

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

Issue No 49 May 1985 Price 30p – 20p unwaged

THATCHER'S BRITAIN

UNEMPLOYMENT at record levels

Unemployment jumped to a record level in Britain in April. The largest monthly rise for two years, 29,200, took the official adjusted total of unemployed to 3,177,200 – 13.1 per cent of the workforce. The real total is well over 4 million. Latest figures, for example, exclude 200,000 Easter school leavers who are no longer allowed to register as unemployed. Hundreds of thousands of others have been withdrawn from the official register as one government device after another is used to keep the reported figure down.

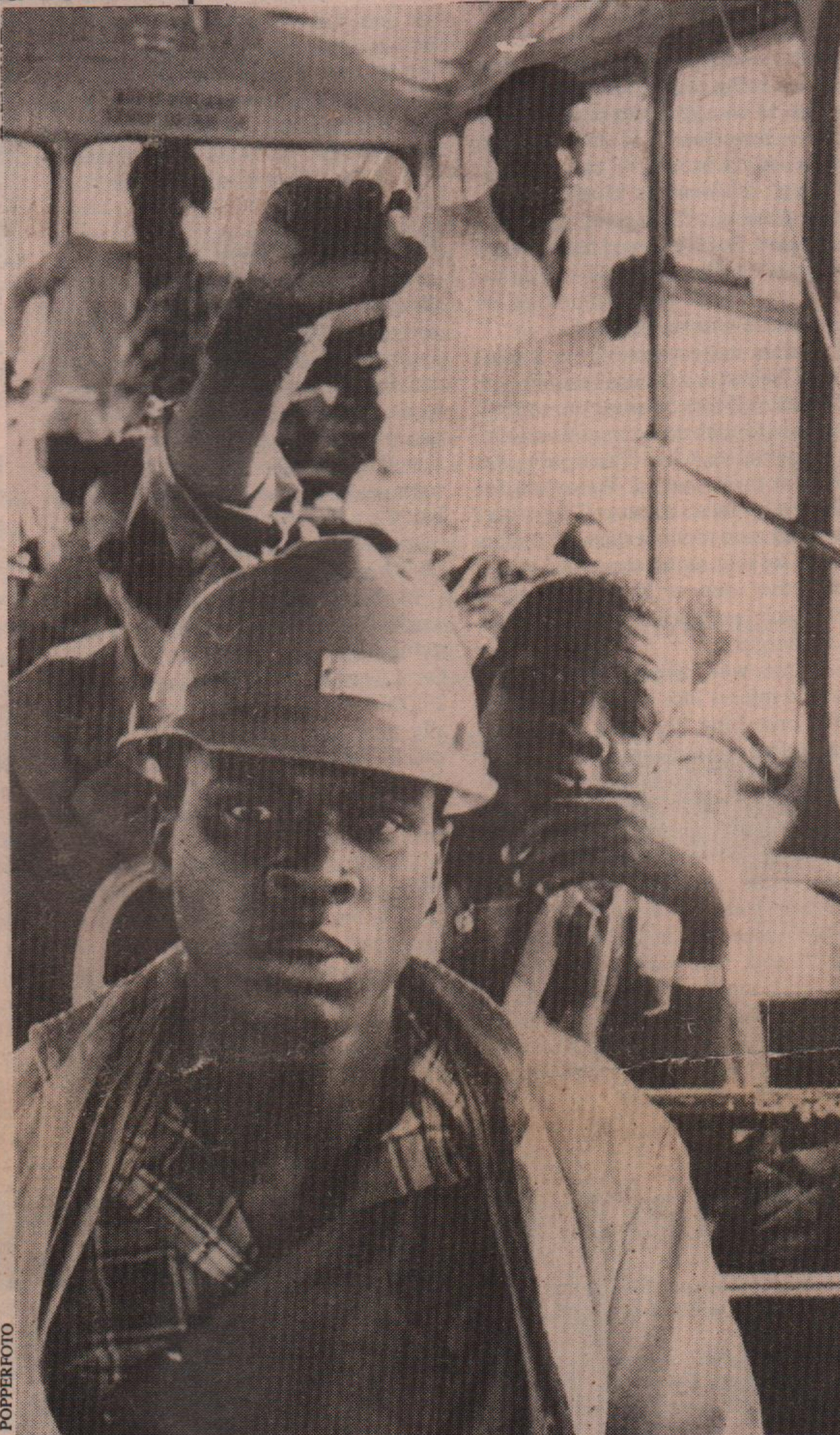
As always there are those who profit out of the misery of millions. The massive rise in unemployment and the tax policies of the Tory government have meant an increase of company profits of 22 per cent in 1984 – nearly three times as much as the rise of incomes. This rise in gross trading profits came on top of rises of 20 per cent in 1983 and 18 per cent in 1982. But this increase in profits will not lead to a reduction of unemployment here in Britain. The rate of profit on capital invested in Britain is still very low. Much higher profits can be made by investing abroad. Last year alone overseas investment increased by 45 per cent, or by nearly £5 billion (see FRFI 48). Thatcher's policies are primarily concerned to transfer wealth from the poor to the rich.

It's not only the capitalists who are getting richer at the expense of the poor. For those in work, it is the most highly

paid whose incomes have risen most. The high paid, top 10 per cent of adult males, increased their real hourly earnings (before tax) by 19 per cent between April 1979 and April 1984. Whereas the low paid, the bottom 10 per cent, got a real wage cut of 0.2 per cent, with the bottom 10 per cent of manual workers taking a 1.5 per cent real wage cut.

The tax policies of the government have widened the gap even further. A single person on half average earnings will pay 26.1 per cent of gross earnings in deductions for 1985-6 compared to 23.6 per cent in 1978-9. Whereas a single person receiving five times the average earnings will pay 45.3 per cent in deductions compared to 52.2 per cent in 1978-9. The gap between rich and poor daily widens as thousands upon thousands of workers are being driven into the ranks of the oppressed.

David Reed



POPPER/PHOTO

South Africa- revolt grows

The militancy of black workers in South Africa grows from strength to strength in spite of mass unemployment and vicious repression. In the Eastern Cape major multinational companies have been beset by strikes and stay-aways. Over the last few months thousands of gold miners at the Vaal Reefs gold mining complex, the largest in the world, owned by Anglo-American have staged sporadic strikes to fight for better wages and working conditions. On 28 April, over a quarter of the workforce, 14,000 black workers were sacked as a result of these actions and ordered to return to the 'homelands'. This they refused to do, and for two days they occupied their hostels surrounded by armed police, who eventually forced them out with tear gas.

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WAR and the SOVIET UNION

THATCHER'S BRITAIN No home for poor

A disgusting media smear campaign, portraying homeless youth as scroungers lazing in hotels at the taxpayers' expense, has paved the way for vicious cuts in board and lodging allowances. Although the Government's Social Security Advisory Committee received over 500 reports stating the dangers of these cuts, Social Security minister Fowler has slashed the weekly rate for London to £70. The estimated 10,000 people in B&B in central London alone already pay over this: many will be forced to use food money for rent, or will face eviction. Claims will be time limited: people under 26 with no dependents will have to move on after 8 weeks at a city benefit office, or 2 weeks in a seaside town. They will have no right of return for 6 months. The homeless will thus be forced into a rootless existence.

Far from living in luxury at the state's expense, those housed in 'hotels' suffer exploitation, squalor and misery. Councils are using hotels that have been condemned by their own health inspectors, as overcrowded and lacking basic cooking and toilet facilities. FRFI 45 reported the death of an Asian woman and her 2 children in one such fire-trap in Camden. However, London B&B hotel owners are raking in over £1 million a month in social security payments. The real reasons for this are mass unemployment and nil housing investment, which have raised the numbers in board and lodgings from 40,000 before 1979 to 139,000 in 1984. Meanwhile, total planned council house expenditure in the coming finan-

cial year is only 32% of the 1979-80 figure in real terms. To reduce the soaring lodging bill, Fowler is driving homeless youth onto the streets, into crime, drugs and prostitution.

Fowler will also propose, in a green paper to be published this month, many other major cuts:

- abolition of the death grant and maternity grant.
- abolition of all Supplementary Benefit additions and single payments.
- halving the housing benefit provision.
- abolition of earnings-related retirement pensions.
- halving the unemployment benefit entitlement to 6 months, and introducing an 'availability for work' test: replacing the payment of contributory benefit as of right.

These ruling class responses to mass unemployment have a familiar ring. The infamous 'not genuinely seeking work' clause, introduced in 1921, allowed benefit to be arbitrarily withdrawn. Ramsay MacDonald cut unemployment benefit to 26 weeks in 1931. Clearly Thatcher intends to recreate the conditions of the Great Depression in the 1980s.

Dave Burton

Edinburgh FRFI held street meetings outside a central dole office every day in the week beginning 29 April, and held a public meeting on 3 May about government attacks on unemployed people living in bed and breakfast accommodation. FRFI and claimants formed a 'Claimants Contingent' on the 4 May Edinburgh May Day march.

VIETNAM

10th anniversary salute

When the tanks and artillery of the National Liberation Front smashed down the gates to the presidential palace in Saigon on 30 April 1975 they punctured the myth of US invincibility. Ten years later the habitual liar Kissinger for once told the truth, 'The pain of the day will not go away'. Doubt and hesitation struck deep into the capitalist brain.

In the wake of the Vietnamese revolution the peoples of Laos, Afghanistan, Grenada, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe swiftly drove on to victories. But the Vietnamese gave the world a tremendous sacrifice: perhaps four million dead, the true loss will never be known, fighting Japanese, French and US occupation forces.

The Horror

In 1946 Ho Chi Minh warned the French colonialists clinging onto South Vietnam 'You will kill ten of our men and we will kill one of yours. In the end it will be you who will tire of it'. His words were

prophetic for the USA.

The French garrison at Dien Bien Phu surrendered to the forces of General Giap on 8 May 1954. Into their shoes stepped the US, who escalated supplies to the Southern puppet regime. By November 1963 and Kennedy's assassination 16,000 US military 'advisers' were stationed in Vietnam.

Developing classical guerrilla tactics Ho Chi Minh had long before threatened the foreign colossus with its fate, 'Today it is a case of the grasshopper pitted against the elephant. But tomorrow the elephant will have its guts ripped out'. Imperialism, impotent and frustrated, the US Airforce began bombing the North in February 1965. US strate-

gists believed that if the Southern resistance could be isolated from its Northern support it could easily be destroyed or would simply rot.

At the commencement of the bombing, the US economy accounted for a third of the world's industrial output, 80 per cent of Vietnam's population were peasants. A total of 14.5 million tons of explosive rained down on Vietnam, the equivalent in explosive terms of 700 Hiroshimas. More than the entire bomb load dispatched by all sides in World War Two! 400,000 tons of napalm, 72 million litres of chemical defoliants turned great tracts of the land into dust and ashes. By 1968 over half a million US troops were operating in Vietnam. They left behind half a million prostitutes and as many drug addicts.

Officially the US suffered 58,655 deaths out of the more than 3 million soldiers who served there. The US Senate estimated the cost of the war to the USA at some \$240 billion. Words like 'carpet bombing', 'free-fire zone', 'strategic hamlet', 'search and destroy mission', My Lai, ran non-stop for a decade through the news wires.

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miners MORE SETBACKS

The series of setbacks and political defeats that led up to the end of the strike, and which have continued since then, confirms that the fighting miners who identified with Arthur Scargill's leadership are now being increasingly isolated as the NCB offensive is driven home. The NCB is making a concerted effort to destroy any remnants of militant NUM organisation at the pits.

Since the return to work miners have been sacked for allegedly harassing scabs—5 men at a Phurnacite plant in South Wales, 4 at Manvers in South Yorkshire and 4 at South Kirkby in Yorkshire. 1,350 miners walked out from South Kirby pit in support of the 4 sacked miners. 500 men at the adjacent Ferrymoor Riddings drift mine joined them. Other pits in the Barnsley area have been voting on whether to support them. Nearly 2,000 miners at Westoe colliery, South Shields, walked out for 48 hours in the last week of April over the sacking of Keith Smoult—a leading militant. The case has gone to appeal.

Miners are still being sacked for so-called 'offences' committed during the strike. 4 miners at Silverwood colliery near Rotherham were gaoled for shouting 'scab' at a scab's house (besetting) and lost their jobs. Even miners acquitted by the courts are not being reinstated, especially in Scotland where, of the 204 sacked so far, 43 per cent were elected union officials and 71 per cent were leaders of the official strike committees.

Courts prosecute strikers and supporters

The ruling class is determined to drive home its advantage. Its laws and courts are continuing relentlessly to persecute striking miners—1,200 are still to go before the courts and could lose their jobs.

A special miners only court is being set up in Sheffield with a single chosen judge. A solicitor, who has defended many miners during the strike, says it is

unprecedented, except for Ireland. Cases are being railroaded through, for example 55 charged with conspiracy at Orgreave have been told their cases are starting, ready or not. 13 out of the 55 have been 'chosen' as 'ringleaders'. 3 miners accused of threatening to kill a scab leader, Bob Taylor of Manton colliery, by allegedly trying to force his car off the road, have been committed for trial at Notts Crown Court.

Five Kent miners were given 3 years each at Chelmsford (where Terry French was sentenced) for conspiracy to commit arson even though no damage was done. A striking miner, Clive Thompson, was gaoled for three years at Wakefield for setting fire to a scab's house. Two others were given nine months each. 35 miners are now serving sentences of 2-5 years. Many other miners have been given short gaoled sentences for extremely minor charges.

Barristers who offered their services to defend miners face disciplinary charges for breaching Bar rules. Judges in the strike areas were angry at having to deal with well-briefed lawyers from London and Liverpool. The disciplinary action not only concerns them working for free but also their meeting together to discuss mass charges—not allowed under Bar rules. In London a judge upheld a police appeal against barrister, James Wood, who was acquitted of a street collecting offence during the strike. 500 similar cases are awaiting trial in London. The courts are not only punishing the miners but also their supporters.

On 15 April at a trial in Newport of 8

miners and 1 woman for occupation of a transporter bridge, the judge threatened to have the demonstrators outside arrested. The secretary of the support group was arrested and reprimanded by the judge for distributing leaflets. She had to undertake not to distribute them within one mile radius of the court during the trial. The charges of riotous and unlawful assembly were dropped and the 8 miners bound over to keep the peace for two years. 31 other miners are still to appear on similar charges.

Return to 'normality'

Another pit is to close without going through the review procedure agreed with NACODS in October 1984. Polkemmet colliery in West Lothian, which was flooded during the miners' strike, is to be abandoned. 900 men have already accepted redundancy, 350 have transferred to other pits and only 19 were left to make up their minds. NACODS is to ballot its 16,000 members for a national overtime ban to defend the new colliery review procedure.

In Scotland, 3,000 out of 12,000 workers in the coal industry have taken redundancy since the end of the strike. On 4 May Michael Eaton claimed that 20,000 have taken redundancy nationally and that the proposed cutbacks which precipitated the strike have already been achieved. He added that further cuts will take place on 'economic grounds'.

The return to 'normal practices' continues apace. On 2 April a national delegate conference of the NUM voted 122-74 to call off the overtime ban, with Yorkshire, Kent and Durham opposing this on the grounds that the ban was a bargaining counter for the reinstatement of sacked miners. 5 April saw the NUM EC recommending a whole series of rule changes aimed at strengthening the Executive and bringing their NEC

elections into line with the Trade Union Act of 1984. On 11 April the NUM leaders accepted a 10.68 per cent pay rise over two years—endorsed by a delegate conference on 22 April. Action is also to be taken to regain control of the NUM funds and it was agreed to get the money back from abroad.

The trend towards conciliation with the Labour Party and TUC scabs has continued. The Scottish TUC in mid-April played down the question of sacked and imprisoned miners in favour of a unified Labour Party, just at a time when more severe gaoled sentences are beginning to occur. The motion called for a 'day of activity' in support of the 200 victimised miners who lobbied the conference. 'Day of action' was dropped in favour of the weaker wording. The call for 'reinstatement' was watered down to 're-engagement'. The Scottish TUC clearly intends to do nothing. In Barnsley, the NUM has so far failed to nominate an alternative to the man who presided over torture in the Six Counties of Ireland, Roy Mason, in the re-selection process. Mason did nothing throughout the strike. Cortonwood NUM branch has renominated him.

Political gain consolidated

It would be a mistake to allow these developments—the relentless logic of the class struggle after the miners had been forced back to work—to obscure the real gains of the strike. If NUM and trade union officials will not learn and act on the lessons of the strike, thousands of striking miners and their supporters when more favourable circumstances arise, almost certainly will. Of significance, even now, is the decision of Women Against Pit Closures to set up a permanent national organisation with 3 categories of members—women NUM members (8,000), wives and relatives of miners and women active in the support groups. They're also discussing a form of associate membership with the NUM. This is a major gain of the strike and is one that is possible because this organisation developed outside the control of the organised Labour and trade union movement.

Olivia Adamson and David Reed

CLASS WAR PRISONERS

The sentence, if known, is given in brackets
HMP Ranby, Nr Retford, Notts DN22 8EU
 Paul Brothwell, Derby (12 mths); Ron Staniland, Derby (6 mths); Les Ward, C54232 (6 mths)
HMP Lincoln, Greetwell Rd, Lincoln LN2 4BD
 Jimmy Lees, Derby; Steve and Victor Gregory, Derby (6 mths); Guy Bennett, Armthorpe (3 mths)
HMP Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE
 Peter Gates (UCATT), L33574, (12 mths)
HMP Durham, Old Elvet, Durham, DH1 3HU
 William Smith, Northumberland (2½ yrs); Nigel Birch, Northumberland (3 mths); Kevin Hughes, Northumberland (2 yrs)
HMP Sudbury, Derby DE6 5HW
 Kevin Beal, 031 (2 yrs); Graham Cooper (6 mths); Steve Goodall, 039 (2 yrs); David James, 034 (2 yrs); Peter Pearson, 038 (2 yrs); Michael Southwell, 030 (2 yrs); Glen Wright (6 mths)
HMP Canterbury, Longport, Canterbury, Kent, CT1 1PJ John O'Connor (2 mths)
HMP Kirkham, Preston, Lancashire PR4 2RA
 Dennis Penningham (3 mths); Paul Wright Saville (18 mths)
HMYO Centre, Glen Parva, Saffron Rd, Wigton, Leicester Simon Brookes, E71244, Derby (18 mths); Robert Travis, Derby (18 mths)
Millers Park YCC, Wellingborough, Northants
 David Gaunt, E71037, Derby (2½ yrs); Paul Jones, E71036, Derby (2 yrs); David Mason, E711033, Derby (2 yrs); Phillip Sterland, E71035, Derby (2 yrs)
HMP Armley, Armley Rd, Leeds 12
 Kevin Green, S Yorks, G 78668; Clive Thompson, G79348 (3 yrs)
HMP Leicester, Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ
 Ian Kestle, E71032 (2 yrs)
HMP Saughton, Edinburgh
 Brian Miller, Solsgirth (4 mths)
HMP Cardiff, Knox Rd, Cardiff, South Glamorgan CF2 1UG
 Dean Hancock, 899410, Wales (Remand); Russell Shankland, 883752, Wales (Remand); Mr Williams, Wales (Remand)
HMP Walton Gaol, Liverpool
 William Bannister, Staffordshire (2 yrs); Michael Jones, Staffordshire (2 yrs); Stephen Lowe, Staffordshire (2 yrs); Raymond Patton, Staffordshire (2 yrs); Steve Hardman (6 mths)
HMP Wandsworth, PO Box 757, Heathfield Rd, London SW18 3HS
 Mark Best, B74749 (3 yrs); Emlyn Davies, B74746 (3 yrs); Brian Day, B74748 (3 yrs); Terry French, B73383 (5 yrs); Garry Newell, B74745 (3 yrs); James Waddell (3 yrs)
HMYO Chelmsford, Springfield Rd, Chelmsford, Essex CM2 6LQ
 Chris Tazey, A29398, Kent (3 yrs)
HMP Featherstone, New Rd, Wolverhampton WV10 7PU Brian Martin (3 mths); Keith Millward (3 mths); Michael Partington (3 mths)
HMP Rudgate, Weatherby LS23 7AZ
 Gary Hopper, E46193, Durham (4 mths); George Richardson, E46187, Durham (4 mths); Gary Kristonson, Northumberland (2 yrs); Brian Little, Northumberland (2 yrs); John Little, Northumberland (2 yrs); Raymond Patterson, Northumberland (2 yrs); Mark Rochester, Northumberland (2 yrs)
Wymott Prison, Leyland, Lancs PR5 3LW
 Alan Briddick (6 mths); Michael Briddick (6 mths); Terry Capstick (9 mths); Raymond Varley (6 mths)

'Left' on the miners

The British 'left' has without exception ignored the split in the working class which deepened during the miners' strike. Like the Labour Party, the British left is based on the more privileged sections of the working class, and more importantly, its politics are directed towards the relatively privileged layers of the organised labour movement. Since the end of the strike the 'left' has been forced, in one way or another, to cover up the split in the NUM and the wider labour movement or to explain away its significance.

In responding to the developments of the strike the CPGB has shifted rapidly to the right. Peter Carter, the industrial organiser of the CPGB argues in the March issue of *Marxism Today*, that 'mass picketing' can be 'counter productive'.

'Whilst mass picketing is an important weapon for workers in struggle, it should not have been presented as it was at times—for example, in relation to Orgreave—as the only way forward. It can even be counter productive amongst the miners (as it was at some pits in Nottinghamshire).'

Carter argues that more effective work to win 'public opinion' was necessary. So there should have been 'an early condemnation of violence from whichever quarter it came, while emphasising the overwhelming responsibility of the police in this context' thus mouthing Kinnock's attack on so-called miners' 'violence' in October. Support from bishops and churches should have been worked for... and so on.

Carter recognises correctly that the miners had to go beyond the organised trade union movement if the widest possible public support and sympathy was to be obtained. But this call to 'go out to the people' is concerned with people like them—the Eurocommunist layer that now controls the CPGB—articulate, middle class whose class prejudices and sensitivities are to be pandered to. The idea of appeal-

ing to the oppressed, the unemployed, black and white youth, was far from their minds.

