to spot. The Cruise missiles (each 21 feet long and carrying a nuclear warhead 15 times as destructive as the Hiroshima bomb) will be carried in groups of four on a transporter-erector-launcher vehicle (TEL) which is 55 feet long and heavily armoured. Each of these will

be in a convoy consisting of two more articulated lorries and another 30 supporting vehicles. They will be operated by over 100 personnel and accompanied by a security force!

Not that Cruise can be seen in isolation from the Soviet nuclear threat and the world situation. The Soviet Union continues to build up its SS-20 missiles in Europe, and both the USA and the USSR continue to trample on nations round the world in the fight for world domination. Support for this position has just come from the British Council of Churches. This has overwhelmingly approved a package of nuclear disarmament measures including a call for a freeze by the USA and the Soviet Union and a motion including equal condemnation of the deployment of SS-20 missiles and Cruise and Pershing II. In fighting our own battle here we must remember and actively support the many Third World countries where war is

a reality not a threat. For the Palestinian people, for the island of Grenada, the Kampuchians and those in Afghanistan, the superpowers have already unleashed their bombs and armed struggle is their means of survival.

Until now the sharp claws of the British state have been felt only by a few of the braver women in the Newbury courtrooms or the short stay prisons. But there are signs that the teeth and claws are to be bared to larger sections of the Peace movement. Firstly came Heseltine's confident assurance that troops would shoot protesters at Greenham if necessary. (Remember Bloody Sunday in Ireland in 1972 if you have doubts.) The civil servants were warned that they risk losing their jobs if they are active members of CND. And the case of a West Midlands woman has revealed the Special Branch consider it part of their normal duties to investigate



(Above) Red Youth in Belgium condemns the superpowers. (Below) Turkish revolutionaries participating in the anti-nuclear missile demonstration in Brussels as part of the European anti-nuclear protests over the weekend of October 22nd-23rd. About 400,000 protested, and, during activities around that weekend, students from 60 schools went on strike. The Party of Labour of Belgium, a Marxist-Leninist party, carried out an extensive mobilisation for the demonstration. Over the years, it has won the Belgian peace movement's support for the line that it should target both superpowers, and growing support for the stand that the movement should align itself with the struggles of the Third World peoples.



NEWHAM EIGHT

Conspiracy Charges Dropped

After a number of adjournments, courtrooms not being available (!) etc., the trial of the Newham 8 - 8 Asian youths from Newham arrested for defending themselves and their community from racial attacks - started on Thursday December 17th at 2 p.m. at the Old Bailey.

CONSPIRACY CHARGES DROPPED

A jury of twelve, five black and seven white people, were sworn in. It is absolutely essential that the jury should reflect the experience of the people they are trying. The issues raised by the case of the Newham 8, the continuous and murderous attacks on black people by racist gangs, and the right of the black community to defend itself against racist attacks in the face of total police inaction, make it imperative for the jury to have a mixed composition. The mixed jury was only secured

as a result of defence submissions and challenges to jurors. At the last minute the prosecution decided to lay the 'conspiracy to assault' charge on file i.e. it cannot effectively be heard during the duration of the present case. This after spending a whole year deciding what charges to bring against the eight. The defence campaign regards this as a victory for the eight, the black community and anti-racists everywhere. However, all eight still face a charge of causing an affray. In addition four of the eight have also been charged with possessing offensive weapons. Other charges include actual bodily harm and threatening behaviour.

POLICE LIES

A number of things have emerged from the court proceedings this week.

1. The plain clothes police officers involved in the original incident were members of the District Support Group (local SPG).
2. All the police officers who appeared in court have shown a startling ignorance of the high number of racial attacks upon black people in the borough.
3. According to the police the three plain clothes officers were on anti-burglary campaign in the south of the borough when they received a message to go to the school in the north east of the borough. The arrival on the scene before (Cont. P.7.)

people who write to the press on the subject of nuclear disarmament, or are active in local peace groups (see separate article for details.)

On November 16th, at Greenham, one woman said: "Today is a day for shaking our fists through the wire." Those fists are increasingly determined to punch the United States out of Britain, to fight for nuclear disarmament of the superpowers and to build an alternative defence: 'No Cruise' is a first step in that campaign for an increasing number of people.

PRINT CO-OP OCCUPIED

We print below the full leaflet produced by people who are at present occupying the 'Saltley Print Co-operative', in Birmingham.

Two workers at Saltley Print Co-operative have been sacked in a malicious and undemocratic manner. We are demanding their immediate reinstatement.

The Print Co-op was formed over a year ago as a semi-commercial/community silkscreen printshop with two full time workers. The Co-op was managed by 7 founding members, including the workers, who should have managed the Co-op as a democratic collective.

Recently the two full time workers were laid off due to the Co-op's financial difficulties. Whilst they were laid off, one member of the Co-op took the opportunity to send abusive letters through the post demanding the sacking of the two workers. As a result of this letter both workers were sacked by means of a postal ballot without notice or the means to defend themselves.

Following almost two months of negotiations and weekly pickets those people responsible for the sackings have shown no real willingness to re-discuss the sackings. We have exhausted all channels open to us and feel we have no choice but to take direct action and occupy the building in an attempt to force the Co-op Executive to reinstate the two workers.

Two workers have been sacked

in a despicable and underhand manner.

The two workers have been sacked by people who in any other circumstances would deplore the type of actions they themselves have perpetrated. The two workers are fighting not only for their jobs, but also to establish safeguards so that in future people cannot be sacked in a similar manner.

We are demanding the immediate reinstatement of the two workers.

We also demand compensation for the time they were unfairly sacked.

We also demand unbiased arbitration to resolve the arguments within the Co-op democratically.

However we need support, we also need donations, we ask all trade unionists and political party members to raise the issue at branch meetings, messages of support, donations etc to be sent to: Printshop Workers Solidarity Committee, 15 Harold Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 16.

Note: The occupation started on 14th November. Since then those in occupation have been trying to arrange discussions. However those responsible for the sackings have demonstrated their opposition to even the idea of discussing the issue. They have threatened to take out an injunction against those in occupation. At the time of going to press, no progress had been made.

THE BRITISH ROAD TO NOWHERE

The 38th Congress of the British 'Communist' Party was held in London last month. It received a lot of publicity due to the presence of the General Secretary of CND, Monseigneur Bruce Kent who praised it for its role in peace campaigning over the years and the Morning Star for what he called "its steady, honest and generous coverage of the disarmament cause".

However of much greater political significance and interest was the debate and struggle over what might stop the rot in the party. Hard-line pro-Soviet elements had been working for some time to overthrow the current 'Euro-Communist' leadership. They were very critical of its indecisiveness and lack of clarity; they opposed the politics and presentation of the theoretical journal 'Marxism Today', and they objected strongly to the fact that the party had opposed the imposition of martial law in Poland.

By the end of the Congress, the leadership had survived intact, although the challenge to its authority and position won the support of nearly 40% of the delegates. This division was reflected in the elections

for the new executive. With 251 valid ballot papers given out, General Secretary Gordon McLennan came only 13th with 153 votes and the Congress chairman Ron Halverson did even worse with 148. The new executive will almost certainly have problems with the running of the 'Morning Star' as well; theoretically owned by the non-party People's Press Printing Society, this is now firmly under the control of supporters of the minority line.

DECLINE

The background to the Congress discussions was the steady decline in the state of the party. 'Morning Star' sales are falling; membership has been more than halved in the last twenty years and although the party may still have some influence on the district, regional and national committees of the trade union movement, it has little if any support among the poorest sections of the working class, among the unemployed or among the national minorities.

The origins of this decline go back a long way. Most, although not all, could be traced to 1951 and the emergence of the programme 'The British Road to Socialism'. The central

theme of this document was the view that there could be a peaceful transition to socialism in Britain and this resulted in the party directing the main thrust of its work into the election field, with the aim of winning a majority of what the party considered to be progressive forces in Parliament. Unity of the 'Left' became the key and along with this was developed the myth about the socialist nature of the British Labour Party. Out of the window slowly went all basic Marxist understanding about the nature and function of the state in capitalist society, about Social Democracy and about the absolute necessity for communists in an imperialist country to guard against all manifestations of social chauvinism.

REVISIONISM

Despite fundamental disagreements with the 'British Road', many stayed in the party because they thought that in time they would be able to change things. The party also seemed to be correct in the way it aimed much of its work (albeit with an incorrect programme and strategy) towards the working class. However as time went on many of the most militant

members began to devote all their time to trade union work, using their party connections mainly as a means of doing that work more effectively. By the time the Chinese Communist Party had exposed the cancer of revisionism within the International Communist Movement it had become much easier to see, with the benefit of hindsight, that the British 'Communist' Party had in reality been a bureaucratic centralist organisation for years and was incapable of being changed for the better.

It would be quite wrong to consider that since it was founded at the Leeds Unity Congress in 1920, the whole of the party's history had been bad. Particularly in the inter-war period it was a militant organisation that led many stirring struggles against unemployment and the Means Test and later against Moseley and the blackshirts. Through its mass work it built up a fairly strong working class base in many industrial areas, but unfortunately this was not accompanied by any great recognition of the importance of theory and concrete investigation of conditions. This was reflected even in its earliest days, and in particular,

disregard for British imperialism abroad helped lay the basis for a lot of what went wrong later.

In Britain now, the party has developed in such a way that sections of the Labour Party and even the Young Liberals are much more 'radical'. No wonder that many party members are looking around for some changes. Gordon McLennan has his answer to the problem. He told the Congress delegates in Hammersmith Town Hall: "The party's problems were not that we have not fought for the British Road to Socialism but that we have not fought for it hard enough or creatively applied it". In other words, more of the same.

This sort of advice will not be well liked in many quarters as the delegates report back to their local areas. No doubt there will be a stepping-up of the in-fighting as the leadership seeks to regain control of the 'Morning Star' and the minority supporters increase their efforts to replace one disastrous strategy with another.

In 1985 the British 'Communist' Party will be 65. It would not be a bad thing if it were to retire early!

Whose Freedom?

In addition to their obvious concern about the threat of nuclear war, one other thing that Mrs Madelaine Haigh of Sutton Coldfield and the Greenham Women have in common is that their activities have in different ways earned them the attention of the British state.

The Greenham Women face it daily in the form of the police, Ministry of Defence, local council and magistrates court, and they are also frequently detained in its houses of correction (prisons). Mrs Haigh came into contact with one of its more secretive roles when two years ago she sent a letter for publication to her local paper. In it, she wrote: "Most MP's have no real control over nuclear decisions such as the siting of American-controlled Cruise missiles on British soil. It is therefore inevitable that the electorate will be forced to resort to public demonstrations and protests to air their views."

As a result of this letter, her house was first called on by two policemen, for whose visit the local police station could offer no explanation, and later by a CID man from Birmingham who used a bogus excuse about debts to a mail order firm as reason for his

visit. Other peace campaigners in the area also experienced puzzling telephone calls around the same time and later began to suspect that the police were checking up on them. Mrs Haigh who is now considering taking her case to the European Court of Human Rights, finally received an apology from the West Midlands police in May; but at the same time she was told that investigating letter writers to newspapers was standard police practice.

When there are groups of people with different and often totally opposed economic and political interests, the state exists as a machinery to protect the position of the most powerful section of society. Far from being a neutral force in Britain its primary function is to guard against anything that might take away power and wealth from the capitalist class.

What happened to Mrs Haigh enabled the public to get a very brief look at some of the state's less known activities. In this country there are no definite rules limiting those on whom the police may maintain surveillance. Legitimate subjects are those who are engaged in what is loosely described as "subversion". Former Labour Home Secretary Merlyn

Rees told the House of Commons in 1978 that subversion was now defined as "activities which threaten the safety or well-being of the state and are intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means."

In the case of Mrs Haigh, (and how many more?) the Special Branch seem to believe that they were entitled to check up on her because her letter indicated that she might become involved in violent protest. Her letter actually spoke of the need for people to air their views through public demonstration. Demonstrations are supposed to be quite legal expressions of popular opinion. It would now appear that people in Britain can no longer assume that they may freely express their opinions in public without some fear of police involvement or harassment.

Through all the means at its disposal, the ruling class has drummed into us for years that the greatest freedoms in the world exist for those who live in Britain. But long ago, we ought to have been asking ourselves whose freedoms were they talking about, and whose state is it that protects those freedoms?

Service and the armed forces.

The approach to the Civil Service was developed in the public schools, long a source of top civil servants. Fascist groups appeared in Beaumont, Winchester, Stowe and Worktop. The files report that fascist groups had been established in a variety of areas in the Civil Service. Some, it was claimed, were so highly placed that the BUF headquarters was aware of major events before they were made public. At the same time, Mosley was well aware of the importance of developing his strength in the armed forces.

ENTERING THE STATE MACHINE

Two major areas of the state machine were targeted by the BUF for organisation: the Civil

In 1934, a dinner club, called the January Club, was created. Based at a Mayfair flat and offering dinners at the Hotel



Whoops: the Foreign Office nearly put their foot in it - by funding the Commonwealth Institute to organise a conference on northern Ireland. The conference was to be one of four - the others relating to the 'Falkland' Islands, Gibraltar, and Hong Kong. It was hastily called off when it was realised that this arrangement admitted the northern Ireland was a colonial problem not a domestic one. It never does for the Foreign Office to be too truthful!

The DHSS has advised electricity and gas boards to take people off the "fuel direct" payment scheme whereby fuel bills are deducted off supplementary benefit before it is paid. The DHSS has confirmed that council tenants who already have their rent deducted may not have enough money to exist on, if their fuel is deducted also. Tenants are no doubt awaiting delivery of official magic wands - the department has not offered any other solution to this problem like: more money, lower rents, cheaper fuel. Meanwhile millions of families enter a miserable, cold and hungry winter.

If you've been out of work for a year, you're 18 times more likely to attempt suicide than those still in employment. This was the conclusion of a survey carried out by Steve Platt, at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary on behalf of the Medical Research Council. The survey excludes women because the method of registering women unemployed Mr Platt considers "unscientific".

35% of unemployed men have been out of work for a year with a forecast figure of 40% or more in the next few years.

Lancelot Turnbull, a prisoner at Leyhill open prison, Gloucestershire, absconded in order to draw attention to another prisoner, Alhamed Moghadam Sayed Assan, an Iranian who faces deportation to Iran, where he will be executed. Turnbull, who is serving a sentence for murder, explained: I have served eight years and could have expected to be free in two more. I have no doubt that this escapade will extend that date. Let that be my sacrifice." Assan has been told that he will be deported at the end of his 16-month sentence. His sister has already been executed in Iran and Assan has appealed for political asylum.

