

# CLASS STRUGGLE



Political Paper of the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain

Vol. 8 No. 8-7

July-August 1984

20p

## MINERS' STRIKE

# UP AGAINST THE STATE



Black solidarity delegation meets the miners.

Over 50,000 people supported a march and rally in London on Wednesday, June 27th, in solidarity with the miners' struggle against pit closures. In an opening speech, a miners' leader called for people to remember the death of a black miner in South Africa and to extend their solidarity to the miners' struggle there. He linked the different struggles by making the point that the enemy which they both face is the same.

In the course of their 16-week strike, miners have come up against the forces of the British imperialist state in a way not seen for many years in an industrial conflict, but which is very familiar on other fronts such as in the occupied six counties of Ireland or the black communities of Toxteth, Moss Side or Handsworth.

### VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS

The scenes of violent confrontations between the police and pickets have been the most visible and well-documented aspect of the strike: "At Orgreave there were three sorts of animals - the police dogs, the police horses and the police themselves," reported the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) paper. Maurice Jones went on to describe the scene: "Horses being galloped into people, young and old, scything them down. They were trampled on in a style and manner reminiscent of the pre-revolutionary Cossacks of old Russia.

"Only the sabres were missing. Instead, truncheons rained down repeatedly on unprotected heads.

"I saw one man lying on the

ground, white-faced and twitching. A policeman on horseback deliberately rode back over him."

Well-documented too, is the use of riot gear. The police have appeared in their helmets and shields (which they use to thump on the ground to encourage 'their side' among other things.) No doubt the water cannon and rubber bullets are not far away.

The battle is not simply one between the miners and gangs of brutal thugs-in-blue. It is between the miners and the state, of which the police are a carefully trained and armed part.

### STATE OF SIEGE

This became apparent in the early days of the strike with the setting up of the National Recording Centre to "co-ordinate movements" of police from London and the massive operation to prevent miners from other areas entering Nottinghamshire to picket out the men still at work. The state has learned its lessons from the miners' victory at Saltley under the Heath government.

The Yorkshire NUM commissioned a report on police tactics and methods. This report, State of Siege, has now been published and details police activity in the first six weeks of the strike. Based on first-hand evidence, it concludes that a national force of riot police has been developed and is being used against the striking miners. "This force is trained in paramilitary strategies and is equipped with riot weapons," say the authors. The lessons which this force is putting into practice are those learned in the north of Ireland since 1968.

The authors argue that a National Riot Force has quietly been created, answerable only to the Home Secretary. Based at the National Recording Centre at Scotland Yard, the command structure is provided by the highly political Association of Chief Police Officers.

### POLICE, COURTS AND THE LAW

The police have been backed up by the courts. The figures tell the tale: between March 14th and May 31st alone, there

(Cont. p.3.)

## THE PALESTINE QUESTION Part 4

P.10.



نتج، نقائل، ونواصل المسيرة صامدين

"We produce, fight, and carry on our resistance", by Abd al-Rahman al-Mazin

## MINERS' STRIKE

SEE P.3.

### In Memoriam

## JOE GREEN

15th June 1984

Joe Green died after being knocked down by a lorry while on picket duty outside Ferrybridge power station, Yorkshire.



## COMMUNISTS RALLY IN BELGIUM

P.6.



Photo: "Solidair"

## SUPPORT SINN FEIN MARCH SUNDAY AUGUST 5th IN SHEFFIELD

# RCL - 3<sup>rd</sup> CONGRESS

The Revolutionary Communist League recently held its Third Congress, at which it reaffirmed its support for the general line adopted at the conference held last November, adopted a statement of self-criticism, decided general priorities for the next period and elected a new leadership, among other matters.

The Second Congress of the RCL was held in July 1981. This Congress marked an important stage for the RCL in that it stated our general position on party-building and on fighting opportunism and adopted a position of unconditional support for the Republican Movement. It also marked the beginning of a debate on the relation between national and class struggles in this country and noted the importance of the question of women's oppression and Wales and Scotland. Since the Second Congress we have gone on a zig-zag course. We have not grown as we would have liked to. But we have also not liquidated ourselves as have many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations in First and Second World countries.

## APPLY MARXISM-Leninism MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

The RCL remains an organisation based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and committed to the task of building a true communist party through applying the general truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions which we face today. In many Second World countries, such as Canada and West Germany, the last period has seen parties that seemed much more advanced than our own organisation, disintegrate. Although we do not fully understand what happened to these parties, it seems that one important factor was that in criticising the dogmatism and sometimes chauvinism that existed within these groups, a trend within also began to criticise and abandon the basic truths of Marxism-Leninism, a process which ended with the disintegration of their organisations. Although we have much self criticism to make and to learn from, we can be proud that we have not taken this road.

## CRITICISE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

In particular the general trend over the last period has been for the RCL to criticise its earlier social-chauvinism which was most clear in our previous lines on Ireland and on black national minorities within this country. We have continued to develop the debate over the relation between the national and class struggles and now have a general line on this adopted at the November conference 1983. Our practice in solidarity work on Ireland and in anti-racist struggles has continued and we have learned much in the course of this work. Although we have, as yet, made little progress on the question of women's oppression or on Wales and Scotland, work in both these areas has started.

## ESTABLISH COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

But the road we have taken has been zig-zag and we have made many mistakes. In this statement we want to take up particularly the main political points which have appeared in the pages of our monthly paper 'Class Struggle'. The main lesson of this period is the need for our Central Committee to control and give political direction to the League's paper. There are many criticisms of the previous editor who left the organisation last year. But the main criticism to be

made is that 'Class Struggle' was allowed to become the paper reflecting and promoting the line of certain individuals within the League and not the policy of the League.

## UPHOLD DEMOCRATIC DECISIONS

There are two key questions on which this was clear in 'Class Struggle'. The first of these is the 'strategic alliance'. At its Second Congress, the League adopted a position that the way forward in this country is to build a strategic alliance between the national minority people and the working class. Although there was much debate and many differences within the organisation over the question of the relation between national and class struggle, support for the strategic alliance was central to the Congress document. The second key question was in relation to our view of the international situation. The League has consistently supported the Three Worlds Theory i.e. that the world is divided into First World (two superpowers, US and SU); Second World (imperialist countries like Britain, Canada, Japan etc.) and the Third World consisting of oppressed nations such as the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and socialist countries like China and Korea. Again, we have in the past made mistakes in our interpretation of this theory, having previously held to rightist positions, but we have always had a policy that the main enemy of the peoples of the world are the two superpowers, and that the Soviet Union has turned from being the world's first socialist state into its opposite, one of the two superpowers, an imperialist power.

On both these two questions, for a considerable period, 'Class Struggle' did not promote our collective view, but a view that was held by the editor of the paper. On the question of the strategic alliance, he had the support of members of the Central Committee, who arbitrarily overthrew what was a collectively agreed policy of the League. In a more general way, leading committees of the League had a 'laissez faire' attitude to the paper which was not treated seriously as the main way of winning support for the lines of the League among people outside.

## STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

The concept of the strategic alliance was replaced with the line that black and Irish people in this country are mainly workers, therefore their struggles are essentially work-class struggles. The national minority struggles are replaced with black and Irish workers forming the vanguard of the working class. This concept then changes, especially in the pages of 'Class Struggle', into the black youth being the vanguard of the working class, and in some cases the black and white unemployed youth. The revolutionary nature of black and Irish workers (or youth: unemployed workers) is said to lie solely in their origins in the Third World and Ireland and they will act as a bridge leading the white working class to revolution.

These positions were not League policy and were in fact a step back from the positions the League had taken at the Second Congress. (Although there were many contradictions in our line, at that time.) They objectively denied racist oppression and the resulting importance and revolutionary nature of national minorities and their struggles. They denied the cross-class nature of these struggles which

result from the national oppression of whole communities, within which different classes and different sections play varying roles and for whom the questions of national liberation in their own countries are inseparable from the racist oppression they face here. The positions put forward in 'Class Struggle' often denied the distinct nature of the different national communities, who, of course, often unite in alliances at particular times and repeated the bourgeois idea of the generation gap between the youth and older generation in the black communities.

Abandoning the strategic alliance meant throwing out the concept of separate streams of struggle - that of the national minorities and that of the working class - and merging the two. It glossed over the contradiction between English working class people and national minority people, whether workers or not, and the fact that the working class, although not the main benefactor from racism, is often the agent of racist ideas and practices.

At the same time, it denied the character and specific nature of the class struggle in this country by putting forward the idea of the English working class simply following black and Irish workers. Although the working class (and communists) have much to learn from these struggles and although national minority workers often play a leading role in the class struggle, the strategy and tactics of national minority struggle are specific to those struggles as are those of working class struggle and the correct strategy is to build an alliance between the two different struggles, an alliance that has to be based in the first place on recognition of the just struggle of the black national minority people and the Irish people. The fact that both the national minorities and the working class face the same enemy in British imperialism, gives the foundation on which such unity can be built.

In its crudest form, the line often put forward in 'Class Struggle' upheld that the working class must learn the forms of struggle taken by the youth in the uprisings of 1981. This would lead to an analysis of the present struggle between miners and the state, for example, as being one in which the miners have learned from the black and white youth the need to throw stones, set fire to buildings and confront the police with violent methods. However this is a distortion of the actual situation. The violent clashes between miners and police arise from the sharpness of the contradiction and the determination of the miners to fight for a just cause. It is of great importance that the miners' struggle is not being contained within the methods favoured by social-democrats and left to union negotiators. But the line being put forward in our paper at that time would have glossed over real contradictions that still continue to exist between the miners, fighting a determined working class struggle, and the national minorities and the Republican struggle in Ireland. The fact that a Portocabin gets burnt, for example, does not mean that the miners have consciously copied Republican struggle in Ireland, or that they support that struggle.

## SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

The second key question on the nature of Soviet Social imperialism can be seen more clearly. It is a fact that for many months the pages of 'Class Struggle' did not carry reports on the struggle in Afghanistan, Eritrea or Kampuchea because in these countries the people are facing the Soviet Union as the main imperialist invader or supporter of aggression. Obviously there are many questions in relation to the Soviet Union, the rise of revisionism, national chauvinism in Soviet ideology, the role of Stalin, that need further theoretical work. But 'Class Struggle' was allowed to change an agreed League policy without democratic discussion or a general decision by the organisation.

## IRELAND

We could give many other examples. Ireland is one key area where 'Class Struggle' again has represented a view not League policy. We plan to make a separate and detailed self criticism on our work on Ireland at a later date. The main lesson of the last period is that although we had at the Second Congress, adopted a position of unconditional support for the Republican Movement, 'Class Struggle' wavered on this question in some ways and we are now determined to re-affirm and deepen our stand on this question. In particular, 'Class Struggle' did not, at that time, put to the fore the representatives of the Republican Movement in Britain. It promoted a line on solidarity work which in practice subordinated the revolutionary national liberation struggle in Ireland to the class struggle in Britain, and attempted to build the solidarity movement as the core of a revolutionary movement in Britain. This line reverses the correct relationship between communist organisations and broad fronts. Communist organisations work to build broad fronts, not the other way round.

## AZANIA

Another example from 'Class Struggle' is that for a period, the pages of our paper carried articles claiming to be in solidarity with the people of Azania which upheld

only one of the liberation movements of Azania. It has been our policy to support all genuine national liberation movements and that it is for the people of that country to determine who will lead them. Yet 'Class Struggle' upheld only the role of the African National Congress and certain sections of its supporters in this country, the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The role of other liberation movements and organisations such as Pan-Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement was ignored.

## 'CLASS STRUGGLE' WILL BE THE VOICE OF THE RCL

The main self criticism we would make then, is that the paper was not the collective voice of the League. Of course, we expect the paper to develop and extend our analysis but this must be done within the framework of the collectively-decided policies of the League. Our Central Committee must take up seriously, and make central to its work, the task of giving general political direction to our paper.

## HELP TO STRENGTHEN 'CLASS STRUGGLE'

'Class Struggle' still has many weaknesses. We need to deepen the analysis put forward and carry better reports which are a result of direct investigation, study and struggle and from summing up our mass work. But we are determined to strengthen the paper and make it into the scaffolding around which we can rally progressive forces to Marxism-Leninism. We call on all our readers and supporters to help us in this task. We need more contributions to the paper and we need to sell more. Letters, criticisms and comments, long or short articles, pictures or photos will all be welcomed and will make our paper broader and more lively.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Our Congress received fraternal messages from the Communist Party of Peru (Patria Roja), Revolutionary Communist League of Bangladesh, Workers' Communist League of New Zealand, US League of Revolutionary Struggle (M-L), Workers' Party of Japan, Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway, Communist Party (M-L) of France, and Communist Party of Sweden.*



Dear Editor,

'GOTCHA'

That was the headline on the front page of the June 16th issue of 'The Miner', the paper of the National Union of Mineworkers, along with photographs of an Army sergeant driving a white Transit van in Parliament Square outside the miners' mass lobby of Parliament on June 7th.

Of course, the Government has denied all along that the Army is involved and the Ministry of Defence soon came up with a lame excuse that the man had been involved in bomb disposal work of "a general nature"; but this was as unconvincing as Leon Brittan's denial that miners' phones were being tapped.

But even if it was just a coincidence that he was passing by, the way this strike is going, it looks pretty certain

that sooner or later they will be bringing in the troops just like they did in 1972 against striking refuse collectors in Glasgow.

So I was rather shocked to read in the programme for the Yorkshire Miners' Gala at Wakefield, last month, that a representative from the Army Careers Recruiting Office in Barnsley had been invited to act as judge for the Jazz Band Competition.

In these days of high unemployment, many young people are led to see joining the Armed Forces as their only means of ever getting a job. But anyone joining up now, could easily find himself being used against miners fighting for the right to work and against unemployment. So I hope the gala organisers realise that they made a mistake and look a lot more carefully at who they invite next year.

A Bradford reader.

# UP AGAINST THE STATE

(Cont. from front page)

were 3,282 arrests. 80% of the charges brought have been for 'breach of the peace' or 'obstruction', in themselves civil charges. But magistrates have imposed bail conditions to prevent miners resuming picketing. As breaking bail conditions is a "criminal offence", some miners are already doing time in prison for this "crime."