While the CPGB acknowledges real divisions amongst the miners—not simply the result of not having a national ballot—they put it down to the ideological impact of Thatcherism and ignore its real material basis. They also correctly reject the argument that the problem was one of 'leaders letting the workers down'. They see 'the problem' as 'not just one of leadership but the attitude of the rank and file'. But they then adapt their politics to the more backward responses of that rank and file—hence their condemnation of violence on both sides.

The SWP, like most of the Trotskyist left, still sees only a split between the rotten bureaucracy and the fighting rank and file. Because of this they can only explain the inability of the miners to win as the result of treacherous leadership, by the Labour Party, the TUC and inevitably even Arthur Scargill himself.

The only other point of significance is that the RCP, the only left organisation to scab on the strike throughout by calling for a national ballot, has been joined by the Labour Coordinating Committee (LCC) formerly the force behind the Bennite left in the Labour Party. The LCC now argues that the failure to hold a ballot was 'bad tactics and bad politics'—a view also held by George Bolton, vice-president of the Scottish NUM and chairman of the CPGB. Before the RCP feels smug about being joined in their reactionary views by others, they should note that George Bolton saw the refusal to hold a national ballot as a 'virility symbol' and that the LCC condemns miners for fighting the police, saying it created 'a series of images of young male violence'. The LCC also attacks miners for fighting scabs as 'cowardly and outside the rules of industrial fair play'.

Olivia Adamson and David Reed

THATCHER ON TOUR — slags off miners — greeted by murderers

With the aim of bolstering British imperialism's vital strategic and economic interests in South East Asia, not to mention the added bonus of a barrage of publicity for her flagging popularity in the opinion polls, Thatcher set off last month on a tour of some of Asia's most repressive and brutal regimes.

In Kuala Lumpur, capital of Malaysia, she set the tone for her tour by gloating how 'seeing off' the miners' strike had been a 'great achievement' for her government. Moving on to Singapore, she basked in the praises of virulent anti-communist Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew. He too spoke of the miners' strike, of Thatcher's victory over 'organised hooliganism and blackmail'. He continued: 'We have studiously avoided the practices of the welfare state. We saw how a great people reduced themselves to mediocrity by levelling down. And... how difficult it is to dismantle a system of subsidised living once people get accustomed to a government providing for them'.

This is an exact echo of Thatcher's own ideas and is the kind of thinking that lies behind the impending Tory 'review' of the social security system.

After a brief stop in Brunei, a former British 'protectorate' where Britain still maintains a garrison and helps the police force, for 'strategic' reasons, and where the Sultan has built the world's largest palace costing £300 million, Thatcher moved on to Indonesia. Here she was guest of the bloody dictator Suharto who rose to power 20 years ago, through the murder of one million com-



munists. Tens of thousands of political prisoners still languish in gaol and only last September Suharto's forces shot dead 60 Moslems in a demonstration on the outskirts of Jakarta. Suharto is also carrying out a brutal war against the peoples of East Timor and West Papua. To this butcher Thatcher said 'When it comes to defending independence and freedom we are at one with you' and praised his strong leadership. Her next port of call was Sri Lanka, where the government is engaged in genocide against the Tamil people. Over 1,000 have been murdered in recent months.

The Labour Party's response to Thatcher's trip was significant only in its omissions. With their jokey remarks about 'the enemy abroad' (Kaufmann), 'Rhoda the Rhino' (Healey) and 'a flea in a fit' (Kinnock), coupled with the pathetic criticism that Thatcher was not being patriotic enough about Britain's image abroad—due to her attacks on the miners, they succeeded in covering up the most disgusting aspects of her tour. The Labour leaders stayed silent on the fact that she is prepared to do business with those whose hands are stained with the blood of millions. Why is this? Could it be that they are looking forward to the day when they, too, as 'responsible' British leaders, will carry on the Labour Party tradition of business as usual with the butchers of the oppressed?

Olivia Adamson



An Arrest

NEWHAM 7 - police violence

33 people were arrested on the 3,000 strong East London demonstration held on Saturday 27 April to protest against racist attacks in the area. When the mainly black marchers stopped outside the notorious Forest Gate Police Station, baton wielding police leapt over their own barriers to attack the crowd. Many were injured, some dragged along the ground by their necks, a black FRFI comrade punched and hit on the head with a baton, a youth knocked to the ground and jumped on by three police. Despite some of the stewards, the demonstrators refused to move on, demanding that all those arrested be released without charge.

In a manoeuvre to pacify the angry crowds threatening the station, the police fed out lies through the organisers by claiming that those arrested would be released within ten minutes. In reality many of them had already been taken to West Ham, some miles away. However, the orgy of police violence was not yet over. By 6pm, as the crowds grew smaller, the police linked arms, circled the protesters and charged forward. There were more arrests and several more injuries, with one black woman knocked unconscious.

Once again the police have shown they are determined to try and stop black people organising against racist and fascist attacks. The demonstration was organised to support the Newham 7. In April last year, 7 black youth were arrested and charged by the police when they organised to defend the local Asian community from systematic and brutal racist attacks. In one incident, a disabled 16 year old woman had been assaulted by fascists wielding hammers. After being charged with conspiracy for organising self-defence, the Newham 7 Defence Campaign mobilised widespread support and secured the dismissal of the charges. However, in the continuing police effort to criminalise black people organising against racism, they have been charged with 'causing an affray'.

Another focus for the 27 April demonstration was the murder of 16 year old black youth, Eustace Pryce, stabbed in the neck by racists last November. Eustace's brother Gerald was arrested, charged with affray and refused bail. The racist murderer received bail to go

home for Christmas. Gerald only got bail on condition he stays out of Newham and does not see his family.

At a time when the National Front and other fascists are systematically organising brutal attacks and building up a network of thugs through tenants associations, drinking clubs, pubs and working men's clubs, the police action reveals them to be in direct collaboration with the fascists.

When the police are not attacking black people themselves, they are conspicuous by their absence throughout areas of East London where fascists are instituting a reign of terror on the black community. Black families are forced to seal letter boxes against fascist fire-bombers and bar their front windows. Scores of black people are being beaten up; in Woolwich one man had his eyes gouged out. Walls are daubed with slogans such as 'You nigger bitch' and 'NF' and groups with names such as the 'Black Exterminators' are being formed to rampage through the black communities.

In such conditions, it is not only the right, but the duty of all anti-racists to organise against these fascists and their police protectors. The Newham 7 Defence Campaign has organised another demonstration to reassert the right of black people and anti-racists to march through the streets of East London. FRFI comrades will be there and we urge all readers and supporters to attend.

Self-defence is no offence
Keinde Olawale

Below: Youth marching in support of the Newham 7 and Eustace Pryce



PAUL MATTISSON

LABOUR LEADERS' OPEN RACISM

The Labour Party leadership, determined to prevent black party members organising against racism within its ranks, is preparing for a showdown with supporters of black sections. In early April, the Labour Party NEC voted 19-7 to move against constituency parties which have voted to allow black section delegates to sit on management committees. These committees are responsible for selecting parliamentary candidates.

The first target of the NEC is likely to be the East Lewisham Labour Party which has defied the NEC. It has received a letter from headquarters demanding a signed pledge that it will abide by the Labour Party constitution and prevent black section delegates from sitting on its management committee. If it refuses it could be disbanded. Another 5 constituencies and possibly up to 24 others could face disbandment.

The racist political basis for this assault on the right of black members to organise was expressed in disgusting terms by Andrew Faulds MP:

'I think a coloured candidate at this stage in Smethwick would actually lose the seat. With a majority of 3,300 we can't monkey about.'

While the Labour Party is happy to use black people as voting fodder, when it comes to black candidates, the fear of driving away the white racist vote is uppermost in the minds of its racist leadership. Such a party can offer nothing to black people. Its record and its current practice proves this.

Eddie Abrahams

Honeyford Out!

Victory is in sight for the parents and pupils of Drummond Road Middle School in Bradford in their struggle to be rid of racist headmaster Raymond Honeyford. 86% of the school's pupils are black, yet Honeyford has not even cared to disguise his racism. In an article in *Salisbury Review* he talked of white children being educationally disadvantaged by being a minority. He referred to a parents meeting at his school as displaying the 'hysterical political temperament of the Indian sub-continent'.

On 22 March, Bradford Council's Education Sub-Committee passed an 8-7 vote of no-confidence in Honeyford and suspended him from his duties as headmaster for refusing to accept the Council's multi-cultural education policy. The principled stand by the Council has caused uproar in Parliament with Tory MPs coming to Honeyford's defence. Led by local MP Marcus Fox they are demanding the withdrawal of the suspension and an inquiry into Bradford Council. The struggle is not yet over! Bradford headteachers have joined the Tories and are also demanding Honeyford's reinstatement, claiming that he was 'the victim of a kangaroo court'. It has also been revealed that a disciplinary inquiry is being carried out into 7 Bradford Council training officers who run courses in racial awareness because they have accused Honeyford of being a 'known racist'.

There can be no doubt that the decision to suspend Honeyford was reached largely as a result of the determined fight of the Drummond Parents Action Committee and the local community. The parents will accept nothing less than his complete removal. To ensure this and to defeat rearguard actions by the supporters of racist Honeyford, the Action Committee needs support. Send messages, donations and petitions to DPAC, c/o Jenny Woodward, 40 St Pauls Road, Bradford 8, West Yorks.

Jenefer Thomas

Fascist election rally stopped

On Saturday 13 April, the British National Party (BNP), a fascist organisation, tried to hold a public meeting at Hutton Middle School in Eccleshill, Bradford. It was to be chaired by John Tyndall, former leader of the National Front and addressed by the BNP's local council election candidate Stanley Garnett. At very short notice 300 people mobilised to try and stop the meeting, including supporters of the Asian Youth Movement, Labour Party Young Socialists, Revolutionary Communist Group, the CPGB and SWP.

The police were out in force, nearly 200 of them, to protect the 20-25 fascists who turned up. Their presence was met by a barrage of slogans, while other anti-racists managed to get into the hall. Stanley Garnett was heckled as soon as he began speaking and within 15 minutes John Tyndall called on police to eject the demonstrators. In the ensuing struggle, in which the police were assisted by the fascists, 13 demonstrators were arrested. But not before the meeting was brought to an end by Bradford's chief executive Brian McAndrew!

Having tried, and failed, to protect the fascist meeting, the police charged the 13 arrested who are to appear in court on 13 May. The Bradford 13 have set up a defence campaign to fight this attempt to criminalise anti-racist and anti-fascist protesters. They and many others are determined to fight until all fascist activity in the area is stopped.

Sonny Taylor

NO DEPORTATIONS!

VIRAJ MENDIS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign is stepping up its activities. Nearly one year since the confiscation of his passport, Viraj, an FRFI supporter, still faces the threat of deportation to Sri Lanka. As well as pickets and street meetings the campaign is taking a coachfull of supporters to London on 8 May to hand in 13,000 petitions to Downing Street. As a gesture of solidarity with the risen South African people, the VMDC and its supporters will join the City AA picket of the South African embassy on the same evening.

THELMA JACKSON MUST STAY

Thelma is a 69 year old woman living with her daughter in Manchester and threatened with deportation to the West Indies despite her inability to travel owing to ill health: Public meeting Wednesday 22 May 7.30pm at West Indian Centre, Camoor Road, Manchester

BAKULA AND HASMUKH CHAUDHARI

Hasmukh, Bakula's fiance, came to Britain in January. He came to attend his appeal hearing regarding his stay in Britain, which was to be held on 5 March. But this was postponed to 13 June due to the illness of the adjudicator, and now the Home Office has taken steps to deport him to prevent him from attending his own hearing! We urge FRFI supporters to write in protest to the Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1.

CAMPAIGN ADDRESSES

Viraj Mendis DC, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN (tel: 061 273 5947)
Manda Kunda DC, c/o Abraham Moss Centre, Youth Wing, Crescent Road, Crumpsall, Manchester 8
Joyce Roucou DC, c/o Wythenshawe Law Centre, Fenside Road, Sharston, Manchester 8
Roemina, Nigat, Manzura, Rifat, Bakula - Immigration Wives and Fiances Cam-

ZIA ULLAH RELEASED

Zia Ullah was arrested on 2 April and taken to Rochdale police station where he was told he was to be deported. Zia came to this country from Pakistan eleven years ago.

The Manchester Immigration Wives and Fiances Campaign and FRFI supporters quickly mounted a strong campaign to force the Home Office to release him. On 3 April it was agreed to hold a picket in defence of Zia at Rochdale police station that evening. We contacted MPs, the press, councillors - anyone and everyone we could think of. At the last moment we heard that Zia had been taken to Strangeways prison (Manchester) since the Rochdale police were worried about the picket. The picket was moved to Strangeways. To everyone's delight on arrival at the prison we found Zia outside: he had been released. The campaigning had been successful.

A picket of the Home Office took place the following day demanding Zia's right to stay. The lively event was supported by Manchester and London FRFI comrades, the latter being harassed and followed by the police whilst waiting for the Manchester contingent to arrive.

Zia must stay. In 1978 he married a British citizen and was granted indefinite leave to remain the following year. He was divorced in 1981 and following this the Home Office decided to deport Zia claiming that his marriage had been 'one of convenience'. In 1984 he married Rifhat Nasrin Malik - a British citizen who has lived here for 18 years. Still the Home Office says Zia must go. Political defence and organisation can win Zia the right to stay.

Please contact Manchester Immigration Wives and Fiances Campaign, 595 Stockport Road, Manchester 12. Terry

paign, c/o 593 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester 12
Pedro Galleguillos DC, c/o 9 Lucy Street, Manchester 15
Akhtar Abdullah DC, c/o Abraham Moss Centre, Youth Wing, Crescent Road, Crumpsall, Manchester 8
Thelma Jackson DC, c/o 593 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester 12
Kamal Kumar DC, c/o 443 Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester 8

It is for this reason that it has been announced that later this year the laws under the infamous Immorality Act, which forbid sex and marriage between different racial groups, will be scrapped. Furthermore, Botha has announced that some black people may now be entitled to own freehold property in urban areas, and that the 'citizens' of the so-called 'independent homelands' may even be allowed to keep their South African citizenship! He has also announced an end to forced removals.

Behind Botha's lengthening series of minor reforms also lies a desperate attempt to consolidate a layer of privileged black people who will administer apartheid to the masses on behalf of the white minority. But for the vast majority of the black population, these so-called 'reforms' count for very little and do not substantially alter their suffering and oppression. The reality of apartheid for them is greater and greater repression. Police and army units occupy their townships, and the number of killings, arrests, and detentions without trial grow daily.

THE UDF TREASON TRIALISTS

In the first two months of 1985 there were 164 known United Democratic Front (UDF) detainees. There are now at least 50 UDF leaders and activists in detention facing charges of High Treason. On 23 April, three more UDF leaders were rounded up - Patrick Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF; Popo Molefe, general secretary; and Moss Chikane.

The trial date for the UDF 16 has now been set for 20 May, and they face charges of acting as a front for the banned African National Congress (ANC). The apartheid regime clearly hopes to cripple the UDF, by lengthy periods of detention and even lengthier trials which remove from the UDF not only its leaders but very many of its activists. The detainees may face up to 2 years in gaol while their case is heard. Conditions of their detention are poor, and there are fears for the health of Ismail Mohammed who has received no medical attention for his serious heart complaint. Meetings of the UDF and its affiliates have been banned in 18 areas.

In the face of these attacks, the UDF has refused to be intimidated. At its annual congress on 5-7 April, it rep-

orted 654 affiliated organisations, representing 2 million people. The UDF Congress promised to step up its campaign of civil disobedience, with mass action to stop the proposed New Zealand Rugby Union tour of South Africa in July. It also reaffirmed its total opposition to any form of imperialism, and promised to step up its campaign against British and American collaboration with apartheid. A lively and militant picket has been held of the US Citibank offices in Johannesburg.

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

In the black townships, especially those in the industrial area around Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, the uprisings continue. Black youth in their hundreds have taken to the streets to defend their communities who now face not only heavily armoured police but railway police and the army as well. The rage and hatred felt for the black councillors, officials and police continues, with more and more of them having their houses and cars destroyed, and many of them being injured or killed. The oppressed have shown that there can be no compromise with apartheid and that those who accept the crumbs off Botha's table will be ruthlessly dealt with. More and more councillors are resigning, thus dealing a sharp blow to Botha's plans to integrate sections of black people into the structure of apartheid, thus creating a strong black middle class.

The militancy of black workers in South Africa grows from strength to strength in spite of mass unemployment and vicious repression. In the Eastern Cape major multinational companies have been beset by strikes and stay-aways. Over the last few months thousands of gold miners at the Vaal Reef gold mining complex, the largest in the world, owned by Anglo-American have staged sporadic strikes to fight for better wages and working conditions. On 28 April, over a quarter of the workforce, 14,000 black workers were sacked as a result of these actions and ordered to return to the 'homelands'. This they refused to do, and for two days they occupied their hostels surrounded by armed police, who eventually forced them out with tear gas. Another 3,000 miners were also sacked by the Anglovaal mining corporation in Hartesbeesfontein. Umkhonto We

As mass resistance to apartheid terror continues to sweep through the black townships of South Africa, PW Botha has decided that the time is ripe once again for the apartheid regime to offer another package of 'reforms'. With mounting pressure on the Reagan administration and other imperialist governments to disinvest and impose sanctions on South Africa, Botha needs to reassure his imperialist backers quickly that their interests will be protected and revolution by the black masses staved off.

AFTER LANGA REVOLT GROWS

Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, immediately acted in protest at the sackings by planting two bombs outside the Johannesburg headquarters of Anglo-American and Anglovaal.

ISOLATE APARTHEID! SANCTIONS NOW!

At a time when there are mass uprisings in South Africa, and the apartheid regime grows more desperate to maintain control in the townships, worldwide demands for disinvestment and sanctions are growing fast. In the United States intensive nationwide campaigning has placed considerable pressure on the Reagan administration's policy of 'constructive engagement', as well as on banks, financial and other institutions to cease making loans to the apartheid regime. Following the decision of major banks, including Citibank, the North Carolina National Bank Corporation, the Morgan Guaranty Trust and Manufacturers Hanover, the Bank of Boston has announced that they will stop loans to banks and private firms in South Africa.

There have been occupations and other militant protests on campuses throughout America, demanding disinvestment of university funds in South African companies. Over 4,000 people have now been arrested outside the Washington Consulate alone and other



buildings with South African connections are targeted for actions. The Free South Africa Movement has spread like wildfire in the United States, but still has to catch on in this country.

We too need to mobilise thousands of people into militant action against British collaboration with apartheid, and make the anti-apartheid cause the burning issue of the day. How dare Ministers like Malcolm Rifkind get away with stating that sanctions should not be

implemented because black people in South Africa themselves are 'overwhelmingly' opposed to them. We need to build a movement in this country which effectively challenges the British banks and multinational companies who pour money into the apartheid regime.

The time to build that movement is now!

Ruby Khan and Charine James

FREE NAMIBIA

AN URGENT TASK FOR PROGRESSIVE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES

The year 1985 celebrates two important anniversaries - the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which coincides with the 20th anniversary of the armed struggle waged by the people of Namibia.

Progressive forces all over the world follow with sincere sympathy and solidarity the just struggle of the people of Namibia, who are still denied their freedom by the racist regime of Pretoria in defiance of all norms of international law and fundamental human rights. Colonial occupation, terror and exploitation by the South African regime continues.

The illegal occupying regime continues to arrest and murder Namibian patriots and supporters of SWAPO. Under various forms of pressure and threats, the citizens of Namibia are made to leave their homes and large numbers are living in refugee camps in neighbouring states.

Recent forced conscription of Namibians into the occupying army is another attempt to undermine the liberation struggle and to involve the people in a fratricidal war.

The South African regime is brazenly violating the human rights of the Namibian people. Instead of withdrawing their troops the racists have increased their military strength there. Instead of freeing the detainees their number has actually increased. A total of 80 Namibians are thought to be presently detained

under South African law and an estimated 100 unofficial prisoners of war have been held since May 1978 following so-called 'limited operations' by South African forces against SWAPO training and refugee camps in Southern Angola.

Furthermore, the racists have transformed Walvis Bay into a springboard for undermining an independent Namibia. Walvis Bay, Namibia's only deep water harbour, has been annexed by successive colonial powers since the 19th century - the Dutch, the British, and South Africa itself.

Today the South African racists use this history as the basis for their claims that after the political independence of Namibia, Walvis Bay should remain under their control. Walvis Bay has a key function for an independent Namibia - as a base for the export of Namibia's vast mineral wealth and as a base for the fishing industry.

Ruthless exploitation of human and natural resources of Namibia by South Africa and imperialist transnational corporations is continuing. The transnationals account for 90% of the total output of Namibia's mining industry. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, part of Anglo-American

Corporation, holds a virtual monopoly over the mining of diamonds. The Tsunieb Corporation, which belongs to US capital including Amax - Ian MacGregor's (NCB chairman) old stomping ground - accounts for 80 per cent of Namibia's production of base metals.

The predatory, unrestrained exploitation of the mineral rights of Namibia, which has become Africa's fourth largest exporter of copper (after South Africa, Zaire and Zambia) is proceeding at an accelerated rate. In particular, uranium has become an increasingly important major export and prospecting for oil and natural gas is expanding.

The UN Institute of Namibia, based in Lusaka, has calculated that Namibia's gross national product was approximately \$1.3 billion dollars in 1977; of this more than \$500 million was taken out of the country.

The imperialists constantly pretend that their intervention in Namibia is intended to hasten independence. What is happening is not a so-called peaceful settlement nor a model of salvation. What is happening is the salvation of the monopolist profits, imperialist spheres of influence and the privilege of the white colonialists. And herein lies the true reason for the feverish haste which certain circles, distorting UN Security Council Resolution 385 (1976), have been preparing plans for a neo-colonial settlement and have staged various manoeuvres to obstruct a true resolu-

tion to the Namibian problem.

