

# FIGHT RACISM!

# FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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## SIEGE AT BROADWATER FARM ESTATE

Since the 6 October rising in Tottenham, the Broadwater Farm Estate has been under a state of siege by the police. The entire community has been stripped of its democratic rights by an intense police operation. Arrests from a wide area around North London have continued, but on the Broadwater Farm Estate the police are out to destroy the community that has grown up in recent years. They have used detention, intimidation, surveillance techniques, hunger and breaking up of families in their determination to smash the people who live there.

### The Broadwater Farm Youth Association

A leaflet produced by the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee, tells us something of the estate's history:

'Before the Broadwater Farm Youth Association was formed in 1981 the police frequented the immoral and obscene social club controlled solely by white people for 7 years, and which totally excluded black people. The social club was a den of iniquity with striptease and all forms of corruption taking place in it. When the Council was asked to look into the activities of the club, the people who controlled it left.'

After a period of time during which the youths raised funds and organised on their own, the Council was forced to recognise the needs of the area and the Broadwater Farm Youth Association was formed for everyone on the estate. It was a success from the start. 'Black and white youth, young and old residents on the estate began to meet for the first time, setting up local co-ops to improve the unemployment situation. Food was provided for everyone including old age pensioners.' The crime rate dropped dramatically.

The police had wanted to open a mini police station on the estate. The people organised to win their own community facilities instead. The police were defeated. They then began to increase their presence on the estate. Youths were picked up and falsely accused of robbery, muggings and other crimes. The police carefully studied the lay-out of the estate and practised how they might hold it under siege. In November 1982 they got their first chance to put their plans into action. They subjected the estate then, as they are doing now, to para-military style police occupation following a demonstration by the youth against a resident's arrest for allegedly breaking into the social club. Broadwater Farm Estate was under siege with over 400 SPG riot police on it. The Youth Association set up a Defence Campaign which showed the strength of an organised community under attack. Police resentment at the unity and strength demonstrated by the people on the estate has grown over the years.

### The present state of siege

The police occupation of Broadwater Farm Estate is like an occupation by an imperialist army. Hundreds of police are on the estate every day. They are carrying out surveillance to build up a complete picture of all who live there. Raids on homes are being carried out

daily. Clothing, sometimes all clothing, has been taken away for 'forensic tests'. Residents have been questioned about their occupations, relatives, country of origin. People have been filmed coming on and off the estate. Whole families have been 'removed' from the estate and put into temporary accommodation. Young people have been taken from their parents to 'secure accommodation', and put under 'Place of Safety Orders' without the knowledge of social workers. For over a week after the events of October the Post Office refused to deliver Giro cheques or any mail to the estate, and the nearest Post Office has been closed down. Comrades in FRFI have been told of these events by the people immediately affected and three weeks after 6 October we were told that people on the estate were hungry and still had not received their allowances. It is clear that some workers in the social services must be collaborating with the police for these cruel and high handed measures to be carried out.

At the same time the police continue to detain and arrest people. So far there have been at least 64 arrests. They have taken school children off a local bus and kept them for questioning; even children as young as three years old have been questioned on their own. The reason for these interrogations is for the police to pick up as much 'low grade' information as they can - names, relationships etc in order to target their arrests and pick up the most active members of the community. They have used threats and force to extract names and information from people. One youth of 15 was kept without access to parents or any adult of his choice for 54 hours and threatened with a murder charge. Many juveniles have been similarly kept in police stations for up to 36 hours, beaten and bullied and then released without charge. One young man told FRFI that he had been kept naked, except for a flimsy blanket, and moved from station to station for 36 hours. At one point exhaust fumes were discharged into the cell where he was lying freezing and naked until another police constable said it should stop.

Police determination to secure the arrests and charges they want has continued into the courts where some solicitors have been intimidated and told not to give advice to their clients. The police have prevented certain solicitors from representing people and have appointed solicitors known to be helpful to them. Bail has been consistently challenged by the police. They have also ordered curfews and regular reporting to police stations as part of their bail conditions. continued on centre pages



Johannesburg City Centre, 18 October: Black youth, angered by the murder of Benjamin Moloise, deal with a white man who attacked a black protestor

## Botha turns the screw Resistance intensifies

In the face of world-wide condemnation of apartheid, State President PW Botha has introduced more terror measures against the masses of South Africa over the last month. Murder on the streets, judicial murder, extension of the emergency powers, mass detentions and press censorship, have been the regime's reply to the black people's demands for freedom and justice.

On 18 October 1985, ignoring international demands for clemency, Benjamin Moloise, a member of the African National Congress (ANC), was execut-

### Policing the Crisis

The police have introduced new, violent and potentially lethal tactics which they are now using against demonstrators. On the centre pages we examine the facts

### Arguments for change

Why you should be at the AAM AGM on 1 December - page 5

### The Politics of Profit

Is there an alternative to Thatcherism? - page 10

### The Battle of Brittan

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ed for a killing he never committed. On 26 October, the State of Emergency was officially extended to the Western Cape, the centre of intense fighting with the police and army. All meetings of 113 organisations (including affiliates of the UDF, AZAPO, and militant Muslim groups) have been banned in the Cape Peninsula and Boland regions. Over 80 anti-apartheid activists were rounded up on 25 October, and then detained under the emergency regulations. The death toll in the Cape rises day by day.

## 5,000 march against police oppression

'Lovelock/Randall - you're wanted for murder', 'Fight back against racist state repression' and 'No pigs on the (Broadwater) Farm' were some of the slogans chanted by 5,000 demonstrators as they marched from Brixton to Hyde Park on Monday 11 November. Organised by the Groce Family Support & Commun-

Over a third of South Africa's black population now live in areas covered by the State of Emergency. In spite of the existing severe restrictions on the press, Botha has announced a ban on all but officially approved television, radio, and photographic news coverage of all 'unrest' in the areas where emergency regulations apply. All journalists can only enter these areas with permission from the police. The punishment for all those who defy this, is immediate arrest and indefinite detention. If convicted, the sentence could be fines of up to £5,400 and/or 10 years imprisonment.

These measures have come in the wake of a growing revolt against Botha and the ruling National Party from the extreme right, who believe that the continued on page 4

ity Defence Campaign, the demonstration demanded a public inquiry into the police killing of Cynthia Jarret and the shooting of Cherry Groce.

FRFI's contingent attracted hundreds of people with its slogans and songs linking the struggles of black people in Britain with the liberation movements in Southern Africa, Ireland and Palestine. At the Hyde Park rally many speakers stressed the need for unity and organisation and Cynthia Jarret's son, Floyd, ended his speech saying 'We have to unite in one cause and one aim - liberation.'

## Appeal for Witnesses 2 November AAM Demonstration arrests

The AAM National Office is appealing for information about arrests on the 2 November demonstration. Photos, particularly showing arrests are needed urgently. So are witnesses to arrests. Anyone with information should contact the AAM, 13 Mandela Street, NW1. Phone 01 387 7966.

There are meetings of defendants, witnesses and solicitors being organised too: contact the AAM for details.



GERARD LIVETT

## Police thuggery exposed in Battle of Brittan inquiry

The report of an independent inquiry into Leon Brittan's visit to Manchester University on 1 March exposes and condemns brutal and sinister tactics used by the police.

er City Council, preferring their own internal investigation. The students refused to give evidence to this attempted cover up. The inquiry panel's report follows the police brutality on 1 March with their subsequent persecution of key wit-

This evidence led the leader of the inquiry, John Platts-Mills QC, to describe the events as the first step towards a police state. The other members of the inquiry panel were James Wood, Keith Ewing, Tony Bunyan and Tony Jefferson. In fact,



After Brittan addresses meeting...

Five hundred people demonstrated against Brittan's visit, blocking the steps of the students union. Rather than any attempt at negotiation special police squads were sent in to break up the demonstration. By the end of the evening, 40 people had been arrested and 40 injured, four of whom had to be taken to hospital. Of the 33 charged, only 19 were eventually convicted. An FRFI supporter who was arrested won his case.

The police refused to cooperate with the inquiry set up by Manch-



Sarah Hollis lies injured

nesses. Steven Shaw, who played an active role in investigating the police action, was stopped on four occasions by police for speeding, was burgled (witness statements stolen), detained and forcibly strip searched. Sarah Hollis, the only person to persist with an official police complaint (the injuries she sustained forced her to wear a neck collar for 3½ months) was also burgled, followed, stopped, threatened etc. Both the Manchester Police Monitoring Unit office and that of a member of the inquiry team, Tony Bunyan, were burgled.

the police were using methods they had been perfecting for a year during the miners' strike.

Greater Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton has recently been ordered, by the Manchester Police Committee, to return to the suppliers the plastic bullets he has recently purchased. This he has refused to do and the committee is now taking legal advice with a view to forcing him to comply with their wishes.

Chris Fraser

## Loyalists disrupt Councils

For all its talk of democracy British imperialism rejects the ballot box when the results are inconvenient. In the Six Counties local elections in May Sinn Fein won 39 seats. However the loyalists have since then consistently prevented Sinn Fein members from participating in the councils. To this end seventeen Unionist-dominated councils (the latest being Belfast Council) have now suspended business for one month periods, handing over their powers to Mayors and other executives.

This is the culmination of a series of disruptive tactics aimed at silencing Sinn Fein. These have included: excluding Sinn Fein councillors; shouting, singing and blowing horns when Sinn Fein speaks; forcing them to sit apart in the council chamber and even formally voting that they be silenced. On several occasions the RUC has been brought into the Chamber to evict Sinn Fein councillors.

The loyalists see Sinn Fein's presence as an attack on their right to dispense jobs, houses and social services on sectarian lines. Thus in Dungannon council, hysterical scenes greeted a Sinn Fein councillor's attempt to raise the fact that in an area where Catholics form 50% of the ratepayers only 2 out of 32 council staff are Catholic.

In response to loyalist demands it is rumoured that the British government is considering a declaration requiring all council candidates to renounce violence. This is only to be expected of a government which met the election of Bobby Sands as an MP with a ruling that prevented prisoners from standing for election. Today as always when the Irish people express their will through the ballot box it is contemptuously brushed aside by the imperialists.

Maxine Williams

## Something nasty in the City

Only when a bank collapses does any whiff of the corruption which pervades the City escape to public attention. MP Brian Sedgemore's revelations about Johnson Matthey Bankers (JMB) show blackmail, bribery, racketeering and prostitution to be everyday currency on the London money markets. The trail of tainted deals leads even up to Mrs Thatcher's personal friends and the Bank of England itself.

JMB is a member of the City's gold price-fixing ring and as such is a very privileged and protected institution. According to Brian Sedgemore, customers of JMB found that prestigious JMB letters of credit - loans - could be used to finance the export of non-existent and worthless goods to Nigeria in exchange for dollars.

The dollars were paid out at the controlled official rate and then recycled to Nigeria at the much higher black market rate. Part of the profits then being used to repay the JMB. When the Shagari 'kleptocracy' was overthrown in 1983, JMB was left with £90 million worth of outstanding loans, and the means to repay them cut off by the new government's clampdown on corruption.

JMB officials knew of the lucrative deals and attempted to cover the Nigerian losses with fictitious profits. Appearances are all-important to the banking trade, but this time their price was high: the City friends in high places, friends in the know. The possibilities for blackmail were irresistible: JMB head Ian Fraser was an easy target for soft loans. Among those who benefitted from JMB's embarrassment was friend of Thatcher and Norman Tebbit, Mr Abdul Shamji. Shamji's borrowings around the City are put



Brian Sedgemore MP

at £71.5 million, with £19 million owed to JMB. All this quite apart from the little help he received from the Scottish Development Agency to set up a factory which he promptly moved down to Kent. Understandably grateful to JMB Shamji provided Fraser with a Mayfair flat, and loot also went on prostitutes and 'Christmas gifts'.

As corruption ate through JMB's dealings so it finally collapsed. Somewhat exceptionally for a government which makes a virtue out of bankruptcies, the Bank of England was sent rushing with a £100 million rescue and took JMB over. It inherited JMB's debts and the biggest debtor of all was a Mr Mahmud Sipra. Like the rest of the cards in its pack, the Bank of England lent itself to a spot of crime. It is accused of illegally pressuring Sipra into giving the Bank of England priority when repaying debts, opening a special account for the purpose, along with a £745,000 house overlooking Regents Park.

Such are the morals of a ruling class that worships only the Golden Calf of Profit.

Trevor Rayne

## Torture in Cyprus spy trial

The end of the longest and most expensive spy trial in British history revealed last month that the British state has no qualms about using on its own minions the methods it daily uses on Irish and black people. The revelation at the end of the trial that the five airmen and two soldiers had had their confessions tortured out of them came in the same week as a *World in Action* programme which brought into the open the framing in 1974 of six Irish men, the 'Birmingham Six', for the Birmingham pub bombings, mainly on the basis of forced confessions. The seven servicemen were acquitted. The six Irish men, even if they are released, will have done eleven years for nothing.

The acquittal of the seven servicemen, all from 9 Signals Regiment based at Ayios Nikolaos, Cyprus, an outpost of the government spy centre GCHQ at Cheltenham, was a blow for the government. The seven were those who, out of a much larger group arrested, confessed under interrogation by the RAF's Provost Marshal Branch.

They 'confessed' to being blackmailed into passing secrets after being lured into homosexual acts and to being paid off in money, drugs and sex. Interrogation methods included questioning for 10 hours at a stretch, being forced to shave until their faces bled, being forced to lift weights, being exposed to bright lights for long periods, being in solitary confinement for 12 days and threats to their families.

There is nothing unusual about these methods - they are those normally used on people in the armed forces suspected of being gay. Such 'non-violent' psychological methods, based on sensory deprivation techniques, are of course familiar techniques of torture used on Republicans in the North of Ireland.

Turned on these servicemen, the

interrogations produced results which proved to be the prosecution's undoing. One man confessed to passing on secrets on a date when he had been 8,000 miles away in the Falklands; another to having sex in an apartment block which had not even been built on the date in question. One of the seven tried to commit suicide twice. All were denied access to a lawyer. All withdrew their confessions before the trial.

Despite the fact that the prosecution case depended entirely on forced confessions, the government, through the Director of Public Prosecutions, decided to go ahead with the trial. It is clear that the decision took place in an atmosphere of increasing government paranoia over security at GCHQ. In 1977, the DPP (under a Labour government) failed to win a case against a corporal from 9 Signals Regiment and two journalists to whom he gave an interview - Duncan Campbell and Crispin Aubrey - the well known ABC trial. In 1982, Geoffrey Prime was sent to gaol for 35 years after admitting to passing over top secrets for a period of 20 years from GCHQ Cheltenham.

In 1984 came the collapse of the trial of an RAF telegrapher, also based on a forced confession extracted by the same interrogators, in which he was accused of passing on secrets to a Hungarian woman. Even now, the government is using a High Court injunction to prevent publication of a book by a retired GCHQ supervisor, Jock Kane, which tells of gross bungling of security at GCHQ, involving the loss of hundreds of documents.

The station at Ayios Nikolaos otherwise known as Mediterranean Field Intercept Station, is targeted mainly on the Middle East and NATO countries - Italy, Greece and Turkey. The information is shared with the US. The operations of GCHQ form an ever-increasing part of intelligence operations and its budget apparently now outstrips that of the CIA and MI6 combined.

The Old Bailey acquittal caused a storm, not least in the right-wing press. Said *The Times*, 'It is a fact of life they were handled with softness and consideration compared to the treatment they would have received at the hands of the KGB'. Labour MPs have protested over the 'Gestapo-like' techniques with warnings of the 'dangers of persecution on the basis of confessions'.

Their outcries contrast sharply with their silence and collusion over the detention and torture of Irish people and over the illegal detention and denial of rights to youth arrested from Broadwater Farm Estate after the uprisings in Tottenham. Hopefully, the acquittal of the seven servicemen will help to expose the use of forced confessions as a tried and trusted method of the British state's attack on Irish and black people.

Olivia Adamson



Roy Lynk and other scabs at NUM Conference.

## NUM under pressure

The realities of defeat are now being spelled out as never before for the NUM. Aided by the NCB and the courts, the scabs, now organised into the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM), are attempting to drive the NUM and Scargill into a corner. After a series of ballots, the UDM now claims to have over 30,000 members. In Notts, the vote was 17,750 (72%) for the UDM and 6,792 (28%) for the NUM. Notts has been joined by South Derbyshire, where a 51% majority of 3,000 miners voted for the UDM, the breakaway Durham Colliery Trade and Allied Workers Association, as well as Agcroft Colliery, Lancashire by a 2-1 vote, and Daw Mills Colliery, Warwickshire, by a 3-1 vote.

The NCB played a key role by offering a pay rise exclusively to Notts miners three days before the ballot. The relatively low offer of £5.50 a week is tied to incentive payments. These specifically benefit the scabs union, which is based in the more highly productive areas and pits. The NCB is using the UDM to break down further the NUM's commitment to a unified pay structure by a divisive system of incentive payments based on productivity, profitability and attendance. At present the NCB is refusing even to make a pay offer to the NUM until it guarantees in writing to accept incentive payments. As a further pressure on miners to join the UDM, the NCB now refuses to negotiate at all with the NUM in areas where the UDM is in the majority.

According to the *Financial Times*, increases in productivity and job losses in the last 18 months, together with closures due to take place, may mean that the NCB actually make a profit this year. MacGregor will be well on the way to achieving the streamlined profitable industry he

wants. With the winding down of the British coal industry (along with that of other EEC countries) the path will be eased for coal imports from other countries, in particular South Africa. Interestingly, MacGregor has recently helped to found an organisation called the International Coal Development Institute. Fellow founding members are representatives of three of the leading South African mining companies.

The knives are also coming out against Scargill inside the NUM Executive. They voted on 28 October, by 11 votes to 7, to purge their contempt of court in order to try and get back their £8 million funds. The next hearing is set for 14 November. Scotland and South Wales joined right wing areas in arguing and voting against Scargill and Heathfield, who are still opposed to the move. McGahey argued that the union 'was bigger than Scargill or Heathfield'. It is likely that the court will demand Scargill's personal appearance in court to 'purge his contempt' and that he may be cross-examined as to the sources of the

NUM's financing since sequestration. While Scargill is rightly opposed to such humiliations, to stand by his principles will, without doubt, deepen the splits in the Executive. While refusing to give the NUM back its own money, the High Court has once again shown its true class colours by awarding the UDM £80,000 out of the NUM's sequestered funds!

The same Executive meeting voted for a mass lobby of Parliament for sacked miners. The two South Wales miners, Dean Hancock and Russel Shankland, gaoled for life for murder, had their sentences reduced on appeal to eight years for manslaughter. The prosecution now plans to appeal to the House of Lords to get the ruling reversed.

Meanwhile, the TUC has refused to consider affiliation for the UDM. But the TUC itself faces a growing dilemma over the issue of government funding for ballots, which may lead to the expulsion of the AUEW and the EETPU, unions which have already forged links with the scab UDM. To avoid the prospect of complete split in the movement, the TUC will be under pressure to compromise all the way round including on the question of the UDM. Kinnoch, always to the fore when scabbing is to be done, has already opened the door to compromise by stating that individual membership of the Labour Party still possible for members of unions not recognised by the TUC.

Olivia Adams

## Gillick defeated

On 17 October the Law Lords voted 3 to 2 against the 'Gillick judgement'. For 4 years, Victoria Gillick has campaigned with Tory pressure groups to make it illegal for doctors to give birth control counselling or contraceptives to young women under 16 without their parents' consent. Last December, the Court of Appeal ruled against a DHSS Circular which advised GPs on the circumstances in which they should supply this service; and for nearly a year, thousands of young women have been unable to receive contraceptives or advice from their GPs for fear of breaking this ruling.

This month's reversal of the ruling has resulted in a marked increase in the number of enquiries to Family Planning Clinics by young people, and the Brook Advisory Service expects that the 46% of young women under 16 who stopped coming to their centres after the initial ruling will now return.

Despite this victory, Tory cuts in the Health Service are seriously damaging health care for women. Many family planning clinics are already unable to cope with the thousands of women of all ages who come

to them. Two years ago the Brook clinic (which sees women under 25) in Edinburgh offered 16 'doctors sessions' a week, (40 hours of a GP's time). Now, the cuts have reduced this to only 10 sessions. Sessions have also been cut in the largest Brook Centre in London from 36 to 32 and by 1986 will only be able to see two thirds of the number of women seen in 1984.

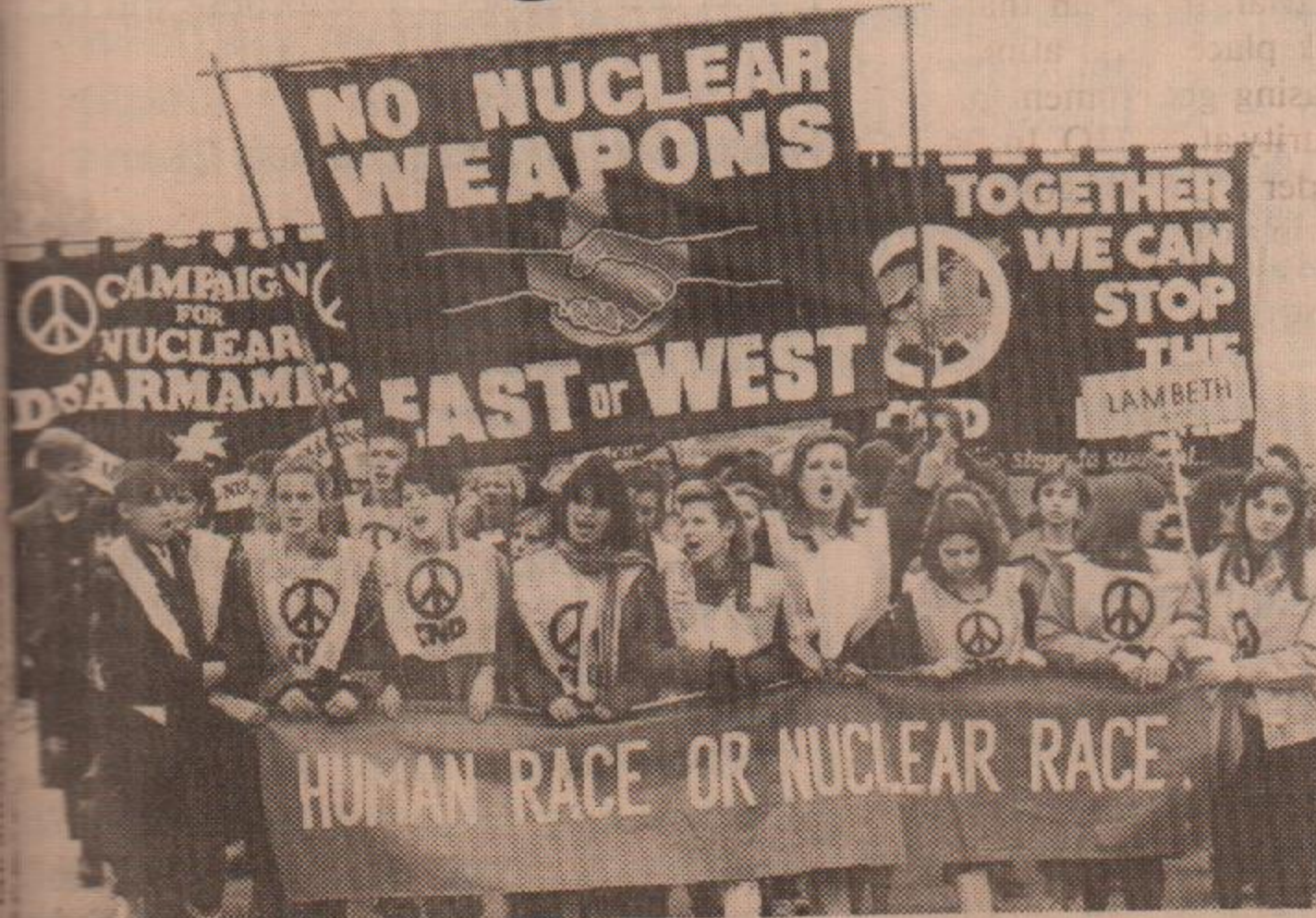
Some health authorities are being forced to stop such services as pregnancy testing and women who can't afford the £8 for a home pregnancy

kit are having to wait until they are 10 or 12 weeks pregnant and can be examined by a doctor, before knowing for certain if they are pregnant. Diane Munday of the British Pregnancy Advisory Service said the decision to implement this cut is 'a very retrograde step... without the tests they [doctors] might not pick up early problems in pregnancy, or women who need an early abortion.' Each test costs only 50p and the saving to each authority will only be £5,000 a year.

The effect of the Gillick judgement while it lasted has left a legacy of misery for thousands of young women, through unwanted pregnancies. On the morning after the Law Lords decision, the Brook clinic had 3 cases of 15 year-olds who had been trying to hide their pregnancies. 2 of the pregnancies were beyond the stage where an abortion is safe. Reactionary forces, either in the form of Victoria Gillick or Tory economic policy will continue to erode women's rights to good health care and safe contraception.

Alexa Byrne

## CND - where to now in the fight for peace



CND's 100,000 strong march on 26 October marked another step in the CND leadership's rush towards respectable middle of the road politics and away from

any attempt at building a movement to put real pressure on the warmongers who run our country. The growing anti-Sovietism of CND leaders led to the

decision to march past the Soviet as well as the US embassy.