Many of the police actions have dubious legal grounds: stopping cars and preventing miners travelling on; road blocks and mass arrests of coachloads of miners. But magistrates have generally backed the police. Whether a miner is finally found innocent or guilty, he is in the meantime prevented from playing an active part in the strike, sometimes being under virtual house arrest. More generally, the state seems to be implementing a policy of criminalisation of those on strike rather than one of direct banning of the strike through the use of the new laws against picketing. James Anderton, notorious Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, expressed this most clearly when he recently called the pickets: "terrorists without bombs or bullets."

According to "A State of Siege", the police have:

- Used snatch squads and agents provocateurs to arrest people;
- Failed to caution those arrested and photographed and fingerprinted them without telling them their rights;
- Used threats to get statements;
- Carried out blanket phone tapping against union headquarters and union activists.

The police, the courts and the law are not neutral institutions but part of the class society in which we live. This becomes much clearer at times of sharp class struggle and makes nonsense of Thatcher's claim that the government is not involved, quite apart from the fact that the coal industry is a nationalised industry. Nationalised industries in this country are simply a form of state capitalism and in essence no different from privately-owned industry.

## ROLE OF THE STATE

In fighting to defend itself, the working class must expect to face all the weapons that the bourgeoisie controls, either directly through the state, or indirectly through other means. Apart from the

police, the law and the courts, the miners and their families have to struggle against other repressive forces.



Photo: "Class Struggle"

'Social Security' is used as a weapon to starve the miners back to work. The bourgeois media, in all its various political complexions, of which the television is probably the most powerful, holds great sway over public opinion. For the first months of the strike in Yorkshire, the Yorkshire Electricity Board, the Gas Board etc were content with small payments. Now their policy has changed and pressure is being applied by cutting off supplies.

## TORY/LABOUR

The role of the present government in the struggle is clear. Thatcher and Co. have been prepared to openly confront the working class and have prepared the ground well and won most of the battles so far. The appointment of MacGregor to the Coal Board and the direct intervention to bring about a settlement of the railwaymen's wage claim are examples of the direct role played by the government.

But this government is only one of the political alternatives of British imperialism. Although some Labour MPs and many individual members have supported the miners, the Labour Party as a whole has continued to play its role as a party which serves British imperialism as much as the Tories do. Many miners feel bitter over the lack of support they have had from the party for which the overwhelming majority of them have voted since the 1920's. They have targetted Kinnock, who has refused to take a stand on the central issues and simply

condemns the violence on the picket lines as "un-British". Bill Sirs, typical of many union officials associated with the Labour Party, is another target along with Len Murray. In Kent the miners expect to be addressing the former as Sir Bill soon, for the role he has been playing. In opposition, the Labour Party has not taken a stand with the working class. In power, Labour governments have presided over cuts and closures.

## PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

The miners face a protracted struggle going on into the winter. The present government is not going to back down easily. There are contradictions among the miners themselves with a substantial minority refusing to join the strike. Support from other unions, particularly those in the Triple Alliance, has not been strong, although at present it seems to be growing.

On the other hand, most of the mining communities are solidly behind the strike and in these areas are determined to continue. Women are taking an active part in the strike, supporting picket lines and organising welfare activities, among other things. Whole communities are fighting back and prepared to fight on.

At the same time, the miners are building links outside their own communities. Around the country, money and food are being collected to support the strike and help overcome the hardships faced by many families. As the strike goes on this support is growing and more and more people are being drawn in.

## SOLIDARITY

Much of this support is from other sections of the working class and other progressive people. Support is coming from miners in Europe, too.

But some new links are being made, which could have profound long-term results. One sign of this was the visit of a Black People's Delegation to the Kent coalfield on 23rd June. About a hundred black people, including Afro-Caribbeans, people from various parts of South Asia, Palestinians and others, took food and messages of solidarity to the Kent miners. Two meetings were held at which several clear themes emerged. One was that the attack by police on the mining communities is similar to that carried out

on black communities in the country. The other was the importance of the active role of women in the miners' struggle. Plans were made for continued support and meetings.

In many ways, the miners, like the rest of the working class, are deeply influenced by racist and chauvinist ideology. This way of thinking can exist side by side with a militant class consciousness. But the experience of things like the black delegation at a time when the miners themselves are active in struggle can be the beginning of a process of breaking down such imperialistic thinking and building a recognition of British imperialism as the common enemy of the working class and the national minorities.

## IRELAND

Another important sign of a change in traditional attitudes is on the question of Ireland.



Photo: "Class Struggle"

The NUM and the miners in general, have not in the past identified with the struggle of the nationalist people in Ireland. Roy Mason had a barbaric record as Secretary of State for "Northern Ireland" in 1976-'79, but remained a NUM-sponsored M.P.

But in the course of this struggle, there have been signs of attitudes changing. Mining communities are beginning to relate their experience with the state, particularly the police, to that of the nationalist people in the north of Ireland. A Yorkshire woman commented:

"Television doesn't put over exactly what's happening. It's the same with Northern Ireland-

you just get to see snatches of violence, never the full story."

The NUM paper, "The Miner," recently carried a middle-page spread: "Belfast comes to Blidworth, Nottinghamshire," describing the "occupation" of a village by police.

"For a period, Blidworth resembled not a mining village but the bloodied, oppressive and fearful streets of Belfast..." The article describes police breaking into homes searching for Yorkshire miners, arbitrary arrests and beatings up:

"What followed was three days of intense physical and mental pressure, with police sealing off entire areas of the village and setting up road blocks."

As the strike has continued, miners have shared platforms with pro-Ireland speakers, including Sinn Fein.

It would be foolish to imagine that after centuries of colonialist brainwashing, miners or any other workers here will suddenly change their way of thinking. But the beginnings of such changes show the way forward. The intense class struggle is bringing out the best side of the working class - its fighting spirit, its comradeship, courage and ability to endure great hardships for its just demands. When combined with an awareness of who its true allies are, this will make a great contribution to the revolutionary alliance which will be built in the coming years. The building of this revolutionary alliance will be of much greater importance than the immediate outcome of the present struggle.

Dear Editor,

## BRING ON THE HORSES

Many younger people who are supporting the miners in their fight against pit closures all over the country, are no doubt horrified with the recent use by the state of mounted police. Towering above the pickets and charging into them, is indeed a frightening spectacle and one that needs great courage to combat. But we shouldn't for one moment think it is anything new on the British scene. The 'mounties' have always been there - ready in the background - ready to be brought forward as a further arm of the law and to be used when the fighting anger of the workers can be suppressed in no other way. The army is the last resort.

Looking back to the '30s, I remember occasions during the anti-fascist fight against Moseley when the 'mounties' with their long white batons, were always in the background although not always used against the people. The incidents in Thurlow Square and the East End of London are particularly remembered by older people and

we used to run like hell when they got too close for comfort - and then re-form again as soon as we could. A dear friend of mine received a bad and permanent eye injury from getting too close to those horses' hooves and policemen's batons.

So don't be surprised - the appearance of the 'mounties' again shows the rising temperature of the times.

BP, London.

Dear Editor,

## NATIONALISATION: THE COMMON GOOD?

I have just read through the NUM information pack on the current strike and found in it a lot of very useful information about such things as unemployment, new technology, nuclear power, miners' wages and the incentive pay schemes.

I now see how the Government is able to confuse people with the financing of the coal industry since whether or not a pit is economic to run depends on a whole range of factors

and cannot be judged in the same way as running a grocer's shop. I also appreciate better that the miners are not Luddites; they are not against the introduction of new technology and labour-saving devices, they just want to share in its benefits and not be thrown on the dole because of it. Thirdly I realise a lot more both about the dangers associated with the use of nuclear energy and also the Government's real reason for trying to make Britain dependent on it. For as a leaked Cabinet minute of October 23rd, 1979, has shown: "A nuclear programme would have the advantage of removing a substantial portion of electricity from disruption by industrial action of coal miners and transport workers."

There is a lot more worth reading in the pack but there is also one big weakness, since I think that the authors are quite wrong in the way they have presented the issue of nationalisation.

In the argument against privatisation they write: "Coal is a common asset held in common for the common good." Later

on, they write: "Privatisation affects us all because WE OWN the public sector and privatisation seeks to take from us that which is ours and sell it to those with the means and ability to pay."

Now, I don't agree with privatisation but in seeking to oppose it, they are falling into the old social democratic-Labour Party view that equates nationalisation with public ownership. Under capitalism, the mines, just like the railways and the gas and the electricity industries, appear to be owned by the people. In actual reality they are industries that are controlled by the state and run in the financial and political interests of the most powerful section of society, the capitalist class.

To put the point more starkly, you could say that since the police force is also a nationalised industry, then they are owned or at least answerable to the people. Again in appearance that often seems to be so (although increasingly less so) and in reality they only serve the interests of the ruling class.

From a reader in Leeds.

Dear Editor,

## REVISIONISTS SCAB ON MINERS

During the Russian Revolution, British dockers stopped a ship from being laden with munitions to be used against the Russian revolutionaries. The ship was called the Jolly George and this specific act of proletarian internationalism is upheld as a fine example of working class solidarity.

Today with the miners locked in a bitter struggle to preserve jobs and their way of life in many cases, what is the stand of Poland and the Soviet Union regarding this battle? Poland has greatly increased its coal shipments to Britain since the outbreak of the strike cashing in on the struggles of the miners for their own profit. When the seamen's union blockaded oil shipments to power stations, who should then turn around and break the picket line? A Russian ship delivered the oil. From these revisionists and social imperialists, we can expect no 'Jolly George'.

# DEFEND JUNIOR SERVICE

BY JUNIOR SERVICE SUPPORT CAMPAIGN.

Tension on the streets of Brixton, South London, is again on the rise as summer approaches as the result of concern and anger amongst the community over three brutal assaults by the police on a member of the public-Junior Service. Feelings are such that many people expect trouble to spill over onto the streets.

## ARRESTED AND BEATEN UP

On 3 February 1984, Junior Service a 29 year old reggae singer from South London, who had never previously been involved with the police, was arrested in Streatham, handcuffed from behind, thrown into a police van and taken to Brixton Police Station. By the time he got to Brixton Police Station he was only fit for Kings College Hospital following a severe beating from the two arresting officers. He received serious injuries to his penis and scrotum - he was unable to urinate. At Kings College Hospital he had to undergo a 5 hour long emergency operation on his urethra. He was in hospital for 4 weeks. During this time he was under surveillance 24 hours a day by police officers whilst he lay on his bed seriously ill with tubes protruding from his body to emit fluids which could no longer be emitted from his damaged bladder.

Junior Service was further assaulted by police when fighting broke out in the hospital when the police insisted on taking the names, addresses and dates of birth of the people who were visiting him.

## COMPLAINT

At the beginning of April 1984 Junior Service complained to Scotland Yard that Brixton police officers, led by the officer who had arrested him on 3rd February, were seen near the door of his flat after it had been broken into. The officers then followed him onto

a bus in a menacing and intimidating manner.

On the 10 April 1984 (the third anniversary of the Brixton uprising) Junior Service was arrested following an appearance at Camberwell Green Magistrates Court. He was to have been taken to Inner London Crown Court, but a police officer smashed his head against the door of the police van and he was instead taken to Carter Street Police Station and charged with criminal damage. (ie. the dent in his head had made in the door of the police van.) Not Surprisingly Junior Service eventually ended up in Kings College Hospital again.

## POLICE ATTACKS

On the 5th June his flat was broken into by police officers whilst on 18th June he was found 'guilty' of a trumped-up criminal damage charge at Lambeth Magistrates' Court.

On 5th June about eight Metropolitan Police officers broke into Mr. Service's flat in his absence - fortunately a neighbour witnessed the incident.

On 18th June Junior Service was found guilty of 'criminal damage' to a police van despite numerous inconsistencies in the police's evidence. Mr. Service's solicitor, Paul Boateng, described the police version of events as 'incredible'.

The police claimed that Service had been perfectly calm until he had been put in the back of a transit van, then became very excitable waving his arms around and shouting for no reason then suddenly became calm again and then for no reason leap to his feet and smashed the window of the door with a right-hand punch and became calm again. PC 564M, Carl Thomas, denied that he had to be restrained by another officer after grabbing Junior Service by the throat and he also denied slamming the door of the van in Service's head (the police



were unable to explain how Service came to have an injury to his head and not his hand.)

The officers concerned DC Colin Dell (Brixton Police), PC 564M Thomas and PC 723M Derek Mercer all gave different accounts of where DELL was during the incident and the subsequent journey to Carter Street Police Station. The magistrate described Dell and Mercer as "very convincing" witnesses and Service was conditionally discharged for 12 months and ordered to pay £25 towards prosecution costs. Mr. Service intends to appeal against this conviction. Almost as disturbing as the outcome of the case was the prosecution's assertion that Mr. Service had made up the story about the police assault on him to gain publicity for himself.

## HARASSMENT OF CAMPAIGN

Additionally, there was a significant increase in the level of police harassment of the Support Campaign. Several members of the Campaign were followed to the picker by a police car. A police sergeant from Kennington, L17, attempted to move members of the Campaign on whilst they were sitting on a wall opposite the court in the sunshine before the picket even started. During the case, members of the Support Campaign were refused entry to the court by four police

this, support for the Campaign still grows. The local MP, John Fraser (Norwood, Labour) has already called for an independent public inquiry. Public meetings have been well attended. Three court pickets have already been held.

What has happened to Junior Service is neither new or unique His name is now added to those of COLIN ROACH, PAUL WORRELL, RICHARD 'CARTOON' CAMPBELL, WINSTON ROSE, FRANKLYN LEE, the NEW CROSS 13, the WHITE FAMILY, the KNIGHT FAMILY, ESME BAKER, CLEMENTINE GEORGE and countless other black people who have suffered either death or violent injury as a result of attacks by the police, state agencies and racists. THE COMMUNITY IS NOW NEAR BREAKING POINT. Youths on the street are now asking "Who's next?".

## DEMANDS

The Junior Service Support Campaign demands:

- That all charges against Junior Service be dropped;
- The immediate removal from the police force of the officers responsible for the brutal assaults on Junior Service;
- That the Metropolitan Police pay full compensation for the severe injuries inflicted by their officers;
- An Independent Public Inquiry into these brutal attacks and the climate of police and state violence against black people;
- An end to police lawlessness and brutality in particular an end to their war against black people.