PW Botha recently told the South African parliament that an interim government drawn from the stooge Multi-Party Conference (MPC), formed in November 1983, will be set up in Windhoek. Under such an arrangement, which has the full backing of the imperialist powers under the so-called policy of 'constructive engagement', the South African regime would retain control of the territory's defence and foreign relations. The apartheid regime asserts that it is attempting to resolve the question of Namibia through a peaceful settlement rather than war. But Botha's 'peace' is in reality peace only for the imperialists and suffering for the mass of Namibians.

If the goal is an independent and free Namibia, then South Africa should leave that country. If the occupying power is unwilling to leave, then it must be compelled to leave.

All the attempts to obstruct the liberation struggle of the Namibian people have not and cannot succeed. For hundreds of years Namibians have been fighting heroically against colonial occupation. These years are the years of suffering and sacrifice, but also years of belief and resolve that freedom will not remain just a dream. With such a conviction the people of Namibia will never be thrown to their knees, nor will their struggle be quelled.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its armed struggle, SWAPO praised its liberation fighters saying that the independence struggle 'had weakened the South African colonial regime's resolve to fight, forcing it to attempt to turn our people's struggle into a civil war.'

Recently both the United Nations and

the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) rejected the Pretoria regime's plan to set up a stooge government in Namibia. The OAU warned of a 'bloody war' if Pretoria went ahead with such a scheme which excludes SWAPO. The OAU statement said that only a government established within the framework of the 1978 UN Security Council Resolution 435 should be internationally recognised.

Botha's recent announcement of the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola has been welcomed in many quarters. Cuba's deputy foreign minister José Ramon told reporters: 'The withdrawal is a positive move but it is something that is long overdue and in any case, does not alter Cuba's requested presence in Angola as the South Africans are still firmly in Namibia.' 'It is welcome in that it takes one more issue from the negotiating table.'

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! salutes SWAPO as the representative of the Namibian people. In its difficult and selfless struggle SWAPO is not alone. All the progressive forces of the world are linked with it by close ties of solidarity. There has been a perceptible increase in its international authority and its battleworthiness. Naturally, at the present time, in view of racist and imperialist manoeuvres, SWAPO has been forced to step up the armed struggle that has been imposed upon it.

Effective political, moral and material assistance and support to the Namibian people and its liberation movement, SWAPO, is indispensable. Their resolve and determination and their goal make this support a duty for all progressive people all the world over.

Shelton Jolicoeur

CHANGE THE AAM

The expulsion of City Group by the Anti-Apartheid's National Committee in February was intended to be the final blow in their battle to keep the AAM as respectable (in the eyes of the British government) as it has been since its foundation 25 years ago. However the City Group pickets of the Embassy continue – and have been daily for the last few weeks. New people are still joining City Group, organisations like the All-London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) and the North Westminster Constituency Labour Party have pledged support for the pickets and for City Group, and messages of support have come from many different people and organisations around the country.

City Group is mounting a campaign to be reaffiliated to the AAM. Such a campaign needs to involve many hundreds of people and many different organisations. A model resolution has been drawn up which is being circulated as

NO TO APARTHEID!

FRFI will be supporting the AAM national demonstration 16 June assemble 12 noon County Hall march to Trafalgar Square

Stop the massacres Sanctions NOW!

join the RCG

The Revolutionary Communist Group and its newspaper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* take the side of all those struggling against imperialism – the striking miners, black people, the Irish people, oppressed peoples all over the world.

If you want to know more about us and our newspaper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* return to slip below.

Please send me more information about the RCG and how to obtain FRFI regularly.

Name _____
Address _____
Tel _____

Return to FRFI BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

SCOTTISH AAM COMMITTEE HIDES THE TRUTH

At last some of the truth is emerging about a letter sent by the AAM Scottish Committee to Dundee University Students Association (DUSA). Last December, the Association banned sales of *Anti-Apartheid News* and FRFI following a Defend Viraj Mendis public meeting at the Students Union. The Scottish Committee claims that AA News was banned because it was confused with FRFI and FRFI's position on Ireland. It wrote a letter to DUSA in January dissociating AA News from FRFI. But it has refused to produce a copy, even at its own meetings! The Scottish Committee used excuses like 'it cannot be found' or that the letter might get into the RCG's hands who have 'previously misused' AAM material. What has the Scottish Committee got to hide, we wonder?

Some of you will remember that the students who 'vandalised' the Young Conservative Conference came from Dundee University. They were later expelled by John Selwyn Gummer in an attempt to cover up the fascist character of Thatcher's proto-Nazi youth. Perhaps the letter was penned to appeal to the most reactionary sections of the DUSA. Instead of attacking the anti-democratic decision to ban AA News and FRFI, it launches into a disgraceful attack on the RCG. By proclaiming the respectability of the AAM and claiming that it includes members from all political parties, while at the same time attacking communists, the Scottish Committee maybe believes it can persuade the DUSA to lift the ban on AA News.

No doubt the Scottish Committee, chaired by a CPGB member, is happy to see bans on communist and anti-imperialist papers but (please) not on its own AA News. Is it any wonder that the Committee refused to make copies of its letter available, even to its own members?

widely as possible calling for City Group's re-instatement. The terms of the resolution are quite simple:

'This AGM is concerned at the decision of the National Committee of 23 February to disaffiliate the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. We recognise that through its pickets of the South African Embassy, City AA has popularised the fight against apartheid in this country and made a positive contribution to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.'

This AGM agrees to re-instate City of London Anti-Apartheid Group as a local group of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.'

Quite simple – but to achieve success the whole character of the AAM leadership will be challenged and this must be reflected in the composition of the delegates attending this year's AGM in Sheffield on November 2/3.

The decision by City Group to fight their disaffiliation has not been taken lightly. It has been taken not only because of the exclusion of City Group itself from the movement but because it is recognised that this exclusion is characteristic of the existing AAM. The present leadership does not welcome into the ranks of the movement any group or individual who does not square with their narrow vision of the kind of

movement they want. The traditional methods of operation and spheres of influence of the British trade union movement are their norm – the young, oppressed, black and unemployed do not give a fig for such 'norms' which have always excluded their participation. This leadership is very typical of the standpoint of the Communist Party of Great Britain which thinks that the working class vanguard is those white male trade unionists who devote 5 minutes of their annual conferences to ritual denunciations of apartheid as an act of pompous charity. The only 'broad alliance' they will contemplate is one which does not threaten their domination. Of course wide forces, including trade unions should be in the movement if they genuinely oppose apartheid – but not at the expense of those sections of the working class who will be the cutting edge of a strong, active movement which could make British collaboration with South Africa the major political issue of the day. Those who are on the receiving end of narrow and undemocratic decisions are often accused of 'sectarianism' and 'splitting' when they try to fight their case. Some have argued that City Group is joining the great majority now that it has been expelled from the AAM and that the existing AAM acted to stifle the best initiatives. Examples such as the AAM's condemnation of the Liverpool Black Caucus' sabotage of Zola Budd's race in Birkenhead, of the refusal to affiliate Leeds Women Against Apartheid because of the unconstitutional protests (supergluing the doors of Barclays Bank!) and of the sham protest organised by the AAM leadership against the Oxford debate with Apartheid's representatives – on this occasion the AAM managed to have a participant in the debate (Oestreicher) speaking on their platform as well – were all given for leaving the AAM to its fate for good or bad. FRFI does not agree with this argument. The AAM is accepted as the voice of all of us in Britain who oppose apartheid. It should become a movement of all those who oppose apartheid. That is why the battle must be fought at the AAM AGM to establish an open and democratic movement, including City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

Maggie Mellon

Equity walks out on boycott buster

City Group members including FRFI lobbied delegates to the annual Equity Conference on Monday 29 April in support of the campaign they are mounting to Close Down the South African Embassy. This followed a walk-out the previous day by 460 of the conference delegates in protest at their President, Derek Bond refusing to resign from his post after breaking the cultural boycott of South Africa. Bond worked in South Africa for six weeks last Autumn, rejecting his union's advice to members not to accept apartheid's bribes.

He was denounced by speaker after speaker, many of whom called for the advice policy to be changed to an explicit instruction and for the expulsion of any member who broke the boycott. Bond rejected the overwhelming vote calling for his resignation. But his excuses fell on deaf ears as the 460 stood with their backs turned to him before walking out. They returned to successfully move 'no confidence' in their chair – Bond – who had to step down for the rest of the conference. The same conference decisively rejected British passlaws when they voted out a motion from their South

East Area calling on the Equity Council to 'create a specifically British culture' when considering applications for work permits for overseas performers.

The Close Down the Embassy campaigners got a great response from the delegates – many signed the petition, including Vanessa Redgrave, Kiki Markham and other well-known progressives many of whom promised to come down to support the regular pickets of the Embassy held by City Group.

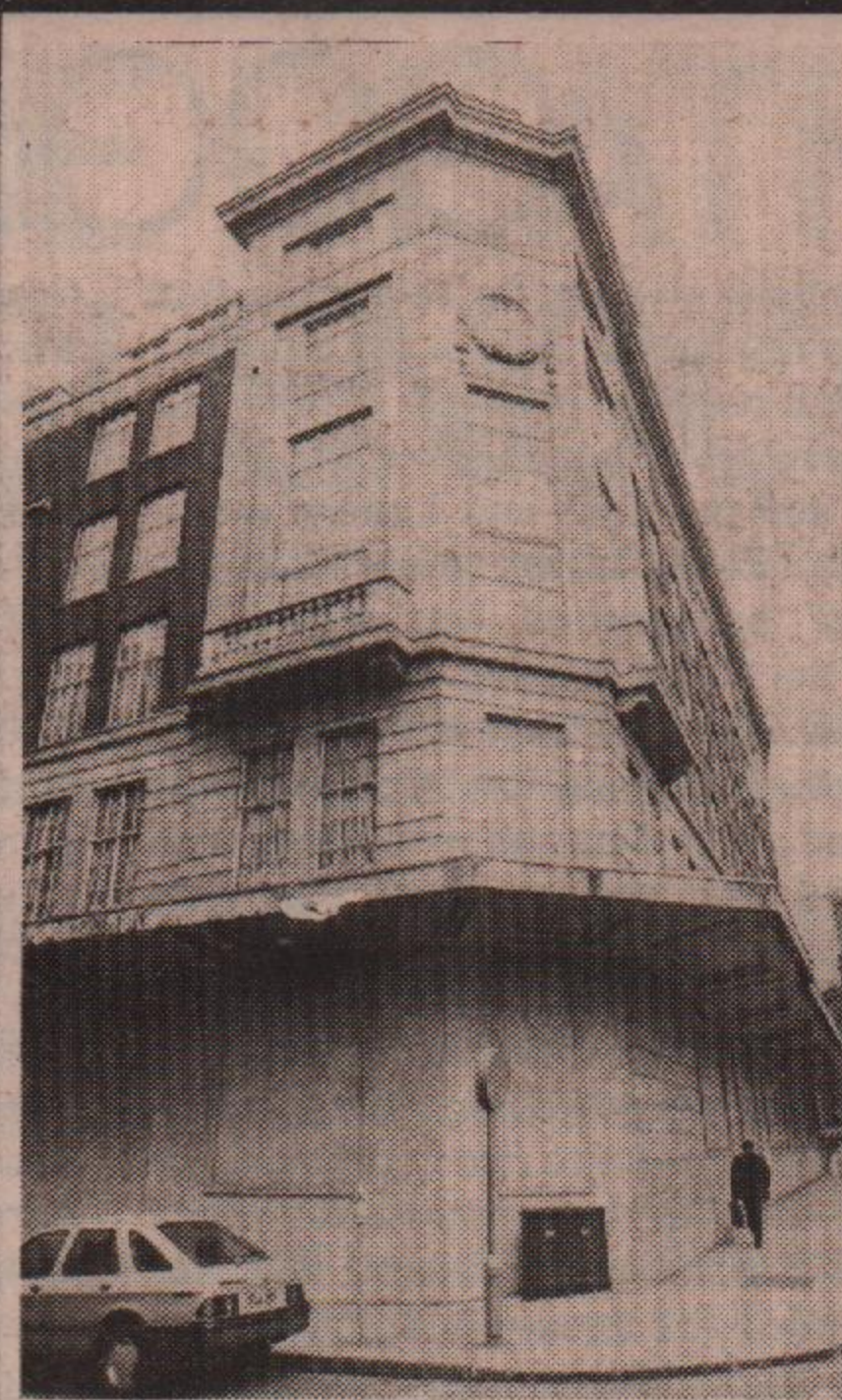
Maggie Mellon

MEMORIAL MEETING

On Saturday 27 April supporters of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* joined a Pan African Congress rally held at the Africa Centre in Covent Garden London to honour those who have fallen in the most recent struggles of the South African revolution. However, there was little sense of mourning and every expression of pride and determination to go forward and emu-

late the courage of those who have been so viciously slain by apartheid.

Speeches outlining the current situation in South Africa, the spread of revolt, and its global context, were given by PAC comrades, representatives of the black community in Britain and revolutionary African nationalists. They were interspersed with song of liberation, poems of resistance, and messages of solidarity, among which was a solidarity greeting from *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!*



PHONE TAPPING

On Thursday 25 April, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group picketed MI5 offices in Curzon Street, Mayfair, to protest against the alleged tapping of City Group convenor's telephone and the passing of transcripts to the South African embassy. The phone tapping was alleged in an interview with a 'senior Intelligence Officer' of MI5 published in *Monochrome*, successor to *Leveller* magazine.

'Over the past two years the members of the Executive of the Anti-Apartheid Movement have been under close scrutiny. I have been made very aware of the activities of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group (the most militant wing). We were told to investigate it as a front for the Revolutionary Communist Group. Little evidence was found to corroborate this view.' ...

'Wilson also claimed that the telephone of Carol Brickley, a prominent activist and founder of City AAG, had been tapped and transcripts of the calls had been passed to the South African Embassy.'

City Group and Carol Brickley, an RCG member, had no choice but to take these allegations seriously given the now well-known operations and collaboration of MI5 and apartheid's embassy in Britain. Stuart Holland, Carol Brickley's MP raised the question during the Interception of Communications debate in parliament on 17 April. A written reply from the Home Secretary is still awaited.

At the same time, City Group has been attempting to get further information to verify or squash *Monochrome's* 'scoop' since it seems unusual, to say the least, for a senior MI5 agent to decide to come clean through the pages of a little known left wing publication. Interestingly, the interview contains several inaccuracies about the way MI5 operates and the only new information, which could not have been reshaped from previously published sources, are the assertions about City Group and the RCG.

If the interview was fabricated by *Monochrome*, then it will be interesting to learn their reasons for using City Group and the RCG, especially since Mike Terry of the AAM made a similar accusation in the *Guardian* in February when he claimed that Special Branch surveillance of the AAM had increased since the formation of City Group.

CLOSE DOWN THE CONSULATE

On 20 April, supporters of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* held an eight hour picket against apartheid, in Glasgow city centre. The picket was a very successful affair with many young working class people taking part, as well as passers by. The high point of the day was a noisy militant rally, outside the South African Consulate. Speeches made outside the consulate included condemnations of the Glasgow District Council, who, whilst claiming to have an anti-apartheid policy, allow the consulate to exist without protest. The participants in the rally pledged to campaign to see the apartheid consulate closed down. Those who supported the day's events included the Edinburgh Irish Solidarity Committee, the Glasgow University Anti-Apartheid Society, and the Irish Republican Socialist Party (support group).

Throughout the day over 1,000 people signed the petition protesting against British collaboration with South Africa. Kim Daly

Letter

ONE SIDED

Dear FRFI

I searched in vain through the articles on apartheid and South Africa in the April issue to find a reference to the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). This is very strange because FRFI delivered a message of solidarity at the Sharpeville Day Commemoration on 21 March organised by the PAC at the Africa Centre.

There was no mention of either the message or the meeting. Your paper also failed to clarify the historical fact that it was the PAC which organised the Anti-Pass Demonstrations that led to the Sharpeville and Langa shootings in 1960.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has long been a very one-sided movement that has ignored the contribution and the existence of liberation movements other than the ANC. You seem to be in the throes of discovering its monolithic structure for yourselves but have not yet posited an internationalist alternative. In common with large sections of the left in imperialist Britain, you have for some time exhibited the chauvinistic tendency that you know what's best for the dispossessed masses of South Africa.

You too publicise and support the ANC and ignore the other liberation movements. This is a very divisive and anti-Leninist stance. What the people of Azania (as South Africa will be called after liberation) need from Britain is the broadest possible support for their struggle to overthrow white supremacy and regain their land. And such support should not be channelled to one 'authentic' or 'socialist' movement but to the movement as a whole.

I was in prison with Dave Kitson and am disgusted at the shabby way he has been treated by the AAM. His comrades in the ANC have shown a total lack of compassion and understanding for one of their outstanding members who can hardly have recovered from his 20 years behind bars.

In pursuing your struggle against the one-sided leaders of the AAM, you must be careful not to become sectarian yourselves. The AAM must be kept broad and allow room for activists at all levels. This can only be achieved by eroding the domination of the AAM by the ANC. The AAM is doomed if it remains narrow in membership or policy.

Lastly, it would be very helpful to Azanian exiles who read your paper to be told why the Africa Centre meeting was not reported.

Yours fraternally
Costa Gazidis
Azania Solidarity

Costa Gazidis is right to conclude that we are in the throes of a dispute within the AAM. We believe that the AAM has a one-sided stance on liberation movements in Southern Africa, despite its constitution which claims to support 'liberation movements'. In fact it does not give solidarity to the PAC.

With regard to his criticisms of FRFI coverage, we also agree that this has been one-sided, although there was no attempt to disguise the fact that we sent a solidarity message to the meeting on the anniversary of Sharpeville, or to hide the role of the PAC in 1960 which is well-known to us.

FRFI's coverage of the struggle for liberation in South Africa has been heavily weighted towards the ANC, because the ANC has played a leading role in the struggle over the past period. This does not excuse us for not including coverage about the PAC and we hope to rectify this from now on.

However, we must point out that we do not take sides in any dispute between different liberation movements. The people of South Africa must be the sole judges of those who claim to represent and lead their struggle. We believe that as communists and internationalists we must give support to all those fighting imperialism in Southern Africa, whatever their shades of political opinion. Remedying our one-sidedness will not involve giving less support to the ANC. As communists we believe that the best way to give solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is to build an anti-imperialist movement in Britain, and this will continue to be our emphasis.

RONNIE MENZIES

Ronnie Menzies, regular reader of FRFI, is now in his tenth month of solitary confinement under Rule 43/2. Ronnie was put in solitary in July 1984 and has been transferred twice during that time and suffered continual harassment. Whilst in Armlay prison in March this year, Ronnie was denied correspondence from FRFI and issue 48 of the paper. His personal property was withheld and his visits interfered with. He lost 60 days remission and spent 20 hours in a strip cell after

hitting a prison officer who was refusing to give him his books and questioning his vegan diet. He had to eat nothing but porridge and cakes while he was in Armlay. Ronnie is now back in Gartree and all comrades at FRFI send him warm greetings and support and we urge all readers to send him cards and messages of solidarity (Ronnie Menzies, C42511, HMP Gartree, Market Harborough, LE16 7RP) and write in protest to the Home Office Prison Department at his continued solitary confinement. Alex Byrne

EALING 5 APPEAL REJECTED

The infamous police frame-up of the Ealing 5, for which five men got 15-17 years, went to appeal in the High Court on 25 March (see last issue). In March one of the five, Guy Maggioni, predicted to FRFI the appeal would be rejected. He was convinced even then that the judges would reject the undeniable proof of police

frame-up because an admission would expose the corruption of the legal system. Unfortunately, after a six day hearing, his misgivings were proved correct. The appeal was rejected and the other four, including James Farrell, must remain in prison, victims of a cover-up at the highest level of office in the land. Our solidarity goes to the Ealing 5, who are considering their next step. Messages of solidarity can be passed on to them via FRFI. Tony Sheridan

BARBARITY IN SCOTLAND

On 17 April over 90 prisoners refused to go to work in protest over canteen prices and slave-labour rates of pay, one of a series of protests since Dumfries Prison opened 6 months ago. On the same day a 16-year-old boy tried to escape from Longriggend Youth Re-

mand Centre in Lanarkshire. Screws responded by terminating recreation for everyone and turning away relatives who had arrived for visits. He was later found hiding in a rubbish skip. The next morning between 85 and 100 prisoners who were at breakfast refused to leave the dining hall, and fighting broke out as screws tried to remove them table by table. Paul McKinlay

Alan Reeve hunger strike victory

On 20 April Alan Reeve ended a courageous hunger strike in a Dutch gaol after winning an assurance from the Dutch Ministry of Justice that he would be transferred out of the bunker (total isolation wing) of Scheweningen prison. The day before a doctor warned: 'His body can no longer assimilate fluids, the first symptom of an imminent coma'. It was only when Alan was close to death that the Dutch prison authorities granted his demand.

On 31 January Alan was told he would be deported to Britain at the end of his sentence where a return to Broadmoor awaits him. On 16 February Alan and four other prisoners tried to escape. Although non-violent escape is not a crime under Dutch law, Alan was given the maximum sentence of 14 days in solitary. He and the others were moved to B wing and the 14 day solitary sentence became 'indefinite'. Alan was told that his incarceration in B wing was a direct result of pressure from the British on the Dutch Ministry of Justice. Alan was placed in B-1, the most harsh section, a move which was opposed by prisoners and many staff.

of himself and the others out of the bunker shows that his spirit cannot be crushed - whether in Holland or in Britain. His political commitment and courage ensured that concessions were made. Large demonstrations took place in Amsterdam yet coverage in the cowardly British media was kept to a minimum.

FRFI says 'Victory to Alan Reeve!' and sends solidarity greetings to Alan and his wife Pat. Alan is still dangerously ill and weak. Messages should be sent to: Alan Reeve, p/a Strafgevangenen, Pompstationsweg 14, 2597 JW, The Hague, Netherlands.