There were a few pro-Soviet-banners on the march however. Also, in defiance of a platform officially designated as 'non-political', a Youth CND speaker drew the connections between CND and the anti-racist, anti-apartheid and Irish struggles. FRFI sellers sold 1,300 copies of our paper - an indication that many on the march were also aware that the fight for peace is part of broader struggles.

The new CND leadership, dominated by the virulently anti-Soviet European Nuclear Disarmament (END) group, wants to drop CND's opposition to NATO - they will 'de-nuclearise' NATO from within - and sees a future British government, no doubt under Kinnoek, as playing a 'crucial role in leading the world back from the brink of nuclear destruction'. Labour's record doesn't inspire much confidence in this happening. It was a Labour government which built Britain's first nuclear bomb in 1947, signing a uranium treaty deal with South Africa to do it, and which helped set up NATO, the imperialists' club, in 1949. The last Labour government agreed in 1978 to NATO's deployment of new long-range weapons leading directly to the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles.

The fight for peace must be a fight against war-mongering British and US imperialism. The Greenham women and others, who have refused to water down their opposition to nuclear war plans in order to suit the career prospects of Labour politicians, have been effective because they recognise this reality. Peace activists must decide if they want to seriously fight British and US war plans by following this lead, or to follow CND's pipe-dream of a peace-loving NATO and a Labour government that keeps its promises.

Colin Thorn

## The Welfare State

## divide and rule

Social Services Secretary Norman Fowler has failed in his third attempt to limit board and lodging payments for young people. These rules, first introduced in April and later declared illegal by the High Court, would force thousands of homeless youth to move on every 2, 4 or 8 weeks or lose benefits. Now the House of Commons statutory instruments committee has again ruled the measure illegal, thus relieving claimants until Fowler's court appeal at the end of November.

This determined attack on youth is only partly explained by the need to cut spiralling social security costs. In addition, it reveals the ideological importance of welfare under capitalism. While provision of benefits for the 'deserving' legitimises the system, Fowler's lodgings rules stigmatise a section of the poor as 'undeserving'. Smear campaigns portraying homeless youth as 'scroungers' greatly assist this process, which deepens divisions amongst the poorest sections of the working class.

Recent Tory propaganda has attacked the jobless in the same divisive way. Jeffrey Archer, pulp fiction writer and Deputy Conservative Chairman, says the unemployed are unwilling to put in a day's work. Employment Secretary Lord Young distorts Labour Force Survey statistics, claiming 940,000 are not seeking work. LFS figures relate to those who had sought work in the week of the survey: a pointless exercise in depressed areas where none exists. Had the LFS recorded those who sought work in a four week period, official jobless figures would rise by 400,000. Tory lies prepare the ground for renewed attempts to

force claimants into low paid work, by the increasing use of DHSS 'fraud squads' and Specialist Claims Control Units.

Opposition to these attacks, and support for those workers who are actually defending the welfare state, have been minimal. The TUC managed a rally on 27 October, some four months after Fowler's 'reforms' appeared. Norman Willis told this rally that the proposed abolition of the state earnings-related pension scheme was the central issue. While all benefits must be defended, this focus both presents pensioners as more 'deserving', and promotes a benefit that by its nature helps better-off workers and carries inequalities of income through into retirement.

However, all claimants are threatened by Fowler's proposals, which will be presented as a white paper before Christmas. Thatcher still favours a compulsory YTS scheme, with benefit withdrawn for refusers. Social Security Minister Tony Newton has said, 'Child Benefit is safe in our hands' - the very words Thatcher once used about the NHS. An authoritative survey by the Policy Studies Institute shows that extended 'Family Credit' will not compensate for massive housing benefit cuts, and many of the poorest families will be £2 per week worse off. (Family Credit will however subsidise and encourage low wages). Claimants under 25 will be badly hit by lower 'Income Support' rates, and 60% of the severely disabled will lose present entitlements.

So when Fowler talks of 'targeting the most needy', his attempt to make the poor pay for the very poor clearly helps nobody, but divides claimants and disguises further vicious cuts.

Dave Burton

## Who are the enemies of the people?

Thousands of people drawn into the political fight-back against the Thatcher government's onslaught on jobs, state benefits and basic democratic rights are learning that they face not one but two enemies. They face a two way assault - from the repressive forces of the state and from the ruling class's opportunist allies in the Labour and trade union movement. The miners, black and white youth, anti-apartheid protestors, students and anti-racist campaigners are being forced to learn that before they can take on and defeat a ruling class prepared to go to any lengths to retain its wealth and political power, they will have to confront and defeat the determined opposition of the 'forces of the past' - the entrenched allies of the ruling class in the British Labour movement.

The Thatcher government's crude and brutal class response to the deepening crisis of British capitalism is changing the political climate of Britain. Divisions are appearing at all levels of society: among the ruling class; in all political parties and political movements; in the small forces of the British left; and, most important, among thousands of ordinary people recently forced into political life. In the final analysis two sides will emerge. A small powerful minority and its allies which have a vested interest in preserving a system, capitalism, which can offer nothing but poverty and repression for the vast majority of people, and those who are determined to see that system destroyed.

Such a polarisation of class forces in Britain is still a long way off. Before it takes place there will be many battles fought, some will be won and others will end up in defeat. New alliances will be created, and deep splits in the existing movements will take place. Old established political movements will disappear and new ones will come into existence. It will be a long hard political struggle to create a revolutionary working class movement in this country. But one thing is now clear, the process has begun - real class politics is slowly but surely being revived in Britain.

Sections of the ruling class sense this and are getting alarmed. The unprecedented attack on Thatcherism recently by such an establishment body as the House of Lords Select Committee on Overseas Trade is a measure of the growing divisions in the ruling class over Thatcher's economic policies. Unless radical changes are made, says the Select Committee, there will be 'a grave threat to the standard of living of the British people.' And 'failure to recognise these dangers now could have a devastating effect on the future economic and political stability of the nation'. (See *The Politics of Profit*). This alarm is shared by the so-called 'wets' of the Tory Party, the SDP/Liberal Alliance, the dominant Kinnoek trend in the Labour Party and the Eurocommunist wing of the Communist Party of Great Britain. All these political forces have a vested interest in the viability of British capitalism. They are all determined to hold back the polarisation of class forces and are desperately searching for an illusionary third way between Thatcherism, which could provoke revolution, and the real alternative, communism. For this reason, the Labour Party under Kinnoek - the political voice of privileged sections of the working class - is determined, by any means possible, to win the next election. To do this it will attempt to isolate any forces, outside or inside the Labour Party, whatever the justice of the political cause, if they threaten in any way that political goal.

Thatcher is aware that her policies could provoke widespread and determined resistance. So her government is deliberately planning, perfecting and directing organised state violence against any who resist her brutal policies. The police are being trained to use methods, many of which are illegal, to inflict the maximum pain and fear on anyone opposing the British government (see *Policing the Crisis*). Yet Kinnoek and his allies, far from attacking police violence continually denounce those fighting back and resisting police violence. The striking miners are attacked for defending themselves against police brutality and so are the black and white youth resisting police racism and thuggery in the inner cities. Far from taking the side of the people against the violence of the state the Labour Party is now presenting itself as the party of 'law and order'. Labour Shadow Home Secretary, Gerald Kaufman, went so far as to say in parliament on 7 November that Labour, unlike the Thatcher government, supported the police and he went on to demand more resources for the police. How low can you stoop? The Kinnoek-led Labour Party have made it abundantly clear that they will trample over the rights of anyone in order to get back into power.

The miners' strike exposed the deep split developing in the working class movement. The uprisings in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham only consolidated that split as Kinnoek and Hattersley vied with the ruling class to condemn the youth and give support to the police. These developments are inevitably creating a political crisis throughout the organisations of the British left. Most British left organisations believe that socialists must work first and foremost among the more privileged sections of the working class in the Labour Party and/or org-

anised trade union movement. The growing polarisation of class forces and the rapid move to the right of the Labour Party and TUC have already caused splits in the CPGB, Socialist Action (IMG) and the WRP (See 'The real issues in the WRP split').

In every case the split has been between the 'realists' and the 'idealists'. The 'realists' have followed their chosen allies in the Labour and trade union movement to the right. That necessarily means a political alliance with the Kinnoek-led Labour Party. The 'idealists' on the other hand refuse to accept that any significant move to the right has taken place in the British Labour movement. So they are forced to deny the actual political developments taking place and in so doing act as a 'left' cover for the labour aristocracy. Neither of these responses can contribute anything to the building of a revolutionary movement in Britain. Supporters of these organisations are now faced with a choice. New forces are emerging in the class struggle that put the fight against racism and imperialism and the defence of democratic rights at the centre of their politics. They can either join with them or face political obscurity by remaining on the sidelines, waiting for the 'old' movement, the 'forces of the past' to show new signs of life.

In crucial political struggles against racism and apartheid the same political choices have to be made and the same political forces have to be confronted. The Campaign Against Racism in Schools (see article of that title) in fighting racist assaults in Daneford School in East London has come up against the refusal of the Labour controlled ILEA to take any serious action against racism. A picket challenging ILEA's complicity with racism outside its offices in Tower Hamlets on 15 October was brutally attacked by the police.

The same political forces exist in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The leadership of the AAM has set out to destroy the influence of City of London Anti-Apartheid Group - the largest local AA group in Britain. On 19 October the National Union of Student's Executive in collusion with the AAM and the police tried, and failed, to sabotage City AA's 'Surround the Embassy' event (see report). On 2 November when thousands of demonstrators refused to submit to police violence outside the South African Embassy they were condemned by leaders of the AAM and its allies as 'anarchists and provocateurs' trying 'to divert attention from the rally's main demands' (*Morning Star* 4 November). Wherever militant, determined action against British collaboration with apartheid takes place these opportunists inevitably come forward to confuse, divide and sabotage such action.

The fact that on both the 19 October and 2 November literally thousands of anti-apartheid campaigners chose to ignore the reactionary leadership of the NUS and AAM is further confirmation that new forces are emerging. They are prepared not only to stand firm against police violence but also to by-pass those leaders who are determined to subordinate every political action to the re-election of a Labour government under Neil Kinnoek.

During the miners' strike thousands of miners were likewise prepared to face the police and ignore the Labour Party and TUC's call to surrender. Many striking miners went through a political experience of enormous importance for the future. They built links with Irish people, black people and others who have long suffered state oppression. Six months after the miners' strike ended another series of risings took place in British inner cities. Black youth, joined by white youth and supported by whole communities, revolted against poverty, police violence and racism. By their actions they confirmed once again that oppressed black people represent a new revolutionary force in the British working class.

The crisis is continually producing new forces in every struggle who are determined to win and prepared to stand up to police and state violence. As we have shown, these forces continually come up against the allies of the ruling class in the Labour movement. In every political struggle that faces the people it must be recognised that before they can take on the ruling class and defeat it, they must first confront and defeat opportunism in the working class movement. This is real class politics.

Building effective fighting organisations capable of this dual task requires not only determination and courage, but also that an organised and growing communist trend is centrally involved in this struggle. For unless a politically conscious and organised struggle against the opportunists takes place, as the miners' strike showed, even the most courageous fighters will find themselves isolated and eventually defeated. Ever since Lenin, communists have understood that the struggle for socialist revolution faces two enemies - the imperialist ruling class and its opportunist allies in the working class.

The Revolutionary Communist Group so far is the only political organisation that recognises this dual task. Our work, for example in City AA, has already shown that new fighting forces can be brought together and organised where communists play a leading role. To take the movement forward and begin the building of a new revolutionary movement we need more communists - dedicated fighters against imperialism, racism and opportunism. Those who want to see this new movement built must join us now.

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## Fighting Apartheid

### Chamber of Commerce Protests

In Leeds FRFI mounted a campaign against the Chamber of Commerce trip to South Africa for 23 November – in February, when they first discovered it. The campaign helped revive the Leeds AA Group which had been inactive for a while before this. On 30 October a 200 strong picket was organised by the AA Group, supported by FRFI and others. Police prevented an attempt to occupy the Chamber, and protestors sat down in the road. Police arrested 18 people, including two FRFI supporters. The protest was condemned publicly in the local press by Labour MP Derek (I'm backing Kinnock) Fatchett as 'stupid behaviour'! But the local AA Group Secretary defended the protestors for their angry response to the situation in South Africa.

Leeds AA meets on Tuesday evenings at 8.00pm at Leeds Trades Hall, Savile Mount, off Chapeltown Road, Leeds 7.

In Dundee the Chamber of Commerce visit coincided with the District Council awarding the Freedom of the City to Mandela. The local AA Group, in which FRFI comrades play a leading and active role, had been campaigning for this award since June. The local Tory Press, owned by D C Thompsons, responded with howls of rage. They had known of the campaign since June and refused to cover it at all.

The local AA Group only learned of the Chamber of Commerce trip on the day before it was to take place – a D C Thompson reporter phoned the group secretary to taunt him about failing to stop the trip. Emergency pickets were called and, by the Monday, had grown to over forty people. Support came from nearly all the progressive organisations in the town, and, most significantly, from school students from five local secondary schools.

### Merseyside Against Apartheid

Merseyside AA has continued its successful work on the streets of Liverpool, stimulating the setting up of several other groups in local colleges and unemployed centres. They were able to bring six coachloads down to the 2 November march. The three activists, one an FRFI supporter, arrested at the start of the group's successful Boycott campaign, go to court on 23 December.

### Painting Glasgow red

The focus on the consulate has stimulated anti-apartheid protests all over the city. South African Airways, the Consulate and Barclays Bank are covered with red paint. The local AA Group's growth, however, has been blocked by the, now common, device of replacing open group meetings with 'committee meetings' which organise and decide everything. Result: while AA protest is at a new high in the city, the AA public meeting with Jacob Hannai as guest speaker from SWAPO was a flop with only 20 attending.

### Anti-Apartheid protests unite – the Proletarian divides

The work of the St Paul's Community Association in campaigning for the area to be a real Apartheid Free Zone has been interrupted by a sectarian move by the *Morning Star* supporting group Proletarian. They objected to the AFZ Campaign's support for the City AA 19 October Surround the Embassy event on the grounds that the ANC did not support the initiative. They moved no-support for City AA on those grounds, and won the vote by 5 Proletarian votes and two others, against abstentions by most of the local members of the group.

### Edinburgh

FRFI continues with its own weekly pickets and is doing its best to stimulate and support work by the local group – despite the determined opposition of its officers, who run the group at long distance from their homes miles from the city. An exhibition put on by the local Council of anti-apartheid work in the city was hampered by the secret veto of any mention or photo of FRFI's existence!

# Botha tightens the screw

Afrikaaners' interests have been betrayed by Botha's talk of granting even very minimal political rights to chosen sections of the black population. The Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte National Party (HNP), challenged the National Party in the recent by-elections for 5 seats in the white House of Assembly. With rabidly racist propaganda, and with slogans such as 'Don't think – SHOOT', the HNP mobilised enough support to win the Sasolburg seat, in the Orange Free State, the Afrikaaner stronghold.

### Resistance intensifies

The fighting in the townships of the Western Cape continues to spread, involving more and more sections of the community, especially the Cape Malays and the Muslim population. In one day alone, 22 October, there were 150 confirmed incidents of stone throwing and petrol bomb attacks in Cape Town. No-go areas have been established and maintained. Unable to control the situation, it has been announced that by 1987, 11,800 new police will be recruited and additional police stations will be built in the townships.

On 15 October, we saw on our TV screens, the vicious ambush by armed police of youths in the centre of the township of Athlone. Police hid in wooden crates in the back of what would clearly be identified as a government lorry. As it drove provocatively through the main street, for the second time, the truck was pelted with stones. As planned the police emerged from their boxes and blasted the youth with gunfire. Three died – aged 12, 16 and 18. Children as young as 8 and 10 were badly injured.

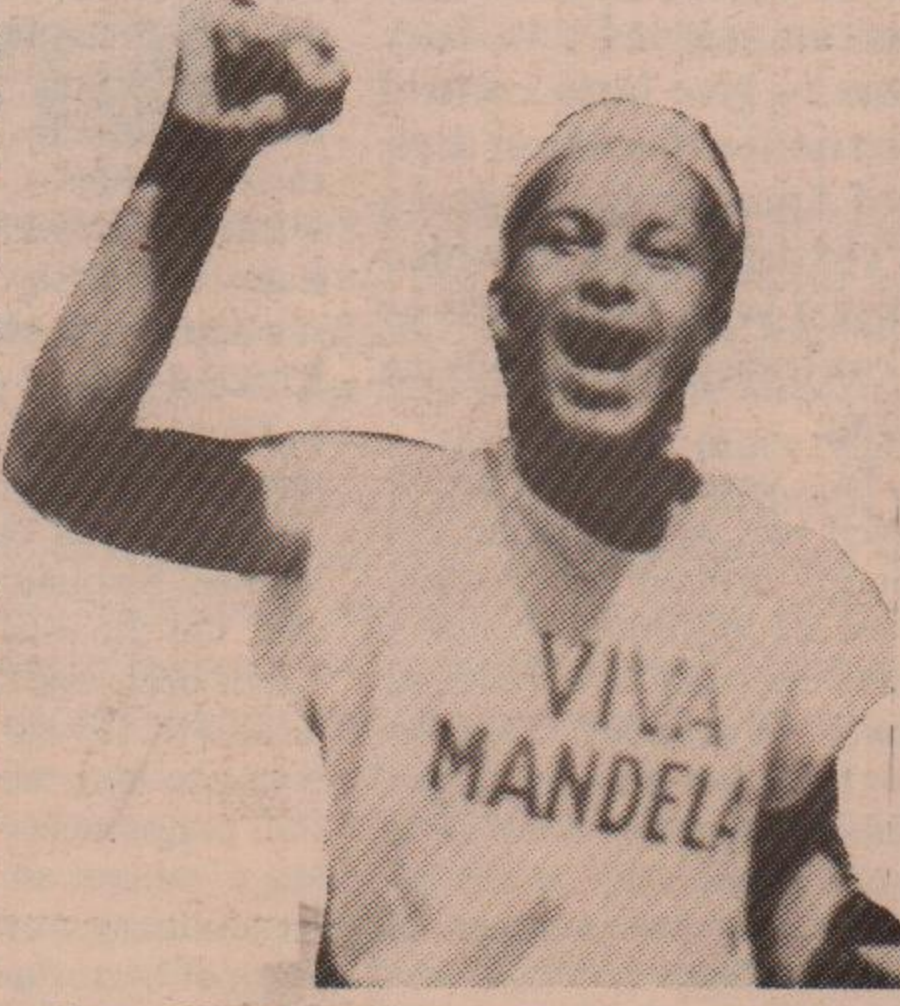
On 20 October, the police in Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, waded into the funeral of 13 year old Moses Moope, who had been beaten to death by police on his way to church. Another youth

was killed when police fired a teargas cannister at him at close range. Two days later, Abdul Friddie, was shot dead when he left his Mosque in Athlone. When thousands of people came out to bury him and others killed by state force, 1,000 armed soldiers and police sealed off the township and denied press access.

The fury of the people at such barbarous acts is no longer contained in the townships, and incidents of arson and stone throwing in white areas have increased dramatically. The main targets are their luxury cars, as well as buildings and shops. On 25 October, 2 black men died while trying to plant a bomb in a white girls school in Johannesburg which was being used as a polling station.

Following the murder of Benjamin Moloise on 18 October 1985, large numbers of youth battled for hours with police in the centre of white Johannesburg. Shop windows were smashed, goods grabbed, and stones and bottles thrown. White passersby were chased and beaten up. On 24 October, fighting broke out in the heart of Cape Town's shopping centre, when the police moved in to stop the large crowd of women and youths who were singing freedom songs in the streets. The youth overturned vehicles and pelted the police with missiles. The police shot indiscriminately into the crowd, and lashed out with sjamboks and whips. Water cannon was used for the first time, purple dye being mixed with the water in an attempt to identify the youth later. Several roads had to be sealed off, and the police warned travellers on the main road from the city centre to the airport that they could not guarantee their safe passage from stones and petrol-bombs.

A further development in the struggle was the hand grenade attacks on police patrols near the Crossroads Squatter Camp on 23 October, causing damage



fort West, police were injured when they were hit by shots as well as petrol bombs! In the black township of Kwa-zekhele near Port Elizabeth, the first white soldier to die since the army moved in to occupy the townships was stabbed to death on 14 October.

### The struggle must go on

Undaunted in the face of even greater repressive measures, the oppressed masses of South Africa intensify their war of liberation against the racist apartheid regime. Their commitment to the struggle is encapsulated in the last words of Benjamin Moloise:

'I am proud of what I am ...  
I am proud to give my life ...  
One day the black people shall govern and all the guerillas who are dying are dying for freedom. The struggle must go on ... Tell the people I will die secure in the knowledge that we shall soon be free.'

**Hamba Kahle  
Benjamin Moloise  
Victory is certain**

Ruby Khan

# Thatcher's tiny little bit

At the Commonwealth Conference which opened on 16 October, Mrs Thatcher was forced to concede what she described as 'a tiny little bit' on the issue of sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mrs Thatcher's 'tiny little bit' was the result of the unanimous pressure for sanctions by 41 Commonwealth Heads of State after days of meetings in Nassau, Bahamas.

The main elements of the final agreement were:

- Concerted pressure to achieve the dismantling of apartheid
- Extension of existing economic measures by a ban on the importation of Krugerrands and on government finance of trade fairs and trade missions to South Africa
- A ban on all new government loans to South African government agencies
- The appointment of a group of eminent Commonwealth leaders to promote a dialogue between black

and white in South Africa

- A review six months hence of progress towards an end to apartheid: consideration of further measures in the event of such progress being absent.

The dialogue between Pretoria and the black community is intended to take place 'in the context of suspension of violence on both sides'. This 'suspension of violence' is intended to put pressure on the ANC to call a truce at the same time leaving the apartheid regime fully armed to the teeth, able to attack the black townships and detain anti-apartheid forces.

In reality, the ability of Mrs Thatcher to concede only 'a tiny little bit' in the face of a threatened split in the Commonwealth, was a signal to the apartheid regime that the British government is determined to protect its economic interests in South Africa come what may – and that means preserving apartheid. The precipitate appointment of Geoffrey Howe to serve on the 'group of eminent Commonwealth leaders' supposedly encouraging a dialogue between black and white, was a clear indication that Britain intends to make the 'tiny little bit' even tinier. Sir Geoffrey Howe was quickly replaced amidst uproar, by Sir Anthony Barber, former Tory Chancellor and Chair of Standard Chartered Bank which has £2 billion invested in apartheid. The choice of Barber was a two-fingered gesture at anti-apartheid forces.

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, summed up the only response possible to That-

cher's 'tiny little bit': 'We regard it as complete racism that she should think for us'. Thatcher, she pointed out, has not been appointed as the spokesperson for the black masses of South Africa. 'It is an insult to us and to those who have paid the supreme price in our struggle for our liberation'.

At the same time as Mrs Thatcher was haggling over her 'tiny little bit', her allies the South African racist government hanged Benjamin Moloise.

**Isolate Apartheid!  
Sanctions Now!**

Carol Brickley

## VICTORY TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!

11 November 1985 marks the tenth anniversary of Angolan independence and the victory of the Angolan people over Portuguese imperialism. The ten years of independence has been marked by a continual struggle against counter-revolutionary forces – in particular UNITA – backed by the apartheid regime in South Africa and US and British imperialism. With support from the socialist countries – in particular the magnificent aid given by Cuban forces who have fought alongside FAPLA, the people's army, to defend the country from invasion by South Africa – the People's Republic of Angola has successfully defeated all attempts at destabilisation.

But the acts of war and terror continue. FRFI reported on South Africa's latest invasions in the last issue. Now the USA is considering sending more aid to the terror gang UNITA. This summer the US Congress repealed the law banning covert US aid to UNITA. Now the Defense Department and the CIA are pressing Reagan to approve aid worth \$200-300 million in a desperate attempt to destroy the People's Republic. We say Smash Imperialism! Smash Apartheid! Viva Angola! Carol Brickley

## City AA activist faces prison sentence

On Tuesday 5 November Nikki Renston was found guilty in Highbury Magistrates Court of highway obstruction and damage to a police cell. She was fined £45, bound over in the sum of £100 and had costs of £55 – a total of £200; or a prison term of seven days.

Nikki is not prepared to pay British courts for her protest against apartheid – she therefore faces seven days in Holloway women's prison.

### Lie Down protest

Nikki was one of 14 City AA activists arrested for lying down at the door of the South African Embassy in order to prevent a reception from going ahead. All carried signs saying 'Murdered by apartheid'; guests were reluctant to trample their way across the protestors in order to accept apartheid's hospitality so the police stepped in.

The action followed the victory of the campaign against police restrictions on the pickets of the embassy after the State of Emergency was declared. Although all the charges of obstruction were dropped several comrades still face other charges.

### Bow Street Court pickets 21 and 28 November

Auriel and Simone face charges for chaining themselves to the Embassy gates on 2 August in protest at the murder of Victoria Mxenge. The charges against Auriel and 4 others following a court picket at Bow Street have now been dropped. Police admitted they were acting beyond their duty.