Fascist Funding

The Home Office has released MI5 documents which reveal the political and financial links between Oswald Mosley's pre-war British Union of Fascists (BUF) and the most reactionary section of the British bourgeoisie, as well as Fascist Italy. (Mussolini financed the BUF to the tune of £3,000 per month, reduced to £1,000 in 1936.)

RULING CLASS CONTRIBUTORS

The files list some of the most noteworthy of the BUF's upper class supporters. They are a powerful group: Lord Nuffield, the motor manufacturer, was reckoned to be a heavy contributor; Lord Inchcape, a shipping magnate; Sir A.U.Roe, the leading aircraft manufacturer and Lord Rothermere,

owner of the 'Daily Mail'. The "acquisition" of the 'Daily Mail' was an important coup for the BUF giving them a 'respectable' voice and greatly increasing their political muscle. The present day's 'Daily Mail' has not moved much from its policies in the 1930's - witness for example the "remarkable" similarity between its policies on immigration and those of the National Front. The link to the "Mail" proved useful in other ways. Ian Dundaş, fascist chief of staff, went to Rome as a "Daily Mail" reporter so he could build a permanent liaison with Mussolini.

Splendide, it attracted senior military officers and members of the aristocracy. A 1939 report stated: "These dinners brought fascism to the notice of a large number of people who would have considered it much less favourably if its activities had been confined to those which are ordinarily directed from Black House (the BUF HQ in Chelsea). In other words, if one wants to promote fascism among the upper bracket, one must do it in a genteel fashion.

To a certain extent, of course, the BUF didn't have to "infiltrate" the state machine; the difference between its own outlook and that of many senior civil servants and officers was minimal in any case. If the British government

was concerned about the BUF's activities, it was on account of its sympathy with the Nazi and Fascist representatives of German and Italian imperialism, rather than because of its violent, anti-democratic racist and anti-semitic character. A strong section of the British ruling class wanted an organisation such as the BUF which could organise among parts of the working class on a reactionary basis to counter Communist and (to some extent, as they were not altogether sure of its loyalty) Labour Party influence.

It was because of powerful popular opposition, led by the Communist Party and the Jewish workers who had been on the receiving end of BUF attacks, (Cont. P.3.)

STOCKPORT PICKET

Tuesday November 29th saw some of the fiercest clashes on the picket line since Grunwick and the steel workers' struggle, at the Warrington print works of "Messenger Newspapers", owned by Mr Eddie Shah. Over 4,000 pickets struggled to stop the 'Messenger' vans loaded with newspapers, leaving the building. 2,000 police had been drafted in to break the picket and specially-trained riot police attacked the pickets with baton charges. Police destroyed the National Graphical Association (NGA) van which was being used to co-ordinate the picket and to provide first aid, and stewards' walkie-talkies. They had also stopped coaches travelling to the picket and delayed their arrival.

ORIGINS

The dispute goes back to March 1982. The Stockport 6, who are at the centre of it, had all given up secure jobs at a plant in Cumbria to go and work for Shah at his Stockport works. (He also owns works at Warrington and Bury.) These six, (and another two who have since gone back to work), went on strike because of disagreements between Shah and the union over closed shop agreements and over wages and conditions at his different works. Shah was originally prepared to operate closed shops in all his works. (He was until the last few weeks, a member of the NGA himself.) He later changed his mind and has recruited non-union workers. The central issues are now agreement on closed shop at the Stockport works and the reinstatement of the six who were sacked by Shah after they went on strike.

THE LAW

The dispute has important implications for the working class because for both sides it has become a test of the new laws passed by the Tory

government to restrict the basic democratic rights and thus weaken working class struggles.

* In July, Shah issued a writ against the NGA under the Employment Act 1982 for "unlawful pressure in pursuit of a closed shop". He claimed £13,302 damages.

* In September 1983, Shah issued a writ against the NGA concerning a letter sent to local advertisers (who finance Shah's free newspapers). In October the High Court granted two injunctions: one relates to the letter which asked advertisers not to use the 'Messenger' during the dispute. The other was against "secondary picketing" which had begun a couple of weeks before and is unlawful under the 1980 Employment Act.

Since then, Shah has issued a writ for sequestration of union funds: the union has been found in contempt of court and fined £50,000. When the NGA refused to pay, the High Court fined it another £100,000, and has had orders made out for seizing their funds. Threats have also been made to stop the Fleet Street workers coming out in support again, as they did on the weekend 26/27 th November.

CLASS STRUGGLE

The essence of the dispute is a class struggle in which different forces in society are lining up according to their basic interests. Shah has been challenging the union head-on with all the weapons the new laws give him. Lined up with him are the Tory party with their new laws, the Institute of Directors with whom he is regularly in touch; and of course, the police and the courts.

As communists, we support the stand taken by the NGA of

principled opposition to the Employment Act and refusal to call off the "unlawful" pickets. This stand is in sharp contrast to that of the Post Office Engineers Union, who called off the recent industrial action against privatisation, when the courts ruled that it was "unlawful". However as we go to press, there are signs that the union leadership may not be prepared to carry this struggle through, as the picket has been called off for seven days.

LABOUR TRAITORS

The most treacherous role in this struggle has been played by those who call themselves 'labour' and 'socialist' and 'union leaders' but who, in reality have not backed militant action of the working class. With some exceptions, the Labour Party have been silent on the question and when they have made statements, have "deplored the violence on the picket line" and urged that they way to settle such disputes is through negotiation not confrontation.

It is not an accident that some big employers also prefer collaboration. Many of the bigger companies have advised against the Tory laws and are quite happy with the closed shop. Neither the Confederation of British Industry nor the Newspaper Publishers Association have spoken out in favour of Shah's actions.

The TUC, true labour lieutenants of capital, have produced mountains of paper opposing the 'Tory' laws but will not back militant action taken in opposition to it. They counsel us to keep "within the law" thus covering over the basic class nature of the law and the courts in this society.

WIDER ISSUES

While the struggle of the print workers should be supported by all progressive people, it also raises important questions which show the limitations of a narrow economic view of class struggle and the unions.

UNION

The NGA has now taken an open stand in opposition to anti-working class laws and should be supported in this. However some of Mr Shah's workers are still at work and some have left the union over the dispute. It is likely that this has to do with internal democracy in the union and relates to the history of the NGA and what it stands for.

The NGA has a long history of craft unionism whose main aim has been to protect the wages and conditions of the skilled workers in the print industry. Through their militancy on economic issues, they have won relatively high wages for some workers which is a particular feature of Britain's imperialist society. However the union is not known for fighting for the interests of even the semi-skilled and unskilled workers in their own industry, let alone on wider questions. The union in many cases, has won control over who is taken on as new workers. It is noticeable that it has few women members and scarcely any black members. Jobs have often been passed from father to son.

CLOSED SHOP

The closed shop has frequently been used as a weapon to enforce restrictive practices against other workers. The Labour Party, many trade union officials and often employers, see it as a way of the union controlling workers on behalf of management. It is not therefore surprising that some

workers react to these negative aspects of the union by becoming anti-union instead of fighting for change.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

It is unlikely that a union like the NGA will persist in its open defiance of the law because the union structure has been largely integrated into the imperialist system, as indicated by the fact that the union has assets of £10 million in stocks and shares.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

The present struggle is an important one for the print workers because of the changing technology in the print industry. The skilled work in printing done by NGA members, is being made unnecessary by new technology which enables a journalist to type his copy straight into a computer-operated machine which feeds out the copy, already laid out, at the end. The bosses want to introduce the new technology and cut down on workers. The NGA has fought a long and bitter struggle to limit the introduction of new machines and control over them. In some cases, particularly in Fleet Street, they have bargained away jobs in return for high wages for the remaining workers.

NO COLLABORATION

This is to sacrifice long term interests for the short term gain of a few. British imperialism is in crisis and in order to survive, it must restructure. It will fight a ruthless battle to do this at the expense of the working class and oppressed people as a whole. We can only successfully fight this attack, if we unite firmly with those who take a clear stand against imperialism, and not by collaborating with it.

NEW ERA BOOKS

NEW BOOKS:

- War Plan UK: the secret truth about Britain's "Civil Defence." - Duncan Campbell. 445pp. £2.95 + £0.63 p&p.
- How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America - Manning Marable. 343pp. £5.95 + £0.63 p&p.
- Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition. - Cedric J. Robinson. 487pp. £6.95 + £0.95 p&p.
- Blood and Laughter: Caricatures from the 1905 Revolution. - David King and Cathy Porter. £6.95 + £0.63 p&p.

NEW ERA BOOKS

203, Seven Sisters Road, London N4.



IMPORT CONTROLS

The idea of revitalising Britain's industry by bringing in import controls as a strategy for job creation, has been put forward by some sections of the Labour Party as a solution to the economic crisis. The following is a piece from an article on Asian people in the USA and illustrates the result of tying oneself to a system that is in the process of death and taking up the racist stand of the rulers of capitalist countries:

"In a recent confrontation in a Detroit bar, a Chinese American man of 27 was beaten to death after he was apparently mistaken for a Japanese. His attackers were unemployed working class whites who complained of the effects of Japanese imports. They pleaded guilty to manslaughter, were fined \$3,000 and released. Local Asian Americans in Detroit protested against the sentence."

A London reader.

FASCIST FUNDING

(Cont. from P.2.)

that the BUF was brought to a halt, particularly following the battle of Cable Street in 1936. When the British government itself acted in 1936 it was by bringing in the Public Order Act, which could also be used (as it frequently has) to restrict left-wing political activities.

Today too, in conditions of crisis, the ruling class is turning towards fascism, although in more subtle forms than the old BUF - through racist, anti-women, anti-working class measures by successive governments - Labour and Tory - through the strengthening of the police, etc. Once again people's struggle is the way to fight fascism.

The People's Gallery

The People's Gallery in London's Kentish Town was established two years ago in an attempt to provide a gallery space for artists and viewers alike, in an area that offers little along these lines. The gallery's policy is to encourage those who are normally disregarded by the art world. Most of them are self-taught, without the benefits that an art school education can give. This in itself frequently makes for a more spontaneous way of expressing and communicating which is direct and refreshing. For people outside the world of art schools and galleries it is very difficult to get serious advice and encouragement, let alone showings for their work - even though that work may have a great deal more to say and say it more directly to a greater number of people than the frequently rather "precious" offerings of their art school trained counterparts. However, if this "untrained" pottery, sculpture, painting or whatever lacks polish, sophistication and technique, it doesn't stand a chance of being taken seriously in most commercial West End galleries, and there are few alternatives.

A large number of the people involved with the gallery originate from places other than Britain, many of them also having lived in their country of origin and having been influenced by the traditional arts and crafts of their own culture. Many of the artists have physical or mental handicaps and can offer us a view of the world that able-bodied

people never have to see. Some have been imprisoned, or held as long-term patients in mental hospitals away from our society. People like this have a great deal to tell us.

So successful has this project been that the People's Gallery has now extended itself into another space as well as their original building, proving, if any proof were required, that there is ample need for such an exhibition space and ample creative work to fill it. The extension is called the Nelson Mandela Studio, in commemoration of the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. The opening show is, suitably enough, entitled "How dark is my life - no right for humanity." Oppression in many of its forms is portrayed - from Serge Clifford's drawings about the oppressed peoples of Azania (South Africa) - "Defiance: Soweto '76", and "Amandla: Powers to the Peoples" - to Tony Jadunath's depictions of the inhumanity of such institutions as Broadmoor (he was an inmate for 9 years) in "Every mental hospital is guilty of murder" and Psychiatric Genocide. Racism, Tory cuts to the N.H.S., the Brixton Riots, misery and terror in El Salvador, and the arms race are all included in the wide range of subjects covered. Styles and methods of working are rich and varied including relief sculpture, etching, batik (dyed fabric), painting, drawing and many others.

The standard of the work generally is reasonably high with only one or two weak spots. This is important because alternatives to the established art world must not come to mean second-best. Much of the work in this gallery is there rather than in a West End gallery because the sort of people who can afford to buy paintings in West End galleries do not want the subject matter that makes up these works splashed across their elegant designer walls.

The whole feeling of the gallery is informal and friendly so that it is welcoming to viewers and potential exhibitors alike. There is easy access for wheelchair users and it is set in a housing estate, an unusual and obvious site for a gallery. On the day that I visited, there were several people sitting around chatting and eager to answer questions and talk about the aims and structure of the gallery. Altogether well worth a visit, the present exhibition continues until 23rd December.

People's Gallery & Nelson Mandela Studio, 73 Price of Wales Road, London NW5; Phone: 01-267-0433. Open Tuesday - Saturday 11.00 - 6.00. (Chalk Farm Underground station or Kentish Town West BR station.)

R.C.L. CONFERENCE

The Revolutionary Communist League held a conference recently, at which a clear position was adopted, largely in relation to Black and Irish struggles, the main points of which are summarised below. The conference came after a period of debate within the organisation, and some of the different positions have been reflected in the pages of 'Class Struggle' over the past year. Whilst there have been differences, the context in which the debate has taken place has been one of agreement that many of our past lines have been social chauvinist, and agreement on the need to reject such positions. The conference reasserted its support for the principles of Marxism-Leninism as defended and developed by the Communist Party of China in the polemic of the 1960's. The essence of the polemic is still true today and is the basis of our unity. We also reaffirmed our commitment to building the communist party in this country.

SOCIAL CHAUVINISM

This social chauvinism manifested itself most clearly in our attitude to the struggles of the Irish people and the struggles of Black people. For example, we did not recognise the revolutionary nature of the struggle being carried out by the Irish people under the leadership of the Republican Movement and openly opposed National Liberation organisations in 'Class Struggle'. We did not understand the nature and form of the struggle against racist oppression, or uphold the need for independent black organisations and black leadership. Instead, racism was seen mainly in terms of being a divisive, ideological tendency. The struggle for the liberation of Ireland and the struggle against racist oppression were both seen as peripheral to the class struggle.

Struggle against these positions started well before the conference, and progress has been made over the past two years. However, the conference marks the end of a particular stage - a clear recognition of our past social chauvinism, a clear intention to break with such positions, and the adoption of a line, which, whilst incomplete, provides us with a basis to go forward in the complex task of developing a strategy for revolution in an imperialist country.