Olivia Adamson

IRISH POWS BIRTHDAYS

The following Irish Republican prisoners have forthcoming birthdays. FRFI sends our greetings and we ask readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival.

- Robert Campbell, 832945, HM Prison, Hedon Rd, Hull, North Humberside, HU9 5LX. 1 June
- Con McFadden, 130662, HM Prison, Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF2 9AG. 19 June
- Paul Holmes, 119034, HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight. June 22

BOOKS FOR PRISONERS

In line with our policy of providing prisoners with political literature FRFI has already sent 47 copies of our new book *Miners Strike, 1984-1985, People Versus State*, free of charge to prisoners. Any prisoner who requests a copy of the book will be sent one.

To continue this service we need money - each book costs £2.50 plus 61p postage. We appeal to our readers and supporters to pay for copies of the book for prisoners.

With your help we can send prisoners the political literature they need. We also ask prisoners' relatives, if possible, to pay for copies for their prisoners.

BUY A BOOK FOR A PRISONER! SEND MONEY NOW!

To: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. Cheques and postal orders payable to Larkin Publications.

NO MORE DEATHS! CLOSE GLENOCHIL NOW

At a press conference on 5 March Mr Philip Barry, Inspector of Scottish Prisons said:

'the inspectors had found no evidence of an oppressive regime either at the young offenders institution or the detention centre at Glenochil...

The regimes there, he said, appeared to be positive and purposeful... the inspectors found morale amongst inmates high with many complimentary towards the regime. The staff the Inspector found to be caring people. He apparently has done the rounds.' (Scotsman 6 March 1985)

As he spoke a Fatal Accident Inquiry was still being made into the death of 17-year-old Angus Boyd, and a month later on 13 April 16-year-old Derek Harris from Aberdeen was found hanging in his cell - the seventh death at the Glenochil complex since 1982 and the second within the 'short, sharp shock' Detention Centre.

Despite concentration by the press on Derek Harris' traumatic background and psychological problems, there has been a public outcry with all sections of opinion left of the Tory Party calling for a public enquiry.

On Friday 26 April the Gateway Exchange in Edinburgh organised a 150-strong public meeting on the 'Crisis in Glenochil' which not only brought together various concerned professionals and some political groups behind this call for a public enquiry, but also heard statements about the regime in Glenochil from ex-inmates, who made it clear that many others would say the same but for the fear of going down again. The Governor of Glenochil, Mr Spencer, sat quietly and anonymously throughout until someone misquoted him near the end. The bourgeois press has not considered their statements fit to publish. FRFI does:

'no evidence of an oppressive regime...'

'Their favourite trick to bring you down was at the end of the night, when they would come in to get your clothes, they would strip you naked then make you lift your hands up in the air and turn right round and lift one foot off the ground at a time so they could see the bottom of your feet, but then came the coup de grace,

they made you bend down and touch your toes, then one of them would lift his foot up and put it on one cheek of your arse at a time and push it to the side, all the time this is going on they are making comments on the shape and size of your body, it's a real bring down that leaves you numb with shame and anger but there is always so many of them you know you're beat before you start so you either do it the "easy way" or the "hard way", then you had the screws who would come in to check your cell to make sure you had cleaned it, some of them would come in with dust already on their fingers and ask you what it was, what could you say?'

(from written statement by late '70s Glenochil DC inmate-A)

'If you've not got the guts to stick a rope round yer neck you've just got to stick in and do it.' [your sentence] (Recent ex-Glenochil DC inmate - B - out 7 weeks)

'positive and purposeful...'

'then you had what was known as the "Magic Square". This was a bit of the floor in front of a pillar that was about 2 foot by 2 foot and they would make you scrub that one bit of floor for maybe a couple of hours at a time, and there was always the screw who

would "accidentally" knock over your scrubbing bucket that was full of water, then start to shout at you as if it was you who knocked it over.' (ex-inmate-A)

'morale amongst the inmates high with many complimentary towards the regime...'

Ex-inmate C described how admission to Glenochil DC in 1978 was designed to break the spirit:

'I was beaten up for one hour, and made to write in a letter home what they told me to, then I was given dinner...'

We were beaten up for the first 3 weeks just to show who was boss. 3 guys who went in at the same time as me tried to do themselves in...

... You don't step out of line when there are visitors. They don't do anything at the time, but afterwards...'

'The Staff the Inspector found to be caring. He had apparently done the rounds...'

Recent ex-inmate B, also only out 7 weeks, has described the staff's caring approach:

'The Inspector never came to see us.'

'I was thrown on the ground, dragged along and up the stairs for talking. You can't go to anyone in the place.'

A public enquiry into Glenochil is not enough. It must be closed now. Until it is closed the deaths will continue, and between 100 and 200 youths placed on suicide watch each year. The Scottish Council for Civil Liberties has been receiving similar accounts of the regime in Glenochil for the last 10 years - both the Young Offenders Institution and the Detention Centre. It cannot be reformed as ex-inmate-C has explained:

'There was only one decent screw. Everybody said so. He left. He had to. He couldn't conform to the way the rest of them were carrying on.'

Paul McKinlay

FRFI has received the following information from Parkhurst Prison:

'Security [are] strip searching visitors before they are allowed to visit prisoners. Age or sex is no bar; they are strip searching male and female, young and old, even children as young as one and two are being subjected to this humiliating search, and the tension here is rising rapidly. Last week, we had a one day strike in the workshops over the matter, but this has not stopped the problem at all, indeed, if it has done anything at all, it has only increased their frequency. Last Friday (5 April), one lad came very close to losing his life. They found him in his cell at 9pm with a slit throat and wrists. The evening medical screws had refused to give him his medication. He was taken to outside hospital, and latest reports are that he will pull through, but it was a very close thing. If this humiliating strip searching carries on, then we will very soon see a repeat of Albany 1983... one visitor who came last weekend, has told her brother that she is not prepared to come again as she does not feel able to go through such a humiliating process again. The Governor is deaf to our pleas, and says that the PO in charge of the Security must be given a free hand to manage his department as he so likes... To a prisoner, there are two things that are sacrosanct; his letters and his visits, any interference with any of these is both provocative and a prescription for confrontation...'

FRFI urges all readers to write letters of protest to the Home Office Prison Department, Queen Anne's Gate, London, SW1 and to the Governor of Parkhurst Prison, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

More beatings at Wandsworth

Prisoners at Wandsworth have once again come under attack. On 28 March Graham Little and Danny Breaks carried out a short peaceful protest on the roof of the Bathing Exchange Store in Wandsworth prison. On 4 April both men and Charlie O'Connor were attacked in their cells after beginning a dirty protest against conditions in the prison. Graham Little was beaten and dragged semi-conscious to the strong box. Charles O'Connor was also beaten and taken to the strong box. Danny Breaks was then heard being told to 'Turn and face that wall' and then taken away crying in pain. A prison officer was heard saying 'There is no such thing as a peaceful protest.'

In the last week of April black prisoner Cirus Noor again came under attack. Following a series of minor incidents Cirus was forcibly injected in his cell. On Monday 22 April visitors described his condition as 'dribbling at the mouth, eyes closed, locked jaws, muscles twitching, unable to hold his head straight and difficulty in speaking.' These are all signs of heavy sedation. The Home Office claimed that Cirus had become 'disturbed' on Sunday 21 April and was injected without making any objection. Cirus Noor's solicitor Brian Raymond has visited him and is monitoring his condition.

FRFI has obtained a copy of part of Wandsworth Governor William Guinan's report for March 1985. This reveals that 'special cells' (strong boxes) were used 15 times - 4 times against one prisoner; body belts once and handcuffs

once. It also notes that Governor's adjudications (for which there is no legal representation) have risen to 416 (an increase of 73 over February). More than 13 adjudications per day! Guinan also claims that there were 19 assaults on staff plus 2 attempted assaults - he says nothing about assaults on prisoners. All this he describes as 'quite an active month'. April was also, it seems, an 'active month' culminating in the death of D J Dean, serving 22 months, found hanged in his cell on 16 April. Meanwhile the police 'investigation' into staff brutality has come to nothing. It is clear that nothing has changed in Wandsworth. FRFI sends its support to Wandsworth prisoners and demands an independent public inquiry now!

Terry O'Halloran

Who wants war? The British and American governments continually claim that they are only involved in the armaments race in order to defend the 'free' world against the aggressive, expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. Yet an honest investigation of the 1939-45 war, the only world-wide open armed conflict between imperialist and socialist powers clearly shows that the imperialist nations were the aggressors. The causes of the present arms race lie here – after suffering enormous devastation in that war, the Soviet Union and its allies are forced to maintain armed forces to defend themselves against imperialist aggression.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

The basic cause of the war was the rivalry between the leading imperialist powers. After the end of the 1914-18 war, Britain and France had imposed on Germany the Versailles Treaty (1919), which prevented her from re-arming and greatly weakened her economically. The Nazis, who came to power in 1933, sought to re-establish Germany as a major imperialist power. In all his writings and speeches, Hitler had made no secret of his admiration for the British Empire, as the embodiment of his theory of the 'master race' – he simply wanted Germany to have an empire of the same kind. His other major aim was to destroy the Soviet Union, just as he had destroyed the communist and labour movement in Germany.

Wide circles of the British and French ruling classes supported Hitler's destruction of the labour movement in Germany, and thought that a Nazi Germany would be a 'bastion against Bolshevism' in Europe. The British government's policy of 'appeasement' of Hitler allowed him to re-arm, especially from 1936 onwards. He gradually began incorporating the smaller nations surrounding Germany as part of his policy of 'living space' for the German nation and as a springboard for his attack on the Soviet Union. The most notorious instance of this was the Munich agreement (1938), by which the British and French allowed Hitler to take over Czechoslovakia.

Not only did the 'democracies' of Britain and France give political encouragement to Hitler, but they and the US supplied vital war materials right up to the last moment. In 1938, Germany bought from the British and French empires decisive quantities of iron ore, lead, chromium, copper, manganese, nickel, zinc, and rubber. Only 2 weeks before war was declared, on 19 August 1939, the Nazis were able to buy on the London Stock Exchange raw materials vital for their war preparations, particularly rubber and copper, which had been plundered from British colonies.

Despite repeated requests by the Soviet Union, the 'democracies' also refused even to enter into serious discussions about making an agreement with the Soviet Union to defend Poland and other European countries against Nazi aggression. Consequently, the Soviet Union was forced to enter an agreement with the Nazis, the USSR-German Non-Aggression Treaty (23 August 1939),

which in effect allowed it to buy time to prepare to meet the threat of the Nazi invasion.

Why, then, did the British government on 3 September 1939 declare war on the Nazis? It did so for two main reasons – firstly, it was disappointed that the Nazis had entered a pact with the Soviet Union. In one of his speeches, Churchill said that Britain declared war on Germany because Hitler, who had promised 'war against the Bolsheviks' by signing a non-aggression treaty with the USSR. Secondly, it became increasingly concerned that the Nazis' expansionist ambitions might threaten British imperialism itself. For example, Rumania and Greece, where there were important British investments, were now within striking distance for the Nazi army.

However, as events quickly showed, the declaration of war did not mean a serious offensive against fascism. Indeed, the Churchill government was more than willing to continue the policy of 'appeasement', not only towards German but also towards Italian fascism. In November 1939 Churchill made overtures to Italy, including a recognition of Italy's seizure of Albania, and trading relations between the two countries were unaffected. The real war aims of the British ruling class, and its supporters in the labour movement, remained unchanged – to turn the war against the Soviet Union, and to defend the British Empire.

In order to camouflage its real aims, imperialist statesmen and their labour apologists showed their utter contempt for truth, by calling the war a 'war for democracy'. A Comintern statement of November 1939 correctly warned: 'Don't believe those who are calling upon you to support the war under the false pretext of the defence of democracy. What right to speak of democracy have those who oppress India, Indo-China, the Arab countries, who keep half of the world in the chains of colonial slavery?' And indeed, the Viceroy of India, Britain's largest colony, declared war on Germany on India's behalf without consulting *any* section of Indian opinion or making even the vaguest promises about self-determination for the Indian people. Within the first two years of 'war', the number of Indian troops

was raised from 123,000 to 750,000 – by the end of the war 45% of the 'British' army was from the colonies and Dominions.

PHONY WAR

It quickly became apparent that Chamberlain's declaration of war was purely formal. Although under the terms of the Mutual Assistance Agreement of 25 August 1939 (that is, 8 days before the invasion), Britain was pledged to act 'at once' with 'all the support and assistance in its power', the British government delayed for a week before even meeting representatives of the Polish army, at that moment being destroyed by the German *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war). It then offered to supply a derisory quantity of antiquated equipment, but by then the Nazi conquest of Poland was complete.

English anti-fascists called it 'phony', the French 'a joke', but both terms aptly describe the initial phase of the 'war'. In 1939, the British and French armies in the west had 110 divisions in the west, while the Nazis had 23, but the Allied armies made no move. It took 9 months before even a small contingent of British troops was landed in France. After 9 months of 'mobilisation', there were still a million unemployed in Britain. Likewise, factories were not converted to arms production – it took 8 months for the Ministry of Supply to set up a committee to *study* the design of tanks. No wonder this was called a 'phony war'.

The case of Finland shows that this delay was entirely due to political reasons. On 30 November 1939 the Red Army invaded Finland to block one of the most crucial lines of entry into the Soviet Union from the West. The Finnish frontier was only 20 miles from the suburbs of Leningrad, and offered an obvious jumping-off point for an invasion of the Soviet Union. The British government roused itself from its selective lethargy and, urged on by the Labour Party, supplied arms in large quantities to Finland for use against the Soviet Union. The British and French military staffs sent 400,000 rifles, as compared to the 10,000 antiquated rifles reluctantly offered to the beleaguered Poles in September 1939.

NAZI INVASION OF THE USSR

After the fall of France to the Nazi armies (summer 1940) it became evident that the 'democracies' would offer little resistance. As the Battle of Britain showed, the British ruling class had hardly prepared for a defensive action against the Nazis, let alone for mounting a serious offensive. Thousands of British working class people died as a result. With little to fear on the western front, Hitler began serious planning for the invasion of the Soviet Union. At 4am on 22 June 1941, *without declaring war*, the Nazi armies, the most massively armed force in history, invaded the Soviet Union.

Their aim was to fulfil Hitler's lifelong ambition – the destruction of the

world's first (and at that time only) socialist state, and the enslavement of the Soviet people. Under Hitler's genocidal plan, 30 million Soviet citizens would be murdered, in particular communist officials would be treated as criminals and could be summarily executed. Leningrad would be razed to the ground and Moscow turned into an immense lake. Under fascist rule, the education of the surviving Soviet people would be reduced to learning simple sums (counting to 25), writing their own names, reading traffic signs and to learning that 'by divine ordinance, they should obey the Germans and be honest, hard-working and submissive.'

Hitler's model for an enslaved Soviet Union was British rule of India, which he greatly admired. In private conversations at the time of the invasion he said: 'Our role in Russia will be analogous to that of England in India... The Russian space is our India. Like the English we shall rule this empire with a handful of men... Let's learn from the English, who, with 250,000 men in all, including 50,000 soldiers, govern 400 million Indians.'

At first the Nazis swept everything before them. Within two months, they had destroyed half the Red Army infan-



THE SOVIET VICTORY OVER WAR AND FASCISM

try divisions and two-thirds of the armoured divisions, and about half the tanks – within 3 months they had taken 3 million prisoners. By the end of October, Nazi troops got to the farthest point of their advance, within 12 miles of the centre of Moscow.



WHO DEFEATED FASCISM?

For almost 4 years, until the end of the war, 75% of the fascist armed forces were thrown against the Soviet Union, using the most up-to-date armaments and the most combat-worthy troops. The Nazi army was able to draw upon the military and economic resources of almost the entire continent of Europe – a population of 300m lay under its domination. Thus there were 26 divisions from Hungary, 22 from Rumania, 24 from Finland, and 700,000 men from Austria. The plunder of its allies and the occupied territories enabled Nazi Germany to double its output of coal, steel and electricity and to quadruple its supply of grain.

By comparison, the Allied involvement in the war was insignificant. Thus at the end of 1943, Allied operations tied down only 20 second-rank divisions, while 200 of the first rank fought on the eastern front. Right until the end of the war the eastern front was the major theatre of war. Even when the Nazis were being attacked on several fronts, they continued to fight mainly on the east. Thus in February 1945 Hitler sent 1,675 new or repaired tanks and assault guns to the east, and only 67 to the west; and the major part of the fascist armies was committed on that front.

Bearing the brunt of the fascist war machine the Soviet Union suffered devastation on a scale which is hard to comprehend. After only 6 months of war, the Nazis had seized industrial areas producing 63% of the USSR's coal, 68% of its cast iron, 59% of its steel – in all, industrial production fell to half the pre-war level. Land which pro-

duced 38% of the wheat and 60% of the livestock was overrun by the Nazis. It was as if an army invading Britain had occupied the whole country north of Birmingham and completely devastated it.

By the end of the war 6 million houses were destroyed, including half the apartment blocks in the area under occupation – 25 million people (equal to half the present population of the UK) were made homeless. 1,710 towns and cities and over 70,000 villages were razed to the ground by the Nazi invaders. For every Coventry destroyed by fascist air raids, 100 Soviet towns were destroyed. In the war-ravaged areas 32,000 factories, 98,000 farms and 65,000km of railway track were ruined.

From the invasion until the end of the war over 20 million Soviet citizens were killed – in proportion to the size of the population, this is 18 times greater than the UK casualties of 400,000. Only 3% of Soviet men who were 17 years old at the beginning of the war survived. In the occupied cities there were mass murders of the Soviet population, particularly of Jews. For example, in September and October 1941 75,000 Jewish civilians were killed in Kiev.

WHY THE SOVIET UNION BEAT FASCISM

The Red Army was able to defeat the Nazis not only because of the people's burning hatred of fascism and determination to defend socialism, but also because of the superiority of socialist methods of production. Soviet scientists produced some of the outstanding weapons of the war, such as the T34 tank and the Katyusha rocket gun. It was also possible to transport Soviet factories very quickly to the other side of the Urals after the outbreak of war – within 12 months 2,500 major enterprises had been moved and brought into operation. In general, Soviet armaments production was more efficiently organised than that of either the Allies or the fascists. Thus for every million tons of steel the USSR produced 1.5 times more planes than the UK, 2.6 times more than Germany, and 3.2 times more than the USA.

Almost all western 'experts', especially the 'socialists', thought that the Soviet Union would rapidly collapse

Raising the Red flag in Stalingrad in February 1943





The victorious Red Army disposing of Nazi war emblems in Red Square

OVER FASCISM

AND THE UNION

under the impact of the *Blitzkrieg* waged by the Nazi forces, as France and Poland had done so ignominiously. But Lenin's saying that 'No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself' found living proof: workers went straight from the factories, arms in hand, heroically defending every yard of Soviet soil, fighting for their factories, railways and apartment blocks. Behind them an army of civilian volunteers, men and women, young and old, dug trenches to delay the invaders' advance.

In the Nazi-occupied areas, the Soviet people were forcibly introduced to a type of society new to them - capitalism. In some cases, ghosts from the Tsarist past, former landowners, had their property restored to them. The Soviet people saw the conquests of their revolution being overturned, socialism's promise of a better life being replaced by capitalist drudgery. Because of the elimination of the kulaks (rich peasants) as a class in the early 1930s, there was no class basis in the Soviet Union for widespread collaboration with the fascist forces. Behind the lines of the Nazi army there were formed organised resistance movements on a large scale, which always tied down at least 10% of the invading forces.



Nevertheless, despite the heroic resistance of its citizens, the USSR badly needed help. In the first months after the invasion, it was outnumbered in manpower on the front, and facing an enemy which, having prepared for war for 7 years, had vastly superior armaments, 25% more tanks, especially important in mobile war. Therefore it called for the organisation of a Second Front of military activity in western Europe, in particular an invasion of France by Allied forces, to relieve the pressure.

SECOND FRONT

For three years the British government made hardly any attempt to help the USSR. The material it supplied to the

Soviet forces was of negligible importance to the Soviet war effort. From America and Britain the Red Army received 2% of its pieces of artillery, 10% of its tanks, and 12% of its aircraft. The British government continually postponed military operations in the west. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, consistently lied to Stalin about the military possibilities of opening a Second Front, claiming that Britain lacked the necessary shipping, aircraft and manpower. US General Wedemeyer, who participated in talks on the Second Front held in April 1942, admiringly characterised British talents for deception and hypocrisy:

'The British were masters in negotiations - particularly were they adept in the use of phrases or words capable of more than one meaning or interpretation... What I witnessed was the British power of diplomatic finesse in its finest hour, a power that had been developed over centuries of successful international intrigue, cajolery, and tacit compulsions.'

A brilliant characterisation of British imperialist hypocrisy!

For two years, hardly any preparations were made for opening a Second Front; and Britain did not even declare war on the Nazi satellites, Finland, Rumania and Hungary, which supplied considerable numbers of men and materials for the Nazi armies in the USSR, until December 1942 - that is, six months after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Nor was there any urgency in sending military supplies. 10 weeks after the invasion only 200 second-rate planes had been sent. This was not because the supplies were not available - during the Soviet-Finnish war (1939-40) Britain and France had sent 405 planes to Finland without delay.

During crucial periods of the war (such as in August-December of 1942 when the Nazi armies were making rapid progress towards Stalingrad) supplies even ceased altogether! The British used the excuse of the destruction of the PQ17 convoy on the way to Archangel, whereas the losses sustained by the convoys on the northern route were not greater than those sustained by British convoys in the Atlantic and Mediterran-

ean. Nor was any attempt made to produce suitable vehicles (such as landing craft) specifically for an invasion of Europe. Large quantities of landing craft were produced in the period before the landings in North Africa, after which production stopped abruptly.