### Edinburgh Court Victory – Charge Thrown Out

Readers may remember that an FRFI supporter, Helen, was arrested and charged during an AA picket of a fruit shop on 11 May. The Edinburgh AA Group and the Scottish Committee not only refused to support her, they attacked her for the arrest, declaring that unless Helen was 'naive' she was deliberately disrupting AA work and was acting like a South African agent! The local court proved more progressive than the CP-run AA group – after hearing the police lies for the prosecution the case was withdrawn by the Procurator Fiscal!

### Correction

Since the publication of FRFI 53, we have received information that the details of the Edinburgh AA demonstration and rally supplied to us were wrong. The police were called by the hall management and not by the officers of the AA Group.

### Leeds FRFI Rally From Tottenham to Soweto – One Struggle One Fight

Tuesday 26 November, 7pm Leeds Trades Club, Concert Room, Savile Mount, Leeds 7  
Speakers include: Broadwater Farm Youth Association, Rosa Alaso Campaign, FRFI, City AA, Black Consciousness Movement, Sheffield AYM, Wakefield and Leeds AA, Pan Africanist Congress

## CITY ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP Rally

MONDAY-25 NOVEMBER 7pm

**We shall fight! We shall win!**

**Smash apartheid! Smash racism!**

CONWAY HALL, RED LION

SQUARE, WC1 (HOLBORN TUBE)

### Speakers

- City Group ● Justice for the Pryces
- Tower Hamlets Trades Council ● Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!
- Southall Black Women's Centre ● GLAIR
- Campaign Against Racism in Schools
- GLC/ILEA Nalگو ● Campaign Against Police Repression

### Rally/Picket

SATURDAY 30 NOVEMBER 2-5pm

SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE  
TRAFALGAR SQUARE



GERARD LIVETT

stration to express the fighting anger of black people in this country? Black people in Britain have forced an awareness that the struggle against apartheid and the fight against racism here are inseparable. Now, our motions to the AGM argue, the job is to make that unity concrete: for the AAM to take a stand with organisations fighting deportations and racist violence here.

Who would have believed, this time last year, that the traditional end-of-demonstration rally in Trafalgar Square on 2 November would be broken up by police snatch squads, with truncheon blows and mass arrests? Not only that, but while the AAM and its platform tried to ignore these events at the time,

Left. Harsh evidence of a 'changing political climate': police attacking AAM demonstrators in Trafalgar Square.

# Arguments for change

## Anti-Apartheid Movement AGM

'The forces opposed to us at the AGM (of the Anti-Apartheid Movement) are motivated by one common sentiment – that the AAM should not change despite the fact that the political climate in Britain is changing dramatically.'

FRFI made this statement before the AGM of the AAM last year. We mobilised as many activists as we could then to argue for change in the movement; change which would build the AAM into a militant democratic movement able to act effectively in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa and against British collaboration with apartheid.

A year of magnificent struggle in South Africa has taken place since then, awakening thousands more people here to the need to act. The political changes which we pointed to here in Britain have continued to make their mark. Britain has been rocked, yet again, by the fighting spirit of black people, mainly the youth, against the racism and repression which is their daily experience in Britain's cities. Just as pictures of miners battling police at Orgreave last year inevitably drew connections with the fight against imperialism in Ireland, so have the scenes in Tottenham and Handsworth hammered home the struggle which is taking place in the black townships of South Africa.

In every sphere where there is repression, injustice and poverty, the spirit of freedom has begun to awaken. Youth,

students, women, black people; many different sections of society here are beginning to do battle for their rights. In doing this they face not just the forces of the state, but the virulent opposition of those in the labour and trade union movement who do not want to see the consolidation of such a revolutionary fightback. Such a development threatens to engulf them, washing away their special privileges, their domination, their 'special relationship' with the ruling class and its state.

The force and strength of our arguments at the AAM AGM last year have been borne out. We argued then that 'the struggle against apartheid cannot be separated from the fight against racism in Britain' and that the AAM should 'attempt to increase and broaden its support by working with youth, stu-

dents, women, gay, disabled and black groups' and should 'encourage its members to organise street activities to raise general consciousness and draw more people into the movement'. We also argued that the AAM had to act in defence of activists fighting criminalisation by the police and courts of the right to protest against apartheid. The campaign of City AA to win back the right to picket the South African embassy had won, and won not just against the police and courts but against the opposition of the EC of the AAM.

This year, we go again to the AAM AGM to argue for change. The motions which FRFI, City AA and supporters are putting to the AGM this year are once again geared to the tasks facing the movement. Above all, the motions argue for the unity of forces fighting apartheid in Britain; for the AAM to go out and fight with all democratic forces here, particularly with black people fighting racism in this country, and for the complete isolation of the apartheid regime.

Political reality has, as we argued last year that it must, changed the work of the AAM to some extent. Who would have believed, this time last year, that such a speaker as Dolly Kiffin of Broadwater Farm Youth Association would be given a platform at an AAM demon-

stration to express the fighting anger of black people in this country? Black people in Britain have forced an awareness that the struggle against apartheid and the fight against racism here are inseparable. Now, our motions to the AGM argue, the job is to make that unity concrete: for the AAM to take a stand with organisations fighting deportations and racist violence here.

Who would have believed, this time last year, that the traditional end-of-demonstration rally in Trafalgar Square on 2 November would be broken up by police snatch squads, with truncheon blows and mass arrests? Not only that, but while the AAM and its platform tried to ignore these events at the time,

they have now agreed to set up meetings to organise the defence of those arrested on that day. We have submitted motions to the AGM calling for the legal and political defence of those arrested and brutalised for opposing apartheid and calling for active opposition to the Public Order Act.

We also have a motion calling attention to the use of the PTA against SWAPO members – we argue that the AAM should oppose the PTA alongside all those already fighting this terror act. To campaign against apartheid and for the complete isolation of South Africa inevitably means confronting the British state. Such confrontation is anathema to the leadership of the AAM. That leadership belongs to the trend in the labour movement which is subordinating every significant political action to the election of a Labour government under Neil Kinnock. The Labour Party's quarrel with Thatcher, over South Africa as over any other issue, is how Britain's interests can best be preserved. The struggle of the oppressed in South Africa threatens to destroy Britain's massive profits from apartheid. Kinnock's concern is for some settlement which will preserve those profits.

So Kinnock's 'sanctions' do not in-

clude the severing of diplomatic relations with apartheid. He wants a negotiated 'reform' which safeguards Britain's profits. The reality is that reform and negotiation with apartheid is impossible – only its complete destruction will satisfy the needs of the majority of South Africa's people. Kinnock in government would do as all Labour governments have done: defend British profits in apartheid, and in doing so inevitably support the apartheid regime against the people.

The idea that apartheid can be negotiated away is one which must be flirted with by the AAM leadership if they are to maintain the support of the leadership of the Labour Party and TUC. Over the last year, Bob Hughes, AAM Chair and Labour MP, has accepted several opportunities to debate on TV and radio with representatives of the regime. That is why the T&GWU leader Ron Todd was encouraged in his disgraceful talks with Ambassador Worrall. FRFI is supporting motions at the AAM condemning any debates with apartheid.

The AAM can't be a single issue campaign in the sense that it has been presented for the last 25 years. An end to British support for apartheid means the weakening and breaking not just of the chains which bind the people of South Africa but of the chains which bind the oppressed here.

That is the RCG's standpoint. That is what we are going to the AGM on 1 December to fight for. That is why all those engaged in struggle against the British state and against apartheid must join with us and support us on the day and in the coming year.

The work of FRFI around the country and in City AA has continued apace with developments in the struggle over the last year. New campaigns and initiatives have been set up, local AA groups revived and built, thousands of people informed about the struggle and drawn into action. Campaigns have been fought, victories won. The anti-racist contingent organised by FRFI and City AA on the 2 November demonstration attracted thousands of people. Our work has borne fruit. We claim our right to be part of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and to fight for change in that movement. We will fight for this right, and, whatever the outcome of the AGM on 1 December, we will continue to play our part in the building of a real fighting anti-apartheid movement in this country.

Maggie Mellon

## 2000 protest against brutal embassy arrests

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group held a massive Surround the Embassy protest outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square on 19 October. Two thousand young people, including many FRFI supporters and students, took part in the protest which intended to show the racist South Africans that in Britain we will not tolerate apartheid or its rotten embassy. Protestors arrived with flowers, placards and anti-racist tokens to decorate the embassy, angry at the murder of Benjamin Moloise on the previous day and Thatcher's pro-apartheid stance at the Commonwealth Conference. 322 people were arrested as a result of the concerted efforts of the police and the National Union of Students (NUS) Executive to sabotage the protest.

The police were told of the protest months in advance and agreed to the plans. At 1.45pm on 19 October – 15 minutes before the protest was to begin – the police reneged on all agreements, issued Commissioner's directions to clear the area if necessary and refused to allow more than 6 people near the embassy. This was a well planned police move, for the embassy was already surrounded by ranks of police and barriers protecting apartheid. The thousands of angry protestors massed in the road and witnessed the violent arrest of a City Group member who tried to place a blood-stained cheque representing £14 billion of British investments on the embassy gate. The demonstrators sat down in the road for the next 2½ hours and the police tried to stop the sit-down by damaging the PA system. They did not

succeed. 322 people were arrested by police using their new arrest methods (see centre pages), first of all throwing a blind, black FRFI supporter to the ground.

The NUS Executive were informed of the City AA protest 2 months in advance, as soon as City AA heard that students might be demonstrating on that day. City AA asked the NUS for a discussion of plans to avoid any conflict of arrangements. Letters and phone calls were ignored. It became clear that the NUS Executive were determined to hold their event at the same time as City AA. On the day, it wasn't just the police who were already in place when City AA stewards arrived. NUS stewards, all white males with walkie-talkies, were acting like special constables directing protestors away from the embassy to-



wards their rally in Trafalgar Square. The senior police officer in charge made it clear that the NUS stewards were acting with the prior agreement and full support of the police. This is par for the course for the CPGB/Labour Party dominated NUS Executive who betrayed the fight against fascist Harrington at North London Polytechnic.

But the best laid plans of rats and mice often go astray. Despite this macho alliance of police and NUS leadership, students and protestors ignored them all and carried on with the real business of fighting apartheid. Meanwhile the NUS marched away from the embassy.

After the sit-down, more than 1,500 people marched down to Rochester Row police station to hold a protest picket organised by RCG members and City Group. City Group also organised for

solicitors and picketers at other police stations where demonstrators were held. More than 300 people were released without charge. 18 people face charges of obstruction and in one case, police assault.

Students in colleges all over the country are frustrated and angry at the weak-kneed opportunists who control their union executive. AAM members are more and more determined that united and effective action will be taken against apartheid and racism. That means standing firm against Thatcher's rotten pro-apartheid government, her gang of armed police thugs, and the opportunists who want to stop us. On 19 October they were all soundly beaten.

Susannah Lloyd and Carol Brickley

## 100,000

continued from back page

band. The AAM did not oppose this or even warn the targetted groups. Their briefing to stewards was:

'Remember that the arrangements for street collections, banners etc relate only to AAM and its constituent groups. Inevitably, members of other organisations will use such a large gathering to sell and distribute literature and take collections and some of these people may be subject to action by the police. No matter how unjustified this type of police action may seem to you, do not become involved in these incidents if they occur and try to dissuade our marchers from doing so as well.'

This was a divisive and thoroughly sectarian act which allowed the police to do what they wanted on the day to anyone on the march.

FRFI and City AA comrades went to Rochester Row and Southwark police stations to defend those arrested. One man at least was taken to hospital for treatment. Two FRFI comrades – who were not arrested – suffered injuries; one, a young woman, was concussed for two days by a truncheon blow, the other was severely kicked and punched after being knocked out by a police hold stopping the blood supply to his brain. The AAM has now agreed to set up a meeting to organise the defence of those arrested. We have passed on the information we have to them and will be supporting this defence.

Richard Roques and Maggie Mellon

Susannah Lloyd and Carol Brickley

VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY!

# VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY!

The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign (VMDC) has now reached its most important stage. The racist Home Office has set Monday 2 December for Viraj's appeal against the deportation order. It will be heard at Thanet House, 231 The Strand, London WC2 at 10am. The VMDC is organising for a mass picket of the appeal, and there is less than a month to build it.

In the web of Britain's racist immigration laws, the appeal is Viraj's last legal resort to avoid deportation to Sri Lanka. As a political activist who has fought for the rights of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, Viraj faces inevitable imprisonment and possible torture if forced to return there. The reactionary British, US and Zionist backed Jayewardene regime is infamous for its organisation of mass pogroms against the Tamil people and for its systematic persecution of all those who support their right to self-determination. Agents of this regime active in London have Viraj's name on their files.

The struggle to defeat the Home Office's racist attack on Viraj requires greater effort than normal. The Home Office attack is a directly political one on a longstanding FRFI activist well known for his work in anti-racist, anti-apartheid and Irish solidarity campaigns. Since the formation of the VMDC in Manchester 1½ years ago, Viraj's work and that of FRFI and other

supporters has inspired numerous other anti-deportation campaigns. A number of these—the Aslam family, Kamal Kumar, Rosmina and Mohammad—have now won their cases. They have won directly as a result of the popular campaigns conducted in their support. The Home Office has however refused to relent in Viraj's case.

But it can be forced to relent by a massive show of strength. As Viraj explained at the public meeting held in London on 4 November, the appeal system in the judicial apparatus is devised as a way out for the state. If there is no popular pressure, the appeal goes the way of the ruling class. If there is, the ruling class can dig up some law granting the appeal and thus cover up its retreat.

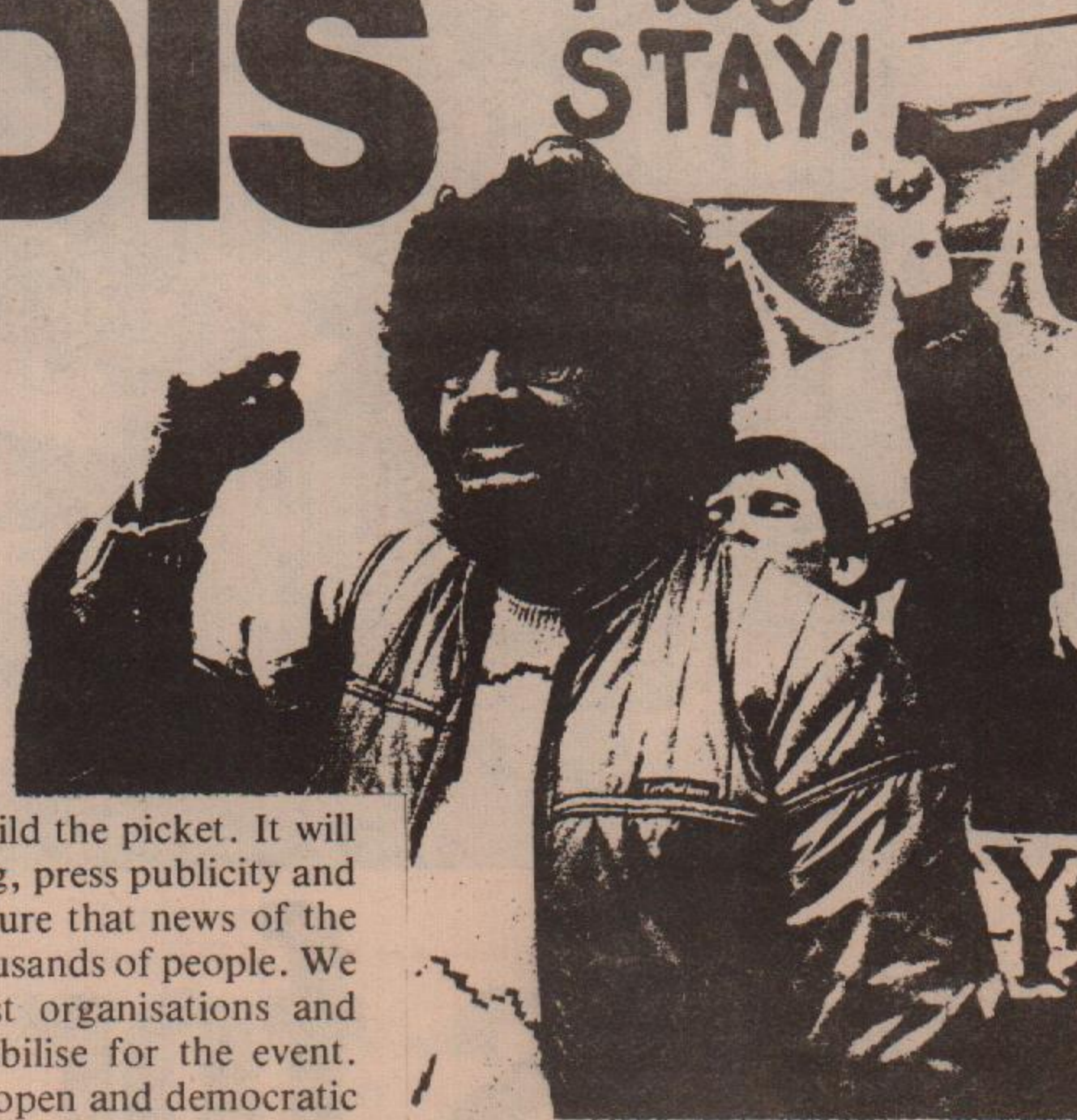
Following the public meeting, a Viraj Mendis Support Committee was formed to help build the campaign during this last and critical stage and prepare for the mass picket on 2 December. The committee will be organising visits to public meetings, demonstrations and

other events to build the picket. It will organise flyposting, press publicity and other work to ensure that news of the picket reaches thousands of people. We urge all anti-racist organisations and individuals to mobilise for the event. The VMDC is an open and democratic organisation and welcomes all organisations with their banners, newspapers and leaflets. United together, we can not only force the Home Office to withdraw its threat to deport a black FRFI activist, but also score a significant victory for all those fighting against deportation.

We urge all supporters and readers to write to the Home Office demanding that Viraj be allowed to stay. Send these letters to Viraj's solicitor who will pass them on to the Home Office. Ruth Bundy c/o Howard Cohen & Co, 3 Park Square, Leeds 1.

If you want to help write to VMDC, c/o Box 38, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

**Viraj Mendis Must Stay!  
Deportation No Way!  
United We Can Win!**



GERARD LIVETT

## VMDC PICKETS THE HOME OFFICE

150 VMDC supporters from Manchester and London picketed the Home Office on Wednesday 6 November demanding Viraj's right to stay in Britain. Maggie Mellon, speaking for FREI, called on everyone to ensure a massive picket for Viraj's appeal on 2 December. Other speakers represented anti-deportation campaigns including Manda Kunda, Anna Naghizadeh, Bakula Chaudhary, Shaikat Khan and Khalid Siddiqi. Bob Litherland, Viraj's MP, and Ken Strath, chair of Manchester City Council also spoke as did the Manchester University Students Union, Workers Against Racism, the Irish Solidarity Movement, City AA, and the Tamil Action Committee.



## Campaign against racism in schools

Racist attacks are escalating in East London and many are taking place in schools. Daneford, in Bethnal Green, is the worst case. Bangladeshi school students have been slashed and stabbed.

Over 70% of the students at Daneford come from Bangladeshi families and the school has been starved of resources for years by the Labour controlled Inner London Education Authority. To make things worse, last January ILEA appointed a racist headmaster. Since Williams has taken over he has built up the climate of racism. All Bengali lessons for first to third years have been scrapped. He has insulted students by saying they have come to school to learn English and that it's rude to talk Bengali. He organised a bogus 'careers convention' and invited the racist police, Barclays Bank, Plesseys (suppliers of military radar to South Africa) and a score of cheap-labour YTS schemes. When anti-racists picketed the convention he called more police and ordered the arrest of two of his own teachers.

Most seriously, he has done nothing about racist assaults. Only sustained pressure has forced the expulsion of a handful of racists. The headmaster's attitude has the full backing of ILEA.

The local Education Officer has dismissed the attacks as 'alleged racial incidents'. The leader of ILEA, Frances Morrell, has ignored all requests to take action against racism in Daneford.

The events at Daneford became the springboard for the formation of the Campaign Against Racism in Schools. Parents, school students, teachers and anti-racists came together and agreed that a movement needed to be built to confront racism, not just in Daneford, but throughout East London schools.

Challenging ILEA's complicity with racism was a top priority so the Campaign called a 200-strong protest outside ILEA's offices in Tower Hamlets on 16 October. This was brutally attacked by the police. The disabled President of Hackney Teachers Association, Richard Rieser, was dragged along the road until he passed out. A woman had her Sari torn and another picketer his shirt ripped off. 11 were arrested, 6 days have been set aside for their trial which begins on 22 November at Highbury Magistrates

Court. A mass picket has been called from 9am and the Inner London Teachers Association (NUT) are urging all their members to strike for that morning.

The Campaign followed up the 16 October with a rally the next day on the steps of County Hall. School students and NUT members from Daneford led the way.

Speakers called for a real commitment to anti-racism and the school students were cheered when they demanded action against racist attacks. Frances Morrell refused to meet the demonstrators but a small group eventually tracked her down. She tried to run into her office but not before she was firmly told by Norma Hundleby, NUT Rep. at Daneford, that the Campaign was determined to smash ILEA's racism.

The Campaign Against Racism in Schools is growing stronger each week and can be contacted c/o Bangladeshi Educational Needs in Tower Hamlets, Montefiore Centre, Hanbury/Deal Street, E1. Donations to the defence campaign for those arrested should be sent to the Daneford 12 Defence Fund, 59 Bow Road, E3.

Mick Gavan

## Quintin Kynaston

The Quintin Kynaston (QK) Black Parents & Teachers Group, comprising black and anti-racist parents and teachers, was set up last year in response to a growing number of racist incidents at QK school in North London.

The group faced opposition from racists who organised a picket of one of their meetings, shouting 'racists out!'—because the group has the word 'black' in its name! The group has established links with similar groups to push for an effective anti-racist policy in schools. The recently-formed Black Students Group has taken major steps forward; their actions have already led to the removal of two overtly racist teachers, who referred to black students as 'niggers'. The groups still have a long way to go. Out of 88 teachers at the school, only two of the assigned teachers are black and racist literature has yet to be routed from the curriculum.

Charine James

## Mass opposition to racist Honeyford

The Drummond Parents Action Committee (DPAC) held a successful Day of Action on 15 October as part of their efforts to be rid of racist Ray Honeyford, reinstated as Headmaster of Drummond Middle School in Bradford by a High Court Judgement ruling against Bradford Education Authority.

The Day of Action received widespread community support with a picket of the school in the morning and a militant demonstration in the afternoon. The majority of Muslim parents responded to a call from the Council of Mosques to support the Day of Action by keeping their children away from school.

True to form, apologists for this racist have leapt in with attempts to bale him out. Following his reception at Downing Street to receive the seal of approval from Thatcher, Ian Murdoch, the local NUT secretary, saw fit to dissociate the

NUT from the Day of Action, despite the involvement of anti-racist NUT members. Three staunch supporters of Honeyford have been voted onto the Board of Governors in direct opposition to the three parents from the Drummond Action Committee who had previously been voted onto the Board with massive majorities. Racist Ray is supported by the National Union of Head Teachers, and to round it off has been offered a 'golden handshake' of some £116,000 to accept 'early retirement' by Bradford Metropolitan Council.

## Waddington attacks MP's rights

David Waddington, the Home Office Minister responsible for immigration, is offering another example of British imperialist democracy. In the House of Commons on 24 November he attacked up to 23 MPs for 'abusing' the racist immigration control appeals system.

He complained that too many MPs were intervening to stop black people being deported or being refused entry into Britain. As a consequence, he indicated that the government was considering abolishing MPs' rights to intervene on behalf of black people who fall victim to the state's racist laws.

The growing number of anti-deportation campaigns have successfully utilised all legal means available to fight immigration controls and popular pressure has resulted in large numbers of MPs acting on their behalf. Waddington now wants to end this right. This attempt further to whittle away democratic rights in general and MPs' rights in particular, is no individual characteristic of Waddington himself. It has been planned some time ago. In a confidential Home Office briefing when Waddington took over the job in 1983, we read:

'Our system gives opportunity, perhaps too much opportunity, for intervention by MPs...the practice of deferring removal when a case is taken up by an MP invites abuse.'

An MP's intervention can be critical in any campaign against deportation. Their intervention can put a stop to deportations which would otherwise go ahead immediately. Characteristically, the Labour leadership in the form of Peter Shore and Gerald Kaufman concentrated their response not on the government's attack on democratic rights but on defending Labour's honour. They demanded that 'names be named' but did not denounce the abusive system of immigration controls—which they themselves have fashioned.

The state is applying its immigration controls with ever greater ferocity. In 1984 the numbers of people refused entry rose by 23% over 1983. 85% of these are from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. As the ruling class systematically slices away all legal methods of fighting against deportation, mass popular extra-parliamentary struggle will become that much more important.

## FULLER OUT NOW!

'Black and White are united—Get Fuller Out Now!' This was the slogan on the banner of hundreds of students at Waltham Forest College in North London as they mounted a picket calling for a boycott until racist principal Jack Fuller is removed. Fuller wrote a letter to the Times, in which he:

- compared the presence of ethnic minorities in Britain with the threat of a Nazi invasion in 1940
- claimed that security systems had been installed in the college because of 'snatches' by 'West Indian' youth, and
- stated that the 'aggressive' attitude of 'West Indians' was a cause of racism!