OPPOSE IMPERIALISM

The conference agreed that we must reassert the true essence of communism - that is, communists must oppose all class and national oppression, and stand for the freedom of people from all forms of domination, imperialism and hegemonism. Anti-imperialism must be part of communist ideology, but for communists in an imperialist country like Britain, the tendency to right deviations, manifested in social chauvinism, is a most dangerous one. Thus the need to stress anti-imperialism - not as something different, or distinct from communism - but as an essential part of it.

NATIONAL STRUGGLES

The line that the conference adopted starts from the basis of an understanding of the significance of national struggles in the world today. Both Lenin and Stalin pointed to the changing nature of the national question in the era of imperialism, and Stalin referred to the fact that "the national question in the period of the Second International and the national question in the period of Leninism are far from being the same thing." (Foundations of Leninism). The era when the emerging bourgeoisie struggled against feudalism for the establishment of nation states and for bourgeois democratic rights has passed. The world has been divided into oppressor and oppressed nations, and the oppressed nations have to fight against imperialism for their right to national independence. This struggle for national liberation draws in many sections of the people.

"No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." (Mao Zedong: On New Democracy)

National struggles in the era of imperialism are essentially struggles of oppressed peoples against imperialism - revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles. Their significance is reflected in the fact that the most sharp contradiction

originating from the oppressed nations such as Ireland, India, Jamaica, Pakistan, Antigua, Bangladesh, Malaya etc, and British imperialism. All national minority people suffer from national oppression, whether they are from an oppressed nation of the Third World, Ireland - Britain's oldest colony, or Scottish or Welsh people in England. However, the nature, form and degree of that oppression may vary.

RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM

In Britain, as in the world, national contradictions have become very sharp. It is no

Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains.
Karl Marx.

accident that the resistance to British imperialism has been led by the nationally oppressed - resistance such as the consistent and courageous struggle being waged by the Irish people against British imperialism, the heroic hunger strike undertaken by Irish Prisoners of War; the outrage and anger expressed by black people in response to the New Cross massacre; the uprisings of 1981; the many campaigns against deportations and divided families; the Bradford 12 and the Newham 8. The conference agreed that it is the sharpness and severity of the national contradiction, and the resistance of the nationally oppressed to their oppression which has resulted in the fact that these struggles against British imperialism are the most advanced.

LINKS

Increasingly, links are being forged between the Irish and Black struggles. The material basis for these links is their common oppression by British imperialism, and they can be seen in the support expressed by black national minority organisations for the struggle for the liberation of Ireland, the support of the Republican Movement for liberation struggles around the world and the struggles of black people in Britain. Both Irish and Black national minorities here are making conscious efforts to link the struggles.

RACIST OPPRESSION

Whilst identifying the common basis of national oppression amongst different oppressed nationalities, we still recognise that there are differences. These must be understood so that we can build the basis for unity. The conference agreed that those national minority people originating from the Third World face a particularly severe form of national oppression - racist oppression. The ideology of racism originated in the slave trade of developing capitalism and became fully defined with the development of capitalism into imperialism. Thus, racism has its roots in the wholesale subjugation of black peoples to an extent and degree not previously known in history. The "developed nations" of Europe and America were built on the backs of slaves, further enabling the colonisation and oppression of nations throughout the world. Racism, as an ideology was refined and defined in order to justify the exploitation and oppression of the peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Racist oppression is not separate from national oppression but the highest and most vicious form of it.

For Black people in Britain, racism means, amongst other things, control through racist

immigration and nationality laws, discrimination in all spheres of life, physical attacks, police harassment, the racism of all the state institutions, denial of cultural and language rights. Black people have always fought back, and in the course of the struggle, have developed their own organisations. Whether these organisations are specifically national, like the Pakistani, Kashmiri, Indian, Bangladesh Workers Associations, or not so specifically national like, Afro-Caribbean Self Help Organisation, Asian Youth Movement, Black Parents, they all have an identity which is distinct from that of the majority nationality. In addition, cultural and religious organisations provide a focus for the struggle against racist oppression, for example, Sikh Temples, Mosques, Rastafarianism, Black Churches.

BLACK POWER

Whilst many of the struggles are by their nature defensive, there is also a strong assertion of national identity, upholding and promoting national cultures against the direct repression and downgrading of all national minority cultures by English

It is we who have fought your battles for you, and picked your cotton for you. We built this house that you're living in. It was our labor that built this house. You sat beneath the old cotton tree telling us how long to work or how hard to work, but it was our labor, our sweat and our blood that made this country what it is and we're the only ones that haven't benefited from it. All we're saying today is, it's payday - retroactive.
Malcolm X

racist society. Strong links are retained with the countries of origin in the Third World - cultural links and political links in terms of supporting the struggles for national liberation in those countries. On a broader ideological level, the powerful anti-imperialist tradition of Black Power has developed - a tradition which identifies imperialism as a white power structure and sees the corrupting effect of racism on the white population as a whole. It sees the whole of the social structure of white society as being built on the slave trade and the oppression of nations. It lays stress on the autonomy of black people's struggles and the need for black people to unite with each other before entering alliances with the majority nationality.

IRELAND

Irish people in Britain and Ireland have been fighting British imperialism for hundreds of years. Ireland is Britain's oldest colony, and the centuries of brutal oppression of that country by British imperialism have left an anti-Irish racism deeply embedded in the English national consciousness and a continuation of national oppression of the Irish national minority in England.

The struggle for liberation in Ireland is of central importance to British imperialism, because of its long history, the closeness of Ireland to Britain and the large Irish national minority in Britain among other things. This has led to close connections between the struggle in Ireland and in Britain itself. Historically Irish people have often played a leading role in working class struggles in this country. As with oppressed Black nationalities, the Irish uphold and promote their national culture.

They have also developed a powerful anti-imperialist tradition in Republicanism. This ideology, as put forward by Connolly and others is a living revolutionary tradition upheld by the Irish national minority here and in Ireland, and expressed in many forms including songs and poetry.

ENGLISH WORKING CLASS

Having identified the advanced nature and strength of national

The revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America will certainly deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow.

Comrade Mao Zedong 1966

struggles, and the need for communists to support and promote them, we must also see their relationship to the struggle of the working class against exploitation, and particularly to the English working class. The conference agreed that the English working class is the working class of an oppressor nation and is thoroughly imbued with racist ideology, whilst accepting that racist attitudes are not held uniformly throughout the class. The working class is still exploited by capital, but in relation to the contradiction between the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and imperialism, they are, temporarily at least, in alliance with imperialism, i.e. racist ideology has been used to enlist the working class onto the side of imperialism in its oppression of nations. This is why the racist oppression suffered by national minority people here does not only come from the state and the ruling class, but also takes the form of attacks and insults on the streets, white workers collaborating with management to maintain discriminatory practices at workplaces, actively organising against black workers and failure to support black people in their struggle against racist oppression and for national rights.

LABOUR ARISTOCRACY

Whilst recognising the effect of imperialism on the whole working class, the conference agreed that a labour aristocracy still exists and is the main social force promoting opportunism in the working class. The precise nature of this labour aristocracy and the way it influences the working class still needs analysing. This work should be linked to the work on the development of a class analysis.

STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

Accepting that the working class and national minority people face the same enemy - British imperialism, the strategy the

The worker is the slave of capitalist society, the female is the slave of that slave.
James Connolly.

Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two thirds of its work hours, receive on tenth of the world's income and own less than one hundredth of the world's property.
1980 United Nations Report

conference adopted was that of a strategic alliance i.e. an alliance between the struggle of the working class against its exploitation and oppression and the struggle of national minority people against national oppression. This is the long term strategy, and the precise tactics for achieving this are still being developed, however, any unity between the two struggles must start from mutual recognition of them, and particularly from majority working class support for the struggle of national minority people for Free National Development (the right of national minority

people to autonomy in areas of concentration, with political power, economic resources and the freedom for the national minority culture to grow and flourish). The majority working class will be mobilised on the basis of the struggle against its own exploitation and oppression, but we will argue for their support for the struggles of national minorities as part of building the strategic alliance.

Our tactics will be based on the recognition that racist attitudes are not held uniformly throughout the class. There is a spectrum which includes a thoroughly racist section, a middle section which has broken with racism in certain aspects, and an advanced section which can unite with national minority struggles. The more advanced we would expect to find amongst the most oppressed of the majority working class, particularly women, the youth and the unemployed.

FASCISM

The conference agreed that the context in which the struggles of the national minorities, oppressed nations, women and the working class are taking place is one where the British ruling class has to attack the living standards and democratic rights of the great majority of the working people in Britain, in order to re-establish a strong position among the imperialist countries. There is a trend towards fascism in Britain. It was also agreed that more theoretical work needs to be done on the question of fascism.

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Taking note of the growing anti-war movements in Europe, North America and the Soviet Bloc, the conference also agreed that the aggression of the two superpowers puts the whole world in danger of war. The Peace movements are of varying political understanding, and more analysis needs to be done on questions of unilateralism/multilateralism; different forces within the peace movement and how to combine the struggle against the US which has bases here, with the struggle against the Soviet Union.

WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

Conference passed a resolution on the question of women's oppression. This resolution asserts that in the past, we have paid only lip-service to the question of women's oppression. In order to overcome this, it was agreed that at least some comrades should be enabled to make work on women a priority, to ensure that the necessary theoretical work to develop our line, gets done. Mass work amongst women should also be accorded a priority and more attention should be given to the aspect of women's oppression in all our areas of work.

This is on the basis that all women are oppressed as women, but where possible we should engage in struggles of the most oppressed women - working class and national minority women. Women fight against their oppression takes many forms - organised struggles against the state, resistance to male violence, campaigns for better health care for example. We cannot give a blueprint for what form such struggles will take - all comrades should be alert to the possibilities and recognise the significance of such struggles. As we carry out this work, we will find allies amongst sections of the women's movement.

REVOLUTION

Conference reasserted that we must uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and use it

Crimes against Black People : USA GUILTY



The SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL on REPARATIONS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES took place in Atlanta, Georgia on November 12th and 13th. The first World Tribunal took place in November 1982 and was reported in 'Class Struggle' (Vol 7, No 3).

Evidence presented at that tribunal built up to a massive indictment of the USA for its crimes against black people. The first tribunal also determined that African people in the USA were entitled to receive reparations for labour stolen from them over the last 400 years, estimated at \$4,100 billions.

The second tribunal, this year, continues to expose US oppression and exploitation. Below we reprint extracts from the press statement issued by the Organising Committee.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL INDICTS U.S. FOR VIOLATIONS AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE

In two days of dramatic testimony, black people from around the country spoke out in Atlanta, Georgia, about the conditions experienced daily by poor and working class black people across the country.

The Second International Tribunal, held at Atlanta University on November 12 and 13th represents a legal forum convened by black people to take their case before International Human Rights bodies. In addition, it is an ongoing part of organising in the black community led by the African National Reparations Organisation, (ANRO).

Black people came from the states of Washington, California, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, New York, Maryland, Florida, Illinois, Georgia and Washington DC, to speak before a world body as people who, although denied state power, have the human right to examine the brutality of their existence in the US and judge it according to International Law. Scores of Human Rights violations against the black communities by the US government were heard by the International panel of judges who included Mike Pilane, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Larry Anderson from the Independent Dine Nation of Big Mountain, Arizona and Penny Hess, representing white workers in the US. Chairman Omali Yeshitela of the African People's Socialist Party served as People's Advocate.

Mahdee Nabawi, ANRO Organiser gave testimony on Tent City for the Homeless in Oakland where hundreds of black people have come together to organise structures, food, and medical care for themselves - to work for Black Community Control. The response of the police has been intimidation, harassment, arrests and severe beatings.

Avileta Donaldson from St. Petersburg Florida gave the history of the struggle of the "Wedgewood 4" - black working class nurses, women who have been cleaning the excrement of this society for 400 years - waging a struggle against the Nursing Home where they work, fighting the flagrant violations against their patients and themselves as workers.

ANRO organiser and former Black Panther Party member, Abdul Qahhan testified on the mental and physical damages done to himself and hundreds of other activists during the 1960's and 70's by the infamous COINTELPRO program of the US government whose attacks on the black movement resulted in kidnappings, murders, imprisonments and slander. Many of these leaders are still incarcerated and seeking prisoner of war status as attested by Omawale Kefing, Chairman of the African National Prison Organisation and Oneje, representative of the Republic of New Africa. In the US today, there are more black men in prison than in college.

Mahdee Nabawi, ANRO National Organiser gave testimony on Tent City for the Homeless in Oakland where hundreds of black people have come together to organise structures, food and medical care for themselves

- to work for Black Community Control. The response of the police has been intimidation, harassment, arrests and severe beatings.

The testimony of Neil Holmes, assistant director of Black Studies Department of the University of Akron in Ohio revealed the colonisation process of black students in American schools. He said that the tests for mental retardation are culturally biased which results in an 84% black population in the classes for the mentally retarded in Florida and a 70% population in San Francisco. In fact, black students are being pushed out of school altogether. In fact, in Dayton Ohio alone, 14,000 African students dropped out of school and more were suspended. Adding to this, Wayman Earls 3rd, 14 years old, gave the perspective of an African youth who has experienced constant reprimandings for refusing to salute the American flag. Many more testified.

The Reparations Tribunal demonstrated that the issue of violation of black human rights and the demand for reparations is growing in impact around the country. Besides plans to take the testimony to the United Nations, the Reparations demand has generated a whole movement that exists in 9 cities across the US.

This year's Tribunal received enthusiastic endorsements from Michael Ratner, National Lawyers Guild and Arthur Kinoy and the Racial Justice Committee of the Presbyterian Church (USA). In addition, more Tribunals are being planned for the coming year.

CHINA SUPPORTS DALITS

China is committed to support the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples of the world, including the untouchables of India. This declaration was made by the President of the Chinese Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, Wang Bingnan, to the Editor of the Indian newspaper, 'Dalit Voice', on his visit to Beijing on August 18th of this year. Wang "referred to the recent visit of the American Red Indian delegation to China and said China had been supporting the Blacks and many other oppressed sections of the world. Answering questions, he expressed deep distress over the persecution

creatively. Comrade Mao Zedong developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of the Chinese Revolution and in the struggle against Soviet revisionism and upheld its revolutionary nature. It is Comrade Mao and other Third World revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have upheld Marxism-Leninism, particularly using it to take forward the national struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism. We must learn from such revolutionaries as Amilcar Cabral, Steve Biko, Malcolm X and link Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the living revolutionary traditions of Republicanism and Black Power that already exist in this country.