LABOUR BETRAYAL

Churchill's refusal to give real support to the Soviet Union would not have been possible without the loyal support given to his government by the Labour Party and trade union leadership. Within the war Cabinet there were two right wing labourites (Attlee and Bevin) and one 'left' (Cripps). They actively supported Churchill by giving false assurances to the British people that a Second Front was being planned. The 'left' wing of the Labour Party, led by Aneurin Bevan and Stafford Cripps, made free with all kinds of 'criticisms' of the War Cabinet's conduct of the war, but refused to campaign either inside or outside parliament to end the coalition with the Tories and to set up a government without Churchill to give effective support to the USSR. At the Labour Party Conference of 1942 an amendment to break the Coalition was overwhelmingly defeated (by 2,319,000 votes to 164,000).

This refusal to organise a campaign in support of the Soviet Union played a vital role in preventing assistance reaching the USSR and was thus directly responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens and the destruction of large areas of the USSR. It was a refusal all the more treacherous as there was real popular enthusiasm for the USSR: meetings held to support the Second Front were among the best attended of the last 60 years; shortly after the invasion the Miners' Federation of Great Britain sent the USSR a cheque for £60,000, roughly the equivalent of a day's pay for each miner in Britain.

Instead of supporting the Soviet Union in its fight against fascism, the British government directed its war effort into safeguarding the interests of British imperialism. Even when Britain itself stood in imminent danger of invasion (at the end of the summer of 1940), half the available tanks were sent to Egypt. A year later, nearly half of British military production was being directed to North Africa. From early August 1942, 100,000 troops and a considerable quantity of armaments (including over twice as many tanks as were sent to the USSR) were sent to North Africa, where the fascist forces were quite small, to prevent the fascists replacing British imperialism in Egypt and the Arab countries.

A 'WAR FOR DEMOCRACY'?

Far from this being a 'war for democracy', imperialist repression if anything intensified during the course of the war. Between August 1940 and December 1941 23,000 Indian nationalists were imprisoned for demanding the basic democratic right of self-determination. As the national liberation movements grew in strength, Cripps, Churchill's 'left-wing' socialist errand boy, was sent to India in March 1942 to try to gain nationalist support for the British war by making spurious promises of national liberation - after the war.

On 8 August 1942 Indian nationalists passed a resolution calling on Britain to leave India - the Quit India resolution. In the uprising which followed, at least 10,000 and perhaps as many as 50,000 Indians were killed. There were at least 6 instances of crowds being machine-gunned from the air; collective punishment was inflicted on villages which had supported the rising; and 60,000 were imprisoned.

On 10 November 1942, with the support of his War Cabinet members, Attlee and Bevin, Churchill made Britain's war aims brutally clear: 'We intend to remain the effective rulers of India for a long and indefinite period... We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire...'. Towards the end of the war this aim was stated with equal frankness by a prominent Labour spokesman on the colonies, Arthur Creech Jones: 'Britain today is in the colonies and she can-

not withdraw, nor do I think it desirable that she should' (speech in the House of Commons 6 June 1944).

THE REAL WAR AIMS OF IMPERIALISM

The British ruling classes' real wish was that Nazi Germany and the USSR should pound each other to pieces, while Britain waited on the sidelines and then profited from the sacrifices of the Soviet people. Churchill decided to give the Soviet Union just enough support to stay in the war against Germany, but not enough to enable her to win a decisive victory.

While Britain was nominally the Soviet Union's ally, this could not be said openly, but on occasion the truth slipped out. The Minister for Aircraft Production, Moore-Brabazon, publicly stated that he hoped that Russia and Germany would exterminate each other so that Britain would be the dominating power over Europe. Probably the majority of the ruling classes shared Moore-Brabazon's opinions but, as one of them put it, 'We are all Moore-Brabazons... but he was a fool to blurt it out.' Not that it did him any harm - no steps were taken to remove him from office or even to censure him.

Similar views prevailed in influential sections of the US ruling class. A month after the invasion, Senator Harry S. Truman, who was to be US President in the immediate post-war period, said: 'If we see that Germany is winning the war, we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible' (*New York Times* 24 July 1941). It is true that other sections of the US ruling class, such as President Roosevelt, wanted to involve Britain and the US in a more decisive struggle against Germany, mainly as a way of weakening Britain economically and militarily so that the US could break the hold of British imperialism over her colonies.

The decisive turning point in the war was Stalingrad, where the Nazi offensive which, if successful, would have cut off the rest of the USSR from its oil supplies in the south, began on 19 November 1942. Here gigantic armies (up to 2m soldiers in all) were locked in battle for more than 6 months. The scale of the conflict dwarfed any other wartime engagement - at the supposedly 'decisive' battle of El Alamein, North Africa, between the British 8th Army and a German-Italian army, which imperialist historians falsely present as important as Stalingrad, about one-seventh of the forces were involved. Over the entire Soviet-German front, there were 16 times as many fascist divisions as there were on the Egypt-Libya front.

VICTORY FOR THE RED ARMY

After a protracted struggle the Red Army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nazis at Stalingrad, encircling an entire German army. The victory at Stalingrad was a crucial turning point in the war - it meant that the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union had failed. The following battle, at Kursk (which began 5 July 1943), showed that the Red Army would be able to drive the Nazis from Soviet soil.

From this point the British ruling classes were more concerned with the post-war settlement than with the defeat of Germany. Churchill had never made any secret of his hatred of the Soviet Union. Even while 'allies' he had written a Cabinet memorandum (October 1942), in terms strikingly reminiscent of Hitler's speeches - 'My thoughts rest primarily in Europe - the revival of the glory of Europe - the parent continent of the modern nations and of civilisation. It would be a measureless disaster if Russian barbarism overlaid the culture and independence of the ancient states of Europe.'

THE PLANNING OF THE 'COLD' WAR

The 'cold' war was planned well before the end of the war - even as early as the beginning of 1942 the British government got busy forming an anti-Soviet bloc of East and Central European states, setting up a special group to bring together governments in exile,



Women volunteers join the fight

some of which, such as the Polish, were neo-fascist. The danger for imperialism was that a consistent anti-fascist struggle in the countries liberated by the Red Army, such as Bulgaria, Poland and Rumania, would mean the overthrow of capitalism there, as virtually the entire ruling class had collaborated with fascism.

When it became clear that the Red Army would not stop at the borders of the USSR but would pursue the Nazi invaders back to Germany, Britain attempted to conclude secret agreements with Hungary (September 1943), Rumania, and Germany (March 1945). In particular it tried to arrange a separate military surrender in the south of Germany to enable the Nazis to bolster their defence against the USSR. At the beginning of 1945, a directive of the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff: 'The Soviet Union has achieved successes in the east to an extent not expected by the Anglo-American command. In the event of any further rapid advance towards the West, a situation may thus develop which would be extremely unwelcome to the Anglo-American Governments and Commands... Our military measures must therefore be such as to permit the Germans to reinforce their Eastern Front, a reinforcement they can mainly achieve by weakening their Western Front...'

THE YALTA AGREEMENT

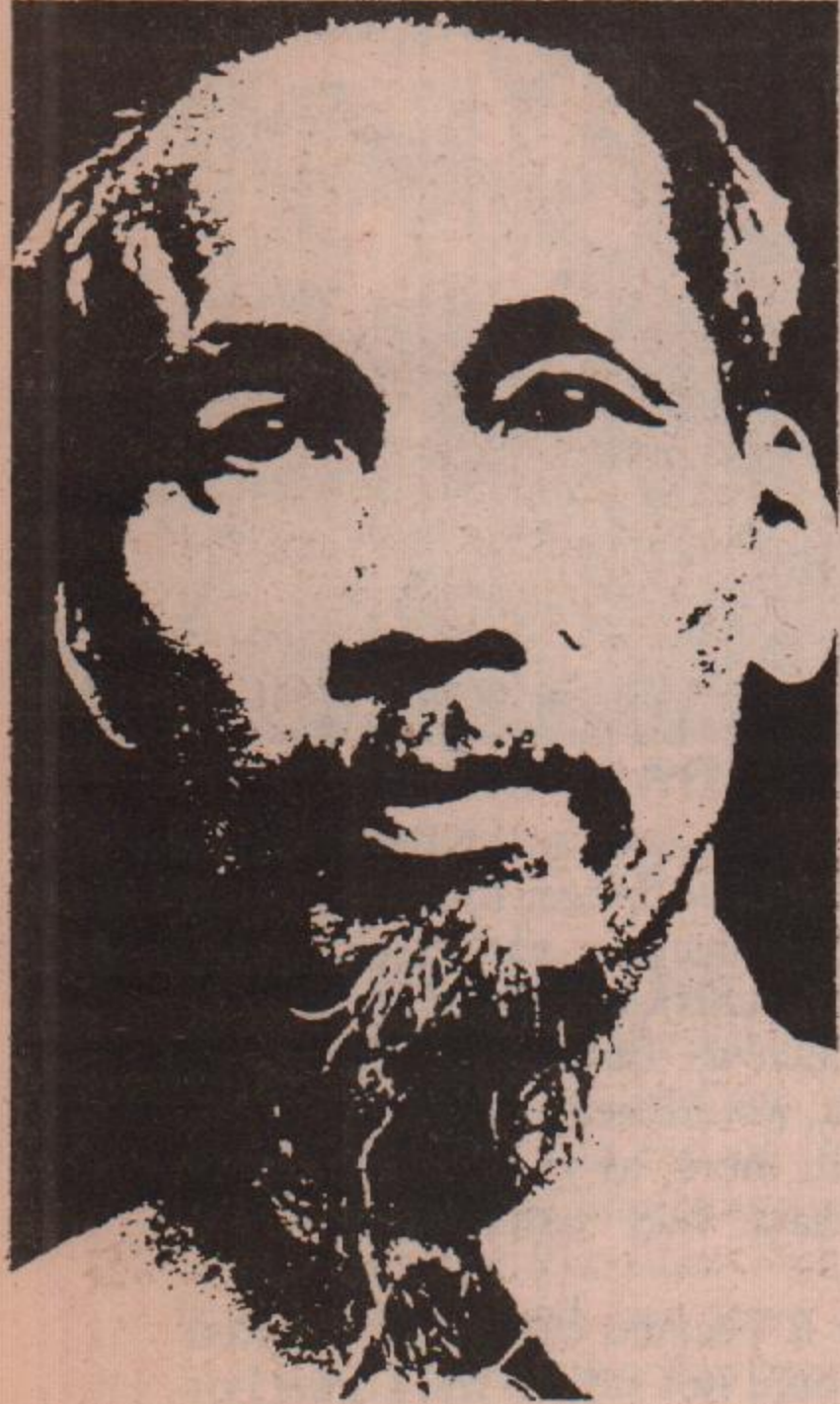
At the cost of enormous sacrifice, the Red Army and the Soviet people had destroyed the fascist regimes in Germany and central Europe. The USSR now required a period of peace in order to be able to reconstruct its economy and to continue the building of socialism. To do this it would be necessary to ensure the complete destruction of fascism. At the Yalta Conference (4-11 February 1945), the 'democracies' seemed to commit themselves to this aim. A communiqué signed by representatives of the USSR, the UK, and the USA solemnly declared:

'It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism... to bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment... to remove all nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people...'

But it was only in the areas outside the influence of the 'democracies' that the Yalta resolution was implemented. There genuine anti-fascists carried through a consistent struggle against fascism and for people's democracy. Nazi organisations were completely destroyed; Nazi war criminals were brought to justice; former Nazis were not allowed to hold any important public positions, or to have any influence over policy; and capitalists and bankers who had collaborated with the Nazis were expropriated.

By contrast, in the zones occupied by the British, French and US forces, no real attempt was made to punish Nazi war criminals or to destroy the bases of Nazi power. Within 3 years the British in particular were employing leading Nazi bankers and industrialists to re-build capitalist industry; within a decade western Germany had begun re-arming with numerous former Nazis in positions of power in national and local government. The aim was to re-build Germany as a base for another war against the Soviet Union, which meant that the Soviet Union was forced to enter into the arms race again. This is the cause of war and the preparation for war - the reactionary ambitions of imperialist powers!

Patrick Newman



Ho Chi Minh

Solidarity message from the Revolutionary Communist Group and its paper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* on the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution

Comrades!

The Revolutionary Communist Group and the paper *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* congratulates the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the 10th anniversary of the defeat of US imperialism. The Vietnamese people's victory demonstrated to the world that even the most barbaric methods of warfare, backed by the enormous resources of the world's mightiest imperialist power, and supported at every turn by British governments, Labour and Conservative alike, could not defeat the risen people. The tremendous sacrifice of the Vietnamese people has inspired the oppressed masses across Asia, Africa and Latin America to fight for freedom, justice and national liberation.

We also salute the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for their exemplary internationalist solidarity in supporting the national liberation movement to victory and in helping to build a socialist Vietnam.

This day is truly a momentous day in the calendar of the struggle of the oppressed masses for freedom and socialism.

**LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM!
LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!
VICTORY TO THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!**

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Despite the enormous devastation inflicted on Vietnam during the war, Vietnam will be self-sufficient in food in two years, stated the Vietnamese Ambassador at a meeting in County Hall, London, held on 30 April 1985 to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of Vietnam's victory. He affirmed his country's continuing internationalist commitment to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. This was recognised by a representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, who pointed out that Britain was withdrawing its embassy from Laos because of 'lack of funds'. Funds are always available for a British embassy and several consulates in South Africa!

An excellent speech by Mrs Joan Yuille (Britain-Vietnam Association, organisers of the meeting) described in detail the vital role played by British imperialism in oppressing the Vietnamese people, from the restoration of Vietnam to the French in 1945 to the 1964 Labour government's consistent support for the war. A speaker from the Soviet Embassy stressed the USSR's continuing support for Vietnam; and remembering the solidarity shown by the miners of Vietnam during the strike, the Kent NUM presented a bouquet of flowers to the Ambassador.



Guerrillas in underground tunnels

British Imperialism and Labour's Guilt

The British ruling class and Labour Party backed the French and US occupation forces throughout. While still at war with Japan the 1945 Labour government released Japanese prisoners of war, armed them, put them in police uniforms and directed them to impose French rule over the Vietnamese people. The British run Jungle Warfare School in Malaya trained US troops. SAS officers were seconded to US battalions. Senior civil servant Sir Robert Thompson, head of the British Advisory Mission, helped devise the 'strategic hamlets' programme which rounded-up 39 per cent of South Vietnam's population. Those outside the 'hamlet' could expect to be shot on sight! Hong Kong was made available for US supplies and warships. British capital provided everything from aero-engines to Hovercraft for the US war effort. Labour Prime Minister Wilson announced in 1964 'We have repeatedly said... that we support US policy in Vietnam.' A year after the US bombing had begun the Labour Party Conference of 1966 threw out a motion critical of US policy. As late as 1975 the Labour government used the intelligence resources at GCHQ Cheltenham and in Hong Kong to monitor liberation force movements and keep the US informed.

gan, describing the US war as 'a noble cause', has tried to wipe the scar from the memory of the US people. As an

imperialist war it was racist. Significantly, a black US youth was twice as likely to be killed in Vietnam as his white counterpart, and, once enlisted, though constituting 16 per cent of the combatants they received half the dishonourable discharges! Malcolm X, George Jackson and the Black Panthers supported and were inspired by the Vietnamese liberation struggle. 'First women and children in a ditch in Vietnam, ultimately executions in the civic centers of every look-alike county in this country.' George Jackson.

Vietnam showed that imperialism will go to any lengths to maintain its rule, with or without local stooges, anywhere in the world. It showed they can be beaten by a united people, in this case North and South, peasants and workers, led by communists, supported militarily and economically by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We saw what this century has underlined with scores of millions of lives, that the imperialist ruling classes will commit any crime, kill any number of people, for as long as no anti-imperialist movement emerges from among the working and oppressed peoples in the metropolitan heartlands to challenge them.

Above all Vietnam was a laboratory for people's war. The Vietnamese people are cherished the world over. They have handed the flame of freedom to their brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We owe them a great debt.

Trevor Rayne

Reagan's Bitburg stunt backfires

That the man who said in 1965 'We should declare war on North Vietnam... We could pave the whole country and put parking strips on it, and still be home by Christmas', who earlier this year declared the Contras to be 'the moral equivalent of our founding fathers' should wish to honour the Nazi German army and 47 SS officers buried at Bitburg cemetery is understandable. After all, didn't the Nazis kill 20 million Soviet citizens and didn't the US President call the Soviet Union 'the focus of evil in the modern world'? As the leader of the ruling Christian Democrat Party in the Bundestag, West Germany's parliament, explained, to those who disapproved of Reagan's visit, he had fought the Red Army during World War II, and his brother was killed on the Eastern Front, 'When you demand your president leave off the noble gesture at the Bitburg military cemetery I must take this as an insult to my brother and his fallen comrades.'

That Reagan and West German Chancellor Kohl should have dreamt up a publicity stunt, designed to symbolise the reconciliation of NATO allies pitted against the socialist countries, is no surprise either, nor that it backfired upon them. US imperialism, like its British counterpart, very quickly learnt to forgive the SS and the Nazi Party, no matter what the rest of the world might have thought about the hell over which Hitler presided. Take Werner von Braun, for example, pioneer of the US rocket and missile programme, formerly a SS Sturmbannführer. Or fellow Nazi Party member Arthur Rudolph, previously employed upon the V-2 rocket, later shipped across the Atlantic to work on Pershing missiles with the US Martin-Marietta corporation, where he prospered as an executive. NASA awarded him the Distinguished Service Medal for his contribution to the Saturn 5 rocket programme. Then there is former Nazi General Walter Dornberger, also a consistent advocate of Reagan's beloved mastery through Star Wars project. Dornberger was given an executive position at Bell Aerospace, a regular recipient of Pentagon orders. All of them, and more, worked with slave labour taken from the SS-run death camps. Fittingly, Bitburg happens not only to contain a cemetery, it is the site of one of the largest concentrations of US nuclear missiles in the world! On the very same day that Reagan reaffirmed his inten-

tion to visit Bitburg, Kohl endorsed the President's Star Wars programme.

The US ruling class has always been indifferent to the records of those Nazis who could prove useful to it. The names of Barbie, 'The Butcher of Lyons', and Andrija Artukovic, 'The Himmler of the Balkans' (responsible for the death of over 700,000 Yugoslavs, more than twice the total number of US war dead in World War II) are just the most recent to have reached the headlines: mass murderers who found sanctuary beneath the wings of the US eagle. For imperialism the Nuremberg show-trials were a superficial and politically necessary exhibition of conscience. Meanwhile, doctors, engineers, intelligence officers etc, loyal servants of the Reich, were being integrated into key US institutions. That the SS wiped out entire villages in the Soviet Union, that they butchered 6 million Jewish people, is a secondary concern to Reagan and his henchmen.

Perhaps it was familiarity which bred the complacency which tripped Reagan up at Bitburg. But then the closest Ronald Reagan ever came to the Nazi terror was supporting Errol Flynn in a forgettable 1942 Hollywood war drama *Desperate Journey*. Like the hideous burlesque figure who once strutted the German stage before him, Reagan will need all his acting abilities to salvage his German fiasco.

Trevor Rayne

Sandinista defiance brings a victory

The US Congressional vote against Reagan's plan to provide \$14m worth of aid through the CIA to the Contra gangs attacking Nicaragua is a serious blow to US war plans in Central America. The constant lies spewed out of the White House against the Sandinistas, the flag waving ballyhoo over crushing tiny Grenada, the media manipulation of US people, has failed to whip up a sufficient taste for bloodshed that would have put more arms into the Contras' hands. Importantly, a significant section of the US ruling class has shown that it is not yet prepared to gamble on a conflagration in Nicaragua that could set the continent alight.

However, the military and the core of Reagan's administration understand what is at stake in Nicaragua. At the very moment that Congress voted, US marines were storming ashore in a practice run invasion held in neighbouring Honduras. Reagan immediately denounced the vote as 'a shameful surrender to communist forces' and vowed 'I intend to return to Congress again and again'. Undoubtedly the Contras will continue to receive weapons via Israel or another US surrogate, and from donations gathered among the European bourgeoisies.

US imperialism understands that it must face its moment of truth in Nicaragua: all its bluster, threats and confidence, its finance and troops, are on trial in Nicaragua. Little wonder that

Tory MP Winston Churchill should be recruited to the ranks of those pleading the Contras' case to Congress, or that British government representative, Alfred Sherman, should be meeting with Contra leaders. For the victory and consolidation of the Sandinista revolution portends the end of US domination throughout Latin America. The will of the people will be strengthened by the hope that Nicaragua holds out as the imperialist crisis forces the Latin American masses to seize the initiative. The fortitude and determination of the Nicaraguan people and their Sandinista leadership is the celebration of millions of oppressed peoples. Riled by the congressional defeat, the Reagan administration has retaliated by stepping up its attempt to destroy Nicaragua's economy and has enforced trade sanctions.

Continued from page 1

VIETNAM

The Tet Offensive

'The Americans will lose the war on the day when their military might is at its maximum and the great machine they've put together can't move any more. That is we'll beat them at the moment when they have the most men, the most arms, and the greatest hope of winning. Because all that money and strength will be a stone around their neck. It's inevitable'. General Giap.

The 1968 Tet Offensive by the People's Liberation Army proved the decisive superiority of people's war over imperialist armoury and strategy. Relying upon the people's support, resourcefulness and ingenuity the guerrilla soldiers were able to capture provincial capitals, besiege US bases, and even occupy part of the US embassy in Saigon itself. The Johnson administration's confidence 'burst like a soap bubble', and the liberation forces melted back into the towns, villages and countryside. The war was turned in the people's favour, futility and disillusionment sapped the will of the US troops and public.

Political leadership

'The first work of Lenin I ever read was his thesis on national and colonial questions. Having read this work I wept for joy...' Ho Chi Minh.