The students' mass pickets, which on 16 October blocked Fuller's entrance to the college, and a demonstration on the local authority meeting of 21 October obliged the Board of Governors to issue an apology regretting any offence caused by Fuller's letter. The lecturer's association, NATFHE, publicly dissociated itself from Fuller. A committee is considering his suspension. Andy Goddard.

## STOP PRESS

On 8 November the killer of black youth Eustace Pryce (16) received 4½ years youth custody for manslaughter and 2 years for affray. Handing out this lenient sentence, Judge Lymbery condemned the Justice for the Pryces Campaign for fighting to highlight the growing number of racist attacks and to defend Eustace's brother Gerald. Gerald was convicted of affray for trying to come to the assistance of his dying brother. Lymbery threatened to prosecute the campaign supporters for exposing the racist character of Eustace's murder. Such is British justice.

# PEOPLE AND POLITICS

## The real issues in the WRP split

The split in the WRP has hit the headlines. Here Maggie Mellon examines the hidden issues.

In the wake of the miners' strike the left in Britain is suffering a political crisis. The strike exposed for all to see the deep split in the working class, which saw the miners and their communities betrayed by the 'big battalions' of the Labour and trade union movement. Those left organisations which have identified the future of their organisations with the ups and downs of the Labour and trade union movement are faced with an inescapable choice. What side are they going to take? The Labour Party and TUC have firmly taken sides in the battles to come - it is not the side of the oppressed. FRFI has always argued that the 'official' organisations of the working class would be unable and unwilling to fight the battles which must surely come if the British ruling class is to be defeated, and the oppressed in Britain and around the world are to defend themselves and win justice and freedom.



The Workers Revolutionary Party, for all its appearance of having been in a slightly different world from the rest of us, has split in the face of this choice. There are now two *Newslines*, and two Workers Revolutionary Parties. Both sides of the split claim to be the real WRP, inheritors of Trotskyism, and vanguard parties of the working class in Britain. Mike Banda's WRP, which has control of the printing press and so the daily *Newsline*, initially claimed that the split was over the issue of 'revolutionary morality'. They accused Gerry Healy, founding member and ex-General Secretary of the WRP, of repeated sexual abuse of women comrades in the party, of bureaucratic manipulation and general corruption. They allege that these abuses were covered up by Vanessa Redgrave and other Healy supporters, to the detriment of the party. Redgrave and those around Healy claim in return that they are the true WRP, rid of a rightwing conspiracy, led by Banda and Slaughter, who represent only a 'rump of politically deranged malcontents'. Accusations and counter-accusations have flown thick and fast. What has been revealed in the bitter attacks by one side on the other is a party which has managed to live in a fairly sealed off world of its own for years and years, suddenly being smashed open by the hammer blows of political reality.



That reality is the split in the working class and the bankruptcy of the official Labour and trade union movement. One wing of the WRP, Banda's, recognises that the assertion that the working class is preparing for the imminent seizure of power, has left the WRP in an isolated and ineffectual position; more and more at odds with reality. Their answer is to move to the right to accommodate themselves to the Labour and trade union movement. Healy and supporters, instead, refuse to accommodate themselves to reality at all and continue to stand by the 'programme' of the WRP.

The daily *Newsline*, Banda and Co, is now discussing the 'United Front' tactic - as a means of working with the 'reformists' in the movement, eventually 'exposing them' and so building the party. The other *Newsline* continues to assert the necessity of agitating round the original 'revolutionary programme'. What neither wing will recognise is that the real forces for revolutionary change have emerged outside of the official labour movement. The split in the WRP mirrors the other splits which have taken place on the left. The CPGB also split in the wake of the miners' strike: the Eurocommunists have moved rapidly to the right to accommodate themselves to the Kinnock-led Labour Party. The *Morning Star* wing lives off a fantasy of a left-moving movement. The left in the Labour Party have faced exactly the same issue: Livingstone, Blunkett and Co have gone with Kinnock, whilst Benn and others continue to pretend that no rightward move has taken place at all.

FRFI's standpoint has always been that communists must recognise the split in the working class, and that the development of a revolutionary movement will be based on the most oppressed sections of the working class. They have no interest in accommodating themselves to the racism and repression of imperialist Britain. That is the real challenge of the miners' strike and of the risings of black youth with their white working class comrades. All the comrades of the WRP who genuinely want to contribute to building a real revolutionary movement here must recognise this political reality.

Maggie Mellon

# 'We defend truths and rights for all the people'

The people of Broadwater Farm estate are organising to defend themselves against police oppression. Glasford Stirling, Vice-President of the Broadwater Farm Youth Association, talked to FRFI about the community's struggle.

As we report in this issue, Broadwater Farm is under police siege. Glasford describes police activity on the estate. 'They are making remarks towards our colour to provoke us. "Get back on your jam jar", "Hello Sambo" "nigger" and stuff like that. But the people are keeping very cool. We know they want an excuse to send in their bully boys. No doubt somebody somewhere is suffering some kind of terrorist act from the police.' Glasford estimates that there are 50-100 police patrolling the estate with others in vans parked at corners. 150-200 police are concentrated in and around the estate 'just waiting.'

The raids continue. 'Kicking people's doors down; not showing any search warrant; using guns; interrogating juveniles; pushing parents around; taking young kids away; arresting people on stupid charges such as stolen baby food or a 25p battery. They actually took a whole family away, including young kids. People are held for days on end.' Glasford says that there have been 70-80 arrests so far.

The sustained police attack on the community has changed people's attitudes, especially the older generation. 'It has opened a lot of black people's eyes. At our meeting I saw older black people that maybe a few years ago you wouldn't see. There's always been a gap between the youths and older people but the understanding is getting better. The older people are beginning to see it through us.'

'No more now can the police explain why kids are being beaten and getting broken legs and broken arms when they are perfectly healthy before they're picked up. Things are coming out now that they can't turn a blind eye to. Also the police used to show the parents a little, minor, kind of respect. Now they're not showing them any at all. Now the parents are beginning to feel what we have felt a long time ago. If you don't say 'sir' to the police, they're straight in with their bully tactics. If you stand up they label

you as an "activist" or "mad person". When a youth spoke on television the police raided his mother's house. You don't have to do anything. If it's your turn today, then it's your turn today. But youths are still coming forward and taking part in the Defence Campaign.'

Glasford talked to us on 5 November - a month after the rising. I asked him how people felt now, looking back at it. 'There's mixed feelings but the way youth see it is "We can't put up with it no more. The police have gone too far. If they think they're gonna start bullying us now, they've got another think coming." More and more youth are going to stand up for themselves. A few will get hurt but they're going to stand up.'

It was this feeling of the youth that Bernie Grant, Haringey Labour Council Leader, expressed when he spoke out against the police. Glasford describes the response to Bernie Grant's statement. 'It was blunt, maybe it was outrageous. But it was the truth. The truth always hurts because some people don't want to face reality. When they attack us for something that was a genuine protest then we have to hit them hard. If it hurts, it hurts. I don't know why the unions went on strike. Why didn't they come and picket over here? They know they couldn't do that. So they pick on Bernie Grant. We're looking to him to say something and they're looking to him to say something. What do they want? Do they want him to lie?'

The police talk about recruiting black people to improve 'relations'. Glasford rejects this. 'They want their kind of black police officer to be a boy. And they all are. It's just like South Africa where they send black people out that they know will kill their own black people.'

Glasford has no doubts about the connection between South Africa and racism in Britain. 'South Africa is highlighted now around the world. Black people see it as the turning point for freedom. America, Britain and

other European countries look on the South African way as the right way to live. They give aid to South Africa yet they expect us to believe that they're fighting racism in their own countries.'

'Black people's conditions in this country are very similar to South Africa. We can drink in the same bars as white people, shop in the same shopping centres but it's no different. We're terrorised in the same way. You could be sleeping in your house and next minute you find your door kicked in. That's how it is. And now we're threatened with plastic bullets, teargas and all that. If the police use them things there will be very serious trouble. People ain't going to stand for it.'

In the past risings, white people have often been excluded from the defence campaigns. Black only campaigns have been set up. This has not happened at Broadwater Farm where the Defence Campaign is open to all. I asked Glasford why the campaign was not blacks only. 'We don't see it like that. I'm black, you're white. If a white guy's arrested we defend him same as a black guy. We defend truths and rights for all the people. The Defence Campaign's open to anybody.'

'The papers tried to say that what happened on 6/7 October was a race war. But it was just as much white people out there as black. Now they're probing the Youth Association, saying we're spending taxpayers' money, they're attacking Dolly Kiffin. They couldn't get us on race so now they're trying to get us on something else.'

Glasford was confident that the community could not be divided. 'It's a very strong community. Whether black or white. It don't matter. If somebody's missing, somebody's going to ask about it. In here we provide dinners for white old age pensioners, for everybody. It's never just been for blacks.'

Finally, I asked Glasford about the future. He replied: 'The future is going to be a very interesting one.'

Terry O'Halloran

## Secret Sectarians

FRFI has obtained a copy of an anonymous document, described as a 'supplement to the June issue of the Haringey Communist'. It contains a string of lies and gross distortions directed against City AA, the Kitson family and named members of Haringey AA. Haringey Communist is, apparently, a newsletter circulated to Morning Star supporters in Haringey CPGB.

The document claims to tell people 'What's wrong with City AA?'. Typical of what passes for political argument in the British left, it does not deal with the political issues raised by the dispute in the AAM at all. Instead it devotes itself to repeating old lies and adding a few new ones. It was, apparently, discussed at a meeting of Haringey CPGB 'dissidents' in June or July. The timing is important. The purpose of the document was to pack the July Haringey AA AGM with people poisoned against the activists in Haringey AA and City AA in advance, to back the move led by Dominic Tweedie to bring Haringey AA under the control of his clique. Yet an agreement had been made with Mike Terry that neither party to the dispute would recruit new members or seek to 'pack' the AGM. Sectarians like Dominic Tweedie use such agreements merely to immobilise their opponents whilst organising their supporters.

David Kitson is described as no longer a member of AUEW-TASS. This is a lie. TASS ensured 'financial security' to the Kitson family. This is not true, nor did the union pay for the setting up of Red Lion Settlers. Both Norma and David Kitson are described as 'ANC dissidents'. Relations between the Kitson family and the ANC are a matter for David and Norma Kitson and the ANC. The secret sectarians are trying to interfere in these matters and smear the integrity and principles of the Kitson family. Nothing could be more disgusting than such cowardly, backdoor, personal vilification of a man like David Kitson who spent 20 years in apartheid's prisons and his family who are prominent activists against apartheid. The attack on the Kitson family is part of the attack on City AA.

City AA never intended to work in the City of London. The fact is that City AA was formed in consultation with the AAM leadership. There was never any suggestion that its membership should be restricted to the City of London. This 'Group Areas Act' was invented much later as a 'technical' explanation to hide the political reasons for disaffiliating City AA. City AA 'discouraged' people from joining other local AA groups. This is a lie. City AA supporters have helped to form new local groups and to revive existing ones. City AA was never involved in Haringey AA. City AA concentrates on South Africa House as a 'glamour spot'. This 'glamour spot' work has led to hundreds and hundreds of arrests of City AA supporters. South Africa House is the central physical symbol of British collaboration with apartheid. Only those who rarely protest there would describe it as a 'glamour spot'. Picketing there every Friday for the last 3 years, as City AA has done, is hard work, not glamour.

Sheer abuse comes in when the inventiveness of the secret sectarians fails. City AA are 'Moonies' 'hostile' to the AAM, 'slander' its leadership and so on. The truth is that City AA has publicly defended itself against attacks initiated by leading members of the AAM. Opponents of City AA, like Tweedie & co, slander City AA. When City AA replies it is accused of hostility to the AAM!

Mary Barnett, a founder member of Haringey AA, is accused of writing 'false and vitriolic letters' to *The Guardian*. Her real offence was to reply to the 'false and vitriolic' anti-City AA press campaign engineered by leading members of the AAM. Her other sin was to be instrumental in organising an extremely successful anniversary party in Haringey to mark the first anniversary of David Kitson's release. The party was properly agreed by Haringey AA. An attempt led by Tweedie to cancel the party failed. Tweedie & co then mounted a bureaucratic coup to get the control that they could not win in open debate.

What are City AA's sins? Winning new support to the anti-apartheid struggle, nationally and internationally; successfully opposing police collaboration with apartheid; organising lively and successful events in support of the ANC and SWAPO; winning back the right to protest outside the Embassy. It is the success of City AA that drives the secret sectarians deeper into the gutter for their anti-City AA witch hunt. The sectarians know that they will not long survive in a genuinely open, democratic and fighting Anti-Apartheid Movement. We appeal to the communists among Morning Star supporters of Haringey CP to dissociate themselves from this scurrilous attack.

Terry O'Halloran



Original illustrations from the Harvey police training manual. **Top** 'vulnerable points and areas', showing the painful wrist hold as used on those arrested at South Africa House. **Centre** 'defence and release', the method of inflicting injury is self-explanatory. **Bottom** 'Philtrum release', an attack on the tender upper lip for maximum pain and minimum evidence of injury.

## Tories attack, Labour joins in

Barrister Mike Mansfield is to be brought before a Bar disciplinary tribunal. His alleged offence? That he took part in a meeting of 45 barristers and solicitors involved in defending striking miners. The meeting took place in Sheffield on 1 December last year. His real offence? That along with a handful of other lawyers, Mike Mansfield has used his legal skills to defend people's rights. He successfully defended scores of striking miners against riot charges. He has been involved in defence of prisoners and Irish people facing explosives and conspiracy charges. The attack on Mike Mansfield is designed to warn off any lawyers who decide to put their skills to the service of defending democratic rights.

On 7 November Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced that the Attorney General will be reviewing the right of defendants to challenge jurors as this right was producing 'distorted' acquittal rates - ie people were being found innocent. The attack on democratic rights now being waged aims to obliterate the rights needed to fight back and to deter lawyers from joining that fightback.

Yet just as the police are being given the laws, the weapons and the training to assault the people, and on the very day that the attacks on Mike Mansfield and the right to challenge jurors are announced, the Labour Party calls for action on 'law and order'. Shadow Home Secretary Gerald Kaufman demanded more resources for the police and accused the Tories of not supporting the police. The Kinnock-led Labour Party will swim through any sewer and crawl up any drain to get back into power. Kinnock & co are as much the enemies of democratic rights as the Thatcher government itself. Terry O'Halloran

**Recent revelations of police violence against demonstrators and the existence of new training manuals and equipment have exposed the increasing use of organised police violence against the people. The brutality used at Orgreave, Stonehenge, Manchester, the City Anti-Apartheid Group Surround the Embassy on 19 October and the AAM 2 November demonstration, was not the result of police officers 'going wild' but the product of careful planning and training instituted since 1981. As the crisis of British imperialism grows ever more acute, policing necessarily becomes more and more overtly a process of organised state violence against any opposition. Minimum force gives way to maximum pain.**

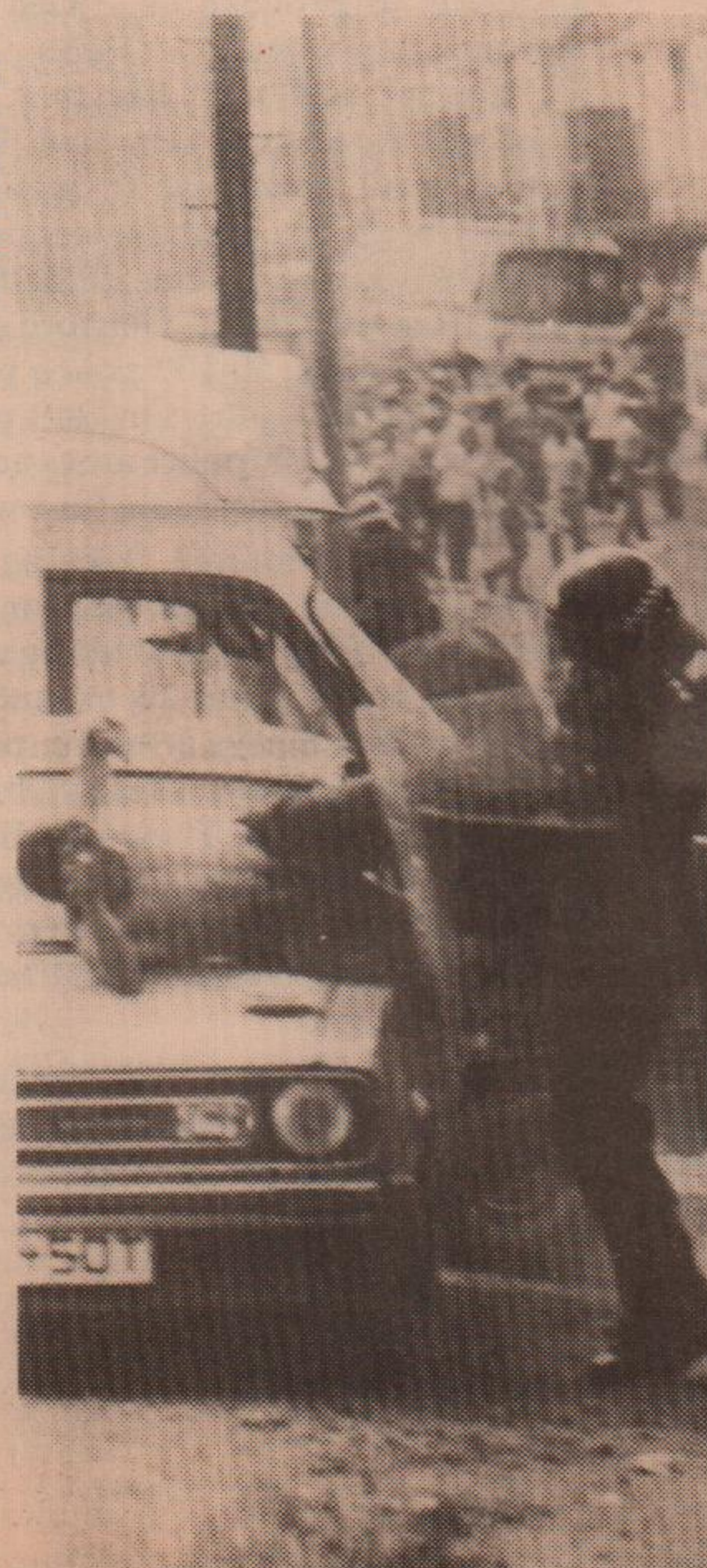
The aftermath of the 1981 risings saw a thoroughgoing re-organisation and re-training of the police. In particular the experience developed over many years of colonial oppression was brought to bear on policing in Britain. Kenneth Newman, ex-Chief Constable of the RUC, was appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Roy Henry, then Commissioner of the Royal Hong Kong Police, and Richard Quine, Director of Operations for the Royal Hong Kong Police, were brought in to train British police in 'riot control'. In the Metropolitan Police, Brigadier Mike Harvey, Korean war veteran who had developed arrest and restraint techniques for the British Army in Ireland, was put in charge of training and equipment development. Senior police officers travelled to Hong Kong, Ireland and the USA, in search of new methods and handy hints on suppressing popular revolt. That the British police should turn to the experience of British oppression overseas was no coincidence. As British imperialism comes under attack throughout the world and the economic crisis of the system worsens, the British ruling class is forced to turn on the working class and oppressed at home. The same methods used against oppressed peoples abroad have now to be used against the working class and oppressed at home.

In September 1981 the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) met in Preston for its annual conference. Fear was in the air. Police forces throughout Britain had taken a hammering in the risings. An emergency half-day session on riot control was convened. RUC officers explained their methods of suppressing the nationalist population in the Six Counties. The keynote speech was delivered by Richard Quine, Director of Operations for the Royal Hong Kong Police. The Royal Hong Kong Police have long been notorious both for brutality and corruption. The lethal anti-civilian plastic bullet may be said to have been born in Hong Kong in the form of the bamboo baton round.

### Tactical Options Manual

The result of this emergency session was a new secret Tactical Options Manual. Whilst this manual is available to any officer above the rank of Assistant Chief Constable, it cannot be read by the public. Indeed, the Shadow Home Secretary has been refused access to it. As one Chief Constable said: 'No general would declare to the enemy his order of battle.' The Tactical Options Manual only became publicly known during the Orgreave riot trials when a police witness inadvertently referred to its existence. Even then only short extracts were revealed in court. The Tactical Options Manual is a manual for paramilitary policing aimed at inflicting maximum pain and fear on anyone opposing the British government.

The manual calls for paramilitary formations to be used involving horses, short shields and long shields to present a 'formidable appearance'. Horses are then to be charged into the crowd 'to create fear and a scatter effect' followed by officers on foot, still in paramilitary formation, running into the crowd and using batons and short shields to 'disperse and/or incapacitate' people in the crowd. The Tactical Options Manual, in fact, trains police to use methods which are actually illegal. Both shields and batons, according to the law, are defen-



Orgreave 1984

sive equipment to be used offensively only as a last resort to prevent crime, serious injury or to effect an arrest. Of course, these legal requirements have never had much effect on the actual behaviour of the police. But to print and circulate an official training manual which advocates the deployment of blatantly illegal tactics is a new development.

These illegal tactics were deployed at Orgreave last year during the miners' strike. On one day alone, 29 May 1984, 69 demonstrators were injured at Orgreave as the police unleashed their paramilitary tactics against the striking miners. The police operation was aided by media coverage which reversed the true order of events to give the impression that the police charges into the crowd followed an attack on the police. It was, in fact, the other way round. The development of new policing strategies requires the manipulation of the media both to disguise what is really happening and to 'prepare' the public for future developments. The media-created image of 'wild violent' picketers is a necessary part of the process of justifying the real violence of the state and its police.

On 1 March this year students at Manchester were to be another target of the new tactics. That day the then Home Secretary Leon Brittan came to address a meeting at the Student Union. A peaceful protest against the visit was organised. Hundreds of students and others gathered on the steps of the building. Suddenly, without warning, police squads in paramilitary formation charged into the crowd - beating, punching and kicking their way through. Both before and after the meeting students were mercilessly beaten.

Sarah Hollis was grabbed by the neck, hurled down the steps and knocked unconscious. One demonstrator was repeatedly beaten on the head with a police helmet; a woman lying prone on the ground was repeatedly kicked in the head. Others were pulled by the hair, kicked in the shins, grabbed

# POLICING THE CRISIS

round the neck. Of 40 students arrested only 2 were found guilty of assaulting police and another 17 of obstruction or breach of the peace. The rest were either not charged or acquitted. An appeal judge described the evidence of two police officers as 'demonstrably inaccurate' and also said that a further two had practised deception and given false evidence. An internal police inquiry has yet to report. The police squads involved were the Tactical Aid Groups and the Police Support Units. Both are specially trained in riot techniques and the new post-1981 techniques. They are the equivalent of the Metropolitan Police's Special Patrol Group and District Support Units. Every British police force now has similar units.

Newman's appointment as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in October 1982 and its political significance has been repeatedly analysed in *FRFI*. But Newman was not the only new appointment to the Metropolitan Police in 1982. In July that year Brigadier Mike Harvey began training the Metropolitan Police in arrest and restraint techniques he had developed for the army in Ireland. Later he was given a full-time post with responsibility for developing his techniques and new equipment.

Like the Tactical Options Manual, Harvey's training techniques are secret. Some coverage of his techniques and the new 'Defender' baton appeared in *The Observer* and *Police Review*. *FRFI* has now obtained extracts from Harvey's manuals which show exactly the same process as lay behind the Tactical Options Manual; the training of the police in arrest and restraint techniques involving systematic and illegal violence.

### From 'criminal' to 'dissident'

'... the need will arise when a clear crisp blow at speed is needed to discourage, disarm or knock down the dissident' (all quotes are from Harvey's *Restraint and Arrest System: Baton/Shield training syllabus*. Emphasis added). In this manual the object of police assault is variously described as 'the criminal', 'the assailant' 'the dissident'. The blurring of any distinction between criminal activity and political activity is part of the process of criminalising political opposition.

The manual instructs officers to gain the initiative by using or throwing 'coins, soil, liquid, sprays or helmet' into the opponent's face. This to be followed by appropriate restraint techniques such as 'placing the barrel of the truncheon over the ankle joint. If resistance is still met, manipulate the truncheon briskly up and down over the ankle bone as you press down hard.' All blows with the baton to be 'struck in quick whipping action' in pairs aimed at collar bone, shoulder, elbow, wrist, hand, knee, ankle, chin, solar plexus.

The riot shield is also brought into play as an offensive weapon: 'raise the shield and bring the edge swiftly down onto his wrist bone...' Another shield technique is to force the opponent's arm out straight, twisting and then 'bringing the shield hard and swiftly against his elbow joint.' The manual also instructs police to 'Use both the captive and shield for protection against missiles.'

Harvey's techniques pay special attention to sensitive areas for manipulation or outright assault to cause maximum pain. Baton smashes to the phil-



trum (the area between the upper lip and nose) and grips in the same area are designed to 'secure compliance' by use of pain. Most of Harvey's techniques have the effect of causing maximum pain whilst often leaving little or no physical evidence of brutality. As the Metropolitan Police newspaper, *The Job*, put it, Harvey's techniques are "'visually' non-violent". One charming technique for arrest is to put the baton between the captive's legs from behind and then press simultaneously from the front and the rear so that the baton is pushed hard against the groin.