This report summarises the main points from the conference. In future issues of 'Class Struggle' we will discuss a more detailed criticism of our past lines, Ireland and its significance to the revolutionary movement here, the implications of conference decisions for our work, and women's oppression.

of the Indian Untouchables." ('Dalit Voice', September 16-30, 1983.)

CASTE SYSTEM

The Indian caste system is notorious for its suppression of that section of the Indian people born into the so-called Untouchable castes. They are regarded as ritually "unclean", "segregated and treated as polluted sub-humans". As one might expect, they are also the poorest of the poor. In India today, there is a growing movement of these people. They have adopted a new name for themselves, the "Dalits", which means the "Oppressed".

DR AMBEDKAR

During the Indian struggle for national liberation from British colonial rule, there were many overtures made by the nationalist leaders to the Dalits. Gandhi claimed to be their saviour. But the Dalits did not trust the fine words of the high caste leaders. Their greatest support went to Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar, himself an Untouchable. When Muhammad Ali Jinnah demanded separate representation for the Muslims of undivided India, Ambedkar demanded separate representation for the Dalits. It was only Gandhi's fast unto the death which blackmailed Ambedkar into dropping his demand, and accepting the notorious Pune Pact, thus cheating India's Dalits of freedom. Later at the Round Table Conference attended by Gandhi in London, Gandhi refused to let any Dalit representative attend. He claimed to speak for the

Dalits to the colonial masters. Thousands of Dalits raised money to send telegrams to London to say that Gandhi would never speak for them; their only spokesman was Ambedkar.

Ambedkar himself eventually saw the solution in the conversion of his people to Buddhism, hoping that thus they could escape the caste stigma. In independent India, the official line is that untouchability has been abolished.

DALIT PANTHERS

Yet the oppression goes on, at its worst resulting in shootings and burnings by upper caste gangsters every year. The struggle has continued in many forms. The 1970's saw the rise of a political movement called the Dalit Panthers, largely centred in the cities, calling for a revolutionary change in India. Recently there has been a move to convert to Islam, seeing that an alliance between persecuted Dalits and Muslims in India presents a formidable challenge to casteism.

CASTE AND NATIONAL QUESTION

The Chinese support for the Dalit cause is a welcome move in the campaign to internationalise the problem. Comparing caste oppression with the national question, 'Dalit Voice' writes: "In China, there are 55 nationalities and before the Revolution the Han people were dominating the whole of China. The Hans formed 96% of the population. The minor nationalities were discriminated against and even killed. But

after the Revolution the Han chauvinism was curbed. Muslims formed only 1.3% of the population but they are well protected and their interests well looked after. The editor visited a mosque in Shanghai and had talks with the Chinese Muslims and they testified that they were well looked after. Wang Bingnan briefed the editor about the different steps taken by China to protect and promote the nationalities, particularly the Tibet region.

"....The Marxist scholars and writers there agreed with our assessment of the Indian situation and said that without destroying the caste, it was not possible to destroy the 'class'. A happy combination of 'class struggle' with 'caste struggle' alone could bring about Revolution, they agreed."

But a Beijing-based high-caste Indian correspondent tried to dissuade 'Dalit Voice' from enlisting Chinese support. "He warned us 'not to trust China' and feared that it 'might exploit the Untouchable Issue'. We reminded him that the Untouchables constituted the poorest of the 50% of Indian Paupers living below the poverty line. The Ruling Class having reduced them to bones and skin, what more was there for the Chinese to exploit? As for the 'Don't-trust-the-Chinese-advice,' we said the Dalits constituted India's most revolutionary class and as such would be automatically attracted by China as of today the world's most revolutionary country."

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12 issues: £4.50
Overseas rates available on request.

Defend Vinod Chauhan



by a member of the campaign.

The Vinod Chauhan Defence Campaign, went to church for four days early in November as part of its continuing struggle against Vinod's deportation.

Towards the end of October, Vinod was informed that Waddington had signed a deportation order against him, and arrangements would be made for his removal to India.

SANCTUARY

The campaign had to move quickly, and it had to act in a way that would give us the maximum publicity. We decided to approach the local Baptist church and ask for the use of the church to hold a protest Sanctuary fast for four days. The response of the church was incredible. The minister called a meeting of the whole church membership to discuss this and vote on it. They voted unanimously in favour, and even beyond that they gave us a great deal of support during the four days. Two church members joined Vinod and Paul Weller (chairman of the campaign) in fasting for the whole four days; many visited the sanctuary fast and often stayed a long time; the Sunday service at church was held in the middle of duplicators, typewriters, leaflets, petitions and our large display about the campaign. The service included a Hindu prayer and the sermon looked at the question of colonialism and stressed how Britain has oppressed other countries by denying them their own religions and cultural forms.

WHY A SANCTUARY FAST?

First, as I've said, we had to do something different enough to get us the publicity we needed. There are so many national minority people oppressed by the threat of deportation, that it just isn't "newsworthy" in itself any more.

Sanctuary historically was the means for anyone to claim protection from a church against those who might be after them. It never had any legal clout and it still doesn't. Recently, the idea of sanctuary has represented a means for progressive church people to use the church in a very real way to fight injustice and stand with the oppressed. For example in the USA, several Episcopalian churches have given sanctuary to refugees from Central America who are in danger of being kicked out.

WHAT DID WE ACHIEVE?

Firstly, and most importantly, we mobilised a whole new movement of support for Vinod in Ashton. Nearly 200 people visited the church and signed the visitors' book. Probably half of them had had no previous connection with the campaign. The church is right in the middle of a council estate, and each home was leafleted to inform people of what was going on.

Secondly, it gave us much-needed publicity in all the local papers, radio and TV stations.

Thirdly, it provided a boost to all those who were already sympathetic, but fairly passive about it. After the

sanctuary fast there was a noticeable increase in the rate that petition forms were returned, letters of support sent etc.

Fourthly, through boosting the campaign back into the local headlines again, we were able to get Tameside Council, which had earlier declared its support, to display our notice boards inside the main council offices. Now when local people go to pay their rent etc. they pass right by our display. Many have read the notices and signed the petition.

And finally, the sanctuary fast played a large part in getting the Greater Manchester Council to pass a resolution backing Vinod, which it did about two weeks after.

HOME OFFICE RETREAT

The Home Office has just announced that it is "reconsidering" Vinod's case" (as they so sensitively call it) in light of "renewed representations". This refers to the request for a delegation to see Waddington, consisting of campaign representatives, Vinod himself, the Mayor of Tameside and possibly a representative from the Greater Manchester Council.

This is quite a big retreat on the part of the Home Office, probably because it is reluctant to have open aggravation with a metropolitan borough council and a county council over this. We think that's great and recognise that such "official" support probably tipped the balance. However, it would be stupid just to leave it at that and not look any deeper. Such "official" support has come in response to the success of the mass campaigning work we did on a very broad basis. That has been the decisive factor throughout the campaign and will be till it is finished. This reliance on mass campaigning does not in any way guarantee us success, but we are convinced it is the only way success can be possible.

While the Home Office has retreated in making a "stay of execution" on Vinod's deportation order, this by no means implies final victory. The campaigning will continue.

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF CYPRIOT REFUGEES

by the Workers Group of London.

Last July was the 9th anniversary of the American-backed fascist coup and the Turkish fascist invasion.

Amidst the fire of the unjust war caused by imperialism and its support, thousands of Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot refugees left their homes and their land and became refugees.

Approximately 10,000 refugees were forced to come to Britain. Most of them - some 7,500 - were forced to return to Cyprus or were thrown out of Britain by the Home Office. About 1,000 legalised their status - but not as refugees. Out of the remaining 1,500, only 550 were covered by the Home Office concessions of April 1982. Some 700-1,000 who were not included in the concessions are being persecuted by the Home Office and the other organs of the state, the police etc., and are facing the threat of deportation. 49 refugees have been deported since April 1982.

The campaign for the defence of the rights of the refugees did not succeed in changing the Home Office policy which is based on a series of racist immigration laws. The campaign did not succeed in obtaining indefinite stay for all the refugees because of theoretical and practical weaknesses and

repression..



..and resistance



ACE KELLY ACQUITTED

Ace Kelly, Chairman of Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign, was acquitted on a charge of possessing cannabis. This was the fourth time that police have charged Ace Kelly since he first got involved with the campaign around the death of Colin Roach in Stoke Newington Police Station last January. It is also the fourth time he has been acquitted.

The cannabis charge arose after his third arrest in March when he was picked up while picketing Old Street Magistrates Court. He was searched at the time and a ball of tobacco was found behind his right ear.

NEARLY TWO MONTHS LATER he was charged with possession of cannabis! Obviously the tobacco had made a remarkable change

entirely on its own in the police station. Unfortunately for the police, when they came to court, the cannabis they produced could not be rolled into a ball as it was in seed and leaf form. Alongside this the two officers' stories in court were quite contradictory on a number of key points, including how many balls of 'cannabis' they had discovered.

Naturally the furthest thing from our minds is any suggestion that the Police might have lied in court, or that they might have given a helping hand in the tobacco process of self-transmutation into cannabis. Nor would we even wish to hint at the possibility that the Police could have a political motive in framing charges against activists fighting racism and imperialism.

MENTAL HEALTH ACT

USED AGAINST BLACK PRISONER

Black prisoner Cirus Noor was beaten up by wardens at HMP Pentonville on 17th November. He has since been held for five days in solitary confinement and has lost 28 days remission. One of his visitors, Ruby Noorani, with whom he discussed the attack, was subsequently taken to Islington Police Station. There she was subjected to racist and sexist abuse and strip searched on the pretext that she had smuggled a letter out of the prison.

Cirus is now being held in the hospital wing of the prison where they are trying to have him "sectioned" under the Mental Health Act. Black people are criminalised, beaten up by police and prison officers and if this does not "keep them quiet", the Mental Health Act is used. Under this Act, people

can be detained without even the minimal legal protection of the courts, and also forcibly given drugs. Cirus is at present being dosed with Largactil - widely used in prisons to control "difficult" prisoners.

Richard 'Cartoon' Campbell, murdered in Ashford Remand Centre, had been sectioned under the Mental Health Act and drugged. Colin Roach was said to have been "depressed" by police and doctors. In reality, the Mental Health Act is just one more weapon in the state's armoury being used against black people. Any black person who fights back, who asserts his identity, talks in a different language, who doesn't conform to white racist society, is likely to be labelled mad and locked up.



Pickets back Josie Thomas in her fight against deportation. (For more information, see the November issue of "CS.")

the poet is dead

**NEWHAM
EIGHT**

(Cont. from front page.)

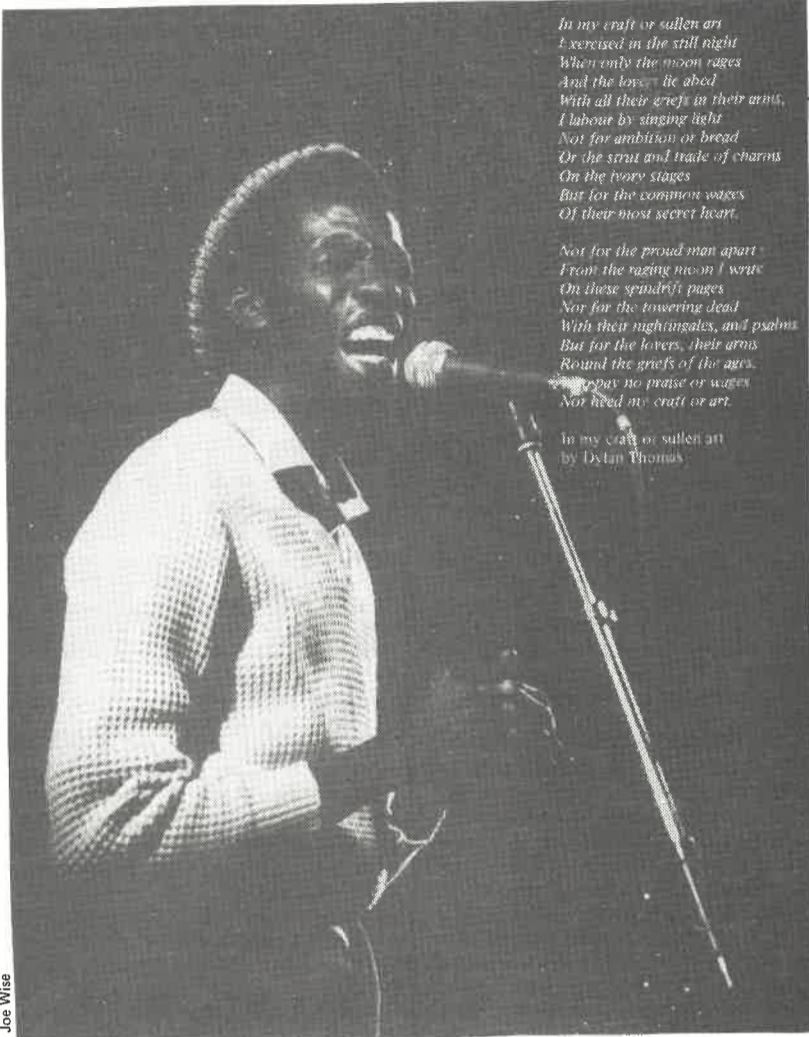
by 'Class Struggle' correspondent,
South London.

"Mi feel it yuh si
But anytime yuh see de youth
Dem stumble
Don't think them fall
Watch out
Dem a plan
Fi mek yuh bawl."

On November 3, South London's Brixton resounded to a unique and historic event when many great figures in contemporary black culture gathered to pay tribute to the great poet Michael Smith, murdered this summer by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Jamaica.

When we first heard of Michael's martyrdom, a series of images flooded back, from his recorded work and particularly from the brilliant TV programme recorded when he came to England in 1982. having himself filmed in Brixton's Railton Road in front of corrugated iron covered with graffiti in praise of the Polish trade union Solidarnosc ... replying to a black child's question about how white audiences can appreciate the dialect in his poems by saying that he himself could appreciate Cuban poetry when it was read, and that it is possible to communicate at the level of feeling even where there is a language barrier rediscovering the revolutionary essence in a poem by Percy B. Shelley dealing with the political economy of the exploitation of the labouring masses

These images flooded back at the Brixton gathering. Among the many contributions, particularly memorable was that of the great Afro-American Amiri Baraka (formerly known as Leroy Jones). His passionate and scientific attacks on imperialism and its neo-



Joe Wise

In my craft or sullen art
I exercised in the still night
When only the moon rages
And the lovers lie abed
With all their griefs in their arms,
I labour by singing inch
Not for ambition or bread
Or the strut and trade of charms
On the ivory stages
But for the common voice
Of their most secret heart.