The tenacity of the Vietnamese people, their ability to make such sacrifices, was forged in the sure knowledge that they were fighting to become rulers of their own land and labour, in Vietnam as in Ireland this required a united nation. Every soldier of the People's Army swore to fight for 'the cause of national independence, democracy and socialism, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party'. At every stage of the struggle the military strategy followed the political line. This never wavered, never compromised its objective for the brandishments of imperialist schemes. Land reform and the overthrow of feudal authority galvanised the peasantry to communist leadership. The leadership merged with the peasantry and shared its suffering. Ho Chi Minh, himself once gaoled by the British in Hong Kong, noted in 1960 that 'speaking merely of the Party Central Committee, 14 have been shot, guillotined, or beaten to death in prison' since 1930.



Turmoil in Khartoum

In the last issue of *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!* we were pleased to carry an interview with the representative of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), Stephen Baak. Since that interview, the truth of Comrade Baak's analysis and statements was writ large by the overthrow of the tyrant Nimeiri while away gathering funds in Washington. In this issue Comrade Baak explains to Colette Levy the current situation in Sudan and the position of the SPLA.

'There has been no real change in the character of the state because the people who have taken the power were the power-base of Nimeiri. Like the new man in charge who was Nimeiri's Defence Minister and Commander-in-

Chief of the Armed Forces.

'It seems now that there are two governments within the government: the Military Council (15 members), is the supreme authority, the executive power, and a Cabinet of 15 ministers, plus

the Attorney General. The Cabinet has very limited legislative power', but if they are really the government, Stephen Baak added, 'they can dismiss the Military. If they do not have the power, and do not dismiss the military, then they are not the government.' The Cabinet is formed of conservative businessmen, used to representing imperialist interests.

'We are not interested in negotiating with the present regime until power has been given to the people. We are not ready to negotiate with the generals, nor are we interested in negotiating with the present civilian government, because... they don't represent the people. They don't have the power to make a deal with us.'

The overthrow

'The socialist and progressive trade unions were the people who really

launched the strikes against Nimeiri, and these strikes brought down his regime, in collaboration with us. But now, there is what we call the *Free Officers Movement* (FOM) in the armed forces. They are junior officers who have thoroughly criticised the new regime of Sower el Dahad, saying that it is not the revolution of the people and they have elected Colonel John Garang as their Commander-in-Chief in the north, as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the SPLA, to lead the revolution of the people. In fact, the FOM were pre-empted by Sower el Dahad with his cosmetic coup. This movement is still intact, they have not yet moved but they will soon move against Sower el Dahad.'

The split within the army has taken place because of the privileges granted to the generals who were given high salaries and mortgages for housing. Up to 90% of Sudan's foreign exchange

INTERVIEW WITH SUDAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

SPLA says no to new regime

brought down the regime of Nimeiri by strikes and they don't surface in the Cabinet. While we, the SPLA, wish them to be the real people to whom power should be handed over, and with whom we can negotiate. Dr Gizouli Dafalla (President of the Medical Association) now Prime Minister, belongs to a white collar union, not really representing the working class trade unionists such as the Union of Railwaymen, who are not represented in the government'. Comrade Baak pointed out that lawyers, doctors, and teachers marched against Nimeiri but they were not the real forces that provoked the coup.

The Free Officers Movement and the SPLA

'Our movement, in fact, for geographical reasons has been started in the south and that is where most of the fighting is taking place. There is a little resistance in the west and the east too, they are also SPLAs. We have the support of the socialist trade unionists (railwaymen and others) including their leadership. They

earnings are regularly taken to repay its foreign debt of \$10 billion. No money is left over to promote development. Agriculture depends upon the hand and draught animals. Now 6 million people are threatened with starvation. Urgent help is needed for the SPLA. They are the effective government in the south and their units have begun operations in the east and west of the country. Comrade Baak made an appeal to the British people. 'The British people can do a lot of things to help us. We need food such as wheat, maize, beans and lentils... We also need soap, nappies, blankets, clothes, tents etc... We have very few doctors in the camps (which extend into Ethiopia), we need nurses, we need teachers to educate our children. Some Italian missionary sisters at a UN meeting said they wanted to go and work as nurses. They are welcome, we are desperate.'

For further information contact Stephen Baak, c/o SPLA, 295A Finchley Road, London NW3 (01) 794 7228

DEATH OF ENVER HOXHA

Enver Hoxha, President of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who died on 11 April, was an outstanding communist leader. Under his leadership the Albanian people fought a successful war against fascism, prevented British imperialism from re-establishing itself in their country and began to build socialism.

Before 1939, Britain provided the police officers for the dictator King Zog, whose accession to power in 1924 had been financed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which controlled what was then Albania's main resource: oil. On 7 April 1939 Mussolini invaded Albania. Reassured that British commercial interests were not threatened, 'democratic' Britain happily acquiesced in the fascist conquest - indeed, as late as November 1939, after the beginning of the 'war for democracy', Churchill offered to continue recognition of the Italian occupation.

The Albanian people suffered very badly under fascism. In a country of only 2.5 million people there were never less than 70,000 fascist troops. On 8 November 1941 Enver Hoxha founded the Albanian Communist Party (now the Party of Labour), which played a leading role in the National Liberation Front (NLF).

Its first battles were against the Italian army of occupation. Numerous Italian soldiers deserted to join the partisans, forming the 3,000-strong Antonio Gramsci battalion. When Italy left the war, the NLF faced a more formidable enemy - the Nazis, who took over the occupation of Albania.

In their fight against the Nazis, the NLF received little help from the British - their aim was correctly assessed by Enver Hoxha as '...to weaken our National

Liberation War, to weaken and, if possible, eliminate the influence of our Party...' (Hoxha *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania* p75). As the NLF came close to victory, Britain supported bourgeois nationalist and pro-royalist groups which either refused to fight or collaborated with the Nazis.

The 1945-51 Labour government continued the war-time policy of Churchill. From 25 November 1948 it began to discuss operations in Albania with the aim of 'promoting civil discontent, internal confusion and possible strife'. At a later meeting (14 September 1949), the Labour Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin asked: '...what government could replace Hoxha if he is thrown out? Are there any kings around that could be put in?' The first British-backed landing on 2 October 1949 was a complete fiasco - equally successful were landings by US paratroops in November 1950 and July 1951, and in May 1953 of agents trained under British supervision. Evidently the Albanian people had had enough of kings, even if the 'democratic socialist' Bevin hadn't!

Albania suffered enormous devastation during the war, with one third of its agricultural resources destroyed, and not a single industrial plant in operation. 40 years later it has become the world's third largest producer of chrome, and a net exporter of energy. Extensive reclamation of previously unfarmed land has meant that the country is now self-sufficient in food. This economic advance has greatly benefited the people: illiteracy, 85% in 1939, has now been abolished; higher education is widely available; and health standards have risen dramatically.

Anti-imperialists and communists the world over will mourn the death of an outstanding comrade in the struggle for socialism.

Patrick Newman

Progressive forces advance in Lebanon

The Israeli army's 'iron fist' of mass terror and murder has failed to halt the Lebanese resistance fighting the Zionist occupation. On the contrary, the Zionists have been forced to accelerate their retreat from Lebanon, evacuating the Bekaa Valley and Tyre in April to complete the second stage of their 3-stage withdrawal.

However, intent on preventing the consolidation of Lebanese anti-imperialist forces and the re-emergence of armed Palestinian fighters, Israeli aircraft continue to raid Palestinian camps while its troops attack towns and villages. In co-ordination with the fascist Lebanese Forces, Israel is engineering the forced removal by means of mass terror, of the Muslim population from Lebanon's southernmost areas, replacing them with Christians in order to create a security zone free of revolutionary and PLO presence.

These schemes are, however, encountering the increasingly confident opposition of the Lebanese and Palestinian people. Behind the retreating Israeli soldiers an alliance of Amal, Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), Lebanese Communist Party (LCP) and Palestinian fighters has gone onto the offensive to clear the area of fascist and puppet South Lebanese Army control. At present they are preparing an offensive against Jezzine, critical to any Zionist security belt.

The most advanced sections of the Lebanese resistance recognise that the struggle against Zionism does not end

with the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. They are preparing not only to confront the sectarian Lebanese state, but also to reforge an alliance with the Palestinian revolutionary forces as the only secure means of once and for all defeating Zionist and imperialist plans for Lebanon. To this end, the LCP and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have issued statements urging a strengthening of the joint Lebanese/Palestinian struggle.

These forces, representing the oppressed Lebanese and Palestinians are facing opposition from bourgeois and petit-bourgeois trends who are also opposed to the Israeli presence. Jumblatt and Nabi Berri, leaders of the PSP and Amal, are trying to restrain the offensive against the Phalangists. They oppose the rearming of the Palestinians and under Syrian leadership are seeking to stabilise the pro-imperialist Gemayel regime. The revolutionaries in their struggle against the occupation are also remaining vigilant against the machinations of such forces.

Eddie Abrahams

THATCHER IN SRI LANKA

'The matter of the Tamils is a matter for the Sri Lankan government' declared Thatcher in her recent visit to Sri Lanka. She was clearly supporting the regime which has presided over the massacre of 2,000 Tamil people in 1983 and the bombardment of Tamil areas with heavy artillery in 1984. A regime whose army and police are widely known for their racist outrages, for their murder, rape and torture of Tamil people.

Thatcher went on to commit herself to give increased aid to Sri Lanka and encouraged British private companies to sell gunboats and other equipment to the regime. She went on to say: 'When we set our hand to the task of helping you with this development, it was not only because the economists told us the investment was justified. It was because we felt we could with confidence endorse the economic policies your government is pursuing. Our development assistance policy is to support abroad the disciplines we practice at home'.

Thatcher's favoured economic policy means that Tamil plantation workers earn £5 for a six-day week; as a result of IMF and World Bank policies the crisis ridden dependent capitalist system of Sri Lanka found its foreign debt rising from Rs5 billion in 1976 to Rs40 billion in 1983. In 1976 Rs7.80 bought \$1, whereas in 1983 you needed Rs24.2. Inflation was over 35% last year.

Thatcher had more praise for the Sri Lankan regime:

'...It is a democracy in Sri Lanka and I believe that as in Britain, the problems must be solved through democracy.'

In the 'Free Trade Zones' workers do not have the right to association; the media - TV, radio and the major newspapers - are state-owned. If the newspapers that are not state owned dared to print the truth, as they did during the 1983 massacres, they are promptly shut down. Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, a person may be detained incommunicado for up to 18 months: several deaths in custody have been reported.

This is Thatcher's notion of democracy.

When questioned about state atrocities against the Tamils, Thatcher responded by sympathising with the regime facing 'a terrorist problem, and terrorism must never be allowed to succeed'. Britain arms the state terrorists.

Thatcher's visit and her statement: 'Britain would give as much aid as we can' must strengthen the crisis ridden regime. But the Tamil people will prove that neither J.R. Jayawardene nor Maggie Thatcher can defeat them.

Viraj Mendis

THE STRUGGLE IN SOMALIA

In an imperialist world ruled by greed, interest is only shown in the richer parts of it; human suffering and sad events happening in the poorer parts of our planet get the least attention of the imperialist media.

On 20 December 1984, 42 innocent persons were shot at one time at Buroa, the second capital of Northern Somalia, formerly known as British Somaliland. 24 were shot in Sheikh, a district town that lies between Buroa and the strategic port of Berbera at the mouth of the Red Sea. Eighteen others were also shot in Hargeisa, the capital of Northern Somalia. None of these people were members of the Liberation Army. They were all unarmed civilians including women and children, and the elderly were not spared.

Although the entire Somali people have suffered under Siad Barre's leadership, the North was his target of aggression, annihilation and elimination since he took power in 1969. He revived Somalia's old tribal feuds between the various Somali clans. Instead of being a national leader with a fatherly supervision of the country's affairs, Barre proved himself to be a tribal chief and an imperialist agent.

When Barre failed to improve the economy, promote solidarity or strengthen the national identity, he encouraged corruption, clanism and urged the Somalis to the grave as he has no bread to offer. With the arms given by the imperialist states like Britain, USA and Italy, to be used not to defend Somali's integrity and sovereignty, but, as his masters ordered, to kill and silence the Somalis who oppose his empty and corrupt imperialist policies.

Mahmoud Dohol

RED KEN OR POLITICAL MAVERICK?

Citizen Ken, John Carvel. Chatto & Windus 1984 Pbk £2.95

Whenever a politician comes to public prominence by whatever means – and publicity is essential for any politician aiming for power – you can be sure that authors, very often newspaper journalists, will be busy cobbling together a paperback. Hence the plethora of volumes on Kinnock, Tony Benn, Arthur Scargill and Ken Livingstone. Many of these instant paperbacks are of dubious value.

Citizen Ken by John Carvel (*Guardian* journalist), published in 1984, doesn't quite fit into this category. Twelve months after its publication, with Livingstone again in the news, it's worth having another look at it. It has its faults – it, dubiously, dwells on young Livingstone's relationship with his mother and, tediously, dwells on the older Livingstone's views on hunter-gatherer societies (neatly teamed up with his views on Trotskyists in a chapter entitled *Trotsky and the Apes!*). Nevertheless it gives some insights into Livingstone's most recent political moves.

The most valuable picture we are left with is of Ken Livingstone, the maverick. Unwilling to nail his political colours to any particular wing of the Labour Party, let alone the Labour left, Ken Livingstone is essentially a talented and clever politician. He has an almost unerring sense of being in the right place at the right time in order to ensure his next career move – his most virulent critics would describe this as an ability to sense the right time to abandon sinking ships. From Norwood (in Lambeth) to the GLC, from Camden to Paddington, to the GLC leadership and most recently to a safe Labour Party constituency in Brent East, at each move Livingstone has left behind him a chorus of howls from fellow Labour Party members who have variously characterised him as a 'waltzing mouse' and a 'carpet-bagger'. The latest additions to his list of 'victims' are Ted Knight, and John McDonnell at the GLC, now screaming betrayal after the rate-capping debacle, and Reg Freeson in Brent East, writ at the ready. Perhaps the only comment is that you would have thought they would know better by now.

There are two scenarios which stick in one's mind after reading the book, and both are key to understanding Mr Livingstone.

The book opens with a lesson in political manoeuvre. At the GLC elections in 1981 the Labour left were confident that they would gain ground and that Labour would gain control of the council. The issue was whether Ken Livingstone would be able to oust Andrew McIntosh from leadership of the Labour Group and hence take over the GLC leadership. McIntosh (now Lord McIntosh of Haringey) felt secure with the backing of Michael Foot (a doubtful omen in our view) that he would be elected leader at the Labour group meeting engineered by Livingstone's supporters to start at 5pm. Meanwhile Livingstone, short of only a few votes, called a meeting for earlier in the afternoon, inviting left and right to attend in order to argue his claim to leadership. By 5pm he had secured the votes he needed to oust McIntosh.

The second scenario is an account of the failure of the Fares Fair policy. The author concludes that it was fortunate for the GLC Left that the courts outlawed the proposals for cheap fares because the policy was far 'too expensive to afford, but politically too important to give up'. During the complex legal and political campaign Livingstone failed to maintain defiance of the court ruling. The 'hard' left (including McDonnell) started the *Can't Pay Won't Pay* campaign, but Livingstone

opted for a campaign to change the law rather than a defiance campaign which might have jeopardised the councillors' personal finances and ability to hold office. (As would a refusal by the GLC to set a rate in March.) Interestingly the book concludes that:

'Livingstone's official campaign achieved great success in winning the argument for cheap fares. In the public debate he ran rings round the faltering Transport Secretary, David Howell, who at times showed signs of political stage fright. But at no point did the GLC look likely to convince the Government to back down and legalise Fares Fair. It won the support of many Tory commuters who had enjoyed paying less for their season tickets, but it did not reach out and mobilise the anger of the people probably worst affected by the Law Lords' judgment – the poor, the unemploy-

stone sets about the process of recategorising the left – from 'hard' and 'soft' left, to 'vanguardist' and 'participatory'. He argues that the 'vanguardist' left has failed to learn methods of co-operation and participation from the feminist movement, whereas the 'participatory' left has won many gains because it has learned these lessons. Viewing Livingstone's career in this light, it is hard not to conclude that this redefinition is part of the process of abandoning all principles – and in particular preparing for a future in parliament under the leadership of Neil Kinnock. Both Livingstone and Campbell should be reminded that the vanguardist party in history, the Bolshevik Party came to power through the most participatory organisations of the masses, the soviets. It is a process which neither of them are likely to understand.

Carol Brickley



The GLC's Marxist power base outside County Hall

ed and the house-bound women, for whom cheap fares had been a passport to greater freedom.'

After all, doesn't that sum up the GLC under Ken Livingstone. Whilst the GLC under left Labour control has become a focal point for the vocal and articulate middle class left, there isn't much that has touched the lives of the oppressed in inner city London, least of all the campaign around rate-capping and the abolition of the metropolitan councils. The political posters have lightened our lives a little, as did the GLC anti-racist year, but, looking back, is there much of substance that the GLC has achieved for London's working class? It is true that anti-racist and progressive organisations have been funded by the GLC and this must count as a plus, for it has created an oasis in Thatcher's Britain for political activists. But Livingstone's 'Marxist power-base' has not done much more than taunt Thatcher across the banks of the Thames and in that process brought Ken Livingstone into the limelight. Yet Livingstone stands out for his progressive attitude to Irish liberation compared to 99% of other British politicians. In the words of the book he has used the GLC to 'plug away at the Irish issue'. In 1982, despite a vicious anti-Irish media campaign, he refused to back down on the proposed visit of Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison of Sinn Fein. It remains to be seen, however, how Livingstone will fare in the lion's den of Parliament under Kinnock's pro-imperialist three-line whip.

In a recent interview in *Marxism Today* with Bea Campbell, Ken Living-

A HELPING HAND FOR LABOUR

Policing the Miners Strike edited by Bob Fine & Robert Millar. Lawrence & Wishart 1985 Pbk £4.95 Hbk £12.50

Digging Deeper. Issues in the Miners Strike edited by Huw Benyon. Verso 1985 Pbk £3.95 Hbk £16.50

The miners strike has produced a wealth of political gains for the working class in this country. However, these gains are being attacked by those who strive to reimpose the deadhand grip of the Labour and trade union movement over the struggle of the working class. Even before the strike had ended, Labour academics, activists and professionals began to lay down the lessons they wanted people to learn from the strike. Both *Policing the Miners Strike* and *Digging Deeper* are part of this process.

Digging Deeper is described on its cover as 'the' book on the miners strike. It sets itself the target of explaining the real issues that are at stake – the growth in the power of the state, the development of new class organisations and the government's energy policy. It is the final section of this book which is probably the most interesting and informative, and in particular Colin Sweet's essay 'Why Coal is Under Attack'. The economic factors and interests which have determined the Tories' handling of the dispute are explained very clearly: the policy of building up nuclear power and the running down of the coal industry; the influence of the oil companies; and the unstated government policy of privatising the profitable areas of

THE USES OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

Socialist Register 1984: The Uses of Anti-Communism. edited by Ralph Miliband, John Saville and Marcel Liebman. Merlin Press 1984 Pbk £5.50 Hbk £12.50.

The 1984 *Socialist Register* is a collection of articles on the politics of anti-communism, looking in particular at the way it is used to justify any act of imperialist savagery. The articles themselves are of uneven quality, but the book is worth reading if only for the outstanding contribution by Jon Halliday on 'Anti-Communism and the Korean War 1950–53', and for John Saville's review 'Ernest Bevin and the Cold War 1945–50'.

Bevin was General Secretary of the Transport Workers during part of the inter-war period, and was one of the most powerful opportunists in the TUC. Saville quotes him writing in his union journal in 1937:

'The great colonial powers of Europe should pool their colonial territories and link them up with a European Commonwealth, instead of being limited British, French, Dutch or Belgian concessions as is now the case. Such a European Commonwealth, established on an economic foundation, would give us greater security than we get by trying to maintain the old balance of power ...'

Such were the views of the person who was to become the Foreign Secretary of the 1945 Labour government, and who was to hold that post until 1951. A person in the truest Labour Party tradition: absolutely and unquestioningly committed to the maintenance of imperialism. Saville notes that there are still many illusions as to what that Labour government achieved in the realm of domestic policy, but then goes on to make the vital point:

'... what has never been seriously questioned is the other part, and the more important part, of the post-war government's policies in the area of foreign affairs; and the connection between the foreign commitments entered into by Attlee (the Prime

energy.

Policing the Miners Strike is totally devoted to describing the police operations during the strike. The two chapters which could rescue this book from being a more academic version of *State of Siege* by Martin Walker *et al* (reviewed FRFI 45) are on Ireland and the policing used against black people.

The chapter on Ireland, 'Lessons from Ireland' by Paddy Hillyard, deals in much detail with the similarity of policies used by the state in Ireland and against the miners – such as police organisation, criminalisation, use of non-jury courts etc. The conclusions are that in both cases these practices are undemocratic and guided by political consideration. Hillyard's final conclusion covers up the real lesson of the miners' strike, that the British working class must make common cause with the Irish people as they share a common enemy. Instead, Hillyard issues a warning that unless the state acts within its own laws, the people of Britain will have no faith in the system, in the same way as the nationalist people of Ireland. Hillyard is forced to reach this conclusion because to call for support for the Irish people would demolish any role for the Labour and trade union movement, who have consistently supported British rule in Ireland.

'If they come in the morning ...', on policing and black people, is no better. It recognises that there are many well-known examples of attacks on black people by the state; that the Labour and trade union movement betrays black people; and that it only moves on the issue of racism when black people's struggles threaten to develop outside its control. Despite all this, the labour movement is still seen as the force that

Minister – RC) and Ernest Bevin, his Foreign Secretary, and the domestic policies of the Labour government have remained confused and little understood.'

Indeed, this could be put rather more strongly: it is not just the case that these connections have been little understood, they have more often been deliberately obscured, because histories of the Labour Party deal little with its foreign policy, and in a quite racist way ignore its colonial policy for that post-war government period. But, in brief, it organised military intervention in Greece (to set up a fascist dictatorship), in Palestine (to set up the Zionist state), in Indonesia (to hand it back to Dutch imperialism), in Vietnam (to hand it back to French imperialism), in Korea (to participate in the butchery of some three million people). It maintained huge military garrisons throughout the world (80,000 in the Suez area alone) and secretly organised the development of the British atomic bomb. It fought for and achieved the political isolation of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and then took the lead in forming NATO as the military alliance of the imperialist nations.