The material in this report is taken from press releases from the JUNIOR SERVICE SUPPORT CAMPAIGN who can be contacted at c/o 8 Camberwell Green, London SE5

tel 01-703 1906/7

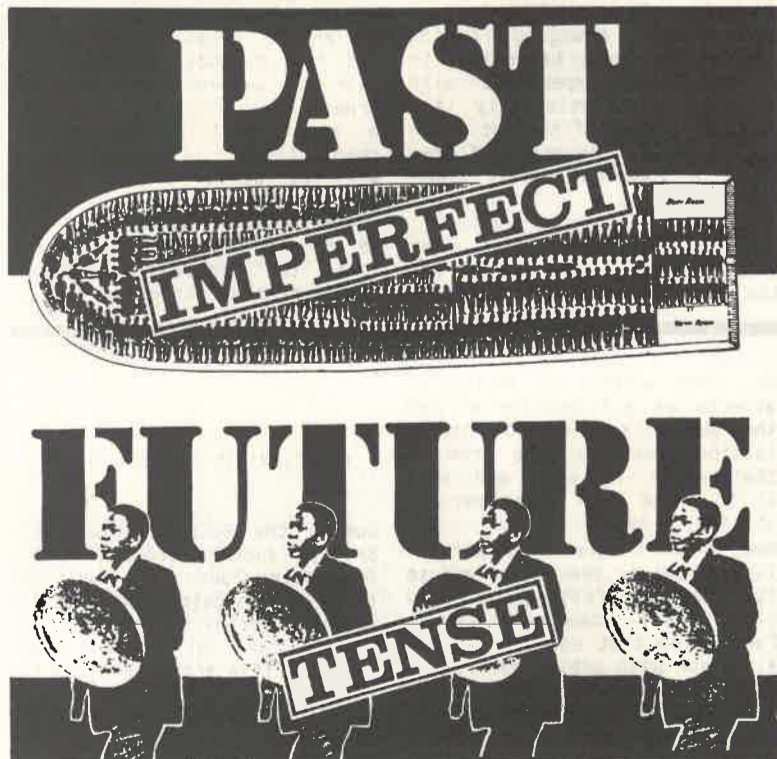
officers Sgt L17, PC L1912, PC L489 and WPC L102, after the magistrate had asked one member of the Campaign to leave the public gallery. PC L489 was responsible for bundling a female member of the Campaign down the steps of the court from behind.

Although no arrests were made, a spokesperson for the Campaign said afterwards;

"We expect the level of police harassment to intensify as support for the Campaign grows. This was certainly the case in the Colin Roach and New Cross Massacre Campaigns and appears to be one of the major weapons used to deny black people any form of justice."

## NEAR BREAKING POINT

The community is now near breaking point. The Lambeth Police Consultative Group, set up after the 1981 uprisings to 'liaise' between the police and the public has been unwilling and unable to diffuse the mood of anger and anxiety on the streets. Indeed the Chairman of the Consultative Group admitted that the police had not informed him of the incident and that he had only learnt of it in the 'Caribbean Times' newspaper. Repeated attempts by members of the public to have the matter discussed were met with deliberate obstruction and attempts to cover up the facts. Despite



Contributed

The work of Keith Sekou Piper, on show at the Black-Art Gallery in London's Finsbury Park, is some of the most powerful and graphic imagery I have seen for a very long time. The treatment of the subject matter (the oppression of Black people by the whites through slavery, imperialism and racism, and commemoration of the women and men who have fought and are fighting to rid themselves of this burden) is totally non-compromising. I found myself as a white person, feeling very uncomfortable in the presence of these paintings which con-

fronted me with facts and statements and ideas which forced me to examine in detail my attitude towards Black people and the situation they are in world wide. This is not actually the intention of this show - it is not an exhibition for white people. It is an exhibition for and about Black people, their history and experience, with the emphasis on the importance of Black people developing their own culture, their art, their music and politics, leading to their freedom and independence in every conceivable way from the judgements and definitions of white Europeans.

## NOW FREE THE 7!

by the Newham 8 Defence Campaign.

Zafar Khan, Goga Khan, Amjad Ali, Khan Bhadur, Jyoti Rajappan, Shan Chowdhry and Habib Mohammed face conspiracy and affray charges for defending themselves and their community.

Once again our community is under threat from racist attacks and from the people who are meant to be protecting us from these attacks, the police.

## RACIST ATTACKS

On Saturday 7th April, there was a series of racist attacks on Asian people in the Upton Park and Forest Gate areas of Newham by white racist thugs in a car. These attacks included a particularly vicious incident where a partially disabled 16-year old Asian youth was dragged into a car, taken

to Wanstead flats and assaulted with a hammer. (Others attacked included a family shopping on Green Street, an apprentice coming home from work in St. Stephens Road and a youth on Plashet Road.)

More attacks followed in the course of the day orchestrated by other white racist drinking in the Duke of Edinburgh public house. When Asian youths fought back in self defence, after having billiard balls, among other things, thrown at them by racists drinking in the pub and confronted by 15 to 20 odd racists who came charging out, the police arrived almost immediately on the scene and arrested one of our youths. Over the next week more arrests of our youths took place. Only two youths were granted bail with the result that five of the seven spent a few weeks in remand because of flimsy excuses by the police who maintained that they were still preparing their case.

## RIGHT TO SELF DEFENCE

At this stage charges against the defendants ranged from possessing offensive weapons to criminal damage. At their last court hearing, the police decided to charge six of the seven with affray and conspiracy to cause criminal damage. These charges, carrying potentially heavy sentences, add a new dimension to the case and has to be seen in the context of

our community's struggle in the Newham 8 case where four of the defendants were acquitted and the conspiracy charges dropped at the last minute.

The acquittals and the token 50 hours 'community service' given to the four 'convicted' defendants resulted from a vigorous community-based campaign which drew local and national support and maintained the right of black people to defend themselves against racist attacks, given the total failure of the police to protect us.

The right of self defence was upheld in the Newham 8 and Bradford 12 cases; it is once again under challenge. By bringing conspiracy and affray charges the state is seeking once again to criminalise our youths whose only offence was to stand up for themselves and their community. The police treatment of the Newham 7 has to be contrasted with their total failure to arrest the perpetrators of the numerous attacks carried out on April 7th. The Newham 7, our youths, stood for the community ... we in turn must stand by them at this critical hour and give all possible support and assistance.

Newham 7 Defence Campaign, c/o P.O.Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7. Tel: (01) 555-8151 (day) (01) 534-1640 (even.)

## Defence Campaign

Following the local elections in Birmingham, when the Kashmiri Defence Campaign participated on a platform of "Stop Harassment of Kashmiri People", the campaign is now focussing its energies specifically on the fight to free the five imprisoned Kashmiris. The five are still being held on remand in Winson Green Prison, Birmingham. Although they have all received some visits, the prison authorities still create difficulties. When two members of the defence campaign tried to visit Qayum Raja recently, they were refused, in spite of already having security clearance and having visited him before - this was apparently "on the orders of the Governor". As it is, three are still being held as category A prisoners, with all the restrictions that go along with that, before they have even been brought to trial. The campaign feels that it is important to concentrate now on freeing the five, and a public meeting is being held on Sunday July 1st, to publicise this. The campaign will also be working to set up support groups in different parts of the country, and will send speakers to any meetings that can be arranged.

## Free The 5 Kashmiris Now

The campaign is firmly based in the Kashmiri community, including political and religious organisations. The common desire for a free united Kashmir and opposition to the racist actions of the British police are capable of uniting many sections of the Kashmiri people - as the election results showed. Not that the campaign itself is a Kashmiri organisation - it has significant support from other national minority organisations and a few progressive white people. But it is its location within the Kashmiri community which provides the firm base from which other organisations and individuals can be asked for support, and it also demonstrates the link between struggles against racism here and struggles in the Third World.

### NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Kashmiri people came here because of national oppression in their homeland, and in



Janghir Akhter Mirza (above) and Mohammed Siddique (left), two of the five young Kashmiris imprisoned by the British state.

Britain, they face another form of national oppression, that is, racist oppression. Racist oppression affects all black national minority people, and there are varying forms of unity between different national minorities against racism, but generally the national identity remains. This is also true of the younger generation, rather than bourgeois concepts of "generation gaps". The

"generation gap" thesis takes many forms, and one is that young black people are only concerned about the struggle against racism here, and have no interest in their country of origin. It is even considered by some, that concern about country of origin is "backward-looking". The experience of the campaign is that many young Kashmiris are concerned about Kashmir, and many have strongly reasserted their Kashmiri identity through participation in the campaign.

### CRIMINALISATION

It is mechanical to separate the struggles. After all the events of the killing of the Indian diplomat, the racist harassment of the Kashmiri community and the arrest and imprisonment of five Kashmiris are all interlinked. The British state, using its well-worn tactic of criminalising national liberation fighters, also tried to criminalise the whole Kashmiri community in Britain. It was specifically Kashmiris who were dragged from their beds, Kashmiri youth who were chased on the streets, Kashmiris who were kept in police stations, supposedly because they were all "criminals" and "terrorists".



### KASHMIRI ORGANISATION

Two of the major Kashmiri organisations in the campaign who work closely together, also reflect these links. On the one hand you have the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, set up with the objective of obtaining national independence for Kashmir, but also having to fight the racism of the British state here. On the other, the Kashmiri Workers Association, based on people of Kashmiri nationality in Britain, has taken part in various anti-racist struggles here, but an important part of its policy is support for the Kashmiri national liberation struggle.

The campaign will continue until the five are freed. It needs as much support as it can get, from all communities and organisations. Please contact: Kashmiris Defence Campaign, 438, Alum Rock Road, Birmingham 8.

## Fight Racism In The Class! Fight Racism In The Unions!

British Leyland (BL) came to a standstill in early June as Longbridge's workforce walked out in protest at the sacking of a black forklift driver. Ostensibly sacked for hitting a foreman who had called him a "black bastard", Mr Zedekiah Mills' resistance to workplace racism was in reaction to the latest in a number of acts of racist discrimination towards him during his thirteen years at Austin Rover's Longbridge car plant. BL are virtually sentencing this 55 year old black worker to life on the dole for his stand against racism.

Despite "disciplining" the foreman, Austin Rover management dismissed charges of racial discrimination as "totally without foundation". Yet even the toothless government-established Commission for Racial Equality has pronounced guilt when forced to investigate incidents of discrimination since 1976 when BL's 'equal opportunity' policy came into force.

\* In June 1977, a qualified black applicant was denied a job at BL's Castle Bromwich plant after a shopfloor meeting of AUEW machine fitters passed a resolution that they would not accept a black fitter.

\* Two years later, in June 1979, the company moved a West Indian worker after industrial action was threatened if a fascist member, who had abused and threatened the black worker, was moved.

In each case the union concerned, the AUEW, had an 'equal opportunity' policy embodied in conference resolutions condemning racism passed over years and circulated to officials of the union and at branch meetings. But it was AUEW shop stewards who were instrumental in preventing a black applicant from getting the job. The company side-stepped its own racist practices by using that of its workforce, for in the words of BL's solicitor: "The reason for not appointing him was not because he was black, but

because others would not work with him because he was black."

### UNIONS AND RACISM

'Unity is Strength' is a basic trade union principle. But too many times it has not been applied when black workers are in dispute. The events at Longbridge, although to be welcomed, do not outweigh those at Imperial Typewriters, Courtaulds, Mansfield Hosiery, Red Scar Mills and Heathfields.

Conference resolutions that do nothing politically to win white workers' support for national minority rights means that racist activities inside the trade union movement complement racist practices in hiring, promotion, grading and working conditions. The anti-racist credentials of an official labour movement that accepts racist immigration controls and other forms of state racism do not induce faith in its ability to tackle workplace racism.

communists we support the right, and recognise the necessity, for such autonomous black organisation. The response of the Longbridge workforce is but an indication of the position of mutual support that has to be built between the white working class and national minority people. It is recognition of the shared and specific problems that they face.

### NALGO CONFERENCE

The demand at this year's NALGO conference for "the union at all levels to combat personal and institutional racism" tries to put the issue into perspective. Giving recognition to the deep-rooted racism and national chauvinism in the working class in this country does not mean abandoning anti-racist struggles within the white majority nationality. It means confronting these prejudices. That there is a long way to go is very evident when only 4 out of some 185 resolutions at NALGO's Brighton conference

financial and legal assistance for members affected by the racist Nationality and Immigration laws. The absence of such basic rights and defence of those rights speaks volumes about trade union tokenism towards black national minority people.

### TOKENISM

That tokenism is clearly seen in the operation of NALGO's Race Equality Working Party (REW). Set up in September 1982, it has been boycotted by NALGO's metropolitan district black members. They argue that as REWP is 70% white, it fails to appreciate the effect of racism and notes that its work has been done without the involvement of NALGO's black members. The emergence of unofficial black members, sick of union tokenism, in pressure groups has provoked the National Executive to head off the risk of an autonomous black organisation. REWP's conference report urges: "the union to change any practices which may have the effect of excluding black members, and introduce measures which ensure their views are not discounted."

Labour's priorities, was evident in the replacement of Neil Kinnock by Gerald Kaufmann to explain Labour leadership's opposition to black sections on Channel 4's 'Black on Black'.

### RACIST RECORD OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Kaufmann's assertion that black sections would be "some kind of ghetto" was condemned at the first national conference of representatives of the Labour Party's national minority members, held in Birmingham on June 9th. Attended by over 200, the conference endorsed the demand for the creation of a constitutional black section within the party. That black members are pushing to organise independently is not surprising considering the racist record of social democracy. Not only was the supposedly 'radical' 1945 Attlee government secretly discussing the imposition of controls on black immigration, but the TUC General Council was calling for such immigration controls as early as 1955. In the view of both the TUC and Labour Party the "problem" has been, not the racist discrimination and racism of white employers and workers, but the presence of black people. When racism has been admitted it has been passed off as the product of the resurgence of fascist organisations. That is why the racist laws and behaviour of Labour governments have been unchallenged by a trade union movement that still accepts racist immigration controls. Let us be clear the demands for independent black organisation are emerging in response to the racist institutions of the labour movement in this country. The problem is two-fold - racism is perpetuated through the racist institutions of the labour movement, and it runs deep in our class.