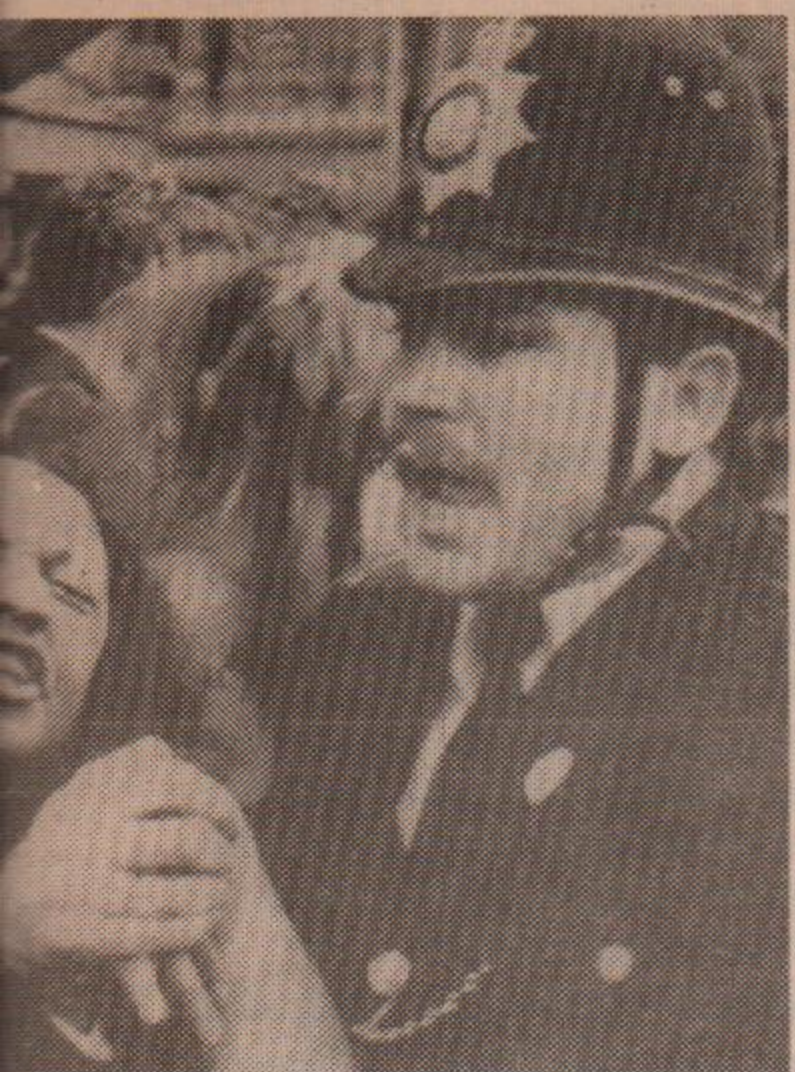
Harvey has also developed the 'Defender' baton or flail stick. It is a short baton, 24cm, with a chain and loop. It is based on martial arts weapons and is designed for use against the head, groin and other sensitive areas. The diagrams from Harvey's manuals show how it is intended to be used. Even *Police Review* has protested against this potentially lethal weapon.

Along with all this police violence goes the use of arrest techniques involving pulling or lifting demonstrators by the nose, hair, ears and neck, and manipulation of the wrists to cause pain. These techniques were used on the City





Policing the crisis with maximum pain. **Top right, centre left, below,** new arrest methods in practice at the South African Embassy. Attacks are made on the face, the neck, and the arms. **Top left** more dirty tricks from Harvey's manual. **Above** the true face of the British police.



AA 19 October Surround the Embassy and on 2 November AAM demonstration. On top of this, of course, is straight-forward old fashioned assault such as the beating up of detainees in the subways during the 2 November demonstration.

## Fighting back

The ruling class is organising its police to crush resistance to a system which condemns more and more people to poverty, unemployment, homelessness, racism and national oppression. The deliberate, calculated, planned and organised state violence against the people has a simple but brutal message: protest and we will assault you; resist and we will crush you. The police are now armed in every respect from guns, gas and plastic bullets to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, Police and Criminal Evidence Act and the forthcoming new Public Order Act. Yet whilst the state is gearing up to destroy resistance, self-styled leaders of the working class denounce those who do resist state violence. Norman Willis denounces the miners; Kinnock denounces black youth; NUS leaders disown students who take part in

militant anti-apartheid protests; AAM officials disaffiliate City AA and disown people who get arrested on an AAM demonstration. On every front these opportunists gather to abuse and sabotage those who are determined to fight whilst behind the backs of these 'leaders' the machinery of state violence is perfected. Violence by the people is condemned whilst police thuggery is ignored. Not only do these leaders condemn resistance but also, by doing so, they help the ruling class to isolate those who do resist as 'criminals' 'mindless proponents of confrontation and violence' and so on. Every time Kinnock attacks black youth for fighting back he helps the police to brutalise black people.

The lesson of all this is clear. Firstly, it is no longer enough simply to protest for even peaceful protestors will find themselves battered and beaten by police thugs. It is necessary to recognise the scale of what the police have in store for us and organise to resist it on every front: on the streets, in the communities, in trade unions, in the courts and in the prisons. We have to organise both to protect ourselves and to unite all strands of opposition into an effective fighting force. Secondly, those opportunists who seek to stand in our way and block the development of fighting people's organisations must be isolated and defeated wherever and whenever they show themselves. From Thatcher to Newman to Willis to Kinnock, the enemies of the working class and oppressed must be recognised and resisted.

Experience in Ireland, South Africa and in the risings in Britain shows that when the people are organised state violence can be successfully confronted. It is just such organisation that the Revolutionary Communist Group is fighting for. Our purpose is plain: to subvert, resist and defeat British imperialist oppression at home and abroad.

**Terry O'Halloran**

# State of siege

continued from page 1

The manipulation of so-called 'justice' that is happening daily in the magistrates' courts of North London is clear for all to see. Beatings and threats in the cells are leading to pleas being changed in court, youths are signing confessions and affidavits are being changed because of police terror tactics. The purpose of police tactics is to pick off and imprison any potential organisers in the community, to intimidate the community and to break up any effective political organisation.

## Organising to defend

Broadwater Farm Youth Association has reactivated its Defence Campaign. It has organised 3 sub-committees: Publicity, Legal and Fund-Raising. These are open and democratic committees open to all who support the four demands of the campaign.

- An independent enquiry into the death of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett.
- A full and independent investigation into the actions of DC Randall in the black community.
- An end to police harassment and brutality against young people in the black community as a whole.
- A full and proper defence of those arrested on serious charges.

The sub-committees are underway, but the tasks are greater than previous defence campaigns have had to confront here or elsewhere. In their determination to smash a community that was seen as a challenge to the authority of the police, the British state has made Broadwater Farm Estate of national importance. It has come to represent a force against racism, against apartheid policing, a force for the organisation of the poor and oppressed and hope for the future. This is why the police siege on Broadwater has been accompanied by a smear campaign in the British press. Individuals like Bernie Grant, leader of Haringey Council, and Dolly Kiffin of the Youth Association have been publicly accused of corruption to undermine their standing in the communities. The Labour Party has taken good note of the recent opinion polls which favour the Tories as the party of Law and

Order, and has hurried to distance itself from the needs of the community of Broadwater Farm, and looks to its solid, white, employed male vote. The national leadership of the TGWU and NUPE have failed to condemn their members who marched against Bernie Grant in Haringey, just as the NALGO leadership failed to support its members who came out for the right of Bernie Grant to speak up in favour of the community. And Jesse Jackson, former black presidential candidate in the USA, failed to turn up to a meeting on the estate which had been arranged and agreed to.

It is against this background of splits in the organised labour movement and failure to offer support, that the Defence Campaign has to work. While the strength of the campaign is that it is open and democratic, it is being sabotaged and boycotted by large labour movement organisations. So it must appeal to ordinary people not just on the estate but all over the country, to link up with others who are under police and racist attack. The Defence Campaign will therefore be sending speakers to local meetings in Dalston and in Leeds and it welcomes the chance to be invited to speak anywhere. It intends also to step up the information that it puts out. A petition has been drawn up for use at street meetings and door to door in workplaces and communities. A first step to widely circulate the first Defence Campaign leaflet was made on 2 November when the Broadwater Farm Youth Association joined the anti-racist contingent on the national AAM demonstration in London. Hundreds of leaflets were given out both on the anti-racist contingent and the whole demonstration. It is vital to break the silence of the media about what is happening at the estate.

The police meanwhile continue their brutal tactics against the community. It is clear now that the police wish to prevent the defence of the youth arrested and to destroy organisation in support of them. On several occasions people have been arrested and charged immediately after speaking up at Defence Campaign and other public meetings. This attempt to behead the movement

and wreak havoc on the Defence Campaign must not succeed. So long as the oppression continues, for so long the fightback will continue. For as the youth of Broadwater Farm say, the daily struggles of all black people in Britain fighting police harassment is their struggle also, the daily fightback of the black people in South Africa against apartheid is their struggle also. They salute those who are being arrested outside the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square. It shows a lesson that the black community is learning fast, a strong message must go out to the British state:

'When you touch one of us, you touch me also'

**Susan Davidson, Ken Hughes and Ronnie**

Some of the information for this article has been taken from a leaflet by the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee which FRFI comrades helped to produce.

## Handsworth: 'orgy of looting' or racist police brutality?

On 30 October, two special courts began hearing cases of over 100 defendants arrested during the Handsworth uprisings of 9 and 10 September. The appearance of the defendants in courts surrounded by police, coincided with the opening of an inquiry by Birmingham City Council into the uprisings who went ahead with their 'Scarman-Style' inquiry despite Home Secretary Hurd's insistence that all investigations be limited to the (connected) police reports.

The council received only 700 responses to its 26,000 leaflets, printed in six languages, appealing for witnesses to the uprisings, and so far the inquiry has played to an audience of five people - in a hall seating 400! Indicative of the witness is environmental health officer, Roger Berry, who stated that police view Afro-Caribbean 'blues' parties as a 'threat to public order!'

Meanwhile, the police prosecutor in the defendants' cases described the uprising of black youth against state repression as 'an orgy of looting'. He said nothing of racist police brutality, 70% unemployment amongst black youth and the denial of legal advice to defendants in custody. **Charine James**

# Brixton police on terror spree

In the wake of the Brixton uprisings following the shooting of Cherry Groce, the racist police have continued their terror spree against the Brixton community.

At 7am on 30 October, over 50 sledgehammer wielding police smashed their way into 20 flats and began harassing the occupants and photographing them. One 74-year-old man was photographed as he lay in bed. The dawn raids, on the premises in Brailsford Road and Arlingford Road, were carried out under warrants issued by Camberwell magistrates. The police used the pretext of 'looking for stolen property'. When one resident inquired why the police had broken his door down rather than ring the door bell, he was informed 'It's a form of habit.' Three people were arrested and later released without charge, and of course, no stolen property was recovered. One man had been arrested for possessing three packets of tobacco, which a local tobacconist confirmed were bought from him. Organisation against these attacks and in defence of those arrested is vital.

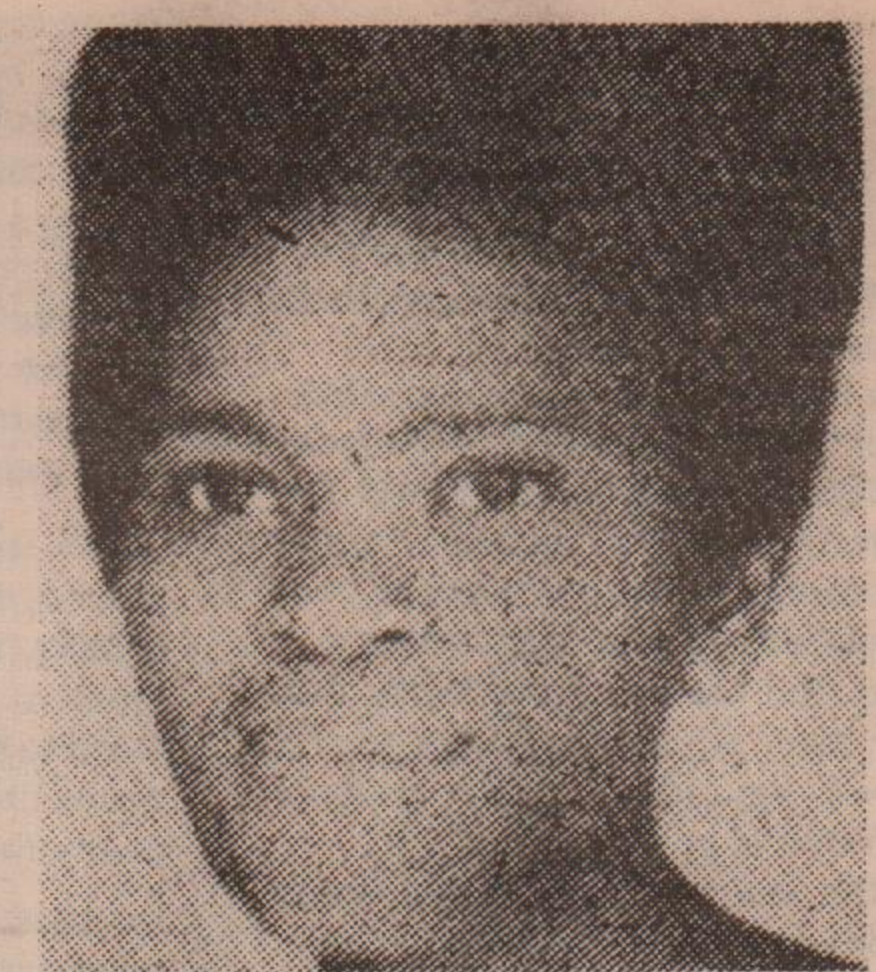
The Groce Family Support Group and Community Defence Campaign (GFSG & CDC) was set up on 3 October. The campaign aims to seek justice for Mrs Groce, to raise funds to care for her family (her children are being cared for by a friend of the family whilst Mrs Groce is in Stoke Mandeville Hospital), to counteract the media lies and distortion surrounding the uprisings, and to ensure the defence of all those arrested as a result of the uprisings. The campaign has produced petitions calling for Inspector Lovelock, who shot Mrs Groce, to be arrested and charged with attempted murder, and calling for a community-defined, independent pub-

lic inquiry into the events leading up to the uprisings.

So far the group has won support from the community, and Lambeth council is to provide financial aid for two workers to help co-ordinate legal defence from Brixton Law Centre. The Black People's Campaign for Justice, comprising a number of organisations including the Black Liberation Front, Black History for Action and the PAC Movement supporters held a public meeting on 17 October to discuss ways of contributing politically to the GFSG and CDC.

The legal defence team are finding their efforts to organise joint defence for all the 240 people arrested during the uprisings hindered at every turn by the racist police. The police take great delight in refusing to let out any information on defendants and in spreading the court cases as far afield as possible - some defendants are appearing in Lewes, on the south coast! They have, however, managed to trace 97 defendants, who face a variety of charges, from obstruction of the highway to explosives charges. In an attempt to keep the trials as apolitical as possible, the police have not pressed any charges directly relating to 'riot'.

The GFSG and Community Defence Campaign are working with the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, and the two organisations have called a joint demonstration for Monday 11 November. The theme of the march, which will assemble at Brockwell Park in South London, pass Trafalgar Square and end



Cherry Groce

with a rally in Hyde Park, is 'Enough is Enough! Dem Gone too far!' and the campaign is asking those who can afford to, to donate either half a day's or a day's wages to the campaign.

Unfortunately, the political impact of the march will be curtailed by the acceptance of police restrictions, especially a police ban on leafletting along the route. FRFI is opposed to any such political censorship. For us the solution is clear - we must unite and organise to defend all victims of racism and racist police brutality and oppose all attempts by the police to restrict the people's right to organise.

## Racist police off our streets!

**Charine James**

The Groce Family Support Group and Community Defence Campaign can be contacted at: 506 Brixton Road, London SW9 (phone: 326 1397)

# POLITICS of PROFIT

## Is there an alternative to Thatcherism?

The ruling class is incapable of scientifically analysing the present crisis of British capitalism. For to do so it would have to recognise the inevitable decline and destruction of the system it rules over. And that would be tantamount to signing its own death warrant. So the ruling class and its propagandists take refuge in myth and illusion. Last month I showed how the Thatcher government had promoted the interests of the bankers and City institutions in its efforts to ensure the viability of British capitalism. I argued that although the rapid rise of unemployment and the squeeze on public expenditure had led to a small increase in company profitability, in the process manufacturing industry had been run down and vast amounts of capital had gone overseas. Insoluble problems now face the ruling class in the coming years as North Sea Oil revenues peak and then start to decline and the earnings from overseas investment etc fail to compensate for the growing deterioration in the balance of trade that has followed the run down of manufacturing industry.

This month I want to deal with the opposition to Thatcherism which runs from the so-called 'wets' of the Tory Party to the dominant Kinnock trend in the Labour Party. This opposition has seized on these insoluble problems, puts them down primarily to the policies of the Thatcher government, and like a conjurer with a box of tricks offers us a dose of magic to 'solve' them. On the 14 October a House of Lords Select Committee published its report on Overseas Trade. It is a devastating attack by a section of the ruling class on Thatcherism. A similar attack has appeared in a Penguin special, *Britain Without Oil*, written by the economics editor of the *Observer*, William Keegan, and published at the end of October.

The Select Committee warns us that the national attitude towards trade and manufacturing has to change radically 'if we are to avoid a major social and economic crisis in our nation's affairs in the foreseeable future'. Unless this occurs, as oil revenues decline the country will face:

1. A contraction of manufacturing industries to the point where they can no longer continue
2. An irreplaceable loss of gross domestic product
3. A balance of payments crisis which will require severe deflationary measures
4. Lower tax revenues for public spending on welfare and defence
5. Higher unemployment with little prospect of reducing it
6. The economy stagnating with inflation rising, driven up by a falling exchange rate.

These prospects the committee says 'constitute a grave threat to the standard of living of the British people. Failure to recognise these dangers now could have a devastating effect on the future economic and political stability of the nation'.

Both the House of Lords report and William Keegan argue that the devastating decline of manufacturing industry and the rapid deterioration in the balance of trade in manufactured goods are a result of government policies. Keegan goes further and argues that 'the wealth of the North Sea has so far been squandered' due to the 'self-inflicted wounds' of the government's economic policy.

During the years 1979-81, while gross domestic product (GDP) fell by 4%, manufacturing output fell by 20% and manufacturing investment by some 40%. Manufacturing output has still not recovered to its 1979 level. The effect on trade has been even more pronounced. In 1983 for the first time this country imported more manufactured goods than it exported - there was a deficit of £2.4bn in the balance of trade in manufacturing. This deteriorated to £3.8bn in 1984 and the first half of 1985 produced a deficit of over £2bn. The trend is continuing.

In the 1960s over 30% of GDP came from manufacturing, today it is in the region of 20%. In 1963 exports of manufactured goods were 2 1/2 times as large as imports. Today imports are greater than exports. Between 1974 and 1984 the number of jobs in manufacturing fell by 2.3 million. This is the trend that the opposition to Thatcherism believes it must stop and even reverse. For manufacturing output still represents a fifth of GDP and provides over 40% of overseas earnings.

The opposition argues that there are a few more years left to reverse the trend. For by the 1990s there will no longer be a

surplus on oil trade and government revenues derived from oil will have fallen by over £5bn. Balance of payment problems will once again have a devastating effect on the British economy. The House of Lords report spells this out graphically using the following forecast.

	Oil trade balance Ebn	Non-oil trade balance Ebn	Invisibles net Ebn	Balance of payments current account Ebn
1985	9.5	-11.8	+3.4	+ 1.1
1987	6.2	-14.4	+4.1	- 4.1
1990	0.2	-19.3	+5.5	-13.6

The balance of payments current account will go from a surplus of £1.1bn in 1985 to a deficit of £13.6bn in 1990. While recent figures suggest that the net invisibles' contribution (financial and other services, interest, profits and dividends etc) will be some £1bn higher, the trend illustrated is almost certainly realistic.

The House of Lords report rejects the government view that 'automatic adjustments' - the hidden hand of the market - will bring about an improvement in non-oil trade, including manufactures as the decline in North Sea Oil output leads to a fall in the exchange rate and makes British goods more competitive. The damage done by then to British industry would be far too great. It also rejects the government view that the income from trade in services and overseas investment could make up the difference caused by the loss of oil. So what is to be done if the 'future economic and political stability of the nation' is to be secured?

All the opposition have to offer us is versions of the well-worn 'alternative economic strategy' - government intervention to stimulate effective demand. Most of it is wishful thinking. In the case of the House of Lords report it includes a national propaganda campaign to change people's attitude to manufacturing and trade and a plea for a buy-British policy by shoppers, retailers, industry and government. But then suddenly they are brought down to earth and forced to remember, as any future Labour/Alliance government would be, that the British economy is a capitalist economy. Goods are only produced if they make an adequate profit and investment will go where the highest profits are to be made. Goods can only be sold abroad if their prices are competitive. And what does price competitiveness depend on? Low costs. And what costs matter most? Wage costs. So the report states:

'The importance of wages as a determinant of competitiveness leads the committee to conclude that pay settlements in manufacturing must have regard to the cost competitiveness of the manufactures which are being produced'.

William Keegan agrees: 'wages and salary costs... account for over two-thirds of total costs'. While opposed to wage cuts because he says they will lower effective demand he argues for wage restraint through incomes policies, if wage inflation is to be kept down as the economy expands as a result of government intervention and/or a fall in the pound. There is no alternative to incomes policies, he argues, unless we are prepared to rely on high unemployment as the principal anti-inflationary weapon.

'Even now, with 3.5 million unemployed, the rate of wage inflation is remarkably high. The next logical step is to move to 5 million or 10 million unemployed to keep wages under control. That would provoke even the placid British to revolution'.

And that is primarily what the opposition is most concerned to avoid. They are desperately searching for a middle way between Thatcherism which could provoke revolution and the real revolutionary alternative, communism. So they conjure up these illusory middle roads, which in reality consist of a greater or lesser degree of state tinkering with state control of wages. When they get into power and are forced to run capitalism they soon bow down before the bankers and the City of London, cut wages and attack the working class. That is exactly what the last Labour government did and exactly what any future Labour/Alliance government will do.

Thatcher, at least, is brutally aware that there is no alternative to her policies as long as capitalism exists. She is carefully preparing to put down any real resistance to her policies from the ordinary people. That is why 'law and order' is the fastest growing sector of Thatcher's Britain. The Thatcherites might not understand how their system works but they have no illusions about how they will defend it.

David Reed



Bolivian tin mine

## BIG TIN: THE CITY RATTLES

On 24 October the tin market at the London Metal Exchange (LME), Plantation House, City of London, closed. In its 108 years of trading the fortunes made rival anything won at the casino, Monte Carlo. Four times a day for each metal the dealers from brokers like Phibro-Solomon and Johnson Matthey trade around a ring, and in five minutes of frantic bids and counter-bids the world prices of aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, silver and tin are set and re-set.

'It isn't a game for widows and children' one City analyst assured us. Indeed, it isn't! The LME is the world's major metal market, serving giant transnationals like Consolidated Goldfields, Rio Tinto Zinc, and Amax who control three quarters of the world's tin trade.

Several broking firms are subsidiaries of the transnationals. Behind the brokers stand the banks whose credits direct the line of metal purchases in exchange for a share in metal profits. Barclays is the biggest gambler on the London commodity markets. Others with their stakes on tin include Standard Chartered, Hambros, American Express and the TSB. Far away from the City's gaming rooms are 'the widows and children' of the world's tin miners whose fates now hang in suspension awaiting the signal for the next spin of the LME price wheel when the market is reopened.

### Default

The immediate cause of the closure was the withdrawal of the International Tin Council (ITC) composed of 23 producer and consumer governments. It regulates tin prices by either buying up surpluses or selling off stocks. When it ceased purchases the ITC left outstanding com-



Bolivian tin miners demonstrating

mitments to buy about 68,000 tonnes of tin at up to £9,500 a tonne. The metal brokers and bankers were left facing a £600 million default. Alarm bells rang through the City. *The Economist* issued a solemn warning, 'More is at stake here than there was in the Johnson Matthey Bankers,' when the Bank of England stepped in to cover £250m of debt, 'to preserve confidence in the London gold market.' On 31 October the Bank of

## MARCOS UNDER PRESSURE

In a panic move this October the US administration sent personal friend of Reagan and the Mafia, Senator Paul Laxalt, to the Philippines. His mission was to secure 'reforms' from the corrupt and tottering dictatorial Marcos regime. Just as in South Africa, the imperialists are attempting to force the local henchman to yield minor concessions as a means of retaining their enormous possessions.

Twenty three US transnationals dominate the Philippines' economy and US banks are owed a third of the country's \$27 billion external debt. The UK is the third largest investor in the Philippines and its assets are larger than those of all other European countries combined. These interests and imperialist economic and military positions throughout the Pacific are protected by the two massive military bases in the Philippines: Subic Bay and Clark Airbase.