Not for the proud man apart
From the raging moon I write
On these spindrift pages
Nor for the towering dead
With their nightingales, and psalms
But for the lovers, their arms
Round the griefs of the ages,
Who pay no praise or wages,
Nor heed my craft or art.

In my craft or sullen art
by Dylan Thomas

colonial agents in the Caribbean and elsewhere brought the audience not to their feet (since it was practically too jam-packed to sit down anyway), but to a fever-pitch of anti-imperialist vengeance and creativity.

In a poem to the jazz musician John Coltrane, Amiri Baraka pointed out that his creating gives renewed life to a tradition encompassing such

figures as the great Irish writer J.M. Synge, Maxim Gorky and the Chinese Lu Xun. This judgement clearly also applies to Michael Smith. From the depths of white chauvinist Eurocentrism into which the revolutionary movement was brought by the sad old CPSU/CPGB type revisionists, the black revolutionary movement including reggae music and Michael Smith's dub poetry, is a mighty force for regeneration.

It is part of the spirit of the age. As the Peruvian revolutionary Angel Castro Lavarello recently put it in referring to the work of the great Korean leader, Kim Il-Sung: "He overthrew the old conception which solely regarded the labour movement of the metropolitan state as the principal factor and force of the revolution and considered the national liberation movements of the colonies to be a mere contingent of reserve, and presented such an indestructible, original theory as the Juche idea, in whose conception is established the necessity of the intervention of the masses, that is, of the people themselves, in the national liberation movements, through the display of their revolutionary enthusiasm and immense creative initiatives, thus laying down the axiom that the people are invincible in their just struggle." This is the spirit of the age

"Some a guh call it awareness
An we a guh celebrate it
With firmness while others
A guh call it Revolution
But I prefer Liberation
Fi de oppress an dis-possess
Who have been restless a full
time
Dem get some rest
It a come
Fire a guh bun
Blood a guh run
It goen feh tek yuh
Not only fi I, but fi Yuh too."

the uniformed police has been explained as pure coincidence by the prosecuting barrister and "as a rather unfortunate incident."

The case is expected to last for another 2 - 3 weeks. It is essential that the daily pickets of the court are maintained and that the public gallery remains packed. Apart from showing support and solidarity to the eight youths we must also demonstrate to the judge, jury and the state, that it is the whole black community that is on trial and not just the Newham 8. The picket line was subjected to racist abuse and attack from a few racist building workers on an adjacent site. Although this has now stopped, no thanks to the police, who although they witnessed the attacks and indeed one officer got hit by egg himself, preferred to ignore the attacks, it is essential that we demonstrate our determination not to be intimidated either by such tactics or by the bullying attitude of the City of London Police and the Old Bailey security staff. We must ensure that our determination to free the eight smashes their obstructive tactics.

(From the first trial bulletin issued by the Newham 8 Defence Campaign. The Campaign can be contacted c/o P.O.Box 273, London E7 9JN. The Campaign will want support for its daily pickets until the trial ends.)

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign
PICKET
Lambeth Magistrates Court
Renfrew St., London SE11
9.45 a.m.
6,7,8,12,14 December and on
working days after 19th December

**STOP THE SHOW TRIALS!
HANDS OFF IRELAND!
STREET MEETING**
1-3p.m., Saturday, 10th December
Dortmund Sq. Leeds City Centre
Called by Leeds FRFI

DEFEND JOSIE THOMAS!

Thursday January 12th, 9.30
Demonstrate outside the
Immigration Appeal Court,
Cross Gates, Leeds.

SUNDAY 29th JANUARY
**DEMONSTRATION
TO COMMEMORATE BLOODY SUNDAY**
To be held in Sheffield.
Organised by Sinn Fein.

Out of Their Own Mouths

by Mark Harris.

It was a great day out fighting the Pakis. It ought to be an annual fixture. I thoroughly enjoyed myself."

"We went wanging down there, jumped out of the van and just started fighting.

Reading this quote you could be forgiven for imagining that it was said by a member of the National Front or the British Movement. Well, you wouldn't be too far wrong. It is one of the boys in blue. No, I haven't invented it. You can read it for yourself in the report by the Policy Studies Institute on the Metropolitan Police.

The report itself was commissioned by McNee, the last Metropolitan Police Commissioner before he was replaced by Newman ex-chief-torturer in northern Ireland. Newman is reported to have said that he would not have commissioned it. I'm not surprised.

POLICE RACISM

The report gives clear examples of police racism. Its publication, brought forward as a result of leaks in 'The Guardian', is timely as it comes out at the time of the Newham 8 trial. During the trial, Police Officers giving evidence were accused by defence barristers of kicking and beating up the defendants in the police van after they were arrested, and of hurling racist abuse at them. The

officers totally denied the allegations and went on to claim that they had never heard any police officer using racist language?

Now this blanket denial would be funny if the issue wasn't so serious. Let's just look back at the report for a minute.

The report quotes a Police Officer who had helped arrest a West Indian man. They took him to the cells. Two CID officers then approached the Police Officer. "What's all this about a nigger giving some trouble?" they said. The Police Officer described what happened next: "They asked the station office for the keys and went down to this bloke's call. All you could hear was thumps and shouts. They did this bloke up a treat. They came back from the cell saying: "There you are. He won't give you any more trouble." And they left.

ORGANISED LIES

The report makes a series of allegations of police officers telling lies to protect each other. "The clearest statement on this was made by a uniform sergeant in charge of a crime squad," says the report. He was asked whether he would "shop" one of his mates who had committed a serious assault on a prisoner. The sergeant replied: "No, I never would. If one of the boys working for me got himself into trouble, I would get all of us together and I would literally script

him out of it. I would write all the parts out and if we followed them closely we couldn't be defeated. And believe me, I would do it."

So just how believable are these officers when they claim no assaults took place? Not at all when you consider what they said about never hearing an officer using racist language! Just listen to the report again:

Racial prejudice is "pervasive". The force is "pre-occupied" with "ethnic differences". Racist language is "on the whole expected, accepted and even fashionable". Perhaps the policemen involved in the Newham 8 trial don't believe that terms like "Paki", "Nigger", "Coon", etc, are racist! One example in the report quotes a policeman saying: "I hate Pakis, because you always know a spade will lie to you, but you can never tell with a Paki." The report shows that such racism is at a minimum very often condoned by senior officers and sometimes started by them.

THE BRITISH BOBBY IS A RACIST, SEXIST BULLY

On a more general level the report has certainly changed the picture of a "typical British Bobby".

"Certain themes tend to be emphasised in conversation in an exaggerated way: the prime examples are male dominance (combined with denigration of women), the glamour of violence, and racial prejudice."

Even women Police Officers are looked down on. They are commonly described as "plonks" and sneered at. The Police force is dominated by a "cult of masculinity" including "an actual appetite for aggravation". "It is the successful bully who is admired." Heavy boozing is part of the image. "In the department," a CID man said. "Drinking is a way of life."

Violence for its own sake is a constant theme: "That Grunwick dispute I liked that one best of all. It was such a fair clean fight as soon as the injured person had been taken off, the two sides got straight back to fighting each other again. It was a really good one, that. I liked it." The policeman who said this was not it appears so keen when the oppressed are ready to resist in more effective ways. He thought Southall was "better" than Brixton because no petrol bombs were used: "My bottle tends to go a bit when petrol bombs come over," he said. That presumably was the intention.

ILLEGAL STOP AND SEARCH

The report did not, of course, cover only Police attitudes. Research showed that about 1,500,000 stops in the street are made each year in London. Over one third of these were illegal stop and searches. The Police flout the law openly in front of researchers. Even though their behaviour was obviously more careful when being watched, nevertheless the investigators reckoned that

one in ten of the arrests they observed were carried out with excessive violence. 11 out of 12 people stopped had committed no crime. Whilst 16 out of every 100 Londoners can expect to be stopped in this way, if you are a West Indian you are more than three times as likely to be stopped.

Another interesting little piece of information is that half the Police Officers believe that senior officers are not effective in preventing "misconduct". A fact that is worth remembering when considering the police complaints procedure.

LEGAL STOP AND SEARCH

So what do we learn from this report? Not much new. A bit more evidence to back up what the oppressed already know from their own experience.

What will be done? Nothing much. The report has allowed the police to appear as though they are doing something. But far from changing police attitudes and stopping their illegal actions, the government is moving to strengthen their powers. The Police Bill at present going through Parliament again will strengthen the powers of the Police to stop, search and detain "suspects", will enable them to hold people longer without charges, will make it easier for them to set up road blocks. They will have more scope to enter and search people's houses. Generally it will legalise many of their current practices which are technically illegal.

POLITICS OF FOOD *Kampuchea - Still Fighting*



'Class Struggle' is publishing the following article in parts. The first part, in this issue, covers the exploitation of the peoples and countries of the Third World by imperialism, particularly British imperialism. The rest of the article covers developments within Britain.

The food industry and agriculture of British imperialism is based on the exploitation of the work force. Increased trends to monopoly dominate all its aspects. The mad scramble to maintain profits is its motive force; the quality and availability of food is a secondary consideration. People's health and work conditions suffer while the bosses stay rich.

Any consideration of the politics of food must be put in an international context. It has to be remembered that British imperialism has a long obscene history as a major cause of human starvation, a role it continues to play today.

INTERNATIONAL

In 1980, 40% of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia, i.e. 800 million people - were living in absolute poverty. They, and many more, suffer starvation and malnutrition. Yet there is enough food produced in the world to feed everyone. It is because people cannot afford to buy food that they starve: three quarters of the world's population have to live off one fifth of the world's income.

It was the direct plunder of the world by the 'British Empire' and since then the neo-colonial exploitation of the Third World by the various imperialist powers which is the root cause of starvation and poverty.

Imperialism destroyed the civilisations and economic systems of the Third World countries and turned them into cheap sources of food and raw materials. Food production for local needs was often replaced by cash crops for export and profitability of the trans-national companies based in western Europe and the USA.

Some examples:

GAMBIA

In Gambia, rice growing was widespread prior to colonisation but since then much of the best farm land has been given over to exportable cash crops (groundnuts). Large scale rice imports became necessary to stave off widespread famine.

commodities of the developing countries. By 1979 this had dropped to 39%. The change reflected the beginnings of the long struggle by the Third World to turn formal independence into economic independence and the beginnings of an all-round development of their countries.

SOVIET IMPERIALISM

The newer form of imperialism, Soviet imperialism, is also guilty of perpetuating starvation. Its expansionist policies and "international division of labour" are a new form of plundering the world's people. Through COMECON it distorts the economies of Eastern Europe. Its neo-colonialist policies of "buying cheap and selling dear", and of compelling aid recipients to purchase expensive (and sometimes second-rate) Soviet goods, helps maintain the status quo or even worsen conditions for the mass of the people - as they did in India before and during Indira Gandhi's "State of Emergency".

CENTRAL AMERICA

Half the agricultural land in Central America is used to grow food for export.

SRI LANKA

In Sri Lanka, British-owned tea and coffee companies' deforestation caused extensive floods in 1957.

AFRICA

Despite the fact that thousands starve in parts of Africa, that continent is a net exporter of barley, beans, peanuts, fresh vegetables and cattle.

SENEGAL

In Senegal, over 50% of the available land is given over to growing peanuts, mainly for Unilever, which was founded upon the exploitation of Third World vegetable oil resources.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Developing countries export about 3.5 million tons of high quality protein every year to the industrialised west - enough to meet the nutritional needs of 300 million people.

Starvation is not inevitable.

Since 1949, one of the successes of the Chinese Revolution has been the provision of an adequate food supply for one quarter of the world's population despite China only having 7% of the world's agricultural land.



Water conservancy project in Nei Monggol (Inner Mongolia), China. Socialism has brought prosperity to many formerly arid and poor areas in this autonomous region.

The Third World is increasingly demonstrating that regional co-operation - as shown for example by Zimbabwe in southern Africa - and the mutual defence of producers as shown by the oil producers (OPEC) in the early 70's, can begin to oppose imperialism. In 1960 for instance, food and agricultural raw materials constituted 66% of the export

COLLUSION AND CONTENTION

Food has become an important feature of the collusion and contention between the two superpowers. The restoration of a form of state capitalism in the USSR and the subsequent expansionist policy with its massive expenditure on military spending has had a devastating effect on Soviet agriculture. The downturn in agriculture cannot be explained away by "bad harvests". Even allowing for climatic disadvantages, they should be able to feed their people, as they did in the past. Since the mid-70's, the Soviet state has become a grain importer. In 1981 half of the imported 43 million tons of grain came from the USA. In that year US imperialism was exporting 115 million tons. The export of that grain has become a significant weapon that US imperialism uses to try and counter the growing trend of real independence by the Third World countries.

TRADE UNIONS

The British trade union movement and its counterparts in Europe and the USA do not have a proud record on international solidarity. Judith Hart (when Labour Minister for Overseas Development) admitted that the TUC had never bothered to make representations to the Ministry on Third World issues. In 1975 the TV programme 'The State of Tea' about the plight of

Brooke Bond's Sri Lankan tea workers, did bring some response from British trade unions. But the issue was filed away by the TUC who wanted more "information". Not surprising when you remember that at least one major union, the GMWU, has investments with Brooke Bond.

(to be continued.)

Kampuchea - Still Fighting

In late October, the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted a resolution by a 105-23 vote, with 19 abstentions, calling on Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. It was the fifth such resolution since the Vietnamese invasion in December 1978. A position that has attracted growing international support increasing from 71 in 1979. The resolution reiterated that any just and lasting solution must involve "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny."

The complete failure of Hanoi's diplomatic offensive to deprive the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) of its legitimate seat at the UN, was obvious when the credentials committee confirmed, without a vote, DK's retention of its seat. Vietnam dared not question the decision as it would have illustrated the international isolation of Hanoi due to its continuing occupation of Kampuchea and Laos.

This condemnation of Hanoi maintains the political pressure and complements the military pressure on the Kampuchean battlefield. In August an attack on Soviet advisers instructing Vietnamese soldiers

in the use of multiple rocket launchers resulted in 9 of the advisers being killed.