### \*\*\*\*\*STOP PRESS\*\*\*\*\*

After fighting for six years, Josie Thomas of Huddersfield has won the struggle for her right to stay in Britain.

As "Class Struggle" goes to press, campaign activists celebrate the victory and plan how to step up their campaign in support of Moss Side woman, Esther Ankele.

More details in the next issue of "Class Struggle."



### BLACK ORGANISATION

Just as national minority people have organised various forms of self defence to counter the physical danger that comes from state and fascist activities, there is a developing tendency for the continuum of working class racism to be met head-on by black workers organising independently within the organised labour movement. As

this June, were concerned with the specific demands of its black members.

Conference resolution 136 called for union literature in appropriate languages, anti-racist courses for union representatives, discipline measures for "members found to be perpetuating racism" and

### THE LABOUR PARTY

It is the very lack of recognition that has brought forth demands for a black section within the Labour Party. Such a constitutional right would be a recognition that the party fails to meet the needs of, and does not take seriously, black Labour Party members. That black members, let alone black people, come low on

# GUADELOUPE: Self-Reliance

Guadeloupe, a French colony since 1635, still bears the colonial yoke, administered today by the coalition of the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist Party (PCF).

Following the collapse of its demagogic decentralisation policy, French imperialism has but one solution: repression.

Today, fifteen independence fighters are languishing in the colonial jails of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and in Paris.

Our patriotic movement, the Movement for the Unification of the National Liberation Forces of Guadeloupe (MUFLNG), founded on 13th December 1981 and bringing together trade union and political organisations of workers, peasants, Christians, teachers, students, young people etc. is struggling to bring about the national, democratic people's revolution.

This means that to seize

eliminate the big landowners and the commercial bourgeoisie.

In the present phase of our struggle, 1,200 hectare of land have been occupied by the Union of Agricultural Workers (UTA) and the poor peasants of Guadeloupe (UPG).

In the liberated zones our movement is putting in place new relations of production and mutual aid which anticipate the new society which we intend to set up in Guadeloupe.

It is for this reason that the UTA and UPG, together with the other organisations in the patriotic movement, called upon the people to mobilise on 1st May 1984 for a vast operation of sowing crops on the occupied lands.

More than 5,000 Guadeloupans responded to the appeal, and in the space of six hours planted out more than 18 hectares of land in sugar-cane and rice.

This 1st May has a highly symbolic meaning, because the

in the camp of anti-imperialism, who struggle to destroy the capitalist-colonialist French system.

We stand side by side with those who, always and everywhere, are rising up in revolt to break their chains.... Those who, in Nicaragua, in Palestine, in Afghanistan, in Namibia, are struggling against US imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism, and against all forms of exploitation of man by man.

### ELECTION FARCE

Non-alignment, non-intervention, co-operation and friendship are our principles.

Comrades, the struggle of our people to do away with foreign "aid" and dependence will be a long one. This struggle will be carried out on all fronts, and principally on the front of revolutionary violence. It is for this reason that we reject the electoralism of the so-called Guadeloupan Communist Party and the farce of the European elections of 17th June 1984, which do not concern our people.

In 1978 the rate of abstention was 85%. Since the time when our country (sugar-cane and

# Communist Ra

"Support for European capitalism and imperialism, support for European racism and chauvinism, often even racism-these are the basic themes of the bourgeois parties' programmes in the election campaign. Our campaign and this meeting are radically opposed to them."

Kris Merckx, leading candidate of the Party of Labour of Belgium (PTB/PVDA) was addressing the party's 600-strong European election rally in Brussels. He went on to say:

"The PTB/PVDA supports the anti-imperialist struggle in the Third World. It educates the Belgian workers in a spirit of solidarity with their still more oppressed class brothers.

To give just one example: A workers' cell of the PTB/PVDA distributed a leaflet at the main headquarters of the Belgian multinational, Bekaert. In this leaflet, it denounced the multinational's policies in the

"Belga Mineira" enterprise in Brazil, in which it has a major interest. This firm only employs non-unionised workers, who are paid just 3,000 Belgian Francs a month, while a collective agreement provides for wages of 9,000 BF a month."

Merckx spoke about the continuing oppression of the Third World by the European bourgeoisie, and then turned to the role played by the revisionist and social-democratic parties in the current crisis. The social democrats did not support the workers' demands, and also played a dirty role in relation to the struggle against racism.

"In 'socialist' France, the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen was able to put out two hours of the most shameful lies on Antenne 2 (radio). The Mauroy government hasn't been any slower than other West European governments in the organisation of what we call 'official racism....

## MINERS' SOLIDARITY: WE WILL WIN

by David Hewitt, member of the National Union of Mineworkers, Britain.

We are on strike because the Coal Board proposes to shut 20 pits and to put 20,000 men out of work this year. This does not account for next year or the year after that, which could be another 20 pits and another 20,000 men. So in three years we could see 60 pits and 60,000 men out of work. In 1979, there were 235,000 miners and 223 pits. Now there are 182,000 miners and 175 pits. 1984 sees 20,000 less unless we stop them now.

### CORTONWOOD

The dispute started in Yorkshire with the Coal Board's announcement to shut Cortonwood Colliery .... Nobody could understand why Cortonwood Colliery should close, so in Yorkshire they came out. (They had already had a ballot - they balloted two years ago to come out over pit closures when necessary.) Then in response to that, the National Conference of the National Union of Mineworkers was called and a special one-day conference was held in Sheffield. They unanimously voted to recommend a national strike. Unfortunately this fell on a lot of deaf ears in Nottingham and some of the Midlands coalfields.

80% of the miners came out on strike immediately. But 20% in Nottingham did not.... The Nottingham miners think that they are quite safe and secure in their area regarding pit closure .... In South Wales they have been out on strike now over the last two consecutive years over pit closures because the rest of the country would not support them.

We know mistakes have been made within the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers regarding the handling of the dispute. We know mistakes have been made. If a national ballot had been called there would not have been all of this trouble. It is no use moaning about what could have happened or what should have happened. What we must look at now is what is happening and we must accept it and we must fight on from here. We can win and



independence we need the union of the people in struggle against French imperialism. It is for that reason that the Popular Union for the Liberation of Guadeloupe (UPLG) was founded in 1978.

UPLG is an instrument for the political unification of the workers, peasants, petit-bourgeois etc., under the leadership of the working class of Guadeloupe.

### LIBERATED ZONES

Those who experience most deeply capitalist and colonialist oppression are the agricultural workers and landless poor peasants. To be democratic, our national revolution must therefore,

workers, peasants, and petit-bourgeois found themselves side-by-side in labour, thus forming a single people under the leadership of the proletariat, and showing the broad masses that Guadeloupe can be self-reliant in food production.

### SELF-RELIANCE

Our movement is increasingly concentrating its work on the training of cadres in all departments, so as to develop production and be capable of leading a free Guadeloupe without foreign aid being indispensable in the first instance.

Comrades, we solemnly state that the Guadeloupan revolutionary movement stands resolutely

bananas) was integrated into the European Common Market, it has not stopped going downhill. This integration is a total abnormality, it is absolutely unnatural.

The small planter cuts his sugar-cane and delivers it to the factories without having any idea what price he will get, because the price of cane per ton is determined in Brussels, more than 10,000 kilometres from our country.

Emphatically, our struggle needs your support in order to tear away the "progressive" and "third worldist" mask of the French Socialists.

THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WILL WIN!

## U.S.A.: Down With Reagan

A Marxist-Leninist perspective on the US presidential elections.

by Reese Erlich, member of the Central Committee of the League of Revolutionary Struggle (M-L) and Editor of 'Unity'.

An important task is facing the progressive and revolution-

ary forces: the defeat of Ronald Reagan, whose administration has brought about a resurgence of American militarism and political reaction at home. The people of Grenada, the democrats of El Salvador, the copper miners of Phelps Dodge, all cry with one voice: "Down With Reagan!"

How to defeat Reagan? We must unite all those who can be united. We must mobilise the workers and all other progressive classes to build an anti-

Reagan movement, a movement that must continue after the November election.

### JESSE JACKSON

The League of Revolutionary Struggle supports Jesse Jackson's campaign. Jackson is the most progressive candidate that we have had in thirty years. His campaign reflects the struggle of the Afro-Americans. It has become a vast mass movement of the black nation, especially in

the south. Nearly two million people will be taking part in the voting only because Jackson is standing. Thanks to his campaign, we have taken part in the creation of the "Rainbow Coalition" which brings together different nationalities. It can be predicted that the coalition will go on after the elections in numerous towns and even at national level.

The League takes part in the campaign at different levels; as campaign workers, activists, in the unions or other mass organisations. We have learned to build links with other political forces such as the black churches, intellectuals and

some progressive politicians.

### INDEPENDENT WORK

But we are careful not to neglect independent work to propagate a Marxist-Leninist perspective. Jesse Jackson is a representative of the interests of the black petit bourgeoisie, which explain why he holds contradictor positions. We criticise Jackson when he made an anti-semitic remark, and we did it openly in 'Unity'. We make links between the Jackson campaign and local anti-racist struggles. So we are making our organisation known by our people at the same time as we



Roger Saeys, of the PTB/PVDA, pro the Limbourg coalfield for the E of solidarity, and was the large

# Rally In Belgium

The weakness of the bourgeois politicians, the absence of an alternative and the betrayals of the socialist and revisionist parties increase the possibilities for our party. The facts show that where comrades work with a militant revolutionary spirit, we succeed more and more frequently in bringing closer or bringing into the party the most conscious and combative workers, youth and intellectuals."

and RCL from Britain.

Also speaking at the rally was a representative of the Union of Workers and Students of Guadeloupe and a British miner.

## AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM

The Marxist-Leninists differed on some policy questions and worked under very different conditions, but they shared a commitment to revolutionary Marxism and opposition to the international liquidationist trend which a few years ago led to the dissolution of a number of M-L organizations in the imperialist countries.

"Class Struggle" reproduces some of the speeches from the rally. They give some indication of what a militant, inspiring rally that was.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Speakers from many Marxist-Leninist organizations addressed the rally: US League of Revolutionary Struggle (Marxist-Leninist), Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway, Communist Unity Movement of Greece, Marxist-Leninist Group and Communist Workers' Organization of the Netherlands, Communist Workers' League of West Germany, Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany, Communist Party (M-L) of France

we must win because there are alternatives: Build more heat and power schemes using 15 million tons of coal. Extend coal firing to more schools and hospitals - 22 million tons. Develop coal to oil, and coal to gas projects. All these create a demand for coal which will, inevitably, create more jobs. Coupled with a four-day working week, retirement at 55 and longer holidays - all these would safeguard the future of coal and jobs for decades. There is 1,000 years of coal left if we want it.

This is a battle for the whole trade union movement of this country. It is a battle not

just for the miners alone but for the whole of the working class movement .... 1926 was a big enough setback. 1984 might be an even bigger one, if we do not win..... We need the support of trade unionists here, in Belgium, France, Germany, Holland etc. We need your support financially. We need it stopping coal exports from the European countries .....

It is the working class's fight against the capitalist system which is trying to undermine the integrity of the working classes of the labour movement. We must win. We will win. United we stand. Divided we fall.



David Hewitt with a cheque for the 34,000 francs collected in the miners. It was collected by the party as a concrete expression of the election they've ever made in the coalfield.

get to know them. We sell our paper 'Unity' and our magazine 'Black Nation' which is aimed particularly at a black readership. We sell it at all the campaign activities and also at factory gates, in areas where oppressed nationalities live and in the universities.

The success or failure of the campaign is not in the first place a matter of how many votes we get for Jackson. The most important aim is to strengthen the revolutionary movement. We have had important successes in recruiting activists in the campaign to our study circles. We have won new readers for our paper. We have organised

our own meetings attended by hundreds of Jackson supporters who have thus come into contact with Marxism-Leninism. We have won quite a few new members.

By working in this way, we kill two birds with one stone. We are strengthening the anti-Reagan movement and at the same time strengthening the Marxist-Leninist forces that want to build a true communist party in the United States.

It is already clear that Walter Mondale stands the best chance of being the Democratic candidate. Jackson has promised to continue the struggle for the democratisation of the

# NORWAY: Victory At Tyssedal

## CLASS STRUGGLE

The contribution from the Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway, (AKP (M-L)), to the meeting in Belgium.

JULI-AUGUST 1984

Tyssedal is a small industrial village by the end of a fjord on the west coast of Norway. Water power is the village's only resource, which is of vital importance to Tyssedal's existence.

During the First World War, foreign capitalists built up a very modern aluminium factory in Tyssedal. In 1973, when the foreign owners Alcan and Bacho had taken out the profit from Tyssedal, they wanted to give up the old, unmodern factory. Both the trade union and the local population fought against this, and demanded a new factory. Their demand to the authorities was for employment guarantees. After one year hard struggle the government had to meet this demand. But they still tried to make an end to the factory and take the water power out of Tyssedal. After eight years, in May 1981, the government finally gave in when Parliament voted for a resolution saying that a new aluminium factory should be built in Tyssedal. But after the demolition of the old factory began and the parliamentary election had taken place, the new government indicated that they wanted to change the act of Parliament concerning aluminium in Tyssedal.

## TWO YEARS' HARD STRUGGLE

This was the start of two years' hard struggle between Tyssedal and the Parliament and the rest of the Norwegian bourgeoisie. In November 1981 the government wanted to stop investment in a new factory and promised new plans instead. Tyssedal answered: a political general strike. The whole village was mobilised to a strike meeting outside the factory gates. The press, radio and television were all there. This forced a majority in the government to agree to continue investment in the aluminium factory. But the struggle was not over.

## FIGHT WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

From this moment, there was a real fight between the social-democrats and the communists, especially within the unions. The question was: 'cooperation' or to mobilise the local population for active struggle. The social democrats were the leaders of the local union. They believed in the lies of the politicians and they didn't want the people to fight.