According to the Pentagon their loss would be a more devastating blow than the loss of Vietnam.

The imperialists' and Marcos' position has been undermined by the mounting resistance of the New Peoples' Army which draws its support from the 70 per cent of the population living below the poverty line. Fifty one per cent of Philippine families live in absolute poverty. The slump in world sugar prices has devastated the livelihoods of

England and Trade and Industry Minister Leon Brittan were called in as fear threatened to stampede into panic and undermine the entire LME.

The banks' highly profitable manipulations of the tin market belied its deteriorating structure. Tin is priced out of the producer countries in dollars. As the dollar climbed against sterling, so the sterling price of tin on the LME rose. Bankers clamoured to forward loans to the ITC and brokers, each loan secured against tin and with a 110 to 125 per cent cover charge. Meanwhile the capitalist recession, combined with the transnational's promotion of aluminium, has eaten into tin consumption. Countries like Bolivia and Brazil have been forced to expand their tin exports in order to earn the currency with which to repay their foreign debts. The USA, which left the ITC in 1982, has been releasing its tin stockpiles onto the market in order to buy up more vital strategic minerals. Consequently capitalist world tin output is about 175,000 tonnes a year, consumption 155,000 tonnes leaving an accumulated tin mountain of around 100,000 tonnes, every ounce of which has earned brokers, bankers and transnationals commission, interest and profit.

This huge tin surplus would drive tin prices down without considerable ITC buying. However, this year the dollar has fallen against sterling, the tin surpluses are growing and the banks have calculated tin to be a less profitable investment and have hauled back their credits. Increasingly, the burden of financing ITC purchases fell on the producer countries. Soaked in debts, strapped for repayments, they were unable and unwilling to make any further money available for the ITC.

### The real price of chaos

Scornful of their plight *The Economist* was adamant 'The ITC members are dishonouring their debts as any Latin American country that tells its bankers to take a running jump into Lake Titicaca.' 2,000 Cornish mining jobs are in peril. Brittan, the Bank of England and the City tried to tidy up their mess and hide the corruption that seeps through from such spillages. But the fate of the tin producing countries is of little concern if the LME can still turn a profit from their labour and resources.

Malaysia, the world's biggest tin producer, with the prices of its rubber, timber, palm oil and petroleum all sinking, now sees the livelihood of 150,000 people in jeopardy. In Thailand 40,000 mining jobs are in the balance. Indonesia has the prospect of losing a third of its non-fuel revenues. And Bolivia choking on debt repayments scheduled at 175 per cent of export earnings this year, where hunger and malnutrition are the norm as inflation soars over 1,600 per cent, awaits the machinations of the City and transnationals over the resource which earns Bolivia over a third of its export income.

Wherever the trail of the banking and transnational alliance leads, it leaves destruction in its wake and moves on to more profitable feeding grounds.

Trevor Rayne

hundreds of thousands of Philippino people. NPA forces now number over 20,000 operating in 50 of the country's 73 provinces. In Mindanao they have tied down 25,000 government troops. Neither military repression, nor death squads, imprisonment and torture are stemming the growing influence of the NPA.

Laxalt's brief was to force Marcos to declare elections, whose purpose is to strengthen the credibility of the neo-colonial state by fostering the illusion among the middle classes and bourgeois opposition that a parliamentary, non-revolutionary alternative to Marcos is possible. The imperialists are desperately hoping that a credible bourgeois alternative to Marcos can be installed before the NPA and the masses sweep the entire system away.

Eddie Abrahams/Trevor Rayne

Recently returned from Nicaragua, Martin Spafford gives a first-hand account of the conditions which led to the 15 October reintroduction of a state of emergency.

The government of Nicaragua has accused the Catholic hierarchy and business interests of opening a *contra*-supporting front inside the country. The contras have suffered setbacks in recent months. During the summer they tried to cut the Panamerican Highway and capture the small town of La Trinidad in the north; in the central region of Chontales they claimed they would set up a provisional government; and in the south the last base of Eden Pastora's ARDE, at Sarapiquí, was taken. Meanwhile, US ambassadors to Central America have been studying a paper, 'The View from Washington', which is pessimistic about their prospects of victory.

There have been some embarrassments, too, for their backers in the CIA. In Britain, Channel 4's 'Diverse Reports' interviewed a former CIA analyst who stated that the contras could not exist without the CIA and were to a large extent the USA's creation. In addition, the US Arms and Foreign Policy Caucus has revealed that all the General Staff of the contra alliance are ex-members of ousted dictator Somoza's National Guard.

Nevertheless, with some 9,000 contras ranged against Nicaragua, heavily armed and financed, the crisis is deepening. Contras are most active in key areas of coffee, timber and beef on which the economy depends. The US embargo is biting, exports have been severely hit, the GDP is falling after the initial boom following agrarian reform, and prices are now rising much faster than wages. Acute shortages of essentials and intense black market activity by the bourgeoisie who support the contras are among the reasons for the inflation.

Nicaraguans expect a US invasion and the country is on permanent alert. However, the invasion is already taking place in a way the world hardly notices. External aggression where families are kidnapped and tortured, health and literacy workers are decapitated and buses are ambushed, and internal destabi-

lisation by the middle class achieve the same as an invasion but more subtly. Or, at least, that is the plan as in Angola and Mozambique. The war is tough and drains over half the country's expenditure, so that radical grassroots projects flounder through lack of funds and resources. Recent contra atrocities have included armed attacks from Honduras, a grenade explosion in an Ocotol dance-hall, rocket attacks on the passenger boat to Bluefields, the massacre of a group of mothers from Leon visiting their sons in the army, and the murder of several local officials in a town in Chontales.

With some 4,000 people killed by the contras in the last few years and a huge international campaign of disinformation spearheaded by Reagan, the bourgeois opposition is calling for dialogue with the contras and urging young people to evade military service. With the contras better armed and financed, life fighting in the mountains is very tough for young Nicaraguan women and men. The Cardinal of Managua, who recently celebrated mass for contra leaders in Miami, is touring the country calling for negotiations with the CIA forces.

This is the context in which the elected government has felt forced to call a state of emergency. It should not be imagined, though, that this means a 'police state'. In Nicaragua arms have been handed over to the people: thus ordinary people have the best safeguard, the fact that they – not some armed elite – have the

# NICARAGUAN STATE OF EMERGENCY



Two contras captured by Sandinista soldiers

guns for their own defence in neighbourhoods, farms and workplaces. The arming of the people is a guarantee of real democratic rights and of the confidence the government has in the people's support. The restrictions imposed last month are aimed at the economically powerful, the friends of the USA.

Ray Hooker, the National Assembly representative for Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast, said in Lambeth recently: 'Our people have begun to walk on free-

dom's highway. Once you have begun there is no other way to go. To be alive and not to be afraid of dying is the only way to live. To be alive and to be thirsty for freedom is the way to fight for the freedom of all...

'... Our people have begun to taste the fruits of freedom. For the people of a small country the price of freedom is greater day by day. So far we have been asked to pay only the interest. Soon we will have to pay the total cost.'

**Martin Spafford**

*Mike Webber adds:* On 16 October the BBC World Service told its listeners that the 'reimposition' of the state of emergency had 'taken the entire nation by surprise'. What must have surprised the Nicaraguan people was the BBC's suggestion that a state of emergency did not exist in their country until the Sandinistas declared one.

Contrary to the BBC's claims, most 'civil rights' remain in force after Ortega's declaration. They include the right of the Nicaraguan people to determine their own destiny, and to decent food, health, education, housing and land reform – all of which the CIA's mercenaries would destroy. The 'civil rights' adversely affected by the new decree are primarily the 'right' of the bourgeois daily *La Prensa* to publish lies that endanger national security and the 'right' of businessmen to contact contra leaders without having their phones tapped or their mail opened (the BBC did not see fit to mention that these practices were common in both Britain and the USA).

## The Politics of Starvation

On returning from a trip to famine-stricken regions of Africa, Bob Geldof caused a huge uproar in the EEC when he exposed the hypocrisy and irrationality of their Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). 'This place needs a laxative' he said, to clear out the mountains of food from its bureaucratic bowels. He went some way to providing that laxative. The CAP creates and finances huge food mountains while 150 million people in the world – 30 million in Africa alone – face hunger. Yet today the world has the means to feed 12 billion people – 3 times the current world population.

Since 1977 imperialist exploitation of Africa has caused the price of African exports to drop by about 50%. As these export prices fall, Africa is forced to borrow more money to pay the very transnational corporations which monopolise the food trade world-wide. In 1973 countries in the Saharan region of Africa paid out \$470 million to service their debts. By 1982 this figure had increased to \$3.2 billion.

Twenty years ago Africa was able to feed itself. Today it is forced to concentrate more and more of its production into overseas exports in order even to keep pace with the huge burden of interest repayments it must make to service its debts. In total Africa owes over \$170 billion. Each year it must pay out \$15.6 bn just on interest. Such is the strength of the stranglehold on Africa that, even if its original debt remained the same, it would have to pay \$300 bn in principal and interest repayments over the next decade to completely repay its debts.

Africa's debts stem from the fact that 80% of the world's food trade is monopolised by a handful of huge transnational corporations: for example, ITT, Gulf and Western, Procter & Gamble, Unilever, Warner Lambert and Colgate Palmolive. Out of the 188 corporations which control food productions in the non-socialist world, only 98 are exclusively involved in the production of food. The rest go into food production solely to strengthen their monopoly of world trade, in general and thereby diversify and expand their enormous profits. Incidentally, 11 of these transnationals – Ford, Fiat and Massey-Fergusson in particular – also monopolise the production and supply of the agricultural equipment essential to the production of the food itself.

Louise Wells

## THE US-SOVIET SUMMIT

**It is obvious to everyone that the most important issue between the US imperialists and the Soviet Union is the nuclear arms race. The United States wants to begin a new stage, militarising outer space. The Soviet Union has made proposals for major cuts in nuclear weapons and a halt to Star Wars.**

The US imperialists do not want an agreement with the USSR which would prevent them from achieving superiority or which would seriously reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons. They are only holding a summit meeting with the USSR, only engaging in negotiations, with the aim of keeping Washington's imperialist allies in line: 'an exercise in alliance management' as one Reagan official put it. While all the other imperialists hate and fear the Soviet Union, their own self-interest makes them reluctant to be incinerated at Washington's whim. The US plan for these negotiations is to make unacceptable demands on the Soviets, to refuse any compromise, to blame the Soviet Union for the ensuing breakdown of talks, and to proceed with the originally planned escalation of the arms race, having 'proved' its necessity due to 'Soviet intransigence'.

A steady procession of envoys has flown the Atlantic to soothe nervous NATO members, and to hypnotise them by dangling billions of dollars worth of Star Wars contracts in front of their greedy eyes. The lie machine has

been cranked up with US Secretary of Defense Weinberger alleging Soviet violations of arms control agreements. Reagan has absurdly suggested sharing Star Wars technology with the Soviet Union – at the same time as US capitalists are jailed for selling computers to the USSR!

In the face of the Soviet proposals the US administration has brought forward a counter-proposal. It is nothing more than a rehash of ideas first floated in May 1982, which would give the US a threefold advantage in nuclear weapons. Nobody can reasonably expect the USSR to accept such one-sided proposals.

US imperialism is determined to gain nuclear superiority in order to weaken the socialist countries and the global anti-imperialist struggle. Only by uniting in an anti-imperialist movement that defends the Soviet Union can those who oppose the imperialist war drive turn it back. This means breaking the smothering embrace of the Labour Party and CND leadership.

Steve Palmer

## CARIBBEAN CIRCUS

As an exercise in public humiliation, the BBC and British Foreign Office sponsored Royal Tour of the Caribbean this autumn was exemplary. Centuries of careful grooming and training brought the circus spectacle to perfection. The crowning performance was Her Majesty's opening of the Grenadian Parliament, 'restoring democracy to the people'; freedom and dignity has been traded for a fancy dress and 'Dynasty'.

Behind the painted facade and out of camera shot is the ugly reality of a Caribbean septic with unemployment, derelict sugar mills and malnutrition while tourism, casinos, drug trafficking and off-shore banking run rife. Ceremonial smiles were always the favoured face of the colonial criminals.

Grenadian unemployment is now 40 per cent. While the mental hospital, bombed by the invaders in 1983 killing over 40 patients, has not been rebuilt, real estate sharks are advertising property at \$1 million and \$2 million dollars a house, far beyond the reach of Grenadians. Meanwhile the mentally sick are left to roam without hospital care, and prostitution, crime and police killings have been 'restored'.

The same bitter facts are told across the Caribbean as transnational corporations force down bauxite, oil, sugar and banana prices. Oxfam reports the cost of living rising by 67 per cent a year in Jamaica with wages held to 15 per cent. Basic food needs for an average Jamaican family cost \$144 a week, twice the wage of sugar workers in the peak cropping season! The average Jamaican wage is now \$2 a day, a dollar less than in Haiti! And still last year 30,000 Jamaicans were sacked in keeping with IMF policies. Jamaican unemployment is over 30 per cent, in St Vincent it is 45 per cent, Barbados 20 per cent...

Accompanying the economic ruin, ceremonies of a more macabre kind

have made a comeback. Jamaica has ignored pleas from Amnesty International to end executions, hanging has been restored to St Kitts and Belize, forty people wait on death row in Guyana; Trinidad & Tobago has recommenced signing death warrants, and St Lucia has retrieved the cat o' nine tails from the museum.

Of course, the enforcement of such conditions breeds resistance. The past year has seen Jamaica's first general strike in 47 years and a mass uprising. Naturally, the British army has returned to train there and Jamaican troops are training in Britain. Should such puppets prove insufficient, this September the Royal Navy, Airforce and army joined US forces in exercise 'Exotic Palm' when they practised overthrowing a make-believe revolutionary government supported by Carumba and Nigarra (read Cuba and Nicaragua) from St Lucia.

Further exercises are planned for Antigua and Barbuda, where the leader of the left Caribbean Liberation Movement is already in gaol for pointing out that a member of the Antiguan cabinet was arrested at Miami airport with \$2 million in his suitcase. He had obviously forgotten the lesson that you must never interrupt the Imperial parade by seeing through its majestic robes.

Trevor Rayne

# UNDERSTANDING MARXISM

## THE CHARTISTS

When Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848 their view of the working class as a revolutionary class was influenced by the Chartist movement in Britain. The *National Charter Association* was founded in July 1840 and was the first mass working class party in the history of the labour movement. It had about 50,000 members in the years of the rise of the Chartist movement and its supporters ran into hundreds of thousands.

Chartism began as a movement against the political betrayals by the bourgeoisie in the Reform Act of 1832. That Act gave the representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie access to parliament. The working class and the radical petty bourgeoisie who had been the main force in the struggle for reform were not given the vote. However, it was the particularly harsh economic conditions of Britain in the 1830s and 1840s which were decisive in turning Chartism into a mass militant working class movement which for a period of years was powerful enough to threaten revolution.

In the 1830s the working classes had fought hard and failed to achieve the ten hour working day. They had joined trade unions in large numbers only to see them crushed by the combined action of the government, the courts and the employers. And in 1836-7 they were beginning to fight against the introduction of the New Poor Law into industrial areas. Outdoor Parish assistance was denied to all 'able bodied persons'. They would now only get assistance in new 'workhouses' and then only under worse conditions than the most unpleasant means of earning a living outside. The conditions were vicious, involving the splitting up of families and segregation of the sexes under a rigid disciplinary regime. The Poor Law was administered by Boards of Guardians mainly drawn from the propertied classes. It was fought by methods of mass resistance and often the houses of those who agreed to serve as Guardians were attacked.

Given this background a movement, which began around the *People's Charter* (a series of demands to give votes to all adult males and equal access to parliament) composed chiefly of workers though not yet sharply distinguished from the radical bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, soon emerged as a 'working men's cause freed from all bourgeois elements' (Engels).

Initially there were three factions in the Chartist movement. They were divided into the 'moral force' and 'physical force' schools. The former consisted of the more prosperous workers, artisans, printers and working craftsmen who argued that Chartism must remain strictly within constitutional limits and no attempt must be made to gain its ends by force. The 'physical force' faction divided into two. It consisted of a radical petty bourgeois current which had the slogan 'peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must' and the revolutionary wing of Chartism which regarded physical rebellion as the only possible way of winning the *People's Charter*. Marx and Engels pointed out that it was the 'mass of workers' who lived in 'truly proletarian conditions' who belonged to the revolutionary Chartist faction.

Hunger and hatred of the ruling class were the forces that made Chartism a mass movement of the working class. People were called upon to arm themselves and frequently urged to revolt. Police stations were often attacked and prisoners released. Armed clashes with soldiers and police took place. Of note were the Newport rising 1839 and the Manchester uprising 1842 — the latter precipitated by wage cuts by the mill owners. Both were brutally suppressed.

What was important for Marx and Engels in the Chartist movement was its roots in the lower strata of society — the truly proletarian masses. They saw in Chartism's spontaneous insurrectionist tendencies the necessary foundation for every revolutionary working class movement. Marx and Engels did not condemn the violence of the Chartists. Indeed in answer to a Berlin newspaper which alleged that the Chartists were always fighting each other Marx replied:

'If you had only once read an English newspaper, esteemed Berlin paper! You would have made the discovery that the Chartists have always had more fun in beating up the police than each other.'

David Reed

# Prior Report undermines prisoners' victories

Last month saw the publication of *Report of the Committee on the Prison Disciplinary System* — the **Prior Committee Report**. The setting up of this committee was the Home Office's response to the series of victories won by prisoners against the long-discredited kangaroo-court system of prison adjudications. The successful and determined legal campaigns conducted by prisoners — especially those by Albany/Wormwood Scrubs prisoners in 1983 (the Tarrant/Leyland case) and the Irish POWs (the Fell/Campbell case in 1983) — were entirely responsible for any actual reform of the prison disciplinary system. This fact cannot be overstated and is studiously ignored in bourgeois press comment.

The prisoners' victories established a discretionary right of legal representation in Board of Visitors' adjudications. Over the years prisoners, at great risk to themselves, have exposed to the world the unjust and arbitrary character of these adjudications. Prisoners forced the Home Office to retreat. However, the Prior Committee has confined that retreat to the shortest distance possible.

## 'Independent' Tribunals

The Report recommends that Board of Visitors no longer conduct adjudications. They propose instead an 'independent' Tribunal with a circuit judge as President — appointed by the Lord Chancellor; regional chairmen (sic) appointed by the Lord Chancellor; and two lay members on each panel appointed by the Tribunal President. The 'independence' is simply that there would be no formal links with the prison system. Neither prisoners nor the people will have any control over who these 'appointees' are.

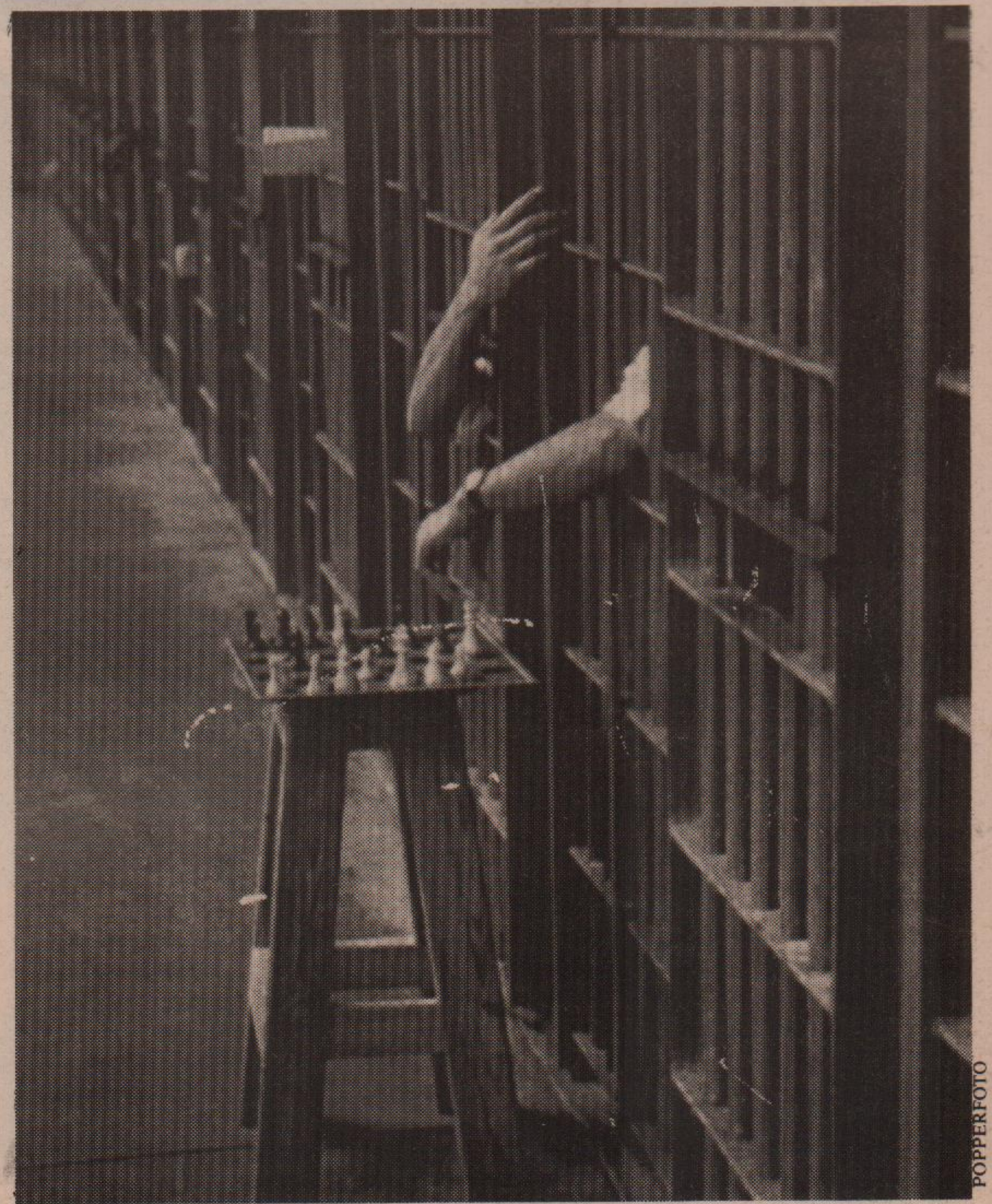
The Report refuses to extend legal representation beyond the limits already won by prisoners. The Committee unanimously rejected — sympathetically of course — granting prisoners their fundamental democratic right to legal representation. The battle for representa-

tion as of right must therefore continue to be fought.

The Report recommends no significant change in Governors' adjudications. In a passage of breathtaking fantasy, the Report declares: 'There is in our minds no evidence whatever to indicate that [Governors] misuse the powers at present available to them...' (*Report*, para 8.60). Members of the Committee who should know better, such as Vivien Stern and Trevor Philips, should be ashamed of themselves for putting their names to such rubbish. Governors will continue to be able to dish out up to 28 days loss of remission, solitary confinement, loss of 'privileges' to prisoners they do not like. The Report does recommend a right of appeal to the Tribunal against awards of more than 7 days loss of remission. How willing the 'independent' Tribunals will be to oppose Governors, however, is a matter of speculation.

## Maximum penalties

The Report also makes recommendations about maximum penalties and the code of offences. On penalties, the Report reduces loss of remission on any one charge to 120 days and 180 days on cumulative charges. This is a real step forward. It also recommends the abolition of the mutiny charge — so success-



Above, on death row in Florida. In its Annual Global Report published this month, Amnesty International has revealed horrifying figures for the numbers of prisoners awaiting execution in US gaols. 1,540 men and women are currently waiting to be judicially murdered in gaols across the US. 17 prisoners had been executed by August this year alone and 21 last year. This compares with a national total of 2 executions per year over the previous 6 years.

fully discredited by Albany prisoners in 1983. However it recommends a new *criminal* offence of prison mutiny triable in outside courts with a maximum penalty of ten years imprisonment. This is a real step backwards and should be vigorously opposed. There will also be a new prison offence of 'taking part in a concerted act of indiscipline' (*Report*, para 7.34). This is designed to get round the problem of evidence in relation to a mutiny charge and could cover the most passive act of 'indiscipline' such as refusing a single meal as a protest.

It is impossible to detail all the Report's recommendations here. FRFI will cover them in full if and when the government seek to implement the Report. It is clear that the Report confirms that prisoners cannot depend on real or alleged liberals to defend their rights. The progressive elements of the Report are entirely due to the resistance mounted by prisoners. The lesson is clear: prisoners must continue to develop their own organisation to resist prison barbarity and defend their rights.

## Terry O'Halloran

to behaviour modification programmes designed for use on 'disturbed adolescents' by one of AMI's leading psychiatrists, Dr Gavin Tennent. If patients behave in an anti-social way — for example, if they complain a lot — they will be punished by withdrawal of meals. They will have to 'win basic rights by good behaviour'.

The programme which will be used on 'difficult to place adults' detained under the Mental Health Act, has been criticised by the Mental Health Commission, MIND (National Association for Mental Health) and the Children's Health Centre. Local psychiatrists have also voiced concern about the regime.

A victory was won this month by a 32 year old woman who was detained under Section 3 of the Mental Health Act. This section allows 1 social worker and 2 doctors to recommend 'treatment' on any man or woman they think is mentally unsound and this detention can last for up to 6 months at a stretch.