The only colonies it 'freed' were those it could not continue to govern, in the Indian sub-continent. For the rest, especially if they were African, there was only more oppression and exploitation, to pay for such domestic reconstruction as took place. Having abolished conscription, it reintroduced it, to supply its standing armies abroad, and then extended it to 18 months because of the Korean War. Having set up a truncated version of a national health system, it then undermined this achievement by introducing prescription charges to pay for re-armament.

The fact is that that Labour government had one overriding task, to which all else was subordinate: the reconstruction of the world imperialist order. Its policies of petty domestic reform were to achieve the domestic peace necessary to ensure that it would not have to fight on two fronts at once. The post-war Labour government was a gang of vicious imperialist butchers, and it is simple to see why its domestic social reforms were so grudging and half-hearted.

Robert Clough

will lead the working class, and in this process it will somehow purge itself of its own racism. This conclusion is reached even after recognising the shared interests of the trade union movement and the state in racism.

Throughout these books the failure of the trade union movement to act in support of the miners is frequently mentioned but the conclusions from this are never drawn. In *Digging Deeper* the development of support groups is not seen as a way forward for political struggle – they are regarded merely as a supplement to the labour movement. In 'Beyond the Coalfields' the authors discuss how support groups are going to consolidate and continue after the strike. Yet it is these very people who are now winding down and holding back this process by tying these new organisations to the old methods of trade union struggle which have suffered a defeat, and to a political viewpoint which refuses to confront the British state and argues for compromise with and reform of that state.

Both *Policing the Miners Strike* and *Digging Deeper* are attempts to re-establish the Labour Party and the trade union movement as the leaders and controllers of the struggles of the working class. The miners strike has shown that, if there is to be a fightback by the working class, a new movement has to be built which is prepared to fight the ruling class and its state.

These are the issues and lessons that these books refuse to recognise. Instead they offer a 'radical' set of policies and reforms, as much use to the struggles of the working class as were the TUC mouthings of support to the miners.

Chas Millington

Kitson and Newman specialists in repression

In July 1982, General Sir Frank Kitson was made Head of the Army Land Forces. In October 1982 Kenneth Newman was made Head of the Metropolitan Police. There was little or no opposition to their appointments here in Britain. And today we are experiencing the results of those appointments. These two men represent the accumulated experience of the British ruling class in oppressing national liberation movements, particularly in Ireland, where they both served during crucial periods.

Kitson 1970-72 oversaw the internment operation, the brutal torture of the suspects using sensory deprivation techniques. Britain, you remember, was condemned at the European Commission for use of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, later amended to drop the word torture by the Court. Torture was seen by the Commission as an 'administrative practice', that means that the authorities knew about it and condoned it.

Newman, 1973-79 in Ireland, re-organised the intelligence-gathering operations of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, oversaw the torture of suspects as part of the conveyor belt of justice in the Six Counties of Ireland. That conveyor belt, if you remember, was arrest under the Emergency Provisions Act or the Prevention of Terrorism Act, torture to force the suspects to sign confessions, then they went before Diplock non-jury courts, and then they were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in the H-Blocks.

These appointments show the crucial connection between the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination and the working class struggle in Britain for democratic rights, for jobs and for justice. The appointments of Kitson and Newman make clear not only the connection between events in Ireland and events here but also tell us how the British ruling class intends to deal with the inevitable resistance to its rule in Britain. Kitson is an expert in counter-insurgency, that's a fancy name for putting down revolutionary democratic struggles against imperialism. His book, *Low Intensity Operations: subversion, insurgency and peacekeeping*, written in 1971, is designed to gather together this experience and is easily adapted for use in Britain.

His essential strategy is one that will become clear if you examine the miners' strike. It is to ruthlessly stamp out what

Michael Holden, ACTT shop steward, ex-detainee under the PTA

'Oppressive legislation must be opposed whenever and wherever it raises its bloody hand - in Ireland, in England, Peru or Pretoria... No serious or genuine political activist can ever justify legislation like the PTA.'

he calls subversion and what we would call effective opposition, in his own words 'to discover and neutralise the genuine subversive elements' and at the same time the strategy calls for simultaneously strengthening what he calls 'the moderate elements who support the state', that is, the ineffective opposition, and as he puts it in his book, 'to associate as many prominent members of the population, especially those who may have been engaged in non-violent action, with the government'.

His method requires intelligence gathering, from large numbers of low-grade sources. And he needs that to target the so-called subversives. And then there are psychological operations - that's what he calls them - and they are used in an attempt to isolate the opposition from the people. These include propaganda against the opposition cause, use of press and media to put over the government side, and if that's not working too well, dirty tricks, such as fake leaflets, and if that does not work, provocateurs and agents to discredit the cause, and if that does not work, there's always the assassination of leading oppositionists. The degree of these operations depends upon how advanced the cause and how determined are those

Bobby Sands MP, on hunger strike. No charges were brought in spite of the extended detention. The reason for the arrest was to remove those people from the struggle at a crucial moment of time.

The media is used constantly to undermine the freedom struggle. So-called moderates from the nationalist community are continually brought forth to condemn the struggle for freedom. At every stage the British ruling class uses all available means, including murder and torture, in its futile attempt to isolate the nationalist minority from the Republican movement and in order to destroy its support.

An essential factor in British imperialism's ability to retain its rule in Ireland has been the absence of any significant support for the struggle here in Britain. Any signs of growing support here are immediately crushed. The largest demonstration on the Irish question here, some 20,000 strong, took place after Bloody Sunday in 1972. It was crushed and attacked by the British police. Since 1974, given the backwardness of the official British labour movement on the Irish question, given the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the show trials and the media propaganda campaign against the Irish struggle, given all

fighting, or how close those fighting are to winning.

PTA: Legal cover for State terror

The law is an essential part of this strategy of maintaining the ruling class in power and isolating any effective opposition to its rule. As Kitson puts it so brutally, and I am just quoting him (you might not believe this) 'the law is just another weapon in the government's arsenal, and it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public'. Very simple, very basic, that's the ruling class talking to each other, instead of talking to us. It is a means of criminalising effective opposition to the British ruling class, whether that opposition comes from Ireland or here in Britain.

All the features of Kitson's strategy are clear in relation to the Irish struggle: special laws, Emergency Provisions Act, Prevention of Terrorism Act, to make fighting for freedom for your country a crime; torture, show trials, informers, all used to remove subversives from the struggle. And remember that no one is innocent in this connection if they support the struggle for freedom. In 1981 30 H-Block activists were rounded up under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, at the end of April 1981, just one week before the murder of

these things, effective campaigning had been ruled out by the use of the law in this country.

The PTA fits the Kitson-Newman strategy admirably. It is used to gather

'suspected international terrorists of any group, cause or nationality' affects all liberation movements and their supporters, not just those connected with the Irish struggle.

Deirdre O'Shea

'I would also like to ask people in the Labour Party, MPs in particular, why there were only 35 MPs in the House when the PTA was rushed through on the 21 of February and why there wasn't a whip put on it.'



PAUL MATTSSON

The platform at the public meeting against the PTA

intelligence. By the end of 1983 only 1.8% of the 5,900 people detained under the PTA were actually charged. In 1983 alone police checked 44,906 people, and detained only some 0.4% of them. The Prevention of Terrorism Act has not had the slightest effect on the military campaign in Britain nor was it ever intended to. Its purpose is to provide a legal cover for the systematic harassment of the Irish community in Britain in general, and for all in particular who were prepared to fight for a united Ireland.

The British government is not prepared to tolerate any serious opposition here in Britain to its rule of terror in Ireland. And given the backwardness of the official labour movement in this country and of course the British left, the Prevention of Terrorism Act effectively blocks large scale organised campaigning particularly by Irish people in Britain against British rule in Ireland. The threat of deportation, interrogation and surveillance has become part of everyday life for Irish people here in Britain and as the show trials, the frame-ups, and the recent arrests under the PTA show, the British government will go to any lengths to discourage any level of support for the Irish people's struggle for freedom.

They are organised, we must be organised too. They are able to get away with murder, literally, only because we have not built a serious movement in this country to oppose British rule in Ireland. And our failure is no longer limited to its effects upon those who oppose British rule in Ireland. The extension of the Prevention of Terrorism Act recently to cover, and I quote,

Opportunism and the extended PTA

I am a member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and recently the group I belong to found it necessary to criticise the leadership of the Anti-Apartheid

Brian Foy, National Union of Mineworkers (Kent)
'I think that people should accept that the reasons that the police have been able to develop and master these arts has probably been because of the training or the instruction they have had from the political situation in Ireland.'

Movement, because it was only prepared to oppose an extension of the Prevention of Terrorism Act to 'perfectly legitimate activities of the OAU-recognised liberation movements based in Britain'. That is, it wasn't prepared to oppose the Act, but only the Act as it applied to certain liberation movements in particular, the ANC and SWAPO. What they were saying is, it's OK for the Irish, OK for Central Americans, OK for Asians and Arabs and so on, but it's not OK for movements that they supported. We attacked them for that because we believe in the slogans of actually one of the major trade union organisations struggling in South Africa today, 'An injury to one is an injury to all'.

The PTA is designed to attack anybody who is effectively opposing British rule anywhere in the world. Any movement from anywhere which challenges British imperialism will be criminalised, and if you don't understand that you've really not understood anything yet.

Experience tells us that that is why the PTA exists and it will be extended and used to deal with anyone effectively opposing British imperialism.

The Miners' Strike and the State

Let's come to more recent times. During the heroic struggle of the striking miners for jobs, we saw all the components of the Kitson-Newman strategy put into practice in an attempt to criminalise a legitimate struggle for jobs. The law was used to remove unwanted members of the NUM from the picket lines. We saw the arrest of many leading NUM militants. The total number of arrests was something like 11,500 in all. We saw political bail conditions being used, and this applied to two-thirds of all those arrested.

The reason for those bail conditions was to remove people away from the centre of the struggle. The right to protest, to picket effectively, became a criminal offence. We saw the law used to attack striking miners while the state used every means at its disposal to sustain the scab miners and their organisations. Police protection and private business finance was used to keep the so-called moderates in activity.

All this was accompanied by a propaganda barrage from the press and TV, which day by day as the strike progressed became little more than a mouthpiece for the government and the NCB. Police violence and repression against the miners was on a scale not seen in this country for decades. We saw organised intelligence gathering from Scotland Yard, and it's almost certain that Kenneth Newman was involved with this. We saw roadblocks, political interrogations, beatings, illegal fingerprinting and photographing, snatch squads, phone taps, infiltrators. The miners have been brutalised and attacked by baton-wielding police in full riot gear.

Faced with state repression, the miners responded on the same lines as the oppressed have responded everywhere. The lessons of Ireland, of Brixton, of Liverpool 8, were very quickly learned under such conditions. The miners built barricades, set them alight, overturned cars, hurled bricks and slates in self-defence against the police, and I believe they were right to do so. They were forced to go way beyond the legal, constitutional and peaceful methods of struggle, so beloved by the Kinnocks and Willises of this world.

James Anderton, the Chief Constable of Manchester, blurted out at an early stage the ruling class approach to all this when he said 'mass pickets' and I'm quoting him 'are act of terrorism without the bullet or the bomb'. The use of the term 'terrorist' is no coincidence or mistake. Any force which threatens the power of the ruling class is invariably labelled terrorist. In this case it was part of an ideological offensive to isolate the striking miners from other workers as

dangerous extremists, and in particular to isolate Arthur Scargill, the one major trade union leader who had stood by his class. Just as those fighting for the democratic right for self-determination are regarded as extremists and terrorists, so were the striking miners by the ruling class and its controlled media.

The lessons, comrades and friends, are now admirably clear. Any effective opposition to the rule of the rich and wealthy of this society, whether here or in Ireland, will be labelled terrorist. Our failure to organise against British rule in Ireland has considerably weakened our ability to defend ourselves here. And that is what Marx meant many years ago when he said that our support for the Irish revolution should not only be to oppose the brutality of British rule on the grounds of sympathy or international justice, but also only by making common cause with the Irish people would we be able to liberate ourselves.

David Reed

LETTERS

Please note our address is, FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX. SEND US YOUR LETTERS. We welcome letters from readers but please keep them as short as you can.

Abortion on demand

Dear FRFI
I am writing this letter in response to Alexa Byrne's article, 'New Right Terror Attacks on Abortion'.

I have never yet read an article on abortion which represented the facts in an uncoloured way, and this was no exception. I believe the subject of abortion to be too serious to be used merely as a propaganda exercise. In doing so, FRFI are employing the same tactics as the likes of Reagan. Does this mean that the Left are just as likely to do an about turn on abortion policy, if the major part of the voting population demands that this be so?

Abortion, like other emotive questions, has always been a tremendous vote catcher, and has been used by politicians in Britain and America for possibly this reason alone. (NB abortion laws are usually instigated by men)...

Abuse is the important word here. More human lives have been terminated in this century through abortion, than perhaps the sum total of all the wars waged, including the two world wars. It runs literally into the multi-millions. The attacks on clinics in the USA highlighted in Alexa Byrne's article came about because of the horrific malpractices perpetrated by private gynaecologists there. The interests of these so called doctors are purely financial in the majority of cases. For example, 'abortions' have been carried out on women who were not actually pregnant.

In Britain, the current abortion

laws make legal those abortions where the pregnancy is likely to affect the physical and/or mental wellbeing of the mother, and/or the child adversely. It is extremely rare nowadays for a woman to die of complications arising from a pregnancy, she is more likely to suffer 'permanent mutilation' from a spinal anaesthetic gone wrong, during labour. She may well suffer mental illness as a result of continuing her pregnancy, but a large number of women suffer from post natal depression anyway, whether they want their child or not. To apply these rules to an unborn child smacks of Hitler's mode of fascism. As he saw it, an imperfect human being does not have the right to live. What right do we have to play God in this way? Just because a man has both legs amputated because of an accident, or suffers brain damage due to a stroke, does not mean that he should be put down. Or is this going to be the legislature of the future!

Abortion on demand, as currently exists in Britain in every major city, is a violation of the most basic human right, the right to live. As far as medical practitioners and nurses go, it is a violation of the Hippocratic oath, to defend and preserve human life. It is being used as a form of contraception, when we have at our disposal many other safe and reliable forms of contraception. It is not the woman's body which is at risk. The foetus is a separate, quite distinct human being, which at eight weeks has every organ



that a full grown baby has, and the ability to feel pain. We are kidding ourselves on if we profess to think otherwise. By using abortion we are refusing to accept the responsibility for our own actions. We women have been conned by generations of capitalist moguls who profess that sex is the centre of life, the be all and end all of human life. We and our unborn children suffer incalculably as a result of the permissive age which has its roots in this ideology.

Anonymous Kelvindale, Glasgow
What this letter ignores is the fact that women's rights are under increasing attack from reactionary forces whether it is the bombing of abortion clinics in the US or the Powell Bill in Britain.

The Tory government and Reagan administration show themselves time and again to be the true violators of the right to live. They care nothing

for the rights of the working class and oppressed anywhere. Millions of men, women and children in the imperialist countries are condemned to live in increasing poverty, denied all their basic rights—to jobs, homes, health care, education. In the Glasgow area alone, the incidence of rickets and TB are on the increase, the housing is the worst in Europe and the unemployment rate is one of the highest in Europe. Basic human rights are violated daily in major cities of Britain.

The letter refers to 'many other safe and reliable forms of contraception'. This is simply untrue. The pill may be effective, but as recent medical research shows, it can seriously damage women's health—with an increased incidence of breast and cervical cancer. Given the government's refusal to provide adequate checks for these cancers,

Zionist award for Thatcher

Dear FRFI
I thought you might like to know that, although the Oxford dons may have rudely snubbed Mrs T, at least, the Zionist academics still remember their friends. The Weizmann Institute in Israeli-occupied Palestine is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary by creating the Margaret Thatcher Professorial Chair of Chemistry, and bestowing on that illustrious scientist and humanitarian the Weizmann Award in the Sciences and Humanities.
Fraternally
Jennifer
Liverpool

Out of solitary confinement

Dear Comrades
I want to thank you very much for your recent support on the Home Office picket of 25 March 1985. As you can see the picket was a great success as the solitary confinement has now ended (for the time being) and they have moved me to Blundeston prison. I want to thank you for the write-up in the newspaper, exposing the brutal regime at Albany prison, and for naming the warders responsible for the torture.

Well, comrades, we are with you in the struggle to smash the fascist regime. There will be no surrender or compromise; we do not negotiate with fascists. We will continue to expose to the world the brutal British penal system. They have deceived, misled and lied to the court of Human Rights on numerous occasions, and we must continue to expose them. Total victory is what we want.

Communism is the road to freedom.
Danny Grimes
HM Prison Blundeston
Readers will remember that Danny was badly beaten up by prison warders in Albany prison last month (see FRFI 48). All comrades at FRFI send Danny warm greetings and solidarity and are glad to know that he is out of solitary.

Fans treated like cattle

Dear FRFI
On Saturday 20 April the *Daily Mail* headline read, 'electric fence shock for fans'. It was referring to the introduction of an electric fence to control football fans.

This shows the lengths the ruling class will go to control the working class of this country and that they have as much concern for us as a farmer does for cattle.

At the same time they have the hypocrisy to complain about the Berlin wall.

In capitalist society there is violence of all kinds, ranging from football hooliganism or picket line violence, to civil war.

The Berlin wall for their information is there to protect the East German people from the violence which exists in capitalist society.
Yours fraternally
Brent Cutler
Hants

Parole policy

Dear FRFI
Recent changes in the parole policy in my opinion do not seem to take into account that a prisoner still has human rights. Many prisoners have now been put into certain categories, which means now that they must serve a minimum of twenty years before they can be considered for parole. These prisoners who have served many years of a life sentence I feel are being victimised, like myself. Being identified as being in a certain category (and I have suggested to Mr Brittan that I am not in any of his categories) is contrary to what the declaration of human rights was founded upon. That is the value of a human being as an individual... Who can restrain parliament from making such changes in the parole system? What rights has a prisoner got under such a system to defend his human rights? In Britain he has none. I might add, Britain has the worst record on Human Rights in Europe.

Yours sincerely
M A Rowley
HM Prison Dartmoor

Real solidarity

Dear FRFI
'Between 2,000 and 3,000 miners and their families, marching behind a brass band through the pit village of Armthorpe, near Doncaster, stopped outside the baker's shop to publicly thank the owner for his support during the year-long dispute.'

'During that time, Howard Hardy gave the miners and their families free bread and loaned them baking tins and a slicer. The parade presented his wife, Mollie, with a bouquet of flowers.'
(*British Baker, March*)

A far cry from the alleged brutality and threats of violence that the press and media were churning out, in a pathetic attempt to criminalise the solidarity and support that exists in working class communities.
Long live working class solidarity
Andy
(a baker)
Edinburgh

University Right

Dear comrades
We write as members of various left groups in Cambridge University. As you may have seen in the press, the political life of Cambridge University Conservative Association (CUCA) is being disrupted by a new ultra-right political group, 'University Right'. Our concern is that it will gain ground quickly through its ruthless methods/tactics. While there is a certain amount of melodrama to UR's activities within CUCA, and the Union, we believe they pose a potentially very serious threat to left-wing/radical views in general, and to us and other activists specifically:
1. They represent a new shift to the far right, holding nauseous 'libertarian' views, and in fact drawing support from other fascist/racist groups like the Monday Club. Through their magazine 'The Liber-

ator' they attempt to spread extreme right-wing views on Marxism, US foreign policy (eg support for the 'contras' in Nicaragua), US/Thatcherite economic policy, immigration and generally racist views, support for South Africa, the police, defence and disarmament, etc etc. One member was recently quoted as saying 'We should ally ourselves with the South Africans, who alone among the white peoples recognise the truth that there are considerable differences in the merits of different races. The genius of the island race, sprung from the stock of the magnificent northern peoples, can only flourish fully and freely in an environment with a strong element of homogeneity in its most basic cultural assumptions.'
2. They threaten to gain power in CUCA, hardening the soft, inactive

and vulnerable body of Conservative opinion in Cambridge.

3. They are not afraid to use violence and intimidation, and indeed have done, eg against the Cambridge peace camp, summer 1984. They have influential friends, (eg Dennis Worrall, the South African ambassador), and have passed on hit lists of important figures on the left in the university to the Special Branch, who are, of course, sympathetic. University Left has now had mail opened and phones tapped by the police.

We are trying to widen consciousness of these dangers in Cambridge. However, any publicity you could give to this case, and an alert to all your members/sympathisers in the Cambridge area, would be very valuable.

Thanks
Cambridge University Left

FRFI FUND: WE NEED £500 A MONTH

SUCCESS IN APRIL: £554.75

The FRFI Fund is used to subsidise the unwaged rate of the paper. For this we need £500 per month and in April we received £54.75 over and above! This extra was badly needed since in the 4 months so far this year we have raised only £1,508.97 instead of £2,000.

The success this month was due to the tremendous effort by London comrades whose jumble sale and other fundraising activities raised £397.41 of the total. With organisation, FRFI Supporter Groups in other towns will no doubt register similar success and help us catch up. Last month they raised in Manchester £52.61, Edinburgh £40.27, Dundee £22.05, Leeds £20.10, Glasgow £7.20, Bradford £2.

Contributions from individual readers and supporters in April came to £13.11. Do keep them flowing in!

Make donations payable to 'Larkin Publications' and return to: FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

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SPECIAL FUND

HELP US BUY OUR OWN TYPESETTING EQUIPMENT

COST £6,000 - £268.31 STILL TO GO!

Due to the excellent efforts by our supporters, the Special Fund now stands at £5,731.69. As comrades who have copies of our book on the miners' strike will see, our newly formed production unit has brought out a superb publication. However, to meet all the costs entailed and to go on to our next publication we must meet our £6,000 target.