What happened just before the Parliamentary debate made people in Tyssedal understand that

the policy of the social democrats had totally failed. The government had forced a majority in Parliament to vote against a new aluminium factory and for a new "wait-and-see" resolution. Again Tyssedal went on full strike. The communists were now the leaders. After three days the whole village was on full strike and surrounding districts followed with a general strike. There was a lot of pressure on the government and again Tyssedal was "hot stuff" in the press.

During the debate in Parliament we sent five buses with workers on strike, women, men, grandparents and a lot of children to Oslo. They arrived in Oslo wearing working-clothes and helmets, with union banners and the school brass band. For two days we occupied the centre of Oslo holding demonstrations around the Parliament building and within it, during the debate. This debate was broadcast on radio, and Tyssedal and area were on full strike.

## FIGHTING SPIRIT

The government won and we lost the vote in Parliament. But we won public support. Our fighting spirit grew even stronger, and we went home to Tyssedal united as ever, with a strong will to fight to the bitter end - to victory.

The day after the parliamentary debate, we agreed to stop the strike. But we, the leaders of the strike, wanted an organisation to go on fighting. This meant a full split. The social democrats claimed that it was the union's right to lead the struggle. They claimed that this proposal for another organisation was a manoeuvre of the AKP (M-L) who wanted to take over the leadership totally.

## "LONG LIVE TYSSEDAL"

But after much struggle and pressure from the local people, a resolution was passed: To build an organisation of all the people in Tyssedal, called "Long Live Tyssedal". This was the people's own organisation, especially the women's. Never before had women had an opportunity to take part directly in the struggle. Now they became a real power. In many ways a power with more fighting spirit than their male comrades. Those who start a struggle must never forget that women are half the working class. Not to mobilise women means to forget this half. "Long Live Tyssedal" became a necessity to win the struggle. The government now made plans to set up a new smelting factory. They promised plans quickly, but both autumn and spring passed before they did anything. In Tyssedal people were as united as ever, writing songs and poems. Big cultural events were held. They were prepared for new fights.

In May 1983 it became clear that the government did not want a new factory. A new general strike was held. Again several hundred people went to Oslo by bus to demonstrate their will, and solidarity throughout the country had now grown. Seventy banners from all over the country demonstrated in solidarity with us. Together we surrounded the Parliament building.

## PUBLIC PRESSURE

Again we lost. But the pressure on the politicians worked this time. The members of Parliament made a lot of promises, promises which would be very difficult to get out of. To the very last day, it was not clear what would happen. The largest party in the government did not want new industry in Tyssedal. But the other parties felt the public pressure so much that they realised that not voting for a new factory would have been political suicide. On the 19th December 1983 - ten years after the beginning of the struggle - Parliament passed their last resolution about Tyssedal. We won a new factory, which guaranteed the local community a further existence.

## WE CAN WIN

We have shown the working class in Norway that it is possible to win a struggle against the state. We have shown the most conscious part of the working class that victory cannot be obtained without struggle both against the bourgeoisie and the social democrats.

## PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY

We have always said that the leader of the central trade union and the social democratic party is an arm of the bourgeoisie. Therefore we have never let anyone think that they would be willing to fight for Tyssedal's interests. We have also had a sceptical attitude to our local 'leaders' who take this section of the bourgeoisie as their political model and ideal. But fighting against social democracy demands patience. If we had given up the first or the tenth time we lost a vote, there would have been no struggle. All the time our purpose has been to be real leaders. We have carried out investigations, discussions among comrades, neighbours, political and theoretical study. Our fundamental idea is that it is the people who make history, and that politics cannot be conducted from behind a desk. In Norway, Tyssedal has become a symbol of class struggle. The people in Tyssedal have become models for working people fighting for their rights against the 'soft dictatorship of the bourgeoisie'. Tyssedal is known because the people fought their own fight, rejected class collaboration and carried on their struggle to victory.

Marxist-Leninists have a chance

When the people take part in electoral struggles and more general democratic struggles, Marxist-Leninists have a chance to expose how anti-democratic capitalist society really is. We can strengthen the movement for a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the United States.

We hope that our efforts, and those of other progressive forces in the United States will support the liberation struggles of the Third World and the struggle of the workers of Europe for justice, democracy and socialism.

party. For example, electoral districts where black people are in the majority are divided up and put into new districts where they make up a minority in each district. Jackson will continue the struggle for the most democratic programme. We can predict that the National Convention of the Democratic Party will be forced to take account of Jackson's proposals in the final result. Mondale's programme will be a compromise.

## DEFEAT REAGAN

What attitude are Marxist-Leninists going to take to Mondale? We believe that we must go all out to defeat

Reagan. The re-election of Reagan would give the green light to an open invasion of Central America and a fresh reactionary attack on the American people. We will support Mondale as the only possible way to stop Reagan's re-election.

At the same time, we are going to explain why the mass movement must continue, whichever candidate wins. The United Front that has been set up to oppose Reagan, must continue after November.

When the people take part in electoral struggles and more general democratic struggles,

# AZANIA

## Part 1

I am Azania  
Land of black folks  
Grain grown  
When stones were still  
as soft as butter  
I am Azania  
Land of Zanj  
Truth made redundant  
By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania  
I ran wild and free  
When dawns were young  
I mastered iron  
and I tamed iron  
Long before

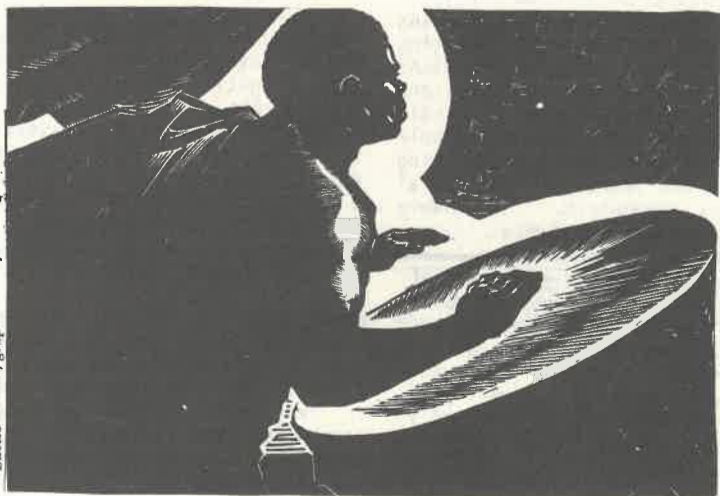


The steel-eyed plunderers came  
Palabora  
Bambadymnalo  
And Mapungubwe  
Are my living testimony

I am Azania  
I've seen kingdoms rise  
And I have seen kingdoms fall  
I have seen Black Memphis  
not far away  
Carthage too  
And Meroe  
Kush  
Monomotapa  
Benin Ghana  
Timbuctu Songhai  
I have seen them all

I am Azania  
Land of black folks  
From the Persian Gulf  
Suleiman the trader  
Brought me his greetings  
"The land of Zanj is vast"  
Said he

I once stretched my hands  
To the coast of Somali  
Dig deep by the great walls  
of Zimbabwe  
There you will find  
My name entombed  
I once lived in



'Battle Drum', graphic art by Chiang Mi, 1962.

The land of the Mau Mau  
Tanzania  
I nurtured  
When I waded knee deep  
In the islands of  
Pemba and Zanzibar  
Mozambique  
Also heard my freedom songs  
Songs only the free can sing



## Part 2

I am Azania  
Once land of hospitality  
I flung my arms wide open  
To Captain Diaz and  
Vasco Da Gama  
For I thought them lost  
We sang and ate  
And danced and laughed  
For I had plenty to give  
And I knew not their designs

Then one day  
One infamous day 1652  
The treacherous seas  
belched forth  
Three drunken ships at  
Table Bay  
Three drunken ships  
Which stunk of gunpowder  
and holy water  
Dromedaris  
Goede hoop  
Dreiger  
Three drunken ships

As dusk was inching in  
We met  
We clashed  
Their ribs  
Bare as poverty  
Into our assegais  
My sons and daughters  
Fell too  
Bitten in the neck  
By the settlers' bullets  
Battles of yesteryear  
Are engraved in my memory  
I praise you  
Sons and daughters  
of Thaba Bosiu  
Isandahwana  
Sandile's Kop  
Keisikama Hoek  
Blood River  
I praise you all

I am Azania  
Land of Black folks  
Grain grown  
When stones were still  
as soft as butter  
I am Azania  
Land of Zanj  
Truth made redundant  
By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania  
I bend but do not break  
Cecil Rhodes  
Thought otherwise the bastard  
When he took my land  
My Gold

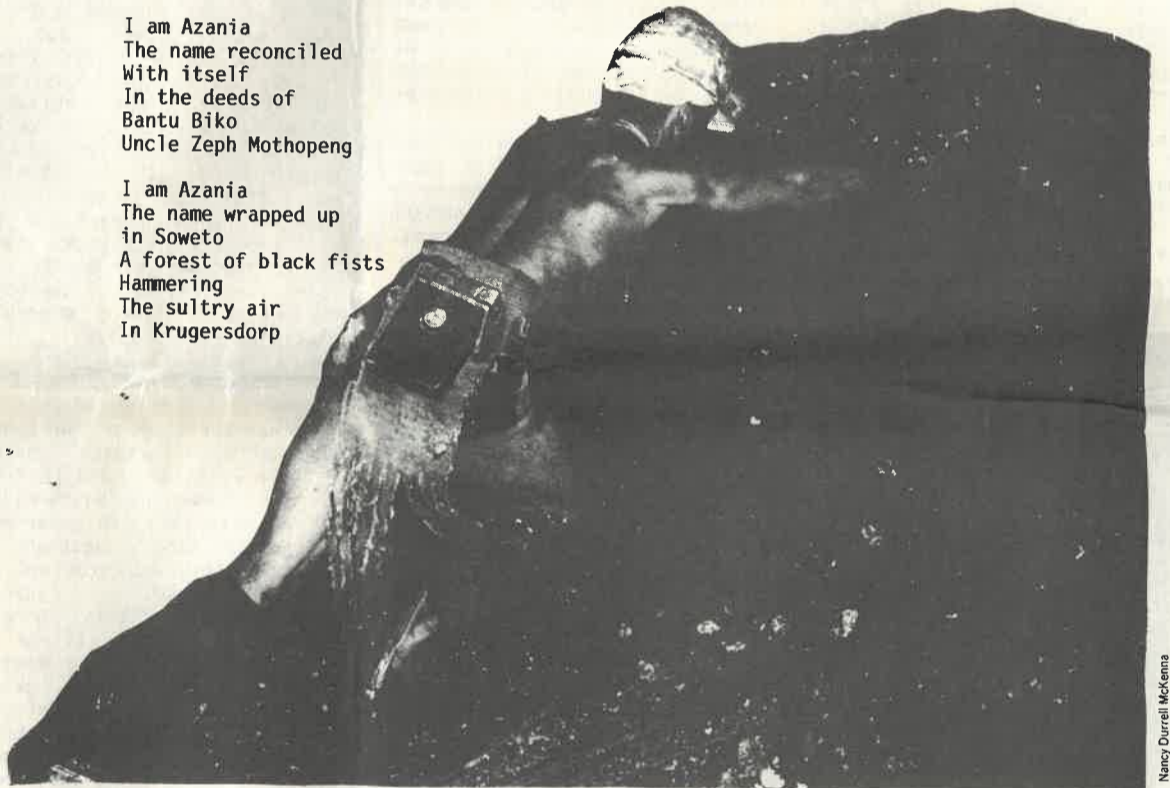
## Part 3

I am Azania  
My name itself  
A platform, a programme  
I scatter the white mist  
Over Kliptown

I am Azania  
Mangaliso Sobukwe  
Heard my call  
It was at Sharpeville  
Sharpeville  
A name that blossoms  
Into the fertile hearts  
Of black folks

I am Azania  
The name reconciled  
With itself  
In the deeds of  
Bantu Biko  
Uncle Zeph Mothopeng

I am Azania  
The name wrapped up  
in Soweto  
A forest of black fists  
Hammering  
The sultry air  
In Krugersdorp



Nancy Durrell McKenna

I am Azania  
The name  
That rang loud and clear  
In Nyanga, Langa  
Guguletu

I am Azania  
Land of black folks  
Grain grown  
When stones were still  
as soft as butter  
I am Azania  
Land of Zanj  
Truth made redundant  
By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania  
Battered flesh  
Of Bantustans  
Sturdy voices  
Of Robben Island

I am Azania The mine  
That ventilates back  
Its own breath  
Sweat  
Tears  
And Blood  
Trapped in gold particles

I am Azania  
Moan made murmur  
Murmur made cry  
Cry made Shriek  
Shriek drilling  
The settler's ear

I am Azania  
The fierce black bull  
In the tormentor's dream

I am  
The black dot  
On the Boer's history books

I am Azania  
Land of black folks  
Grain grown  
When stones were still as soft as butter

I am Azania  
Land of Zanj  
Truth made redundant  
By the tyrant's Gag

I am Azania  
I am the pregnant woman  
Laid bare  
On a cold  
Concrete slab

I am Azania  
Black consciousness unbound  
Only the pure I take  
For I have no time  
For liberal hypocritical minds

I am Azania  
The meeting point of

Gun, Pen  
Chisel, Brush  
Hammer and Hoe

Boer,  
I am Azania  
The land  
I am the whole land

I am Azania  
Land of black folks  
Grain grown  
When stones were still as soft as butter  
I am Azania  
Land of Zanj  
Burning truth  
Charring the tyrant's gag

I am Azania  
The truth made dream  
The dream made true  
Izwe letu!

## A SHEIKH





# Reagan in China

Reagan's six day visit to socialist China, at the end of April, saw bourgeois media commentaries dismiss the trip as the "Peking primary" yet write of a growing economic and strategic relationship. American capitalists may indeed dream of the commercial potential of China. But opening up to foreign technology to help build a developed socialist economy does not erode socialist China's independent foreign policy.