The woman, who had committed no offence, applied to have her case investigated by the Mental Health Tribunal, but the date for review was 1 day before her release date. After pressure from the woman and MIND the tribunal was forced into reviewing her case on 24 October, 2 months before her release date.

MIND has said that many more people held under the Act have made complaints about their prolonged detention. The delay is put down to staff shortages and increased use of the Mental Health Review Tribunal. In 1982 applications for review were 1,326, in 1984 they were 3,507.

# 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.

- Brendan Dowd**, 758662, HMP Welford Road, Leicester, LE2 7AJ. 17 November
- Andy Mulryan**, 461576, HMP Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcester-shire, WR11 5TZ. 18 November
- James Bennett**, 464989, HMP Long Lartin (see above). 4 December
- Liam Baker**, 464984, HMP Hedon Road, Hull, North Humberside, HU9 5LS (last known location). 6 December
- Hugh Doherty**, 338636, HMP Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX. 7 December
- Noel Gibson**, 879225, HMP Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX (last known location). 11 December
- William Armstrong**, 119085, HMP Albany (last known location). 26 December

We send our best wishes to Irish POWs Sean Kinsella and Vince Donnelly. Sean has been ghosted from Frankland to Strangeways and is now in Wakefield. Vince has been ghosted from Wakefield to Leeds, and is now in Frankland.

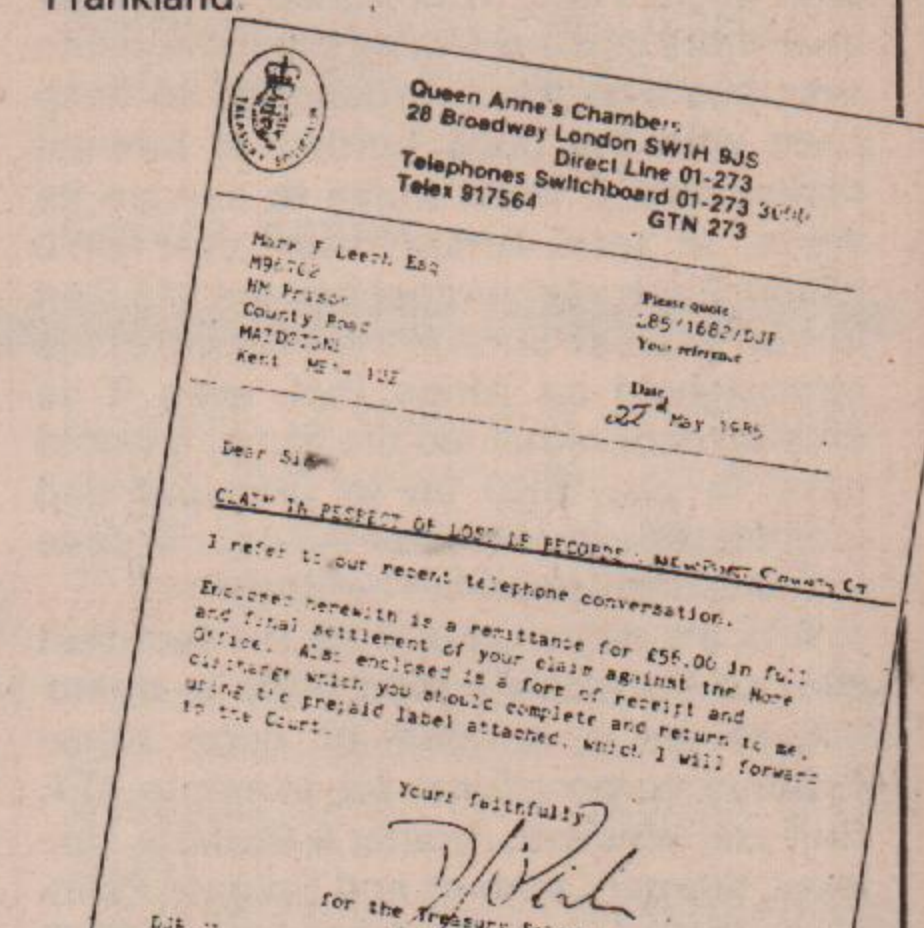
# INSIDE NEWS

On 28 September two prisoners, Philip Rutherford and Mark Hogg, escaped whilst being transferred from Exeter to Wandsworth prison. They were re-captured and eight days later on 5 October Mark Hogg (aged 33) was dead. The Home Office refused to comment on the cause of Mark's death saying it was 'a matter for the coroner'. His family were first told Mark 'had been under the weather with a cold' and later that he died of kidney failure. His brother-in-law queried both these causes saying that when he visited Mark on 26 September he was 'fighting fit'. The Hogg family were right to be suspicious. For Philip Rutherford has since testified to a severe beating he saw police officers giving Mark Hogg outside his cell at Yeovil police station after they had been re-captured. Philip stated that Mark was handcuffed behind his back, kicked and punched by 7 or 8 officers. He heard one officer say 'It doesn't matter if you kill him'.

We know it doesn't matter to police or prison officers that they maim and murder prisoners, but it matters to Mark Hogg's family, his wife and 5 year old son. His father said 'We won't rest until we get the truth. But we know what the end result will be. A whitewash'. Needless to say, none of the officers accused of the beating have been suspended and the whitewash is underway as 'senior police officers from the Gloucestershire Constabulary' investigate his death 'under supervision of the Police Complaints Authority'. FRFI sends condolences to Mark Hogg's family and solidarity in their fight for the truth about Mark's death.

American Medical International's secure unit in Cambridgeshire is Britain's first private secure unit for men and women said to be mentally disturbed. These people are locked up, against their will and the local health authorities are charged £650 a week for each person. AMI's unit will make a profit of at least £1.8 million a year from the NHS.

The patients/prisoners will be subjected



Greetings and thanks to Mark Leech in HMP Lewes. Mark, a law student, has written an article, 'Prisoners and the County Court' in which he shows clearly how prisoners can take legal action against the prison system when their property is 'lost' or damaged during transfers. Above is a letter to Mark with payment for £56 against the Home Office!

This valuable information is available on request to all prisoners from FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX. Alexa Byrne

# HANDS OFF IRELAND!

## SINN FEIN

### ARD FHEIS: 'WE WILL RESIST'

Sinn Fein's 1985 Ard Fheis took place against the background of the impending Anglo-Irish agreement. With the Thatcher/FitzGerald meeting rumoured to be fixed for 18 November the probable content of an agreement is becoming clear: the setting up of a council which would allow the Twenty Six County government to comment on British policy in the North in return for even greater British/Twenty Six County co-operation in repressing the Republican Movement. As Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said:

'The dangers of the present talks lie ... in their intention of putting a diplomatic veneer on British rule and injecting a credibility to constitutional nationalism so that British rule and its interests can be stabilised in the long term.'

He warned that as part of its efforts to isolate Sinn Fein the British government could be expected to ban Sinn Fein.

Heated debate took place at the Ard Fheis on the issue of the Republican Movement's traditional policy of electoral abstentionism. A motion, supported by Tom Hartley (Joint General Secretary) calling for abstentionism to become a tac-

it rather than a principle was defeated by 181 to 161 votes. Prolonged cheering followed this decision. A related motion which would have allowed Sinn Fein to register as a political party in the South was deferred for reconsideration next year.

The full support of the Ard Fheis for the armed struggle was made clear repeatedly. The appearance of an IRA volunteer got an enthusiastic reception. A resolution was passed stating that any elected Sinn Fein candidate who criticises the IRA must immediately resign and be disciplined.

Amongst other social and political issues Sinn Fein policy on abortion was

debated. A motion to accept a woman's right to choose abortion was passed by 77 to 73 votes. Sinn Fein now has the most progressive policy on this issue of any major political party in Ireland.

With increased state repression looming North and South, with the loyalists uttering their sectarian war cries, this year's Ard Fheis showed the nationalist people and the Republican Movement determined to fight on. As the IRA volunteer put it:

'... we will resist until the last British soldier has left. The Anglo-Irish talks will not stop us'.

Maxine Williams

## Twenty Six Counties for sale

The economy of the Twenty Six Counties faces an unprecedented crisis. Whilst poverty and unemployment grow (234,981 people are unemployed, 17.8% of the population) huge profits are being extracted from the South. A survey by the Industrial Development Authority (analysing the 1983 situation) showed that the average profit from foreign firms was 16.5%, with US firms boasting a 22% profit.

Successive governments have laid the South wide open to imperialist plunder, offering foreign firms huge grants, tax free periods and the lowest wages in the EEC. The result is that:

- There are now over 860 subsidiaries of foreign companies operating in Ireland and just under half of all manufacturing jobs are in these firms.
- Foreign firms control 62% of all chemicals, 58% of metals and engineering electronics.
- In 1983 £792m profit was made by these firms of which over £600m was repatriated abroad.

Alongside this goes a national debt which now stands at over IR£20 billion of which nearly half is owed to foreign imperialist banks. The cost of interest and capital repayment in 1985 will equal the sum expected to be raised in income tax.

Fully collaborating in this imperialist looting of Ireland, the Twenty Six Counties ruling class is meeting growing discontent and protest by the people with repressive laws, police attack and an ever more open alliance with British imperialism.

Maxine Williams

# Torture returns to Castlereagh

Reports of RUC torture are once again coming out of Castlereagh, Gough and other barracks in the Six Counties. The methods are the same as those used in the 1976-79 period of government-condoned, institutionalised torture of detainees under Kenneth Newman, then Chief Constable of the RUC. They include: punching and kicking (including the groin and head); ear and head slapping; finger prodding; long periods of enforced standing; the knocking away of chairs from under detainees; lifting by the hair; head banging on walls and desk; and death threats.

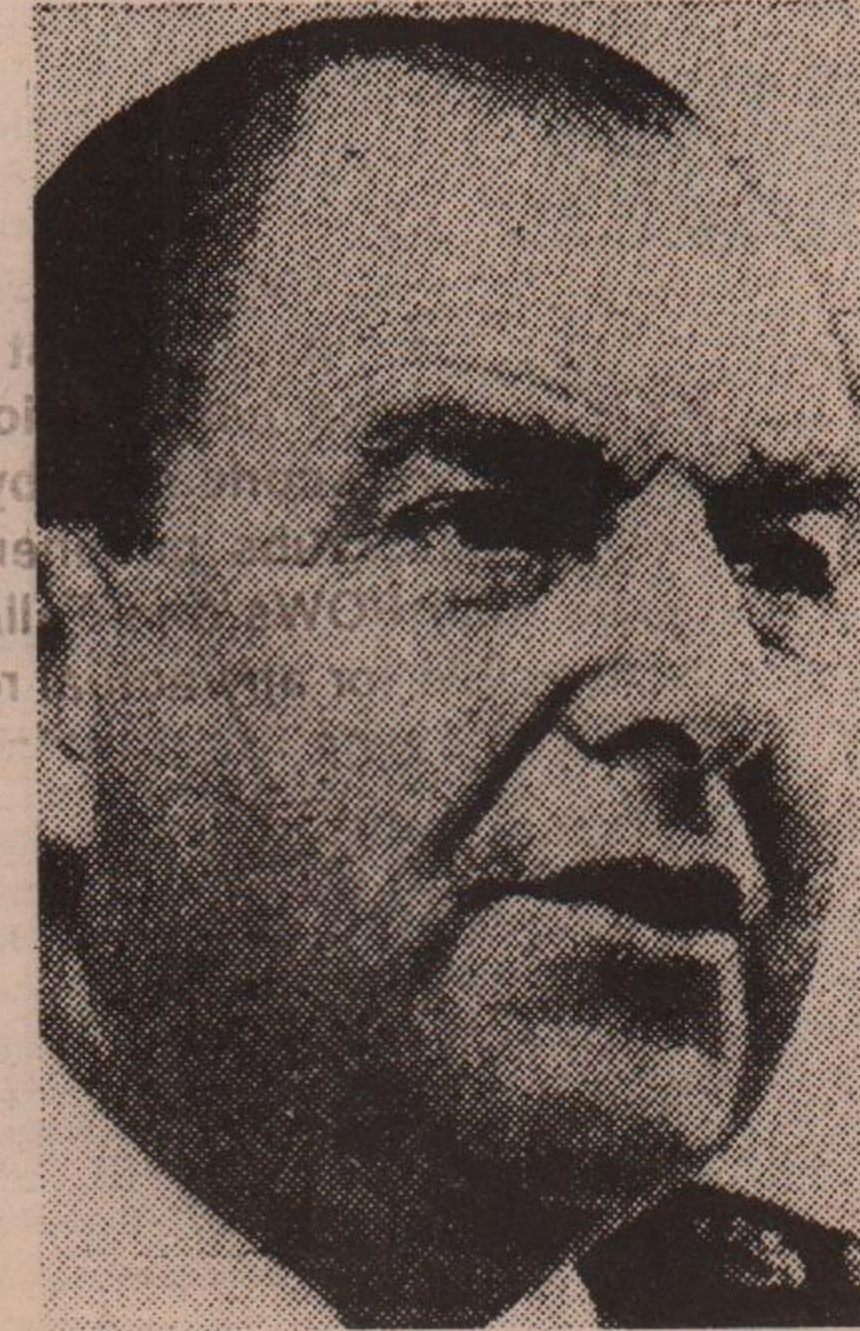
The torture institutionalised by Newman had the purpose of extracting 'confessions' which would provide the sole evidence on which to convict nationalists and remove them from circulation. From July 1976 to November 1979 5,067 suspects were questioned at Castlereagh alone - 1,864 were charged and 3,103 were released. Following the exposure of this torture in well-documented reports by Amnesty International, London Weekend Television's *Weekend World* and finally the government's own Bennett Report, the torture strategy was ended.

In place of tortured 'confessions', the British government brought in the informer strategy. The perjured statements of paid supergrass have goaled hundreds of innocents. In the most recent example, the RUC arrested Angela

Whoriskey, a 25 year old single parent from Derry on 19 October, charging her with the murder of an RUC officer. On 15 October 14 people were detained, including Philomena Little who was separated from her 5 day old baby. 12 have been charged on the basis of alleged statements by Whoriskey. Nevertheless, as a result of the successful Stop the Show Trials mobilisation, the growing public outcry in Britain and a series of defeats in the courts, the informer strategy has been seriously weakened. It comes as no surprise therefore to see the RUC returning to outright torture.

The experience of Michael McCrory, one of 20 arrested in Belfast on 1 October, is becoming typical. He was held at Castlereagh for seven days and repeatedly beaten in interrogation sessions lasting several hours. Apart from a brief

respite at night the longest break he had from this torture was one hour. He was subjected to finger prodding; repeated elbowing to the kidneys, chest and head; repeated banging of his head on the desk; he was flung off his chair to the ground and kicked all over. From day 2 onwards, McCrory, who suffers from diabetes, had severe chest pains. The RUC doctor diagnosed very high blood pressure. The interrogators then used this information to try to kill him, by raising the pressure on him and even leaning the full weight of an RUC man onto his chest over his heart. McCrory maintained his silence throughout. His torturers offered him £50,000 and a new identity to become an informer, and finally, in their frustration at his stead-



fastness they gave him his worst beating on the seventh day, hours before his release on 8 October.

Similar reports have come from other Castlereagh detainees and from Gough Barracks. Action must be taken now to stop the re-emergence of institutionalised torture.

Tony Sheridan

## Free the Birmingham 6

Eleven years after six innocent Irish men were goaled for life for the Birmingham pub bombings, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd has been forced by a World in Action television programme about the case to order a review of the new evidence. The programme exposed the police/court conspiracy which led to the frame-up.

In the wave of anti-Irish hysteria following the bombings the police desperately needed a rapid arrest and conviction. The six were initially arrested simply because five of them were travelling to Ireland to attend an IRA volunteer's funeral. The case then constructed relied on two crucial factors: confessions (subsequently retracted) and forensic tests allegedly proving traces of explosives on two of the men's hands.

*World in Action* demolished both these points. The six have consistently maintained that the confessions were beaten out of them by the police. But at the trial their evidence of police assault was discounted and the confessions ruled admissible largely because the marks from the police beating had been conveniently covered up by the ferocious assault they suffered on arrival at Winson Green prison. Nobody disputed that they had been beaten but ... who beat them? The answer varied according to the convenience of the courts: at the six's trial the police had *not* beaten them so their confessions held; at the 1976 trial of the prison warders who beat them up, it was *not* the warders - they were acquitted; finally when the six took legal action against the police for assault it was once again ... not the police - the action was not allowed. *World in Action* revealed hitherto secret state-

ments by the warders which admitted the beating but said that the six were already black and blue when they arrived in prison. A forensic medicine expert told *World in Action* that he could identify from a series of photos of the men, marks of the separate police and warder beatings.

The forensic evidence of explosives was also disproved by the programme which commissioned two experts to do the same tests on a series of common substances. Varnished wood, cigarette packets and playing cards produced the same positive result as explosives! Five of the men had been playing cards on the night of their arrest.

So, for playing cards, for travelling to Ireland, for being beaten up, most of all for being Irish, six men have spent eleven years in gaol. To his shame Roy Jenkins, Labour Home Secretary in 1974, appeared on the *World in Action* programme saying the case should be re-investigated. At the time he wasn't so bothered about justice, he simply used the anti-Irish feeling to rush through the PTA.

The Birmingham Six must be freed! The programme has given a boost to the campaign for them but now it must be followed up to ensure that, at long last, they get justice.

Pauline Sellars

## Sinn Fein attacked

As the British and Irish governments conspire to undermine the Republican Movement, repression on the streets of the Six Counties has targeted Sinn Fein officers and other nationalists.

● On 5 October the Director of Publicity for Derry Sinn Fein, Seamus Keenan, was beaten up by RUC thugs at Strand Road Barracks. Three assaults left him with a fractured jaw and extensive bruising.

● The same evening, a joint army/RUC raiding party occupied the home of Dungannon Sinn Fein member, Tony McShane, in his absence. Floorboards were lifted, wooden panelling prised open, property scattered around and his wife threatened with a crowbar before the uniformed terrorists departed, leaving her with three frightened young children.

● For a year now 22-year-old John Wray has been the victim of constant army/RUC harassment. In the latest incident on 8 October, death threats were sprayed on the wall of the Wray's home. John's brother James was killed by British paratroopers on Bloody Sunday 1972.

● On 13 October the RUC deliberately provoked a confrontation outside St Enda's GAA Club, Omagh in the early hours. Within moments they were firing plastic bullets, injuring nationalist Declan Gormley in the face.

● At Gough Barracks, Armagh, the RUC chose a 55-year-old woman to abuse. Mrs Josephine Magorrian's treatment caused dangerously high blood pressure, yet her interrogation continued and she was taunted about her dead son, Volunteer Paul, shot dead by the army 11 years ago.

● Four children were detained in Lurgan barracks and questioned about a shooting incident. When one girl nervously bit her fingernails, she was hit by an RUC 'man'.

● Returning to Belfast from the Ard Fheis, Gerry Adams was stopped and assaulted by the RUC.

Beth Summers

## END STRIP SEARCHING IN BRIXTON AND ARMAGH

In spite of repeated and persistent protest to the Home Office and the governor of Brixton prison, the obscene body and strip searching of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson continues. The women, along with 9 men, face charges arising from the PTA swoops in June and are being held in Brixton Prison.

In a letter to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* Ella O'Dwyer reports:

'During September Martina Anderson and myself were forced to undergo the following searches: Martina had 18 strip searches, and I had 16. Each of us had at least 116 body searches... Body searches are as distressing as strip searches. They involve having one's entire body mauled, hair, mouth, ears and inside the trousers.'

The women emphasise that their suffering highlights the obscenity of the degrading strip searches of Republican women prisoners in Armagh gaol, a practice now entering its fourth year.

To publicise and protest about what is happening in Brixton and Armagh prisons, London ISCs have called a picket of Fleet Street. Support the picket AND send protest letters to the Home Office and Brixton Prison.

Louise Wells

Picket of Fleet Street  
END STRIP SEARCHING NOW!  
END CENSORSHIP NOW!  
Wednesday 4 December, 5.15pm  
Meet outside Daily Express Offices

# REVIEWS

## Pure Theory versus National Liberation

South Africa: the road to revolution. Alex Callinicos, Socialist Workers Party, 34pp, 85p

South Africa: Black blood on British hands. Charles Longford, Junius Publications, 64pp, £1.50

The upsurge in any struggle will bring forth a wealth of propaganda material offering analysis and comment. The deepening of the crisis in South Africa and the courageous fight being waged by the black masses is no exception. Two pamphlets have appeared in the last two months in Britain, both published by Trotskyist organisations, the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, offering alternative ways forward for the movement in South Africa and the solidarity movement in Britain.

At the heart of British Trotskyism is adherence to the theory of Permanent Revolution—in summary, that all struggles for democratic rights in the imperialist epoch are reducible and subordinate to the struggle between the workers and capital. National liberation struggles are therefore, by definition, backward. Any alliance of the working class with other oppressed forces to achieve democratic rights is either irrelevant or reactionary. The hallmark of British Trotskyism, the purest of pure theory, is that it entitles its disciples to lecture other nations,

especially oppressed nations, on how they should conduct their struggles. Both these pamphlets place the theory of Permanent Revolution at the centre of their arguments.

The SWP pamphlet, *South Africa: the road to revolution* devotes 31 of its 34 pages to a detailed history of apartheid and a critique of the struggle in South Africa. We offer here only a small taste of the SWP's pure theory.



'Armed struggle will be needed to destroy the apartheid regime, but it will succeed only when it is based on the collective strength of the black working class. Community-based actions cannot fully mobilise that strength. Stay-aways do not involve workplace organisation, but depend on community activists blocking the exits to the townships.'

This flies in the face of reality. The tremendously successful stay-away in the Transvaal in October 1984 was organised around the following programme:

- the army and police should withdraw from the townships
- the community councillors should resign
- the increase in rent and bus fares should be withdrawn
- Detainees and political prisoners should be released
- Dismissed workers should be reinstated
- General Sales Tax and other unfair taxes should be abolished
- Democratically elected students' representative councils should be established in schools

This programme united 800,000 workers and around 400,000 students in action. SASOL and ISCOR, two giant state-run industries, were brought to a standstill. This action entirely surpassed any 'workplace' action and would be good enough for any revolutionary, you would think. Regardless, the SWP's lecture continues:

...an alternative political leadership would be necessary, an organised network of revolutionary activists rooted in the black working class. Such a party would need to involve itself in the daily struggles of black workers in the independent unions, but constantly argue that these struggles can succeed only if the power built up in the workplaces is used against the state itself.'

It seems that the masses of South Africa are in advance of the SWP by at least a year in practice, and several light years in advance in experience. What is more, that experience is in line, not with Trotskyist dogma, but with Lenin's view of continuous revolution and the necessity for alliances, however temporary, between the working class and other oppressed sections in the struggle. The breadth of support of the whole community has been vital to the real successes achieved by the movement in South Africa. The revolutionary process does not, of course, stop there. The working class will be the leading force in the South African revolution, just as they were in the Russian revolution. But the revolu-

tionary process began in Russia with an alliance between the working class and the landless peasants against the Tsarist autocracy. British Trotskyism, on the other hand, requires that you climb mountains by beginning at the top—that the revolution is a pure workers' struggle.

The counterpart of the SWP's idealist lecturing to the South African masses on how to conduct their struggle is their refusal to take part in the political battle now being fought by anti-imperialists in the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The question of solidarity in Britain merits only 3½ pages in their pamphlet.



The Revolutionary Communist Party's pamphlet, *Black Blood on British hands*, offers a more intellectual and sophisticated version, revolving around the call for sanctions. The argument they present runs as follows: to call for sanctions is to pressure the ruling class to take action against apartheid; the ruling class is not progressive and will never take action against apartheid; therefore the call for sanctions is reactionary and sows illusions in the bourgeoisie. The way forward is to call for independent action by the workers in the workplace against apartheid. To back this up, they cite the 'long tradition' of British labour movement internationalism dating back to 1860. They then admit that this tradition has been 'deeply buried' for the last 60 years. Who 'deeply buried' it and why is never answered. No wonder, since the theory of Permanent Revolution does not recognise the split in the working class which, by the way, matured in Britain 60 years ago and is now a crucial question for the British working class.

According to Charles Longford, author of the RCP pamphlet, the current strategy of the Anti-Apartheid Movement is alien to the Marxist tradition. In this we agree, but it is hardly an earthshaking criticism of those who would deeply resent any such implication. But Longford goes

on, mobilisation of 'public opinion to put pressure on the state to take action against the South African government' (ie the call for sanctions) 'is damaging the interests of workers in South Africa and Britain'. Unfortunately for the RCP the only people who would agree with them are the imperialists and their stooges—Botha, Thatcher, Butelezi, to name but a few. It is not the first time that the RCP have found themselves in this curious position—during the miners' strike they called for a national ballot alongside Thatcher and Kinnock.

To back up their argument that the workers' struggle against capital is the primary issue, the author distorts Lenin:

'In his later writings on the colonial question Lenin emphasised the need for united action between the working class movements in the West and the backward capitalist countries.'

"This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible." (Lenin, *Draft Theses on national and colonial questions*, CW Vol 31.)