During a 10-week tour this summer with DK troops, a Japanese writer, Naoki Mabuchi, observed "on frequent occasions when the Kampuchean guerrillas have prepared a large-scale attack on a Vietnamese position, the Hanoi forces have already withdrawn, apparently because the Vietnamese troops have been unable to withstand the continuous guerrilla attack." His judgement was that Vietnamese forces control only points and lines on the map "as troops of the Lon Nol government once did towards the end of their war in 1975." Indeed the similarities are striking.

Hanoi has failed to consolidate the position of its client installed in Phnom Penh as the DK's strategy of attrition constantly saps Vietnamese resources. DK President Khieu Sampan succinctly expressed the strategic dilemma facing the occupying Vietnamese: "Either they have to disperse their forces in order to occupy territory and then give our forces opportunities to wipe out these scattered forces or to concentrate their forces in order to defend strategic places and themselves, and then abandon occupied areas, enabling us to broaden the areas under our control and to further develop our activities."



Sri Lanka Defend Nirmala!

The information below is taken from a leaflet by the 'Tamil Women's League whose slogan is 'To Serve Womanhood'.

Ms Nirmala Nithyanathan, a 30-year old Tamil feminist writer and journalist was the first woman arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Sri Lanka in November 1982. She was held in a notorious army camp with no female guards or officials. The inhuman treatment and torture of Tamil political prisoners has been condemned by all civil rights groups in Sri Lanka and by the International Commission of Jurists. The Tamil Women's League are extremely anxious for her life, not only as a political prisoner but as a woman whose struggle represents the struggle of thousands of Tamil women.

Nirmala was transferred to a maximum security prison in Wellikada, near Colombo, the very prison where 52 Tamil political prisoners were massacred in two separate incidents in July 1983. The Sri Lankan government has not taken any action against these murderers.

The minority Tamil nation has been under systematic oppression by this racist Sinhala government (mainly aided and helped by Western Powers) since 1948. Nearly one quarter of a million Tamil estate workers are stateless and are denied fundamental human rights.

The Tamil nation in Sri Lanka faced pogroms in 1956, 1961, 1977, 1981 and 1983 when thousands of Tamil lives have been lost and millions of rupees worth of property destroyed.

From 1972 onwards, special torture camps were set up to subdue Tamil resistance. As a result, any Tamil who poses a threat to the status quo be he or she involved in the armed struggle, the intellectual struggle or non-violent Gandhian resistance, faces an uncertain future in the hands of a repressive state. Colonisation of the Tamil homelands has increased the racial tension and added to the fears of the Tamil community.

As already mentioned, 52 Tamil political prisoners have been murdered, including Gandhian organiser Dr. Rajasundaram. There is still hope for other Tamil political prisoners, so please sign the petition for the release of Nirmala, Catholic priest, Father Singarayer and others.

DON'T LET THEIR DEATHS BE ADDED TO THE TOLL OF BARBARIC STATE VIOLENCE.

The Tamil Women's League can be contacted in London at: 23a Sumatra Road, London NW6. Tel: 01-226-2367.

The petition is produced by the 'Repeal the PTA Campaign', c/o 42 Sickert Court, Cannonbury Street, London N1 2TE.

YFNL STATEMENT

JAMAICAN REVOLUTIONARIES SPEAK OUT ON GRENADA

'Class Struggle' has received the following statement from the Youth Forces for National Liberation, a Jamaican Marxist-Leninist organisation.

INVASION OF GRENADA AND CRISIS IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Youth Forces For National Liberation (YFNL) condemns the invasion of Grenada by the United States and Caribbean military forces. The involvement of the United States superpower is naked aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Grenada and the Caribbean as a whole. Bearing in mind the history of US foreign policy and the track record of the Reagan Administration, in particular, the likelihood of a new government in Grenada being pro-American is very great.

The YFNL also condemns the invasion and intervention by the so-called Caribbean Peace-Keeping Force, since this act has blatantly defied the principle of non-interference in the affairs of a sovereign state, no matter how small. In particular the pro-American governments in the region led by Charles, Adams and Seaga are not serving the interests of the Caribbean by their policy and actions towards Grenada, but are serving the interests of the US superpower.

The YFNL strongly upholds the principle that Grenada must be allowed to solve its own affairs and internal disputes.

Our opposition to this foreign intervention is totally different from that of the so-called Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ). The WPJ has further exposed itself as being a servant and stooge of Soviet social-

imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) by its despicable act of defending the military dictatorship in Grenada. A military dictatorship which killed Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, members of his cabinet, trade unionists and others and which has ruled through the use of fear and terror. This set of military rulers when they rose to power brought an end to the revolutionary and socialist process which was taking place in Grenada.

The role of the Soviet superpower must not be downplayed in this whole affair. The Soviet Union through Cuba and

but right in essence.

The two superpowers (the United States and Soviet Union) have both played a very insidious and devious role in the affairs of Grenada. On their part, the US Reagan Administration consistently ignored the efforts by Bishop and his government for peaceful co-existence and dialogue with the United States. This undoubtedly forced a greater reliance on the part of the Bishop government on the Moscow-Havana axis.

The actions and response to the situation in Grenada by the Jamaican government and the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP)

gaining political capital for the ruling party in the upcoming general elections and to restore their tarnished image.

Furthermore the JLP Government is trying to tell Jamaicans that 'democratic' elections is the only solution to the problems of Grenada. We ask why elections did not save Salvador Allende, duly elected President of Chile, from being gunned down by the right-wing fascist regime backed by the United States.

On the other side of the coin is the WPJ whose early statements did not even unequivocally condemn the killing of the Grenadian Prime Minister and the others. This tasteless, despicable and reactionary attitude of this so-called Workers' Party must be condemned, there is nothing Marxist or socialist about such an attitude.

The YFNL stands opposed to all external and foreign intervention in Grenada and demands immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Grenada, so that the Grenadian people can solve their own affairs.

Also both imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union must cease meddling in the internal affairs of Grenada, the Caribbean and indeed Latin America as a whole.

In our March 1979 statement on the Grenadian situation, the YFNL in supporting the rise to power of the New Jewel Movement as being in accord with the wishes of the Grenadian people, stressed the danger of treading the Moscow/Havana road.

The shocking incidents in Grenada is the second example

of the bankruptcy of the Moscow/Havana line in the Latin American region. Allende also took that path and was also killed by military dictators, in that case it was the US superpower that was implicated.

The YFNL wishes to state categorically that the principles of scientific socialism are totally opposed to the tendency of a country being a satellite or lackey of any foreign power, whether East or West.

We are sure that Jamaicans will not be fooled by the cheap anti-socialist propaganda being peddled at this time. The principles that must be upheld for progress in the Caribbean must be: To rely mainly on the masses of people and not total dependency on foreign powers. To uphold and work towards self-reliance, economically. To genuinely implement a policy of non-alignment and have relationships with foreign countries based on equality, independence and peaceful co-existence.

Youth Forces for National Liberation.

('Class Struggle' note: Bernard Coard, who instigated the anti-Maurice Bishop coup in Grenada, had earlier worked very closely with the Workers Party of Jamaica, as had his Jamaican-born wife Phyllis.)

The murder of Bishop and the US invasion of Grenada has also been strongly condemned by the Oilfield Workers Trade Union of Trinidad. When Bishop died, the OWTU's paper said, "A true Caribbean leader is murdered. Like Walter Rodney, his spirit shall continue to inspire the Caribbean working masses."



directly, has certainly established itself in Grenada both politically and economically and is definitely implicated in the recent events in that island nation. The Soviet Union clearly defends the position that the new military rulers would uphold the principles of the revolution. It is the very actions of the military rulers of Grenada which expose the Soviet superpower, the WPJ and others who seek to defend them. The military dictators of Grenada only disguised themselves as left, socialist or Marxist, however their substance is thoroughly right wing using fascist actions to establish and maintain their rule. They are, in fact, left in form,

cannot be condoned. The anti-communist hysteria being whipped up by the ruling party in this country is thoroughly reactionary. The majority of the informed opinion on the Grenadian situation confirms that the military rulers there had very little in common with the Government of Maurice Bishop. The popularity and people's nature of the Bishop Government was unquestionable, not only to progressive people, but to others also. The military rulers are in contradiction to the wishes of the Grenadian people and therefore there is nothing people, socialist or left about them. The anti-communism being spread in this country is for the purpose of

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Early in November, the first US left-wing reporters reached Grenada. Among them were two from 'Unity', paper of the US League of Revolutionary Struggle (Marxist-Leninist). Reese Erlich and Tim Thomas toured Grenada, interviewing former members of the People's Revolutionary Government, leaders and supporters of the New Jewel Movement, and well over 100 Grenadian workers, farmers, fishermen, youth, businessmen and others. They wrote extensively on what they'd seen and heard.

"The US military claimed that the invasion was a clean, almost bloodless undertaking. In fact, the US forces wreaked destruction in numerous places.

We saw the destruction at Point Salines airport and at various military installations. The building of Radio Free Grenada was partially burnt out from a US attack. Burned-out cars, trucks and armoured vehicles

littered the roadside throughout the island."

What Erlich and Thomas heard nailed the lie that only Cubans fought the invaders. They heard that the Cubans were concentrated at Point Salines, in the south, and that Grenadian forces had put up a hard fight in many places, shooting down at least five US helicopters.

THE OCCUPATION

The situation is now grim.

"The US occupation is a sophisticated campaign that combines military intimidation with psychological techniques aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear, confusion and anti-communism. This will lay the basis for the imposition of a pro-US regime.

"First, there is the direct intimidation of 5,000 armed-to-the-teeth US soldiers - about one occupier for every 20 Grenadians. They are a law unto themselves, arresting and abusing prisoners at will.

"The US is trying to ferret out supporters of the PRG. In just the first three weeks, the US set up a special detention camp, in which prisoners were confined in small wooden boxes for long hours in the hot Caribbean sun." There was no pretence at legal procedures; the US army decided whether to jail or release a prisoner.

The US has encouraged people to inform on their neighbours by offering rewards for turning in PRG supporters. It has closed down and thrown out the staff of the Pope Paul Ecumenical Centre, a Catholic social service institution,

claiming that it was a "centre for communist propaganda."

The 'Unity' reporters were concerned to investigate reports that Grenadians welcomed the US invasion. They met leaders of the PRG and ordinary citizens who opposed the invasion. A former high PRG official told them: "It was the most politically conscious people, those who could distinguish between the crimes of Coard and what US imperialism would do to Grenada, who were active in the fighting."

It was quite evident that Coard's coup and his murder of Maurice Bishop demoralised and divided the people. "We talked to many people who feared for their lives in the days following the coup, when Coard and Austin imposed a 24-hour shoot-to-kill curfew." Small wonder some of them saw the US invaders as deliverers.



US invasion troops in Grenada.

However, the "Unity" reporters write, "Many Grenadians continue to support Bishop and the reforms of the Grenadian revolution. They told us that they wanted the programmes of the revolution to continue; free health care, literacy campaigns, low-interest home improvement loans and many more."

GRENADA'S FUTURE

The US and Britain have their own plans for Grenada's future. 'Unity' points out: "Reagan announced that US 'combat troops' will be withdrawn by December 23 in compliance with the War Powers Act. But Army military police, engineers, advisers and other troops will remain for an indefinite period - along with Jamaican and other Caribbean soldiers.

"The US is considering holding elections within six months and will undoubtedly impose restrictions to eliminate part-

icipation of the left". Some sources in Grenada suggest the US may back former dictator Eric Gairy.

"Additionally, the US is taking steps to establish an economic and social infrastructure. Teams from the Army Corps of Engineers, the Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps have arrived in Grenada and are busy carrying out governmental functions of the now-destroyed PRG." There remains the possibility that the US will hang on to Point Salines as a military base.

"The British are also attempting to reassert their influence on the island by making use of the interim government of British Governor General Sir Paul Scoon The British see Eric Gairy as discredited and under too much US influence. They would prefer to postpone elections for perhaps a year or longer and allow another more moderate party to develop."

But former NJM members are not going to give up, and want to re-form a left party, probably under another name and led by people not discredited by the coup. One former PRG leader told Thomas and Erlich:

"Four and one-half years of revolution were not in vain. People will see the results of the US occupation: unemployment, and the programmes of the revolution discontinued. US aid will go to bribes and there will be no more worker participation.

"We don't want your values - or Cuban or Russian for that matter. We don't want Americanisation, the corruption and disease. We want a Grenada for the Grenadians."

THE VOICE OF AMERICA:

LISTEN RONNIE, YOU TAKE YOUR TOYS AND YOUR FRIENDS HERE AND GO SHOW THOSE COME BASTARDS THAT WE DON'T LIKE PEOPLE DECIDING THINGS FOR THEMSELVES.



(Contributed by a reader)

PLO INDEPENDENCE AT STAKE

"Every year, something terrible happens to us, and I tell myself 'Well, at least nothing worse can happen,' but every year, something worse does happen." This was the comment of one young Palestinian on the recent fighting around the north Lebanese city of Tripoli, but his feelings were shared by many.

Over 500 Palestinian and Lebanese died in the latest fighting before an effective but fragile cease-fire came into force on November 23rd.

The origins of this war go back to this spring when an internal dispute broke out in Al-Fatah, the largest political-military organisation in the PLO. A group around Abu Musa, a military leader, put forward a number of demands, including a call for greater democracy. The leadership accepted their specific demands, and many agreed that there should be increased internal democracy. But then Abu Musa, in alliance with Abu Saleh, a Fatah commander who remained in Syria during Israel's invasion of Lebanon last year, put forward new demands, directed at overthrowing the PLO's leadership, especially PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. In this, they had full Syrian backing.

SYRIA'S ROLE

Palestinians knew well the nature of the Syrian regime. They

remember how Syria's President Assad sabotaged the attempt of one faction of the regime to support the Palestinians in 1970, when the Jordanian army attacked them. They remember Assad's intervention in Lebanon in 1976 against the Lebanese National Movement and the PLO to save the Lebanese fascists from defeat. When Syria backed Fatah's "dissidents", they understood clearly what was involved.

At stake was Palestinian independence. Syrian intervention was directed at overthrowing the elected leadership of the PLO and especially Yasser Arafat, who has a high international standing, and replacing it with Syrian puppets and collaborators. This would clear the way for Syrian collaboration with the USA and Israel in determining Lebanon's fate, and, the Syrian leadership hoped (however vainly), save it from being attacked by the US and Israel. On 26th August, the Syrian President's brother, Rifaat al-Assad, had a secret meeting in the USA with Israel's Ariel Sharon - the butcher of Sabra and Shatilla - and told him: "We are convinced that one day a new PLO will be born, which will be a lot more realistic and closer to Syria."