## US CREATES OBSTACLES

Since full normalisation of diplomatic relations under Carter in 1979, obstacles to Sino-US relations have been many. US laws discriminate against China as a socialist country, restricting the technology that can be sold to aid the Four Modernisations, and US controls affect China's textile exports. During his visit, Reagan signed a contract for American firms to sell China nuclear power technology in a deal similar to that agreed with Japan in March and West Germany in May. While last year, Sino-US trade totalled \$4.4 billion and US investment in development projects is around \$88 million, it is the EEC and Japan which are increasingly the favoured

suppliers of developed technology. This reflects the foreign policy priority of bolstering the Second World against the two superpowers.

## TAIWAN

Taiwan has been a major obstacle exacerbating difficulties in Sino-US relations. The reunification of Taiwan is a high priority in China's policy goals, and China has repeatedly made it clear that the US should not interfere in that process. If, as the US claims, they intend to abide strictly by the three joint communiques, then as the Chinese leaders plainly stated to Reagan: "We hope that we can see more actual action in this regard," especially with regard to US arms supplies to Taiwan.

## SOVIET UNION

In foreign policy, besides agreement on Kampuchea and Afghanistan, there is wide disagreement with, and criticism of, US policy. Prior to his trip, Reagan said in Honolulu, that his visit was to enlist Chinese support in "opposing expansionist aggression by the Soviets." The fact that Reagan's points attacking the Soviet Union were twice removed from Chinese media reports of

his speeches, shows China's rejection of US attempts to build an alliance against the Soviet Union.

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, told Reagan: "Our independent foreign policy is not

increasing and is expected to reach about \$1,200 million in 1984. While China seeks better state relations with both the US and Soviet Union to relax tensions and avoid confrontations, this does not mark an erosion of socialist China's strong anti-superpower foreign policy stance.

Reagan's attempt, in his speeches, to make ideological

## CHINA ALWAYS BELONGS TO THIRD WORLD

"China belongs to the third world and will still belong to the third world in 50 years, when it has progressed economically. China's current relations with the developing countries are those of sharing in their hardships and triumphs. However, these relations will remain unchanged even after 50 years."

"There are two basic questions facing the world. One is opposition to hegemony and defending world peace. Hegemonist rivalry is the major source of current international tensions, making opposition

to hegemony and the defence of world peace the common tasks of the third world nations. The other question is the North-South issue. This is a very important aspect of international relations. Therefore, we should solve the problem of the North-South dialogue while promoting South-South co-operation."

"There are broad prospects for co-operation between the third world states and more will be seen in the future, although there is not much co-operation now."

From Deng Xiaoping's talks with Ecuadorian President Osvaldo Hurtado on May 17.

propaganda was thwarted by editing by the Chinese media deleting references to the US as a peace-making and free society and the claim that the US puts communication before confrontation in international affairs.

In his meeting with Reagan,

intervention in order to "safeguard western interests."

## BERLINGUER - FRIEND OR FOE?

Enrico Berlinguer was not one of those politicians on whom it is easy to pin labels. The PCI under Berlinguer's leadership did not offer any prospect of revolution for Italy, and in fact worked to crush those who attempted to offer real opposition to capitalism. Neither could Berlinguer be considered to be a consistent friend of the Third World. For while supporting many national liberation struggles, he was almost totally uncritical of the EEC's exploitative relationship with many Third World countries. The 'Economist', hardly one of

Hu Yaobang attacked the US for exercising "power politics" in the world. Senior US officials complained that Hu had adopted an "imperious tone" during the meeting. Zhao Ziyang, China's Prime Minister, was described as "lecturing" Reagan by the 'Financial Times', when Zhao criticised US aggression in Central America towards Nicaragua and Grenada; US failure to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and PLO leadership; and when he attacked the US for stationing troops in south Korea. China re-iterated its support for a tri-partite conference, as proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to settle the issue of Korean re-unification.

## FIVE PRINCIPLES

"Frank and sincere dialogue," said Zhao Ziyang, "is a bridge enabling China and the United States to explore ways of increasing mutual trust, to establish a stable and enduring relationship." The guiding five principles of peaceful co-existence, first enunciated in 1955, shape China's foreign relations. If Reagan had any thoughts of political collaboration as a price for mutually-beneficial trading relations, then, as the 'Financial Times' put it: "The overriding impression is of a rebuff."

Britain's most left wing magazines paid tribute to him as a "good communist."

Against this Berlinguer was a leading and consistent opponent of superpower imperialism, and was mourned at his funeral by over a million people, many of whom were visibly stricken by grief. We too should mourn the loss of an opponent of US and Soviet aggression, but remember that the only way to be really effective in such a stand is through struggling for the total liberation of the people. The CPI was a party strong enough, and through its leadership of the resistance movement experienced enough, to fight such a struggle, but turned its back on it in adopting the politics of Euro-Communism.

# Berlinguer and 'Euro-Communism'

Contributed.

On June 13th, the funeral of Enrico Berlinguer, the leader of the 'Communist Party of Italy' (CPI) took place in Rome. Berlinguer had died two days earlier, sixty two years of age, following a stroke which he suffered while campaigning in the Euro-Elections of June 7th.

Enrico Berlinguer's importance lies mainly in the fact that he was the principal founder of what has come to be known as Euro-Communism, an ideology characterised by a commitment to the parliamentary road to socialism at home, combined with a critical independence of the Soviet Union internationally.

Berlinguer joined the underground Communist party when he was fifteen, was arrested in 1944, and but for the fall of Mussolini's fascist regime would have faced inevitable execution. From the time of his release from prison, Berlinguer worked as a full-time organiser of the PCI, becoming its General Secretary in 1972. In this position he developed the ideas of the party's previous two leaders, Palmiro Togliatti and Luigi Longo, ideas that were to have a profound impact, not only on Italian politics, but also on the politics of other western European "communist" parties, many of which are bitterly divided over the question of Euro-Communism.

## DOMESTIC POLITICS

Not long after Berlinguer became the leader of the PCI, the Popular Front Government in Chile was overthrown by an American-backed military coup. With this, and with Italy's own history in mind, Berlinguer argued that: "You cannot govern Italy with 51 percent of the votes." A coalition of the left would be vulnerable to the threat of fascism and military intervention. This conviction was backed up by the belief that the balance of class forces in Italy was such that neither the working class nor the democratic bourgeois parties would be strong enough to win any all-

out battle, again leaving the door open for a fascist coup. The PCI therefore sought a working agreement with the Christian Democrats - the historic compromise.

In the 1976 General Election, the PCI won 35.5 percent of the vote to consolidate its position as Italy's second biggest party in electoral terms. Aldo Moro the Christian Democrat leader closest to Berlinguer argued that the PCI should be brought into government, but failed to convince most of his colleagues that Berlinguer was not "in league with the devil". In 1978 Moro was kidnapped and killed, and on the day of his kidnapping, a new government coalition was formed with PCI deputies adopting a policy of abstaining on all motions critical of the government.

The historic compromise was not restricted to electoral politics. The PCI dominates the Italian trade unions, and while it generally managed to defend the living standards of those workers remaining in employment, it cooperated with Italian capital in its restructuring plans, smashing the workers' councils that sprung up in the late 1960's, and accusing those who resisted rationalisation on the shop floor of being Luddites.

The economic recession was hitting increasingly hard during this period, and with large numbers of workers becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the PCI's lack of leadership in work-place struggles, and with its cosy relationship with the Christian Democrats, the PCI's share of the vote dropped to 29 percent in the 1979 election, and Berlinguer adopted a more critical attitude towards the government.

The Socialist Party is as divided as the Christian Democrats in its attitude to the PCI. Its leader Bettino Craxi has said that he is leading an anti-communist governmental crusade, and the PCI has responded by attacking Craxi, saying that he is willing to compromise with the Italian bourgeoisie no matter what the cost. Opposed to Craxi's attitude is that of the

Socialist Party 'left', illustrated by President Pertini, who was at Berlinguer's bedside when he died, and who has called him a "fraternal brother, a son, a companion in the struggle."

## INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Berlinguer was best known in the west as a critic of the USSR. He argued that the spirit of the 1917 Revolution was dead in the Soviet party, and denounced the lack of democracy, and the violation of human rights in the Soviet Union and other eastern European countries.

As Deputy leader of the PCI in 1968, Berlinguer bitterly attacked the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia, and over ten years later as leader, was equally bitter in his condemnations of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He built up strong and friendly relations with Poland's free trade union Solidarnosc, and was angered by Solidarnosc's suppression and the imposition of martial law in Poland.

Not surprisingly, relations between the PCI and the Soviet bloc parties became increasingly strained during this time, a situation that was not eased by the re-establishment of party to party relations with the Chinese party in the early 1980's following a PCI delegation to Beijing led by Berlinguer.

The PCI considers both NATO and the Warsaw Pact to be pawns of the superpowers, and is firmly opposed to the arms race, and in particular to the deployment of American Cruise and Pershing, and Soviet SS20 missiles in Europe. Berlinguer was opposed to any Italian withdrawal from NATO however, unless it was balanced by an equal weakening of the Warsaw Pact.

Despite his opposition to Soviet imperialism, Berlinguer still attracted suspicion from the USA, a suspicion that was most openly voiced before the 1976 Italian election, when US Secretary of State, Kissinger said that if the PCI won the election, the USA would have to consider the use of military

# KAMPUCHEA - Vietnam's Vietnam

As the war in Kampuchea entered its sixth year, diplomatic manoeuvres by Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thach, on his tour of the ASEAN countries and Australia preceded the Vietnamese dry season attacks on Kampuchean patriotic forces.

Hanoi had hoped to disrupt the tripartite unity of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) and drive a wedge between the ASEAN countries by courting Indonesia away from opposing Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea. While rejecting ASEAN's latest proposals for a political solution with a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, Thach's willingness to voice concern to settle the Kampuchean issue through negotiation and dialogue proved to be a propaganda ploy. Immediately following Thach's unsuccessful tour, Hanoi resorted to armed violation to intimidate Thailand and armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border.

## KAMPUCHEAN RESISTANCE

Hanoi's dry season offensive usually comes as soon as the monsoon rains cease and the battlefield advantage swings to conventional tactics. However this year the resilience of Kampuchean resistance blunted Vietnam's offensive capability.

Escalation in resistance attacks saw important victories in attacks on strategic Vietnamese

bases. These attacks on provincial capitals were examples of the increasing strength of the resistance. Equally, combined with constant harassment they reduce the ability of Hanoi's conventional forces to retaliate.

Rather than face the more formidable DK forces, the Vietnamese concentrated their shortened dry season offensive (involving some 4,000 troops backed up by tanks, artillery and heavy mortars), against the Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF)'s base camp at Ampil and Sok Sanh. Hanoi's attack was designed to secure 'victory headlines' and disrupt the KPNLF's development of supply lines and network of stockpiles to sustain their guerrillas in the next rainy season. General Sak Suksakhon, KPNLF's Chief of Staff, claimed that more than 500 Vietnamese troops were killed and 300 wounded in one battle in April. With the KPNLF demonstrating its military credibility in the heroic defence of Ampil, and Sihanoukist guerrillas co-ordinating attacks with the DK forces, Vietnam's ability to carry on the war is gradually being whittled down. One Vietnamese deserter from the Ampil fighting, Nguyen Ban Binh, said that during his two years in occupied Kampuchea, he had seen 40 of his army friends

(Cont. p.10.)

# Part 4: Revolt and Partition

by David Evans

On November 12th, 1935, Shaikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam and 25 companions went into the wooded hills north-west of Jenin. They were armed, and their plan was to spread the call for a Palestinian revolt. But they were detected by the British, who surrounded the small rebel group with a stronger force, and closed in on them. Qassam realised that there was no escape, and shouted to his comrades: "Die as martyrs!" He and some of his fellow fighters did die there, and the others were captured.

Hardly known outside the Arab world, Qassam deserves to be seen as one of the great leaders of modern history. He was a devout Muslim who dedicated himself to the liberation of the Arab nation and particularly to that of Palestine. Qassam was significant for what he did, what he believed, and what he represented.

He was not Palestinian by birth, but Syrian. He had fought the French during the Syrian revolt of the early 1920's, before going to Palestine and working wholeheartedly for Palestine's freedom. His commitment was symbolic of the growing Arab support for the Palestinian people; more and more, Palestine's cause was becoming the cause of progressive and nationalist Arab people.

Qassam broke with the outlook and practice of the established leadership. They followed a strategy towards Zionism of trying to persuade the British to accept demands for an end to Jewish immigration, no more land sales to the Zionists and the establishment of a legislative council for Palestine on a representative basis (i.e. with an Arab majority). They were afraid to risk a serious conflict with Britain, while the British, for their part presented themselves in the role of "honest brokers" seeking a fair deal between two rival parties. Although there were two main factions in the established Palestinian leadership, the division was not into pro- and anti-British but into pro- and more pro-British, with the more critical, dominant section keeping up a certain degree of struggle with Britain in order to retain credibility among the people.

Qassam recognised that, far from being "honest brokers" who were open to being convinced of the justice of the Palestinian case, the British occupiers were the ones who were making possible and guaranteeing the Zionist colonial enterprise, and they had to be treated as enemies. This much had already been recognised by many Palestinians, but Qassam took the lead in preparing to fight Britain, and his approach was a radical one.

He set about building a conscious revolutionary national movement amongst the poorest sections of the people, who had suffered the most at the hands of the British and Zionists and had the least to lose by fighting them. Much of his work took place in the neighbourhood of Haifa, in the large shanty town to which peasants from all over northern Palestine had migrated when they were dispossessed of their land by their two colonial enemies. Qassam also worked in the villages around Haifa. Everywhere, he lived as one of the people, patiently striving to help them with their problems, resolve their minor disagreements and unite them to oppose Britain and its Zionist allies. Gradually,

an 800-strong revolutionary organisation was built up, with 200 fighters.

Qassam gave his life for the liberation of Palestine, and

use of Zionist forces, firstly, of armed Jewish police, and later of whole military units recruited to fight the Palestinians.

The British also had another

Galilee in rebel hands, but also a number of towns, including the Old City of Jerusalem. For once in its history, Barclays' Bank played a progressive role, when its Nablus branch was twice compelled to hand over its money to Palestinian fighters. The 'Times' warned that if this went on, it would be necessary for Britain to "reconquer Palestine."

The "reconquest" got under way in autumn 1938, with over 20,000 well-equipped British troops moving into rebel areas. Palestinian casualties were heavy. Not only did people die in battle, but during the revolt, the British hanged 112 Arabs. They demolished rebels' homes and imposed fines on whole villages.