We don't have a long way to go! Only £268.31. We appeal to all readers, supporters and FRFI supporter groups to help us reach our target by the end of May.

Make your donation immediately. Fill in the form below.

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FRFI Supporters

Groups

■ Leeds
Next meetings on Thursday 16, 23 and 30 May
Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7, 7.30pm
For further information contact Leeds FRFI, Box FRFI, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2

■ Dundee
Meets on Monday 13 and 27 May at 7.30pm
Further details from FRFI sellers

■ Glasgow
Meets fortnightly on Thursday
Contact FRFI sellers or FRFI, Box 10, 340 West Prince's Street, Glasgow

■ Bradford
Next meetings Monday 13 May and Monday 3 June, Queen's Hall, Morley Street, at 7.30pm
For further information contact Bradford FRFI, c/o 6 Edmund Street, Bradford 5

■ Manchester
Next meetings Thursday 23 May and Thursday 6 June, Slade Lane Neighbourhood Centre, Slade Lane, Longsight, Manchester 12, 7.30pm
For further information contact Manchester FRFI, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN

■ North London
Meets fortnightly
Next meeting Monday 13 May - Racism and the trade union movement
Future meetings - Monday 27 May and Monday 10 June
All at Red Rose Centre, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7 at 7.30pm (Finsbury Park tube or Buses 253 and 29)

■ South London
Meets fortnightly on Tuesdays
Next meeting: Tuesday 21 May
Contact FRFI sellers for details or write to FRFI, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

■ Edinburgh
Come to the FRFI supporters group for political discussion and organisation of our work. First and third Wednesday of every month
60, The Pleasance, 7-9pm
Admission 25p

Chris Myant – Rising Star

Dear FRFI
Chris Myant, journalist for the *Morning Star* and a man insiders tip to come out on top from the CPGB's tawdry feud, recently displayed his true internationalist spirit. Normally busy describing UDR assassins as garage mechanics, postmen and the like whenever they are brought to Republican justice, Myant has found another group of workers not quite up to his standards. Upon learning that Danish workers had used a sentry box as a battering ram to charge police lines during their dispute with the Danish government, Myant expressed a surprising unwillingness to handle the story. Showing impeccable revolutionary credentials he denounced its source, *Reuters*. When pressed upon this principled, if somewhat lefty stance, (*Reuters* share a monopoly of international news distribution and to exclude them would quickly empty *Morning Star* columns) Myant explained that he would not cover the story because he did not want the *Morning Star* or the CPGB to be seen condoning the workers' use of violence.

So, workers, if you want to avoid the *Morning Star* censors and being tarred with the brush the CPGB normally reserves for Irish revolutionaries, either give up violence or join the police and army.
Trevor Rayne

AAM debates with Apartheid

Dear FRFI
I was disgusted to see Bishop Trevor Huddleston the President of the AAM on Channel 4 News (15.4.85) debating with the South African ambassador to Britain. The South African government had earlier announced its latest in a series of cosmetic changes to apartheid, in order to appease liberal criticism in Britain and the USA.

By debating with apartheid's chief spokesman in Britain, Huddleston merely gave legitimacy to the fascist regime in South Africa. The ambassador was able to explain his government's 'reasonable' position that changes were taking place and that more would follow if people would only be patient.

The oppressed people of South Africa don't want us to debate with apartheid they want real solidarity. A picket of ITN in protest at them allowing the ambassador air time would have been more meaningful.
End all British collaboration with South Africa.
Graham Stockton

unite to fight racism and imperialism

Anti-imperialist weekend

PEOPLE versus STATE

Saturday and Sunday
29-30 June 1985
London

SATURDAY 29 JUNE

Anti-imperialist breakfast: to welcome comrades travelling to London for the weekend
8.00-10.00am, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
50p/20p unwaged

Street activities

Picket the racist embassy!
Smash British Collaboration with Apartheid!
12.00 noon – 3.00pm
South African Embassy, Trafalgar Square (nearest tube Charing Cross)

People versus state!
Street rally with theatre, music, singing and speakers representing struggles in Britain and internationally
12.00 noon – 2.30pm
Wood Green Free Speech Area, Wood Green Library, London N22 (nearest tube Wood Green)

Special advance price for the whole weekend	£3.00, £1.50 unwaged
Dayschool only	£2.50, £1.50 unwaged
Rally only	£1.00, £0.50 unwaged

Name _____ Address _____

Donation £ _____ I want leaflets and posters to help build the events _____

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FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE

Anti-imperialist rally

Unite to fight racism and imperialism: people versus state
7.00 – 10.00pm
Large Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)
Admission: £1.00, 50p unwaged
Over 300 people attended our first anti-imperialist rally in April last year. That rally had a central theme: that the working class in Britain must unite in common cause with all oppressed peoples fighting imperialism in order to advance its own struggle. The momentous fight of the miners and their communities has reinforced the urgent need for unified action against British imperialism. This year's rally will build on the lessons learned.

Speakers invited: leading representatives of liberation movements throughout Africa, Central America, Palestine, Ireland, prominent leaders of the miners' strike, anti-racist, democratic and peace movement speakers.

SUNDAY 30 JUNE

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! Dayschool PEOPLE versus STATE

9.30 – 5.30
Caxton House, 129 St John's Way, London N19 (nearest tube Archway)
Admission £2.50, £1.50 unwaged

This year's dayschool will be an assessment of a year of momentous struggles – the miners' strike, the battle to defend the right to picket the South African embassy, the massive upsurge of revolutionary struggle in South Africa and Britain's continued collaboration with apartheid. There will be workshops on the lessons of the miners' strike; the fight against racism and deportations; political prisoners in Kenya and Uganda; is Ireland the key to the British revolution?; and the revolutionary upsurge in South Africa.

A plenary session will be introduced by David Reed

Also films, exhibitions and displays.
Food and creche facilities available.

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to the best
anti-imperialist
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If you are willing to help the work which FRFI is doing, become an FRFI SUPPORTER. We need more people to sell FRFI and to involve others in the fightback. We need more people writing for FRFI about their local struggles and campaigns.

Fill in your name and address on the form below, and send £5. You will receive a supporter card, a year's subscription to FRFI and details of all our activities in your area and nationally.
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Name _____
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Send this form to
Larkin Publications BCM Box 5909 London WC1N 3XX

PUBLIC MEETING

Namibia and the Struggle for Peace

Thursday 16 May, 7.30pm
Jackson's Lane Community Centre, Jackson's Lane, London N7 (nearest tube Highgate)
Access reasonable
Slides and discussion on a recent visit to Namibia by the Rev John Wheeler (formerly Commissary of Diocese of Namibia)
Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

BENEFIT

To raise funds for a SWAPO Medical Kit

Saturday 8 June, 8pm onwards
The Centre, Adelaide Street, London WC2 (nearest tube Charing Cross)
Middle Eastern and North African dancing, Skint Video and Ian Saville – conjurer for socialism.
Bar.
Admission £3.00, £1.50 unwaged

Larkin publications

BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX



Ireland: the key to the British revolution by David Reed

'... a magnificent work of scholarship, some exhaustive research and documentation ... enormous merits ... a great deal of valuable commentary about the past 15 years ...'

Sunday Independent (Ireland)
450pp, £3.95 plus 65p postage and packing

The revolutionary road to communism in Britain Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group

175pp, £1.50 plus 45p postage and packing



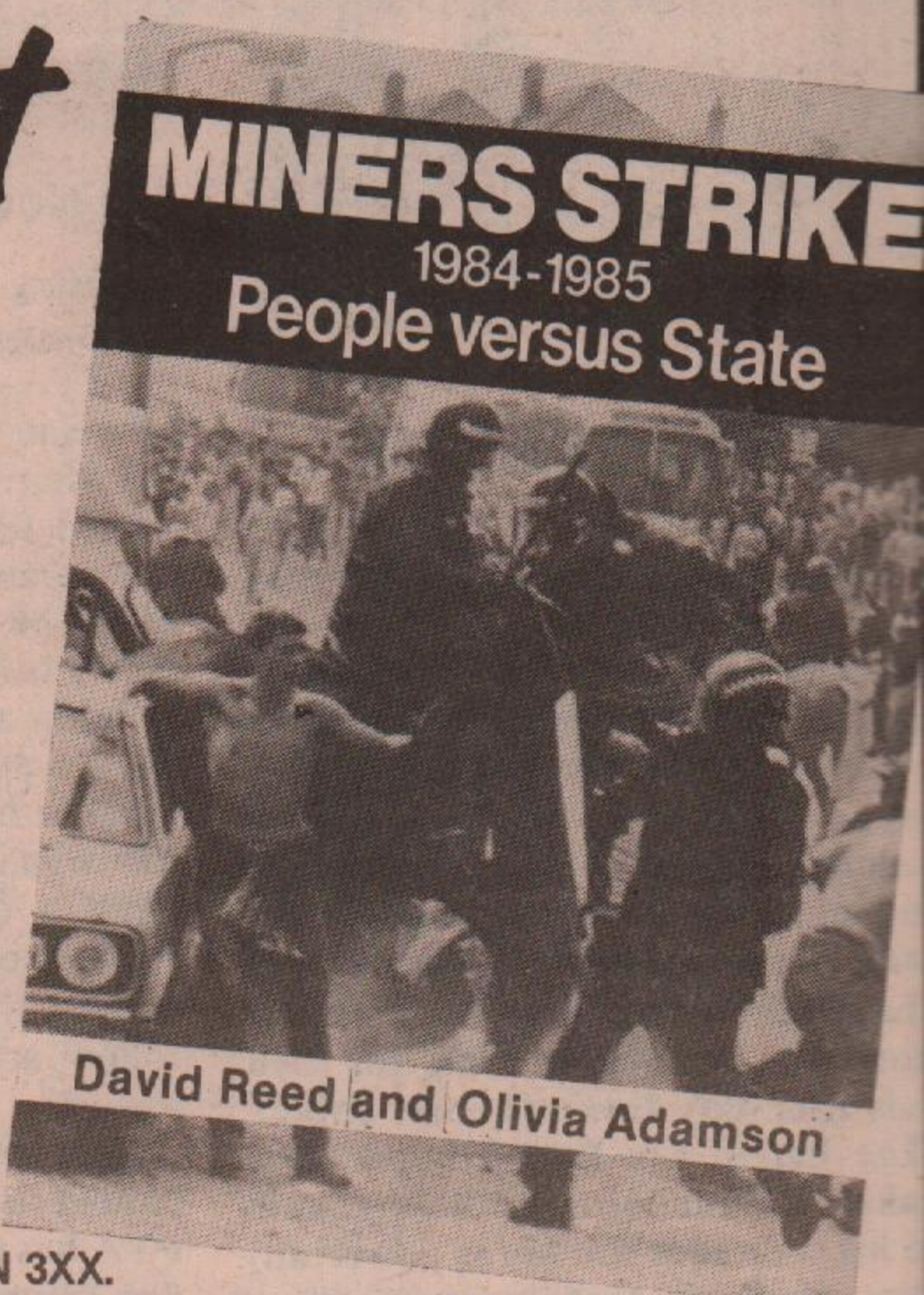
just out MINERS STRIKE 1984-5 People versus State

David Reed and Olivia Adamson

144 pp, paperback
£2.50 + 40p postage.

Order from:
Larkin Publications,
BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX.

This book contains a detailed political analysis of the heroic miners' strike as it took place. There is a diary of events, many photographs, eye-witness accounts of miners' pickets, police actions and other dramatic events. An appendix contains reviews of books and pamphlets published on the strike as it progressed, as well as speeches, articles and statements by striking miners, political activists, political prisoners and others supporting the strike. Together they give a political history of a strike which has transformed political life for hundreds of thousands of people in Britain.



David Reed and Olivia Adamson

HANDS OFF IRELAND

In the wake of the Xmas and New Year arrests in Liverpool under the Prevention of Terrorism Act the campaign of intimidation and harassment against the Irish community continues. At least twelve people have been detained recently under the PTA. All were released.

OPPOSE THE TERROR ACT

In Cairnryan near Stranraer in Scotland on the morning of 22 April, 3 leading Republicans were arrested along with 2 other men. Briege-Ann McCaughley was returning home after attending a meeting in Scotland against the strip-searches in Armagh. The others, including Fra McCann, Sinn Fein candidate for Lower Falls in the coming local elections, had been attending a conference in Glasgow on the dangers of asbestos. They were held for 48 hours.

Earlier, 3 nationalist women had been arrested in Stranraer on 19 April. They had come over to Scotland with a party of 15 children of Republican prisoners. The short holiday was organised by the Glasgow branch of the Sinn Fein POW Department. The women were told that the children would have to be taken into local authority care. Fortunately the coach driver hired by the party took the children to Glasgow. All 3 women were fingerprinted, repeatedly interrogated, kept in a filthy disgusting cell and denied washing facilities. One of them Linda Maguire was also denied sanitary protection despite bleeding heavily. A fourth woman was detained on the return journey. Leading republican, Joe Austin was also questioned en route to a meeting at Strathclyde University. Another 3 men were held for 36 hours at Holyhead on their way to Belfast.

This is the reality of the PTA - children left stranded as their guardians are dragged into police custody; women abused and degraded. Yet where are the cries of outrage from politicians such as Neil Kinnock? It is clear that the British



BOBBY SANDS

On 5 May 1981 Bobby Sands MP died on hunger strike in Long Kesh prison. He was the first of ten Irish POWs to be murdered by Thatcher's government in the hunger strike for political status. They gave their lives to the cause of Irish freedom and their courage has inspired freedom loving people throughout the world. In the words of the President of Cuba, Fidel Castro: 'Let tyrants tremble before men capable of dying for their ideals after sixty days on hunger strike.'

The hatred for British imperialism awakened by the murder of Bobby Sands and his comrades still burns powerfully today. So it was that during the royal couple's recent tour of Italy, Councillor Giovanni Pallanti of Florence refused to eat with them saying: 'I would have no appetite, thinking of those Irish who died in prison as a result of hunger-strikes'.

state will continue to use the terrorising act, unopposed by spineless politicians, until a serious, determined and militant campaign against the PTA is built.

Defend Maire O'Shea

The potential of such a campaign is clear. The campaign to defend Maire O'Shea, who is fighting conspiracy charges following her arrest under the PTA, 5 January, has mobilised wide support. Her courageous lead in opposing the PTA has won support from the Irish community, black organisations, women's groups, miners support groups, labour and trade union bodies, notably her own union ASTMS, and several MPs and councillors. It was publicity and growing public support which won the campaign's first major victory - Maire's release on bail on 8 February. For someone facing a conspiracy charge connected with the Irish situation, bail is extremely rare. All those who wish to defeat the racist PTA will fully support Maire O'Shea's campaign. For if the campaign succeeds it will be both a victory for Maire and a major blow against the PTA and conspiracy laws.

Act Now!

Realising that now is the time when real headway can and must be made against the PTA, FRFI and the Irish Solidarity Movement have given full support to the Maire O'Shea campaign. We have argued for a major national campaign and demonstration against the PTA. The ISM has already produced a pamphlet, held a major public meeting in London and pickets in London, Manchester and Scotland. But at the same time we have argued that it is essential for organisations to work together to build a united campaign against the PTA, to coordinate opposition to its use and to the conspiracy charges which follow arrest and interrogation under the act.

This call for unity has met with only limited success. A committee against the PTA has now been established in London supported by ISM, Troops Out Movement, the IBRG, Young Liberals, London Armagh Group, LCI and Peace Through Democracy. This has taken four long months to set up. Worse still the Coordinating Committee for

UNITE TO FIGHT THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT!

DEFEND MAIRE O'SHEA! DROP THE CHARGES NOW!

New pamphlet from the Irish Solidarity Movement

This pamphlet has been produced to aid the building of a campaign against the PTA. It contains vital material, information and speeches. Help the campaign by buying the pamphlet, better still order some to sell to your friends, workmates etc.

Price 30p plus 15p postage. (5 or more copies post free)

Send your order to ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX

British Withdrawal from Ireland (CCBWI) - the body which organised last year's August march - has made the backward decision not to march this summer. The ISM had argued for a national march in August. Instead, TOM proposed a march in January 1986! Initially, both proposals were carried. Yet TOM returned to the next meeting and argued for the decision on the summer march to be reversed, which it was.

March against the PTA

We were then faced with the sorry prospect of no significant national march on Ireland until 1986 - 17 months since the August 1984 march. This marks the lowest ebb of Irish solidarity activity in Britain for many years. No serious arguments have been advanced by those who are preventing national demonstrations from taking place, only that a demonstration is 'impossible'. Such pessimism is self-fulfilling. The ISM therefore pressed for the newly-formed committee against the PTA to organise a national march against the PTA. The national Maire O'Shea Support Committee had already voted that they would support such a march. But once again TOM blocked a march. At the PTA committee's meeting on 3 May, TOM not only opposed holding a march but even spoke against a Young Liberal proposal to take an immediate decision to organise a conference against the PTA this summer. So what did TOM advocate? 'Local' work and 'borough-wide' work were the phrases they used to conceal a refusal to do anything serious at all against the PTA. The PTA committee nevertheless agreed to hold a Conference in August. Whilst we support such a Conference there is also a need to mobilise militant opposition to the PTA on the streets. The ISM will therefore be pressing for a London march to be held alongside this Conference. We urge all organisations to join in a campaign now to defeat the PTA and to defend those arrested and charged. As Maire O'Shea has shown, such a campaign is possible.

Sian Bond, Tony Sheridan and Maxine Williams

Ballot rigging and repression

As usual the British attitude to the ballot box is one of contempt. Votes and rights mean nothing when exercised by the oppressed. Remember how they changed the rules to prevent long-term prisoners standing after the election of Bobby Sands in 1981?

The run-up to the District Council elections in the Six Counties proves this. Sinn Fein are fielding 91 candidates in 17 of the 26 District Councils. Since election work began, candidates, election workers and supporters have been harassed and intimidated. Owen Carron, Sinn Fein director of elections, was stopped by the RUC who copied names and addresses of candidates, agents and sponsors from his papers. Two candidates and two election agents were arrested and held for questioning, two others found undercover British soldiers watching and following them and Fra McCann, former H-Block POW and candidate for the Lower Falls, was arrested under the PTA in Scotland.

As well as producing a special effort to prevent democratic elections, British terror has continued unabated in the nationalist areas. On 10 April the paramilitary RUC attempted to murder Jamesy McMullan in the Twinbrook area of West Belfast. McMullan was with a friend when they saw what turned out to be an unmarked RUC car pull up behind them. One man jumped out with an automatic weapon and shouted 'Come here, you'. McMullan realised his life was in danger and ran. He was followed by two RUC men who fired a number of bursts from the weapons before catching him. They began their usual tactics of beating and kicking but were driven from the area by the many local people who came onto the streets following the shooting. No

doubt a cover-up will take place and no one will face charges of attempted murder.

To add insult to injury, the RUC man responsible for killing John Downes last August has been charged with... manslaughter, a cover-up charge for pointing a plastic bullet gun at someone's heart, at a distance of only a few feet, and then pulling the trigger. This RUC man has been released on bail and walks the streets, unlike the hundreds who spend years on remand on the evidence of paid informers.

Prime Minister Fitzgerald of the Twenty Six County state backs this repression and injustice 100 per cent. In the run-up to the District Council elections in Derry, he was produced to bolster the fortunes of the pro-British Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). The first thing that Fitzgerald did when he got off the plane was shake hands with a constable from the RUC!

Britain's allies extend further than Fitzgerald. It has just come to light (*The Observer*) that the European Commission of Human Rights condemned in 1983 British 'rules' for shoot-to-kill in Ireland. The Commission's ruling was kept secret after the intervention of Thatcher. An out-of-court settlement to the widow of a man shot dead in Newry by British troops in 1971 was sufficient to avoid a public ruling and thus allow Britain's shoot-to-kill policy to claim many more lives.

Gary Clapton and Alan James

SOLIDARITY WITH POWS

Edinburgh ISC held a meeting on Britain's political prisoners on 25 April which was disrupted by fascists. However, we refuse to be intimidated, and the next week we organised another meeting, on 2 May, which was attended by more than 25 people. A video was shown about the Guildford 4 frame-up and the speakers were the EISC, FRFI, Greenham woman who had spent 2 weeks in Holloway and an eyewitness account of the Armagh picket against strip searches. A message of solidarity from Fitzwilliam Prisoners Aid Committee was read out.

Paul Whittle, who spent 3 years in Long Kesh on the blanket, sent the following message:

'The Republican socialist POWs fully support this meeting on political prisoners in Britain. We realise and state that political prisoners in Britain, for example miners, peace activists, women and black activists, are not only political prisoners but they represent the oppressed peoples of Britain. We send our full support to our comrades in Britain.'

IRISH POWS GHOSTED

Within weeks of being transferred from the Scrubs, London, to Frankland Prison in Durham, Sean Kinsella has been ghosted to Armley Gaol, Leeds. On 15 April he was taken without warning from the workshop and bundled into a prison van. He was refused any personal belongings - no radio, nothing. No reason is known. Another POW, James Bennett, has been moved from Parkhurst to Long Lartin and Paul Hill has been returned to Gartree having been on punishment in Liverpool.

IN MEMORIAM

We heard with great sorrow of the death of Mrs Holden on the morning of Friday 26 April at the family's home in Hemel Hempstead. She died aged 77 having been very ill for a long time. Our deepest sympathy goes to her husband, Paddy, to her son Michael and to all her family and friends.

IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

**MAY 18 - 19
ACTIVISTS WEEKEND
MANCHESTER
Rally - Saturday**

Commemorate the Hunger Strikers!

Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act!

**Longsight Market,
Stockport Road, Longsight
1.00pm**

**Social in Evening with
Music and Food**

Dayschool - Sunday

Registration 9.30

**Morning: The Albany
POW's Statement - 2 years
on**

**Afternoon: Workshops on
the Prevention of Terrorism
Act, POWs, Armagh
Women and Strip
Searches, Miners and the
Irish Struggle**

P&P MISC, Box 47, 434 Corn Exchange Building, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M3 4BN