To create a "more realistic" PLO, "closer to Syria", the Syrian regime first provided full logistical support to the

Fatah "dissidents," and hindered the loyal Fatah forces, from reinforcing themselves. It then sent in units of Saiqa (a Syrian-created "Palestinian" organisation) a Palestine Liberation Army unit which was based in Syria and integrated with its army's command structure, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (General Command) led by Ahmed Jabril, a former Syrian army officer. Libya also weighed in, paying millions of dollars it had agreed to pay the PLO over the last six years to the anti-PLO forces.

These were the forces who, along with the Syrian army, closed in on Tripoli in November.

But the Palestinian people

support Palestinian independence and the right of the PLO to determine its own policies and its own leadership. Despite intense Syrian pressure, the two independent Palestinian organisations in the PLO besides Fatah - the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine - have refused to back the "dissidents", and have upheld PLO independence. A poll conducted by the Jerusalem Palestinian paper "Al-Fajr" showed that 93% of the West Bank public supported PLO independence and Arafat's leadership.

Demonstrations on the West Bank had supported this stand, despite the Israeli army shooting

on them and killing several participants. Protests have also taken place at Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan and even in the Yarmuk camp, in Damascus itself. When the pro-Syrian forces took journalists on a tour of the recently occupied Nahr al-Bared camp near Tripoli, they faced angry demonstrations and had to flee for their lives. Many Palestinians with the "dissident" forces have defected as soon as they could get away from the watchful eyes of the Syrian army.

The Palestinian revolution is one occurring under exceptionally difficult conditions. But, implacably opposed by the US superpower, betrayed by the Soviet Union (which has gone on arming Syria throughout this conflict, and has only recently put any pressure on it to stop its attack), and attacked by Israel and various Arab regimes, the PLO fights on.

No wonder Yasser Arafat recently stated: "This is the Long March of the Palestine Revolution."

The PLO scored a major success on November 24th when it exchanged 6 Israeli POW's for 4,700 Palestinians and Lebanese held prisoner by Israel. Also included in the deal was the contents of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut, looted by the Israelis in September 1982.



EAST ASIA

REAGAN BOOSTS ALLIES

Asia is obviously where all the "best" people are heading this winter. Thatcher and the Queen have been in India and the American President went to Japan and Korea.

Reagan's visit to Japan was to return the compliments for President Nakasone's trip to Washington in January this year. When in America, the Japanese Prime Minister pledged that his country would become "America's unsinkable aircraft carrier" to repel the Soviet Union. This remark horrified the people back home so Reagan's visit has been the subject of a carefully orchestrated campaign to portray Reagan not just as a US President but as a Pacific President and the subject of US-Soviet rivalry in the area has been deliberately downplayed despite the fact that it is an issue widely debated on a daily basis.

The two countries, which account for 30% of world output, have had significant trade disagreements recently. America has been pressing Japan for the opening of its domestic economy to American commodities and wishing for an improvement in the Yen-dollar exchange rate which is currently working to America's disadvantage. But on this trip such matters only occupied an hour of the time of the two presidents. A much bigger issue was at stake.

PACIFIC BASIN

The most important points for discussion were centred around the future of the Pacific basin and security matters. Upon his arrival in Tokyo, Reagan declared the Pacific to be the "new frontier of the world" and claimed that "the next century would be the century of the Pacific".

The view from Washington coincided with the Japanese Prime Minister's vision of a "Pacific Era" but most commentators emphasised that in reality such a partnership will be unequal

- the US playing the lead and Japan in a supporting function.

ARMING JAPAN

To support the whole venture, America has stressed the need for Japan "to manage more of its own defence". This is part of a world-wide strategy of US imperialism to "multilateralise" its offensive against the Soviet Social-Imperialists who have increased the number of SS-20 missiles positioned in Siberia and who still occupy four of Japan's northern Kurile Islands. "Managing more of its own defence" in real terms means increasing Japan's military budget and the purchase of 100 F-15 warplanes from the US. The day before Reagan's arrival the two countries exchanged diplomatic notes providing for the supply of military-related technology.

AND SO TO KOREA

On the TV, Reagan's "Tokyo remarks" accused DPR Korea of being a threat to world order and peace. When Reagan flew into Seoul, he touched down in a country occupied by 40,000 US troops and over the next few days he was to boast that the US would increase its forces in the divided country and strengthen the capability of the south Korean army.

THREE DAYS BATTLES

Whereas in Tokyo, he had been met by a 4,500 strong demonstration shouting anti-American slogans, in Korea the depth of the revulsion to the American presence was more widespread. For three days prior to his visit, students in all of south Korea's major universities fought running battles with the police, demanding that the visit of the American President be cancelled. Amid a huge security clampdown, thousands of people were stopped and searched and opposition figures arrested and detained. The opposition forces made calls for free trade unions, direct presidential elections, an end to forcible conscription

into the fascist army of the south, for free political activity, the right to demonstrate, freedom of the press and for basic human rights to be observed. However, US Secretary of State, Schultz had a different view of the record of Chun Do Hwan's dictatorship in south Korea, declaring that President Chun had made progress in improving human rights and was expected to continue his "liberalisation" campaign. The students know that "liberalization" refers to water cannons, tear gas and truncheons which were used to break up every demonstration of the previous three days.

CRUISE MISSILES?

The other issue that has disturbed opposition circles besides Reagan's blatant support for the Chun dictatorship is the possibility that the country will become a receptacle for Cruise missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. The US props up a most unpopular military junta and have actively prevented any attempts to unite the country since it was divided by America in 1953 and have used every tool at their disposal to promote a virulent anti-Communism aimed at socialist north Korea. The deployment of Cruise missiles would both constitute a threat to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and turn Korea into a forward base for confrontation between Soviet Social imperialism and the US imperialists.

The Pacific Basin initiative is another step in America's long term strategy of continued domination of the area, coupled with a beefing up of its local political and military posture as part of its contention with the Soviet Union for world domination.

In Asia, as in the rest of the world, the tide of opposition to US imperialism is growing high. The people don't want to belong to any power bloc: their demand is for total independence.

OUR TIME WILL COME

In the most expensive trial in Welsh legal history, the police failed to get any of the 5 conspiracy charges to stick, and only 2 of the 6 charges of "possession of explosives" were successful.

In an attempt to criminalise and portray as a conspiracy, the legitimate and legal activities of Welsh Republicans, the police had sought to incriminate individuals and to discredit the Plaid Cymru Youth Movement and the Welsh Socialist Republican Movement (WRSM) which came into being in January 1980.

POLITICAL TRIAL

Two years ago the police used the occasion of two bombs planted in South Wales to welcome Prince Charles on a visit to "his" principality, to drag in as many Republicans as possible. They forced confessions by threats and ill-treatment, fabricated statements, invented interviews and even planted evidence. They couldn't even cobble together any sort of case against one of those arrested, and she was released after some time in prison without charges being brought. The rest were kept in prison for up to 10 months as the police tried to improve their case, and were only brought to trial when the chorus of criticism for the delay became too loud for them to ignore.

Then, their case fell flat on its face. The jury refused to believe the police evidence, and as there was nothing else to support it, the Republicans walked out free men.

The only convictions were for those who pleaded guilty, to the lesser charges. But these resulted in such severe sentences that it was obvious to all that this was a political

trial.

* Dafydd Ladd got 9 years for possession of explosives, despite being found not guilty of conspiracy and intention to cause explosions.

* Brian Rees got 3 years for hiding some detonators for a friend even though it was accepted that he had not intention of using them.

* John Jenkins got 2 years simply for helping Dafydd to hide for a few days to sort himself out before he gave himself up to the police.

These savage sentences make it quite clear that Republicans were on trial for their political views not for the alleged crimes.

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE CONTINUES

The freed men are intending to take legal action against the police to expose how they were treated, to get compensation for their months in prison, the lost jobs, the emotional and financial hardship. No-one gives much for their chances. Morally they should win, but in practice the police are rarely troubled by such considerations. Already the police have started an internal enquiry, which usually means they are enquiring into ways to whitewash themselves.

They won't find it easy however. To have kept people in prison for up to 10 months without getting a conviction will take some explaining. So will the accusation that the police tried to pressurise one prisoner to implicate Dafydd Elis Thomas, the Plaid Cymru MP, in the bombing campaign, in the same way the Belfast

(Cont. p.11.)

MANCHESTER MARTYRS REMEMBERED



WILLIAM PHILLIP ALLEN

WILLIAM PHILLIP
MICHAEL LARKIN
MICHAEL O'BRIEN

by 'Class Struggle'
correspondent.

Martyrs and an American Irishman acted as a rearguard and were captured. Their trial, during which they were defended by Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, was a farce. Despite the fact that the death was accidental and there was no evidence that any of them had fired the fatal shot, they were found guilty of murder. So was a fifth Irishman, a Marine at home on leave, who was picked up when Police ran amok in Irish areas of the city after the escape. He was "pardoned" after journalists at the trial protested that there was no evidence given to show any involvement by him at all! It did serve however to underline the character of the show trial itself.

Every year in Manchester a commemorative march is held to remember the Manchester Martyrs. In recent years



MICHAEL LARKIN

On November 23rd, 1867, these three martyrs were executed. Their legal murder led to mass funeral processions throughout Ireland which brought into the fight many people who had previously not supported the Fenian struggle.

The executions arose from an incident in Manchester after two Fenian leaders were caught while visiting the city. The black Maria taking them to prison was held up by local Fenians. When the lock was shot off the van a police sergeant was accidentally killed by the ricochet. As the group escaped the area the three

(Cont. from p.10.)

police have tried to implicate Gerry Adams.

(One of those arrested, Gareth Westcott, jumped bail and is presumed to be out of the country. It is widely assumed by his friends that he is innocent but was not prepared to go back to the mistreatment he had suffered in prison. It is ironic that had he stayed he would almost certainly be a free man now. But if he is ever caught he will probably be convicted at least of jumping bail.)

It was interesting to note throughout the trial how seriously the police view the Welsh Republican Movement. Known activists have been subjected to intensive surveillance for years. Some have been repeatedly arrested, interrogated and released without charge. On a number of occasions mass arrests have been made to gain information or just to frighten people.

But none of this is ever reported outside Wales. We are considered in England to be a rather troublesome little appendage, full of faintly ridiculous people who hang onto a strange language for no apparent reason.

Trials like this one show however that Welsh Republicanism is a serious movement with widespread grassroots support. As long as the oppression of Wales continues, through unemployment, extortionate water rates, inflated house prices as well as cultural disparagement, then the movement will grow until it cannot be ignored.

The police had clearly tried to smash the newly formed WSRM, and to fit up many of the leading members with all of the bombings of the past few years.

They failed on both counts. The WSRM was embarking on a road that believed "that the fight for Socialism should, in Wales, take the shape of a national liberation struggle - Socialist and International in substance, National in form". As such it heralded the development of a political threat to the British state. The Welsh people have endured and renewed their offensive: their day will come.



MICHAEL O'BRIEN (GOULD)

Loyalists, Fascists and Police have combined to divert the march from the memorial of Moston Cemetery. This year the organising committee was determined to march to the cemetery. In discussions with the police over the route, the committee refused to give assurances that it would not fly the Irish flag, which the Police claimed was provocative! The flag led the procession and several hundred people joined the silent march along with three bands from Glasgow. Attempts by a few dozen fascists and loyalists to disrupt the march completely failed. Jim McAllister and Gerry MacLochlainn spoke at the start of the march expressing the determination of Sinn Fein to continue the struggle till victory and demanding that socialists and liberals in Britain support the democratic right of the Irish people to determine their own future.

Ard Fheis (cont.)

in its clear and historic support for national sovereignty.

This analysis means that Sinn Fein will be expanding and extending its work in the twenty six counties, especially in industrial and community politics, and will contest the 1984 EEC elections, taking up their seats where successful. This does not however mean relegating the struggle in the north to one of secondary importance. Partition and British rule must be removed before any fundamental progress can be made anywhere in Ireland, and this means defending and supporting the right of the Irish people to engage in armed struggle.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

"There are those who tell us that the British government will not be moved by armed struggle. As has been said before, the history of Ireland and of British colonial involvement throughout the world, tells us that they will not be moved by anything else. I am glad therefore of the opportunity to pay tribute to the freedom fighters - the men and women volunteers of the IRA." 'Class Struggle' is also glad of the opportunity to pay tribute to Ireland's freedom fighters, and to Sinn Fein and its President, Gerry Adams. We pledge our solidarity with them for as long as it takes to defeat our common enemy - British imperialism.

BRISTOL MEETING...

(Cont. from back page.)

West Labour Party held out against all opposition and stood by its original decision. On at least three occasions, attempts had been made in the committee to reverse the decision.

IMPERIALIST LABOUR MP
ATTACKS DEMOCRACY

So the big guns were wheeled out, and Michael Cooks, MP for Bristol South, - and also Labour Party Chief Whip - gave joy to the local rag when they were able to quote him as saying: "It's a disgraceful move, and I'll certainly not be attending. The IRA's attacks are well-known and a cloak of respectability should not be extended to terrorists."

But even the Chief Whip and his threats failed to intimidate and it was soon announced that although Gerry Adams could not come, Jim McAllister, an elected Sinn Fein member of the Northern Ireland Assembly, would speak.

The local 'Stickies' ('Workers Party') and other reactionaries, having been defeated in their aim of preventing the meeting, attempted to get one of their speakers invited, but Bristol West Labour Party held out for a panel of speakers who would

present a correct case for a complete British withdrawal from the six counties. Ron Thomas, formerly a Bristol Labour MP, with a principled and courageous record of opposing the PTA and all repressive measures; Steve Bundred, with a strong progressive policy; and the Editor of 'New Labour and Ireland', Martin Collins, completed the panel of speakers.

This was too much for the local morning paper, which carried an editorial, 'Unwelcome Guest', and also printed a news report of a Dr Cleave saying "Sinn Fein's policy is to impose territorial unity". They did not disclose that Dr Cleave - like Kevin MacDevitt - is a member of the "Workers Party". (Both are also Labour Party members.)

The 'Bristol Evening Post' caused a bit of a stir when, after all its earlier distorted reporting, and realising that the meeting would go ahead, put profit and 'scoop' to its best advantage by printing an 'Exclusive' interview with Jim McAllister by its Political Editor! They did not lose the opportunity to put one across on their morning rival, the 'Western Daily Press' - (like Tweedledum and Tweedledee) - by pontificating: "It is one of the proudest claims of our democracy that we listen to all parties' arguments." (This was an editorial.)