Women had played an important role in the revolt; they demonstrated, brought food to fighters and cared for the wounded, but some, like Fatma Ghazal, also carried arms against the enemy. When the British re-occupied rebel areas, and killed fighters, they would go to the nearest village and interrogate the women, to find out if the dead men were from there. They thought that the women were vulnerable and would break down when they knew that husbands, fathers and sons had been killed, but the women knew that their whole family and whole community would suffer if they did so, and they hid their feelings.

By late 1939, the revolt was defeated. Over 5,000 Palestinian Arabs had been killed, and 14,000 wounded - proportionately comparable to 200,000 dead and 600,000 wounded in Britain today. 101 British died, and 463 Jews.

While the Great Rebellion was taking place in the eastern Mediterranean, the Spanish people were fighting to save their country from fascist rule at its western end. Both struggles were defeated, but whereas Spain received the support of the bulk of the British labour movement, the Palestinians received no solidarity to speak of, from that quarter: indeed, the TUC called on the National Government to crush the revolt - not that it showed any need to be urged.

## 1939 WHITE PAPER

Before the final defeat of the revolt, the British Government produced a White Paper which made some concessions to Palestinian demands, including an end to Jewish immigration after five years, a restriction on land sales to Jews, and, after five years, the establishment of self-governing institutions. The Zionist reaction was immediate and furious; the leadership declared its intention to fight the

new British policy to the bitter end. What was more, it now had the means to do so.

During the Great Rebellion, the Jewish Agency co-operated closely with the British, who trained a Jewish para-military police force which numbered 14,500 by 1939. The British also trained SAS-style gangs called the Special Night Squads, who carried out "special operations" against the Palestinians; it was in the SNS, under the leadership of men like the pro-Zionist fanatic Orde Wingate, that Moshe Dayan had his early training. In addition, the British turned a blind eye to the building of the illegal Zionist army, the Haganah, to whom the police and SNS passed on their training.

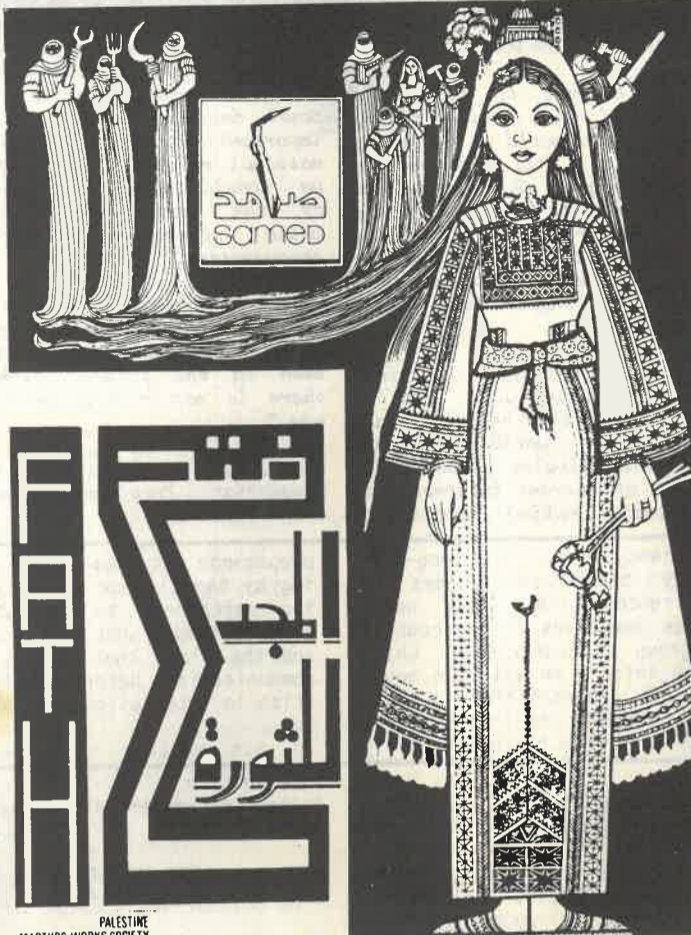
The Zionist armed forces were therefore to a very large extent built by the British. In effect, British imperialism had a strong claim to being not only the midwife of the Zionist state but also the creator of the Israeli war machine.

## PARTITION

By 1939, the Jewish population of Palestine had grown from under 10% of the total in 1917 to 30%. The Zionist movement had the numbers, organisation, economic strength and military power to seriously consider establishing a Jewish state and the work of defeating Palestinian Arab opposition had already been half done by Britain. During the Second World War, the Zionist leadership shifted from reliance on British imperialism to an alliance with the new leading imperialist power, the US, and declared itself in favour of an independent Jewish state. In 1945, it launched a military campaign to force the British out, and in 1947, the United Nations, very much under big power domination, voted for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state.

The Zionists then turned their main military effort against the Palestinians, seizing their land and terrorising hundreds of thousands into leaving it. The state of 'Israel' was declared in part of Palestine in May 1948, and Arab armies occupied the rest. By the end of the 1948-1949 war, Israel held 80% of Palestine, and its Arab people were occupied or dispersed in miserable refugee camps, dispossessed of their homes and lands.

It was to right this wrong, to liberate the land of Palestine, and to take back the destiny of Palestine into the hands of its people, that the modern Palestinian resistance movement came into being. That is why, to this day, the Palestinians fight on: no-one should need to ask why so many have been ready to "die as martyrs".



"Glory to the Revolution" by Abd al-Rahman al-Mazin.

thousands came to his funeral to honour him; the established leadership stayed away. They warned the British High Commissioner that the mood of the people was such that if Britain did not make some concessions to them quickly, things might well get out of control - and they were right.

## THE GREAT REVOLT

Six months after Qassam's death, a series of small incidents escalated into a full-scale confrontation between Arab Palestine and Britain.

On April 19th, 1936, a general strike was proclaimed throughout Palestine. The whole Arab sector of Palestine economic life shut down completely. Side by side with the strike, an armed revolt spread in the countryside. Soon the hill country of Palestine had passed into the hands of armed peasant rebels, who cut telegraph wires, attacked Zionist settlements and British army units, and hit economic targets, such as the British oil pipe-line from Iraq to Haifa.

The British hit back with escalating repression. They arrested as many of the middle-level leadership of the strike as possible, and enlisted the willing aid of the Zionist labour federation, the Histadrut, to break it. They accepted a Zionist call that Tel Aviv should be opened up as an exclusively Jewish port, thus ensuring that the striking Arab port workers of Jaffa, two miles away, would never have jobs to go back to. Emergency regulations were introduced which provided, for example, for the imposition of six years' imprisonment for possession of a revolver, five years with hard labour for possessing 12 bullets, 8 months for misdirecting soldiers, etc.

The rebels had no real central organisation and their arms were mostly of First World War vintage or older. They faced an enemy with artillery, planes, armoured cars and machine guns who outnumbered them and who was highly organised. In addition, the British began to make greater and greater

card to play. The kings of the neighbouring Arab states were pro-British. Towards the end of 1936, they declared that they were ready to mediate between the Palestinian Arab leadership and Britain. The leadership, afraid both of the rebels' activities and the British reaction, issued a call for the end of the strike and of armed action. After six months of desperate hardship and having lost over 1,000 dead, the people accepted the call. They did not know that, as a face-saving device, the established Palestinian leaders had asked the Arab kings to ask them to end the revolt.

## PEEL COMMISSION

The British government now appointed a Royal Commission to look into the cause of the trouble in Palestine - a common enough device of British imperialism for buying time and deflecting opposition. The Peel Commission's report was published on 7th July, 1937. It recommended the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state; the Arab population of the "Jewish" area (which included the best land in Palestine) should be forcibly removed to the Arab zone.

Most leading Zionists were overjoyed; Jews owned under 6% of Palestine but were to be given a quarter of it. Zionist leader Ben Gurion said: "This Jewish State now being proposed is not the Zionist aim. But this will be a decisive step in bringing about the great Zionist aims. In the shortest possible time it will build up the real Jewish strength that will carry us to our historic objectives... We shall smash these frontiers which are being forced upon us."

The Palestinian response was not long in coming. Protest quickly built up. At the end of September, 1937, L.Y. Andrews, District Commissioner of Galilee, was shot dead outside the Anglican church in Nazareth. A full scale revolt got under way. By the summer of 1938, not only was much of the countryside from Gaza through the central mountains to

## Kampuchea

(Cont. from p.9.)

killed. He spoke of low morale because Hanoi's troops are short of food, clothing and weapons.

Recent events show that there is no chance of the "easy victory" Hanoi thought possible because of the disparity between the military strength of the invading forces and that of the patriotic resistance. The re-organisation and co-ordination of Kampuchean resistance and establishment of the three party coalition government has established a firm foundation for the national liberation struggle.

As of yet, a fundamental shift in relative strength has not been achieved. Superiority in military strength and weaponry still lies with the occupying forces. But the resistance forces have been tempered, and improvements in tactics and combat capabilities point to the future development of the war in favour of the resistance.

Hanoi's dry season failure is an important victory for those championing Kampuchean independence against the creation of an 'Indochina federation' in which Vietnam's domination is ensured by 45,000 troops occupying Laos and some 180,000 fighting in Kampuchea.

# Sinn Fein consolidates support

It can't be said that the EEC elections in Ireland received much coverage in the British media, but what little there was concentrated on the election of the SDLP candidate, John Hume, in the six counties of the north. (151,399 first preference votes.)

Yet despite the fact that Sinn Fein did not increase its vote, the results were very significant. Sinn Fein stood candidates throughout Ireland. They fought on straight Republican principles and took a total of 146,148 votes (just over 8%).

## RESISTING THE 'STOP SINN FEIN' CAMPAIGN

In the north of Ireland the Sinn Fein (first preference) vote was 91,476 (over 13%). Yet Sinn Fein had faced an intensive all-party 'Stop Sinn Fein' campaign. They were attacked by the British state, the 'Free State' government, the SDLP, the powerful Catholic hierarchy, and the Unionists. All were fearful of the rapid growth of electoral support for Sinn Fein over the last few years. Despite this concerted attack, while not increasing its vote, Sinn Fein consolidated its position. Gerry Adams, MP, Sinn Fein President, summed up the point in An Phoblacht/Republican News:

"I consider it a victory that our vote held, that it is a Republican vote, clearly anti-imperialist and anti-EEC, a Republican vote as opposed to a nationalist vote or a Catholic vote, that it is ideologically sound, that it is not going to fluctuate, that it can be built on.

We have stated our case bluntly and dogmatically; we have not been trying to be 'all things to all men' .....

The onslaught that Sinn Fein has come under since October 1982, the attacks from the establishment, from the churches, which did not seem to have an immediate effect then, seems to have taken its toll on this week's result. This time, every candidate, including the Ecology Party, fought on an anti-Sinn Fein ticket. They all had that in common. ....

Our opponents were engaged in tactical voting, deserted their traditional voting patterns, went on one hand for Paisley, on the other for Hume, because they saw that as a way of robbing Sinn Fein of an increase in the vote.....

## GERRYMANDER

I think the Paisley vote is

the most significant feature of this election. It is the crystallisation of the partition gerrymander, and an illustration of the way in which the six counties were carved up in order to ensure a loyalist majority. It has become graphically clear now with the fact that that majority now rests with one person. With a smattering of unionist parties, it was always a bit obscure. Paisley undoubtedly got a big vote, but this was made possible by the nature of the six-county state.

Less than two weeks after DUP Councillor George Seawright's outburst on "incinerating Catholics", it proves the old adage that nothing has changed here in sixty years. What has happened is that everything has become clearer. And it is true right across the whole vote, because the loyalists went for the candidate whom they perceived to be the one who could thwart the Sinn Fein threat, and 'Catholics' and some of the nationalists went for the 'Catholic' who could thwart the Sinn Fein threat. And in between, the OUP, the Alliance, the Workers' Party, lost substantially.....

I don't think that we have hit our ceiling in the six counties. I think that if we work hard, if we pitch our campaign right, if republicans refine their

tactics, that we can win the allegiance of the majority of the nationalist electorate, because they are the people who suffer dramatically under British rule, and I think that they will realise in increasing numbers that the only way to alleviate that situation isn't to make British rule more tolerable but to get rid of it....

## IDEOLOGY

I think that it is in a way very useful that Sinn Fein got an injection of reality at this time, and this can only help internal discussions about our future plans.

Republicans must remember that there is no such thing as SDLP ideology, except in the broader sense of representing the establishment, of supporting the status quo.....

By and large, the SDLP remains a party with populist policies. Sinn Fein on the other hand, has a very definite and definitive ideology. We believe absolutely in the right of the Irish people to self-determination, and that all the social, economic, political and cultural requirements of the Irish people can only be realised within an independent country. Hume can be 'all things to all men' and so, to an extent, can the SDLP .....

We are very pleased with the vote we obtained in the twenty-six counties. Given the state of the organisation, the lesser experience of contesting elections, and, of course, the effects of Section 31, we estimated that a vote of 5% of the poll would be a considerable achievement. We got that 5%. The good result in Dublin was particularly encouraging. ....

If we look at the vote in a national context, Sinn Fein has now more support electorally than the so-called Labour Party. Which is engaged with its Fine Gael partners in a process of attempted ostracisation of Sinn Fein representatives, of disenfranchising a section of the Irish electorate.....

It was argued that our vote in the North would not last, and it has lasted very well. Again, it comes back to us steering towards politicising that vote and consolidating the base.....

We are now the fourth largest party in the twenty-six counties. Building our organisation will be slow, arduous work, but we can do it .....

We have had the advantage of fighting this election on a national basis, and I think that we have got the will, we have got the people and the policies. We are facing very powerful enemies, but we are making steady progress and we will continue to do so. >>>

## Who are the terrorists?

At the beginning of June, Lord Justice Gibson publicly endorsed the shoot-to-kill policy of the RUC.

A sergeant and two constables had been prosecuted on charges of murder following the shooting of Eugene Toman, Sean Burns and Gervais McKerr. The RUC men were all members of a special mobile "anti-terrorist" unit. According to the RUC, the three Irish men were in a car which had crashed through a road block. They had fired on the car killing all three occupants from a distance. Also they claimed that at least one of the men was wanted.

Yet there was no evidence of the car crashing the road block. Well over 100 bullets were fired. Eugene Toman had been killed instantly by a shot in the back. His body, however,

was found outside the car. Medical evidence showed that he could not possibly have moved after he was hit.

The nationalist people in Ireland want to know how this squares with the police account, and the judge's decision. As for the men being wanted, why were there no arrest warrants issued?

The wide-spread belief is that the RUC suspected the three of being in the IRA and ambushed the car, in a shoot to kill operation.

Despite the contradictory evidence, the judge not only acquitted the RUC killers but he also called the evidence "tenuous" and deplored the fact that the case had ever been brought. "There never was the slimmest chance," he said "that

the Crown could have hoped to secure a conviction." Given the nature of "justice" in the north of Ireland, we don't doubt it.

In case the nationalist people had not got the message, Gibson commended the RUC men "for their courage and determination in bringing the three men to justice in this case to the final court of justice."

Public outcry in Ireland is such that even Free State Prime Minister Fitzgerald, who is hardly an outstanding critic of British imperialism was forced to describe the remarks as "entirely unacceptable unworthy of any decent judicial authority."

Judge Gibson can now return to his normal occupation in the Diplock courts: sending down Republicans on the "tenuous evidence" of paid perjurers.

## Prison Pickets

By a member of Bristol TOM

Bristol Troops Out Movement (TOM) recently participated in a week of action for Irish prisoners mainly around the demand for the right of repatriation for Irish prisoners of war in British jails.

Several members attended a 60-strong picket of Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight on 3rd June, in commemoration of Michael Gaughan (who died from being force-fed while on hunger strike in 1974). In the follow-

ing week we distributed our local bulletin, a special issue on prisons (in the north of Ireland as well as Britain), and on the Saturday (9th) leafletted and picketed Bristol's Horfield Prison. As pointed out in the bulletin, Horfield "is used as a punishment transit prison for Irish POW's. Prisoners are moved continually from one prison to another. Bristol is often the stopping-off point for 4 to 6 weeks in solitary."



The culmination of the week was an Irish Solidarity Movement (ISM) initiated picket of Gartree Prison, near Leicester, on the Sunday (10th). About 90 people turned up. There were members of Irish Solidarity Committees from all over the country - as far away as Edinburgh. Also present were representatives from Sinn Fein, and independent groups from

Nottingham and Corby, plus members of Mosquito Press and Bristol TOM. It was a well-organised, militant picket, and it was reported to us that our slogans and songs could be heard by prisoners on A-wing. Many messages were read out: Bristol TOM stressed the importance of organisations supporting one another's initiatives in this way. A recent letter from the PRO of Republican prisoners in Gartree was read out, which described the transformation that has taken place in the Gartree regime. For instance: exercise periods have been cut from 60 to 35 minutes; an 'induction' mailbag workshop has been opened through which all prisoners have to pass - canvas is being used, even though the Home Office condemned it as a health risk three years ago; the Control Unit was modified last year, costing £250,000 and is still being modified - a door leads directly off it into the prison hospital; association has been cut from 3 to 2 hours nightly and workshop time has been increased; prisoners are told 'unofficially' that if there were no IRA prisoners conditions would be improved.

It was clear from the statements of people on the picket that the week had been a considerable success - the more that organisations can work together on this important issue of repatriation, the greater the impact will be.

## Cont. from p.12

active service when a premature bomb explosion lost him an arm and a leg. The Prisoners of War campaign pamphlet points out that: "Patrick has suffered singular harassment at the hands of prison officials who have exploited his injuries in a vindictive attempt to try and undermine his determination and morale. Dolores and Marian Price were, in the past, released on the grounds of ill health, some years after being jailed for their part in bombings carried out in England. Pauline McLaughlin was also released from Armagh on medical grounds. Patrick Hackett's health is failing badly as a result of his treatment and lack of medical attention. After eight years in these conditions his release must be demanded so that he can receive the treatment he needs.

## ABOLITION OF THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT

The Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) was rushed through parliament in November 1974 as a "temporary, emergency measure". It has since been renewed every year, and is being replaced by a more permanent law. Whilst it remains fund-

## Sinn Fein Prisoners Campaign

amentally an anti-Irish racist law, (the IRA and INLA are specifically named), the new law will also extend the target to include third world liberation movements.

The PTA is in reality a law designed to intimidate the Irish national minority in Britain from speaking out against British oppression in Ireland. Of the 5683 people detained in the first nine years of its operations, only 116 were charged. 267 others were 'deported' without being given any reason.

Last Christmas several Republicans were excluded from Britain following the Harrods' bombing. The state readily acknowledged that none of them was involved. The reason for such acts, as well as wide-spread short detentions, -is essentially one of intimidating a whole community, whilst removing some of those who are

quite legally politically active. As the pamphlet states: "The PTA is part and parcel of the British war machine, and has to be opposed at its roots, in opposing the whole military, legal and political apparatus occupying the six counties of Ireland."

## SUPPORT THE IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR CAMPAIGN

The above article has been mainly based on the pamphlet produced by the Prisoner of War campaign. The pamphlet itself is available from New Era Books and other progressive bookshops.

Along with the pamphlet, the campaign has produced a sponsorship form, and a model resolution for trade union branches which calls for endorsement of the Five Demands and affiliation to the campaign. Affiliation is also requested from political organisations.

The campaign has also organised prison pickets (see report) and more are being planned. Organise contingents to support the coming pickets and march.

Solidarity must be shown in action, not just words.

# FREEDOM FOR IRELAND



## SINN FEIN IRISH P.O.W. CAMPAIGN SUPPORT THE FIVE DEMANDS

by Mark Harris.

As reported in recent issues of 'Class Struggle', Sinn Fein have launched a Prisoner of War campaign in Britain. Already a number of prison pickets, and other protest and publicity events have been organised. (See below for coming events.)

Recently a pamphlet was published which outlines the background to, and demands of the campaign. The Irish prisoners of war are in prison for one reason. They are in prison because they are fighting for the right of their nation to be independent. It is not a new struggle. The fight for independence has been continuing since England first invaded and occupied Ireland. Throughout this period there have been uprisings, mass protests, and periods of intense armed struggle. This is the background to the struggle in the north today, and the sole reason for the existence of Irish prisoners of war, both in Ireland, north and south, and in Britain.

### REPATRIATION ON DEMAND TO GAOLS IN IRELAND

The Home Office has stated clearly that: "If a prisoner has not been convicted of a terrorist offence, his family live in N.Ireland and he was domiciled there before the offence, it should be generally possible to arrange a transfer." ... "Where a prisoner has been convicted of a terrorist offence the balance is heavily weighted against a transfer."

Irish prisoners of war are denied rights of social prisoners. The British state makes it difficult for families to visit them. They are frequently moved from one prison to another, to make it even more difficult. One prisoner was recently moved only five minutes after his visit had

### Repatriation, on demand, to gaols in Ireland.

### Release of Prisoners framed by the British police.

### An end to Solitary Confinement and Special Controls Units.

### Release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds.

### Abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.



- 41 Irish Republican P.O.W.s in English gaols.
- 13 innocent people framed.

started. It is deliberate harassment. The prisoners are held in Britain as political hostages and receive systematic maltreatment.

The Home Office, however, claims that the return of these prisoners to the north of Ireland would substantially increase the proportion of such prisoners and "exacerbate control problems". They also claim that they would be welcomed back as heroes, and that it

would "provoke public anxiety". Yet there are 2,500 political prisoners in the north of Ireland in a system that Britain has claimed is uniquely tailored to the custody of long term prisoners convicted of "terrorist" offences. The transfer of less than 50 prisoners could not possibly have the effect that the Home Office claims, and it amply demonstrates that they are lying about the true reasons. The government is in fact acting contrary

to its own prison rules which uphold a prisoner's right to serve a sentence in a prison as near to his or her family as possible.

### RELEASE OF PRISONERS FRAMED BY THE BRITISH STATE

The pamphlet of the Prisoner of War campaign does not claim that all Irish prisoners of war are innocent of the charges against them. On the contrary, a number of IRA prisoners have openly admitted their involvement in bombings in Britain, and declared their right to take up arms to fight for the liberation of their country. Yet at least 13 people presently in prison have been framed and are serving sentences ranging from 12 years to life.

### THE BIRMINGHAM SIX

The Birmingham Six were detained after the Birmingham pub bombing of November 1974. The six appeared in court, still showing the considerable marks of the vicious beatings they had received. Yet the "confessions" they had signed under duress were ruled as admissible by the court! Some unsatisfactory circumstantial evidence and later-discredited forensic evidence, combined with the 'forced' confessions were enough in the atmosphere of hysteria whipped up by the press to convict any Irish person. Such an atmosphere surrounds every such trial and no Irish person can receive even the appearance of a fair trial on political offences in Britain.

### THE GUILDFORD FOUR

Three young Irish men and an English woman were arrested in 1974. All got life sentences. "Confessions" of the four, in which they said that they had been taught bomb-making by Anne Maguire, were in direct contradiction to evidence by police experts that the bombs were of a highly

folk singer and a group of poets from a variety of national minority people who provided an excellent evening of entertainment. In addition, two Welsh miners attended the meeting and one spoke on the present bitter struggle of the NUM. He particularly emphasised the key role women have played in strengthening and developing the strike. An appeal for funds was answered by a collection of over £50 being raised in the meeting.

A Sinn Fein spokesperson thanked the meeting for its support and in his analysis he linked the struggles of Irish people with the struggle of black national minority people in this country and the struggles of the mineworkers. He drew attention to the fact that they all faced and were all forced to fight the same enemy - British imperialism. He explained in some detail Sinn Fein's demands in the campaign round Republican prisoners of war.

East London Irish Solidarity Committee will be holding a public meeting to mobilise for the Sinn Fein August 5th march in Sheffield, on July 18th, 7.30 at Hackney Trades Club.

### DEMONSTRATE

\*August 5th.

Demonstration called by Sinn Fein in Sheffield to support its Irish POWs in Britain campaign.

\*August 18th.

Demonstration called by August 18th Demonstration Committee on 15th anniversary of troops being sent onto the streets of northern Ireland. Rally at Speakers' Corner, London, at 1p.m.

sophisticated nature. Later on the Balcombe Street Active Service Unit of the IRA, stated after their arrest that they had carried out the Guildford pub bombings and separately gave the same detailed accounts of them.

Anne Maguire and six other defendants were sentenced to up to 14 years on entirely spurious evidence. The forensic tests were not carried out in a normal manner. They were done by an unsupervised junior technician, with three months experience and even the tests themselves were later discredited, as they reacted to certain kitchen chemicals as well as some bomb ingredients. Yet Anne Maguire and some family and friends, were found guilty. The clear nature of the frame up has in fact already been shown in a television documentary.

JUDITH WARD

Judith Ward got life in 1974 after admitting placing the bomb on the M62 coach. Yet evidence produced by the police, that she was hundreds of miles away at the time, was ignored when she was found guilty!

### AN END TO SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND SPECIAL CONTROL UNITS

Under Rule 43, known as GOD (Good Order and Discipline), a prisoner can be put into solitary confinement for up to 28 days, without being charged with any offence. This is renewable indefinitely. Of course according to the Home Office, solitary confinement does not exist - only "cellular confinement". Prisoners have yet to discover the difference. Separate exercises from other prisoners and frequent transfers are used to increase the sense of isolation. Some Irish political prisoners have had to endure this for over two years at a time.

Some years ago there was a media furore over the infamous 'control units' - special cells to create sensory deprivation. Prisoners held in these later described the hallucinations and loss of speech which resulted from this mental torture. Following the publicity they were 'officially' closed. In fact the unit in Wakefield has simply had its name changed to F Wing and in Gartree it is called a segregation unit.

### RELEASE OF PATRICK HACKETT ON MEDICAL GROUNDS

Patrick Hackett is "an unashamed Republican" who has continued the Irish struggle for freedom and justice since his conviction in May 1976. He was severely injured on

## East London: supporting the P.O.W.s

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

The East London Ireland Solidarity Committee held a public meeting in East Ham in London. A small but enthusiastic audience heard speakers from Pan Africanist Congress, Breakout Collective and Sinn Fein. All speakers raised the relationship between the brutality of British imperialism and the struggle taken up by both political and 'ordinary' prisoners to defend their rights and their dignity. The common thread was their attack on British imperialism whether in Azania, England or Ireland.

The Sinn Fein speaker detailed the horrific conditions faced by Irish prisoners of war inside British jails. 41 are incarcerated here subject to endless 'refinements' in their 'special conditions' - special conditions that the British government tries to deny the existence of. Yet it is these very conditions that the British government imposes on Republican prisoners that proves the lie of their attempt to criminalise

the Irish struggle for freedom. In fact the Irish are subject to a special status in prison that is tantamount to openly declaring that in fact they are political prisoners. British law defines 'terrorists' as those "who use violence for political ends".

### RIGHT OF REPATRIATION

The right of repatriation to gaols nearer their homes is also denied to Republican prisoners. 'Loyalist' prisoners arrested in Britain have been allowed repatriation to Irish prisons and British soldiers convicted of crimes in the occupied six counties are given this right to repatriation to British jails. However Republicans bear the brunt of the vindictiveness of the British state and are refused repatriation. The Home Office stated that: "Where a prisoner has been convicted of a terrorist offence, the balance is weighted heavily against a transfer." In other words, they are not simple criminals - they are political prisoners!

The Sinn Fein spokesperson drew specific attention to the 13 prisoners who have been fitted up by the British state. These innocent people have been given lengthy prison sentences by a state desperate to prove that it was winning the war against the Irish.

The meeting closed after a collection to be forwarded to the Irish POW Campaign and with an agreement to build for a larger meeting.

### CULTURAL NIGHT FOR REPUBLICAN POW'S

'Class Struggle' correspondent.

The Asian Centre in Hackney hosted a well-attended cultural night called to raise funds to support the struggle of Republican prisoners of war. The meeting was organised by the Black People's Socialist League, Azania Workers Solidarity and the East London Ireland Solidarity Committee.

We were privileged to hear a