The opposition now played a last card when they tried to prevent the hiring of a school hall for the meeting. Fairfield Grammar School hall had been booked through the normal channels, and a letter was sent to the ultra-reactionary 'Western Daily Press' signed by 42 of 49 sixth formers in pious and naive terms (although no doubt, in most cases, sincere) protesting at the use of 'their' school for such a public meeting. When the obviously-expected public support did not follow, the last hope of the opposition faded.

MEETING GOES AHEAD
WITH ENTHUSIASM

The meeting took place, on an evening of pouring rain, with an enthusiastic audience of 250. The authorities had laid down a maximum capacity of 250 for the hall, and the police stopped people entering as soon as this number of people were in the hall, including the stewards. Well over 100 people were turned away outside the hall.

Ron Thomas, Steve Bundred and Martin Collins all stressed that there can be no solution to the problem of Ireland until the British presence is withdrawn, the very existence of the artificial 'border' is the cause, the reason for the continuation of the 'troubles'.

Free Tommy Kelly!

by Glasgow Irish Freedom Action
Committee.

Yet again the Glasgow Police have launched a vicious attack on the Scottish Republican Socialist Party (SRSP). Three members of the SRSP were detained under the PTA and held for seven days. The SRSP, supported by the Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee (GIFAC), immediately responded by organising a militant defence campaign. A picket was held outside of the police station where the three were being held and a press statement read out. The statement accused the police of organising a conspiracy against the SRSP.

The police attack continued with dozens of SRSP members

being visited by the police at their homes - many of them being threatened. The questions by the police made it clear that the police are worried by the growing links between the SRSP and Irish Republican organisations and by the growing unity between the SRSP, GIFAC and other pro-Republican organisations.

By the end of the seven days of detention, two SRSP members were released but the third, Tommy Kelly, was charged and remanded to Barlinnie prison. Cards should be sent to Tommy Kelly, Remand Prisoner, Remand Unit, Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow, Scotland. Messages of support and donations should be rushed to: SRSP, Box 15, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow, Scotland.

Solidarity in Scotland

by Glasgow Irish Freedom Action
Committee.

GIFAC SUPPORTS POWS

A highly successful public meeting in support of the Armagh women, Irish Republican POWs, was organised in Glasgow by the Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee (GIFAC). The meeting heard of the disgusting treatment the Armagh women are receiving and in particular, of the degrading strip-searches. A lively discussion took place during which several good ideas for action were put forward by people at the meeting.

On Saturday 22 October, the International Day of Action for Nicky Kelly, the GIFAC held an exhibition in Glasgow. The exhibition explained the background to Nicky Kelly's case and the attempt by the Irish Republic to criminalise the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP).

As well as outlining Nicky Kelly's case, the exhibition highlighted the overall struggle

of the Irish Republican Movement to free Ireland from British imperialism. Many people expressed support for Nicky Kelly. As a result of GIFAC's work for Nicky Kelly, £26 was sent to the Nicky Kelly Campaign in Ireland.

REPUBLICAN BAND ALLIANCE

On Saturday 12 November, the Republican Band Alliance (Scotland) held a series of marches in and around Glasgow. The biggest march took place in Roystonhill in Glasgow where 1,000 people marched for Irish freedom. The GIFAC fully supported these excellent demonstrations of support for Ireland's freedom fighters, organised by the RBA(S), took part in the marches and sold many copies of 'Ireland's War'.

The RBA(S) have shown once again that if a clear pro-Republican stance is taken, then the 'people of no property' will give that campaign their full support.

Only when British imperialism is forced to get out can the Irish people who live in the whole island achieve true independence and self determination, and begin to settle any problems themselves as common citizens of a united Ireland.

Jim McAllister reaffirmed this position and 'reminded' the local press that he was not an 'IRA leader', but an elected member of Sinn Fein, a legal Party. He stated that Sinn Fein seeks contact with the people of Britain, so that they could hear the Irish point of view instead of the vetted and one-sided stories from the government.

Socialists must unconditionally support the struggle of the Irish people for self determination, which must also mean that they completely condemn the artificial and unjust 'right' of Unionists to have a veto on unification. A united Ireland would be the satellite of no other power group or country. "We want our country back, and we will win."

All speakers received loud and appreciative applause, and in every way, the meeting was a great success. May such meetings spread around the country, so that more and more people at least begin to understand the justice of the stand "We want our country back."

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



Opposition fails to stop Sinn Fein speaking out

For the week leading up to the Manchester Martyrs' Memorial Commemoration March, Jim McAllister, a member of Sinn Fein elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly, toured Britain. He spoke at several meetings to express Sinn Fein's just stand on the struggle for the liberation of Ireland. His tour ended in Manchester where he was the main speaker at the March. Almost wherever he spoke there had been a battle for the right to hold a meeting. Solidarity with

the Irish national liberation struggle necessarily involves a struggle for democratic rights in Britain.

Despite this opposition, which clearly represents the terror that authorities feel when the truth about Ireland can be heard, successful meetings were held in a number of places.

Below we print a report by a member of Bristol TOM on the struggle that took place.

they thought it had been effectively sabotaged. They came out with a headline 'Triple Snub for City IRA Meeting'. They reported that former MP, Mr Benn, Ken Livingstone and Gerry Adams had 'snubbed' the organisers by saying they were unable to speak on any of the proposed dates.

The local press found an ally in the 'Irish Workers Organisation', which is the 'cover' name for the support group in Britain of the "Workers Party".

Kevin MacDevitt, secretary of Bristol Irish Workers Organisation, wrote to every branch in Bristol West Labour Party "protesting against any invitation to a murder gang", and this of course was gleefully quoted in the local rag.

Unfortunately for the local reactionaries of varied hues, alternative speakers were rapidly being found, and Bristol (Cont. P.11.)

"Shoot to kill"

The radio is still on in the car
Playing to a dead young woman whose eyes glint
Through the broken windscreen
At the checkpoint soldier.
The headlamps still finger the night,
Touching the faces of the gathered crowd,
Huddled against the downdraught of a military helicopter.

Fish and chips warm the car floor,
Some spilled out onto the road through the opened door
But now they can't be anyone's food and -
Despite what the army will say later -
There's nothing more.

Children, husband, father, mother,
Relatives and friends and everyone soon know and grieve,
And don't say much
Knowing what they know.
(Often in this town people are frightened when apart
Although their faces are firm and hard;
It's no good crying,
They dry their eyes.)
Several of them have nearly finished training
And most of them do something.
The young ones are the best they've got,
They're like tigers, the best of the lot -
Nearly ready

Houses and factories, clubs, pubs and cinemas
Go on into the night.
Inside are the people
With their knowledge and thoughts.

A thousand bad nights make a river of sadness.
A thousand young fighters make a sea of rage.
A Luta Continua - Away with all pests,
Our force is irresistible.

SUCCESSFUL MEETING IN BRISTOL

by a member of Bristol 'Troops Out Movement'.

was taken by members of the local Labour Committee on Ireland.

After several months of opposition and intrigue from within and without, the Bristol West Labour Party held a very successful meeting on the evening of Friday 25th November, at which Sinn Fein elected member of the Northern Ireland Assembly, Jim McAllister, spoke. The initiative for the meeting

Although invitations to speak were sent to Sinn Fein and others as long ago as July, it was not until the beginning of October that the local press saw fit to mention the proposed meeting - and only then because

The Seventy Ninth Ard Fheis (Annual Conference) of Sinn Fein, which took place in Dublin during the weekend of November 12-13, came towards the end of a year in which the Republican Movement has made momentous advances in the struggle against British colonial rule in the north of Ireland, and has laid the basis for a substantial political onslaught against neo-colonialism in the twenty six counties.

Before the Ard Fheis took place, the capitalist press, both in Britain and in the "Free" State, had been pushing the line that Sinn Fein was split down the middle, and that the Ard Fheis was merely the final stage in an internal power struggle between the "southern-based old guard" led by outgoing President Ruairi O'Bradaigh, and the "smooth-talking northern Marxists" led by Gerry Adams, who was to be elected President. In the event, the Ard Fheis turned out to be extremely united, advancing policy on a variety of issues, including women's involvement in the revolution, industrial and trade union activity, language and culture, and most importantly, laying down goals for work, throughout 1984.

HIGH POINT OF PEOPLE' STRUGGLE

The achievements of Sinn Fein since 1969, when he became President, were summed up by Ruairi O'Bradaigh. "I regard the period of 1969-1983 as having marked a high point on the graph of the Irish people's struggle for freedom, ranking alongside the 1798 Rising, the Land War of 1879-1882, and the 1916-23 period."

During the 1960's, Sinn Fein had been infiltrated and manipulated by opportunists, and this had led to the split in 1969, and the creation of the 'Workers Party', who had abandoned the cause of national liberation and become part of the twenty six county establishment. "It is a measure of the achievement of those who took the long, hard and unpopular

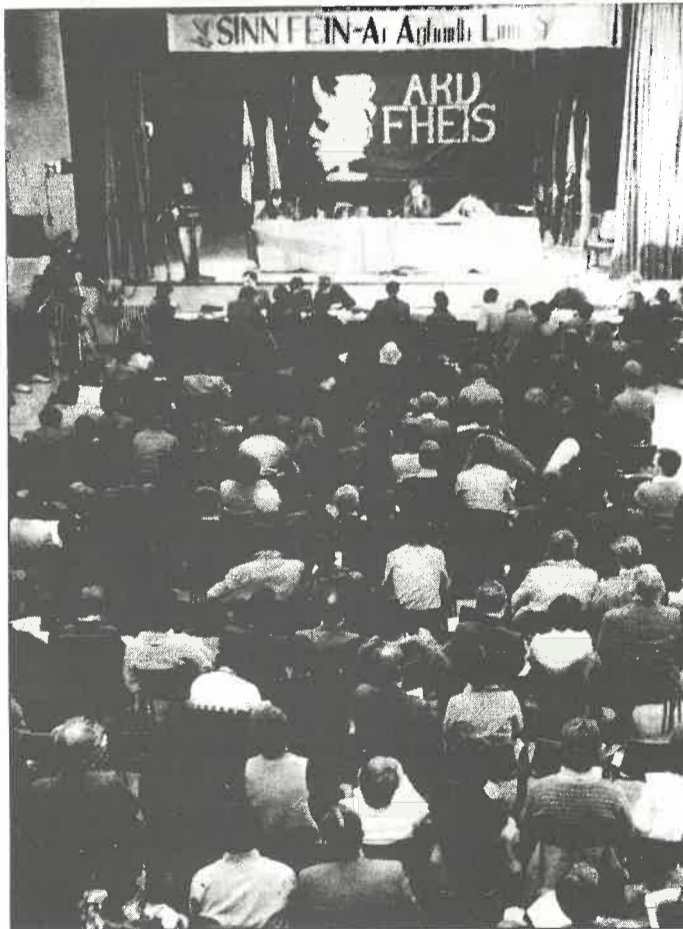
road of principled revolution at the time, that this movement can still be recognised today as the most progressive force on this island ... We hand over the great Sinn Fein organisation to a new generation, more vigorous, and more successful at the polls than at any time since 1918.... I welcome them to their positions and wish them well."

FOCAL POINT

During the mid-70's, the anti-imperialist struggle for Irish independence had become too

restricted to its active base, and it became clear that, in the same way as the IRA had established an alternative to the British war machine, Republicans had a duty to establish alternatives to all other facets of British rule in Ireland. "The results of this work are clearly evident in our dramatic electoral successes over the past year and in the very high morale of our supporters. We have broadened our struggle and we must continue to broaden it so that our party can become the focal point for all who suffer under British rule."

SINN FEIN: 79th ARD FHEIS



Gerry Adams then went on to appeal to working class Protestant people, reminding those who feared Catholic domination, that the Catholic hierarchy had attacked Sinn Fein more often during the past year than it had ever attacked rabid anti-Catholic demagogues such as Ian Paisley: "Republicans do not seek a sectarian state. On the contrary, we seek a secular, or at least a pluralist society. We in Sinn Fein remember with pride that our Republicanism grew from the separatist roots of the mainly Presbyterian United Irishmen We have, despite the imposed divisions, tragedy and suffering of the last 60 years, more to unite us than to divide us."

CENTRALITY OF PARTITION

Within the twenty six counties Sinn Fein had become comparatively isolated during the 1970's. Because of its almost total concentration on the national question, it had failed to develop policies on, and take co-ordinated action around social and economic questions. In the last couple of years, Sinn Fein has been correcting this by updating and extending radical policies on a wide range of issues, but are not, and cannot be seen, as being separate from partition and the national question. Ireland was partitioned not just to preserve British rule in the north, but to maintain the capitalist system, and to maintain British economic domination throughout the whole of Ireland. "The centrality of partition to the maintenance of that evil social and economic system is not alone highlighted by constant Republican rhetoric, nor indeed by the level of repression in the north, but most importantly perhaps, by the millions of pounds which the

Free State government is willing to invest in collaboration in order to maintain partition."

Successive governments of the twenty six counties have lacked the will to pursue any form of economic independence, so that its industrial sector has come to be dominated by foreign multi-nationals, with no interest in developing the economy, but only in pillaging Ireland's resources and exploiting her people. The "Free" State government went into the EEC on Britain's coat-tails, with the promise that the Common Market would bring new life and capital to agriculture. While some money has ended up in the pockets of a few big farmers, the agricultural sector is now in such chaos that it not only cannot feed its own people any more, but potatoes have become one of the twenty six counties' biggest imports. "How far have we come in this so-called independent state? Not even a potato republic!"

REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

This state of affairs can only be challenged by an organisation willing to pose a revolutionary alternative that links the distortions and deficiencies, not only in the economy, but in political, social and cultural life as well, to foreign domination, and particularly to British neo-colonialism. This in turn has to be linked to partition, and to British military rule in the north.

"There is a duty, therefore, on those of us who are striving to build such a radical and revolutionary alternative, to put those policies before the people in the clearest and most understandable terms to win support and confidence for the logic of the socialist alternative Republicans offer The Sinn Fein's political analysis of partition as the primary block to Ireland's social, economic and cultural progress, and Sinn Fein's acknowledgement of the legitimate use of armed force to remove the British occupation forces from the six counties, must be presented (Cont. P.11.)