In the *Draft Theses* on the national and colonial questions, Lenin deals with the necessity for alliances between communists and national liberation movements. If we quote the whole paragraph from which the RCP takes its quote, Lenin's meaning is clear. Lenin is not referring to the 'union' of 'working class movements in the West and backward capitalist countries', but to the union of the 'proletarians' and 'the working masses of all nations'.

'the Communist International's entire policy on the national and colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.'

The real import of Lenin's *Draft Theses* is not that the struggle against capitalism is primary over and above the national liberation struggles—that was Trotsky's interpretation—but that the ultimate overthrow of capitalism requires as a precondition the unity of the proletariat and the working masses of all nations in the struggle against national oppression.

What are the practical consequences of the 'pure theory' dished out in these two pamphlets? Interestingly

enough, the SWP has abandoned its former position against sanctions and now admits:

'It would however be a mistake to counterpose working-class solidarity action to broader campaigns for sanctions and disinvestment. Any action against the apartheid regime is to be welcomed. In present circumstances, with Western workers themselves on the defensive in the face of mass unemployment and aggressive ruling-class attacks, this action is more likely to take the form of campaigns such as those waged by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Socialists should actively involve themselves in these campaigns, but at the same time look for every opportunity to win the support of trade unionists in Britain for the South African struggle, for example by collecting money for the independent unions.'

But if the SWP has dropped the anti-sanctions torch, the RCP is only too ready to pick it up. So it is now the SWP which joins mass protests outside the South African Embassy such as the 19 October Surround the Embassy, whilst the RCP offers the pure theory and pours scorn on anyone taking action outside the embassy as opposed to talking about it at the factory gate.

'Workers should not waste their energy on the futile quest to make the West's phoney sanctions bite ... It is high time that workers in Britain followed the example of workers in South Africa and started to take their own initiatives ...'

But beware! If you are not a 'worker' you will undoubtedly incur further scorn from the RCP if you do, indeed, follow the example of the South African masses. Black uprisings in Tottenham, Brixton and Handsworth are 'riots' and the RCP wants nothing to do with them (see *Round the Left* below).

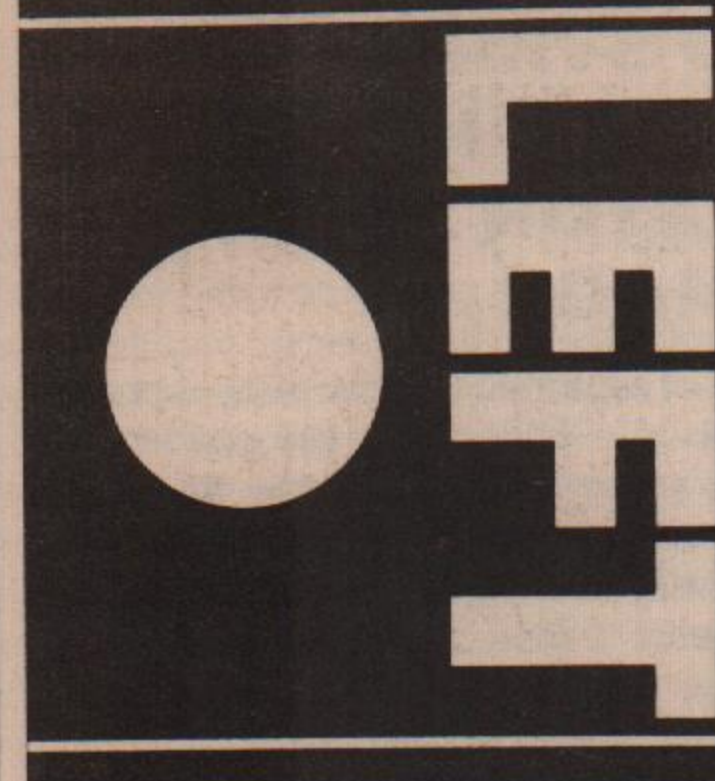
A further word of warning, for prospective readers: the SWP has not abandoned its anti-Soviet stance it has merely modified its practice in the face of objective reality. Their pamphlet closes with the following gratuitous insult to the Soviet people:

'The beast which produced apartheid has many faces—Botha in South Africa, Thatcher in Britain, Reagan in America, Gorbachev in Russia—but it is the same system everywhere.'

Readers who respect objective truth should watch out!

Carol Brickley

## AROUNDthe



### The SWP's political censorship

City AA's 19 October 'Surround the Apartheid Embassy' action was in a real sense a historic event. It was the first mass anti-apartheid action involving thousands of people defying the racist apartheid loving British police since the July state of emergency in South Africa. It set new standards by which to judge future anti-apartheid actions. (For the full report see page 5 of this issue). It is therefore significant that *Socialist Worker's* (26 October 1985) report is devoted to systematically covering up the fact that it was organised by the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. According to *SW*: 'A National Union of Students rally ... was turned into a mass picket of South Africa House when ... more than 3000 students left ... to join a mass sit down.'

The NUS Executive's rally 'turned into' a boring march going as far away from the embassy as they could get. But not before thousands of students left it to join the City AA organised picket of the embassy. They

didn't leave spontaneously, but as a result of organised appeals from City AA. *Socialist Worker* determined to make no mention of City AA whatsoever presented the picket and sit down as an exclusively student action writing 'the police arrested 300 students.' This is false. In fact there were 322 arrests and while many were students, many were not, including members of City AA, the RCG, and many Greenham Common Women.

In a well established City AA tradition whenever anyone is arrested on its activities, a march was organised to Rochester Row Police Station, a rally held and a picket put on the station until everyone was released. *SW* makes no mention of this but refers to the fact that 'about 1,000 students (what about the non-students—EA) marched to Rochester Row ... where a rally was held ... Among the speakers were ... the Socialist Worker Student Society.' This last point was certainly not the most significant of the rally. What was significant as an example of real revolutionary democracy, was that all organisations who came on the demonstration were allowed to address the rally which was organised by City AA and chaired, incidentally, by an RCG member.

Why did *Socialist Worker* fail to mention these vital political facts. Because it suffers from organisational egoism—sectarianism. In sectarian fashion it refuses to admit or acknowledge that effective actions can be organised outside its control, but which it is forced to join. This amounts to political censorship, denying its readership the facts

about the existence of a significant anti-imperialist and democratic trend within the anti-apartheid movement, headed by City AA and which should be supported by all honest socialists. Such reporting only helps the CPGB/Kinnockite dominated AAM Executive who spend great effort trying to suppress City AA. Such reporting has nothing in common with the traditions of revolutionary democracy the SWP claims to uphold.

### AROUNDtheLEFT

#### The RCP publicly exposes itself

Important political events expose the worst in petty bourgeois public school socialism. So with the RCP. Adopting a haughty and disdainful demeanour in common with public schoolboys it tries, and fails, to crack a few jokes at the expense of the RCG and City AA. Its newspaper *tns* (25 October 1985) referring to 19 October as 'organised by a would-be communist faction of the Anti-Apartheid Movement', concludes with a little sneer:

'The gleeful police chief decides to arrest everybody ... The revolution seems imminent.'

But amazingly, the next issue of *tns* (1 November 1985) features a photo of 19 October, without caption, in its centre page spread on the anti-apartheid movement in Britain and the USA! The RCP cannot find a better one to depict anti-apartheid activity in Britain than that of a City AA activity! Clearly reality forces its way, against the RCP's wishes, into *tns* pages. They must have judged photos of RCP 'actions' against

apartheid' too dull even for their own taste.

As well as opposing the RCG and City AA, the RCP also oppose the call for sanctions against apartheid. It tries to give some 'theoretical' foundation to this opposition:

'We oppose the demand for sanctions because we do not believe that those who benefit from apartheid can be expected to take action against it.'

To call this sophistry would be an insult to the Sophists. Does the RCP think it is wrong to call for a wage increase on the grounds that the capitalists cannot be expected to grant it? Why does the RCP call for the withdrawal of British troops in Ireland when the British government 'benefits' from the oppression of the Irish people and cannot therefore 'be expected to take action' against its interests. Communists know (but public schoolboys do not) that no racist and imperialist government and no capitalist class will voluntarily impose sanctions against apartheid, withdraw troops from Ireland or even grant a wage increase. The question is to build a sufficiently powerful anti-imperialist force to impose upon the imperialists, and against the imperialists, the interests of the oppressed and exploited. This the RCP is not prepared to do.

It is opposed to building unity with the oppressed and anti-imperialist forces in Southern Africa. Indeed it opposes the South African liberation movements and their call for sanctions. Its opposition to sanctions has nothing to do with revolutionary principles and everything to do with sectarianism

and petty bourgeois British chauvinism and arrogance.

### AROUNDtheLEFT

#### Morning Star covers up for NUS

The *Morning Star* used its skill in deception to join those who tried to cover up the real political significance of the City AA 19 October 'Surround the Apartheid Embassy' action. Aside from an accurate description of police violence against the protestors, all it has to say about the politics of the event is:

'The sit down protest took place at the same time as an anti-apartheid rally and march organised by the National Union of Students was in progress.'

Nothing is said about the fact that the Kinnockite dominated NUS Executive, and its President Phil Woolas, consciously conspired with the AAM EC and the police to undermine and sabotage the City AA action. They organised their rally in Trafalgar Square at the same time as the City AA picket, despite knowing about it well in advance, in the hope that everyone would flood to the square. In fact, the opposite happened. To have expected the *Morning Star* to report these facts would have been unrealistic. As a consistent supporter of the AAM Executive, it too has played its part in trying to suppress news of City AA.

### AROUNDtheLEFT

#### No *tns*: No Comment

The next step is the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). We called this organisation racist many years ago, and with good

reason. The following is a sample from an article in the *tns* 18 October 1985 entitled 'We Back Black Youth' [from a safe distance!]

'Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party played no part in the fighting against the police or in the other events which have taken place in the recent riots in Brixton and Tottenham and elsewhere ... We have repeated our insistence that the RCP was not involved in the riots.'

'... The riots provide a pretext for stirring up anti-communist prejudices and creating a climate of opinion conducive to further attacks on political liberties in Britain ...'

'... Riots are not the RCP's style of politics. Given the current balance of forces in British society, participating in sporadic street battles with the police bears no relationship to our wider objectives.'

'... Yet, while joining in riots does not fit into our plans, responding to the issues raised by the riots is a top priority.'

'... The problem is that black people find themselves fighting largely on their own against the immense power of the state. Thus isolated they are vulnerable to the terror tactics of the police backed up by the full resources of the media and the politicians, the courts and the prisons.'

'... The central theme of the RCP's response to the riots is to bring the issue of racism to the fore. It is around this issue that we aim to rally workers' solidarity with the black revolt. This means that the focus of our work is the working class movement.'

Eddie Abrahams

**nalgo met**  
17 High Road  
Golders Green  
London  
NW11 8PP  
01-458 9211

DISTRICT COUNCIL

MDC/LA/MC/BR  
28 October 1985

TO: Hon Secretaries of all  
Metropolitan District Councils

Dear Comrade

Further to my recent letter to you on South Africa. Let me please remind you that it is very important that the Branches, adhere to NALGO's policy on South Africa, reaffirmed at Annual Conference last June, by agreeing to continue and extend support for the African Congress of Trade Unions and the Liberation Movements in Southern Africa in consultation with the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), African National Congress (ANC) and South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

The City of London Anti-Apartheid Group is mobilising through the Branches and especially the GLC/ILEA Branch to undermine our policy and also gain support for unseating the present leadership of the AAM. The District Secretary in a letter to me has stressed the following which I hope you will agree with:

"This would not be in the interests of this Union or of general solidarity with the ANC and SACTU. Indeed City of London appears to be actively seeking to undermine solidarity with ANC and SACTU."

May I ask you to urge your members to follow Union policy both within your Branch and at the AAM's AGM in December.

I will be discussing with the District Secretary very soon (at his request) a programme of action to support the AAM in its work against the regime now ruling South Africa, by increasing the pressure for Britain to cease South African trade links and on the Government's continued deviance of public opinion to impose full sanctions against South Africa now. The release of Nelson Mandela and the holding of one man one vote in all of South Africa.

I will be looking for increased support for these actions from all NALGO members.

Yours in comradeship  
LEROY ARSCOTT  
International Relations Officer

## AAM leadership unseated?

Dear FRFI  
Recently a branch meeting of GLC/ILEA NALGO, with over 200 people present, agreed to propose to the AAM AGM that City of London Anti-Apartheid Group should be reaffiliated. They did this despite opposition from supporters of the AAM national leadership, because they believed City Group had a democratic right to be part of the AAM—that there is a place in the movement for those who are prepared to confront the British state in its defence of apartheid. An active anti-

The letter from Nalگو Met District Council which makes accusations against City AA

apartheid group has also been set up at the GLC which, among other things, organised a successful public meeting with a black South African trade unionist from the Metal and Allied Workers Union speaking.

The response of the opportunists has been an astonishing attack on City Group and the GLC Group. Leroy Arscott, a NALGO District official, at the request of Ivan Beavis, Morning Star supporter and NALGO District Secretary, has sent a letter to all London NALGO branches. It says, for example, that

## JOIN FRFI SUPPORTERS GROUP

FRFI has Supporters Groups in the following areas Glasgow, Dundee, Edinburgh, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool, North and South London.

If there is no supporter group in your area—why not set one up? For details of existing groups, or help in setting up a group, write to: FRFI (Supporters Groups), BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX or phone 01 837 1688

### SOUTH LONDON FORUM

Brixton, Tottenham, Handsworth—Revolutionary Forces of the Future: discussion forum with speakers and video: 'Blood-a-go-run if justice no come'

Tuesday 19 November 7.30pm at Brixton Recreation Centre.

Next Forum, Tuesday 17 December.

## FRFI FUND DRIVE: OCTOBER £694.47

The October Fund Drive was very successful: the £500 per month needed to subsidise the unwaged rate of FRFI was exceeded by £194.47!

Many thanks to all who contributed—to the paper direct, at our fundraising events and on the streets: individual readers sent us £28.20 and this includes donations from unemployed supporters such as Mr Knott. London FRFI Supporters raised £478.74 of the grand total! Supporter Groups in other cities contributed £67.38—Liverpool, £40.85—Manchester, £27.50—Edinburgh, £26—Dundee, £25.80—Leeds. Why don't YOU join our FRFI Supporters Groups next month and help us with our bazaars, raffles, collections, benefits?

Send donations to FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX (cheques/postal orders payable to 'Larkin Publications').

Name/Organisation \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

I do/do not want you to mention my name/organisation \_\_\_\_\_

## Magnificent Contingent

Dear FRFI  
I would first like to start by sending my sincere greetings to Tony Hughes on his release from prison and to Rosmina and Mohammad Azhar for their magnificent victory over the racist Home Office. The purpose of this letter is to congratulate FRFI on its magnificent contingent on the Anti-Apartheid march (London 2 Nov). The militant singing and chanting combined with disciplined stewarding must go a long way in explaining why many other groups and individuals were literally lining up to march behind the Broadwater Farm/City Group banners. On reaching Trafalgar Square and seeing the massive and very intimidating police presence, I was very impressed by your stewards' conduct who, despite seeing the brutality being meted out by the police, didn't shirk from the task in hand.

I hope that any of your stewards/members/supporters who suffered at the hands of the uniformed racists will accept this appreciation of their brilliant conduct in the face of apartheid's defenders.

I make a pledge to do more against racism and apartheid. Thanks in appreciation.

Andy  
Edinburgh

## Asians against apartheid

Dear FRFI  
Congratulations on your successful anti-racist contingent at the 2 November Anti-Apartheid rally.

We are writing to inform your readers that in Glasgow and Edinburgh, local Bangladeshi Organizations are presently promoting anti-apartheid issues in the Indian, Pakistani and Sri-Lankan communities.

We will aim to inform the communities about apartheid in South Africa and draw the parallels with racism in this country. We will argue the case for more members of the above communities to become involved by engaging in activities organised by the AAM and other anti-racist groups. Furthermore, we will lobby traders and shopkeepers and others in a position to boycott South African goods.

For want of space, we invite interested readers and those willing to help to write to:  
A Chowdhury  
4 Camstradden Drive East  
Glasgow G61 4AH

City Group 'is mobilising through the branches and especially the GLC/ILEA Branch to undermine our policy and also gain support for unseating the present leadership of the AAM'. It quotes Beavis—'Indeed City of London appears to be actively seeking to undermine solidarity with ANC and SACTU'—and goes on to say that they want branches to oppose City Group at the AAM AGM.

Incredibly, they transform a demand for reaffiliation into an attempt 'to unseat the present leadership', and support for black workers and all liberation movements into 'undermining solidarity with ANC and SACTU! The dishonesty of Arscott and Beavis is complemented by their methods—while we have taken our case to the members of our branch, they are attempting to gain support behind the backs of the members, by appealing to the leaderships of the London branches to support them on the bogus grounds that 'Union policy' implies opposition to City Group.

To add insult to injury, Arscott ends with 'I will be discussing with the District Secretary very soon... a programme of action to support the AAM in its work against the regime now ruling South Africa'. In other words, they haven't done anything to oppose apartheid yet themselves, but feel free to attack those of us who have! If people like these two were to put as much effort into fighting apartheid as they do into fighting City Group, then we would have a lot more solidarity with the ANC, SACTU, and the other liberation movements of Southern Africa.

Dave Elder,  
GLC/ILEA NALGO shop steward  
in a personal capacity

## Unbearable harassment

Dear FRFI  
On purchasing an FRFI pamphlet recently, I have been brought to alert on the atrocities of apartheid in South Africa. Only now have I realised that I must join the Anti-Apartheid Movement. I am a young Asian, and only too well know that the harassment to individuals in our own towns is becoming unbearable. So I ask you to please inform me of any movement which is Anti-NF, because I find that I must do something to help my friends and brothers. I should also like to subscribe to your newspaper, for 12 issues (FRFI). Please note that I am 13 years old and do not have access to information easily, as the pamphlets are usually sold in the University or other places which are, to me, inaccessible.

Yours,  
Zia Choudhury  
Glasgow

## Defend the Birmingham 8—Stop police harassment

Dear FRFI  
On Monday 2 December at Birmingham Crown Court the trial begins of 8 people charged with going equipped to cause criminal damage and conspiracy to commit a public nuisance. It has taken over a year for this case to come to court—it all started on Wednesday 10 October 1984, when some people from London decided to go to the Stop The City action in Birmingham. They drove up there on the night of 10 October in a van. When they arrived in Birmingham they noticed that the whole area was being very heavily policed.

After picking up a friend who they were going to stay the night with, they headed off towards his house. After a while they realised that they were being followed by a police car which soon pulled the van over. Immediately the van stopped it was surrounded by police—a car in front, a van on the right, another car on the left (actually on the pavement), another van behind, and behind that a prison transporter.

When the police searched the van, all they found was a bag containing a pot of paint and some glue. The people in the van denied all knowledge of the items and refused to answer any of the police questions.

## Sour note

Dear FRFI

In the November issue of *Anti-Apartheid News*, Paul Blomfield, secretary of Sheffield AA and of the Communist Party of Great Britain, launched a written and public attack on anti-apartheid activists in Yorkshire. In a report on the local Sheffield AA demo in September he said that 'The only sour note during the build-up to the demonstration came when a group, promoted by the Revolutionary Communist Group and calling itself "Yorkshire campaign for action against apartheid"', started mobilising for a counter rally. In the end their event was cancelled through lack of support.'

It sounds like the usual red scare and if true it would have been a sour note. In fact the sour note came from Paul Blomfield himself. Firstly, the Yorkshire Campaign for Action Against Apartheid (YCAAA) was an open body founded after a meeting called by Sheffield Asian Youth Movement and made up of Sheffield Asian Youth Movement, Sheffield Workers Power, Wakefield and Bradford Anti-Apartheid Groups, Supporters of the newspaper *An Phoblacht/Republican News* and Leeds Revolutionary Communist Group.

To say that it was promoted by the RCG is a slur on the other individuals and organisations. But such slurs have been made by Paul Blomfield himself who has tried to make out that the AYM were under the control of the RCG in the Sheffield AA meetings, and circulating other such lies and rumours.

The greatest lie is that the YCAAA called a counter rally. The truth is that after the formation of the YCAAA and the calling of an International Solidarity Rally Against Apartheid, Sheffield AA then called a demonstration for the same day. When the YCAAA decided to continue with their rally, to take place after the demonstration, Sheffield AA called its own rally. The YCAAA then in the interests of unity decided to call off its own rally, not because of a lack of support.

The 'sour note' was struck by Paul Blomfield himself. He and the CPGB were threatened by the YCAAA who wanted to campaign against apartheid and racism in this country. Instead of welcoming new organisations fighting apartheid, those in Sheffield AA have tried to crush any new initiatives claiming the sole legitimate right to organise any anti-apartheid activity. Such manoeuvres cannot build the movement that will end British collaboration with apartheid. A reply has been written to the *AA News* stating the real facts, and it is unlikely to be printed—if it were, then the real 'sour note' struck by Paul Blomfield might be heard by others in the AAM.

Yours  
Leeds FRFI

Originally they were charged with going equipped to cause criminal damage, but then the police decided to try to frame them up on the more serious charge of conspiracy. The so-called evidence in relation to this charge is that the 8 travelled together to Birmingham the night before Stop The City and during their stay in police custody the 8 refused to cooperate and some shouted and sang for much of the time. During this time the police found a leaflet on the police station floor, not even on or near any of the defendants. The leaflet suggested actions for Stop The City, such as sit-ins, blockades and causing damage to oppressive property. It went on to suggest that if arrested, disruption should continue, non-co-operation with police, and making lots of noise in the cells. The police are trying to claim that because the 8 were 'carrying out' the second part of the leaflet they must have been intending to carry out the first and disrupt Birmingham so causing a public nuisance. If it was not so serious it would be funny. Everyone was held until Friday afternoon when they appeared in court. Only 3 were granted bail immediately, the rest were remanded for sureties, the last 2 being released on Sunday morning.

The police obviously want to get people who will not conform totally to the state's wishes—this has clearly been seen from Stop The City to the miners strike, from Stonehenge to Greenham, and it must be resisted. It is no good saying that it will not affect you—you will be next if you allow

## Credibility void?

Dear FRFI

Last week I heard LBC referring to 'Cape Town Province' as a place in South Africa where riots were occurring. No such place exists: Cape Town is a city in the Cape Province.

Having heard this mistake repeated in three successive news broadcasts, however, I phoned up the news editor's office, explained their mistake, and asked them to check their facts and correct them. I also told them I thought this was extremely sloppy news editing. On the next news broadcast they removed the three words 'Cape Town Province' and instead said 'in South Africa' (do they know that South Africa covers approximately 457,466 sq miles: nearly five times the size of Great Britain?).

Well this time I was not going to let them get away with it (or so I thought). So I phoned again, only this time I was not put through to the news editor's office. The switchboard questioned me about why I wanted that office and then put me through to the information office! Of course I had to explain the problem once again. I also told them I was very concerned that they hadn't corrected their mistake. LBC told me it was such a 'trivial matter' and that they didn't have time on their broadcasts... etc. I said surely it wasn't trivial to LBC to correct mistakes they had made as this concerned their own credibility, and the next time I heard their news I'd wonder whether or not I should believe it! It also took me some time to get LBC to understand that it wasn't a trivial matter for anyone with friends and/or family in South Africa. Eventually the message got through.

And, surprise, surprise: by the next news broadcast the whole item had been removed from the news!

*Suggestio falsi, suppressio veri?*  
In solidarity,  
June Taylor  
London

through your inaction what little is left of our 'civil liberties' to be further diminished by the increasing police state. If these 8 people are found guilty this could set a precedent and invite the police to arrest people before or during a protest of any sort for this conspiracy charge, therefore being able to pick out anyone THEY consider a potential trouble-maker or ringleader and get them off the streets. The public nuisance charge is something of a catch-all as far as protests are concerned and so is pretty dangerous covering anything from blocking the road to making a lot of noise and all sorts of other things. If the 8 are found guilty this will mean to conspire to cause a public nuisance you need only travel with others to a demo where anything like this might happen.

We must stand together and resist the state's threats to our few freedoms. The Birmingham 8 need your support, as do all other people threatened and attacked by the state. This support can best be expressed through direct action and support in court—come to Birmingham Crown Court (on Corporation Street, near New Street station) on Monday 2 December and for the next few days after (the trial will probably last 4-5 days).

Support the Birmingham 8  
Stop police harassment  
Smash the state

Contact address:  
Box Birmingham 8  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1  
or phone 01-888 2482

# LETTERS

Write to FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

## Help us write FRFI PAY FOR A JOURNALIST!

The risings in Britain, the Irish struggle, the international fight against imperialism, the political crisis of the working class movement in Britain: these are just some of the issues FRFI investigates to draw out the political answers we need to fight the racist British system. To do this we need full time journalists. Not to wallow in the Fleet Street trough but to get the truth about the people's struggles. YOU need revolutionary journalists opposing imperialist lies with revolutionary truth. WE need YOUR MONEY to do the job. We cannot employ another full time journalist without the money to pay for it. We need at least £5,000.

Send money in NOW or take out a standing order or send a regular monthly amount. FRFI is YOUR paper. Help to build it NOW.

\* I enclose £\_\_\_\_\_ for the journalist fund. (cheque/PO made payable to Larkin Publications)

\* Please send me a standing order form for a regular donation

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

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# FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

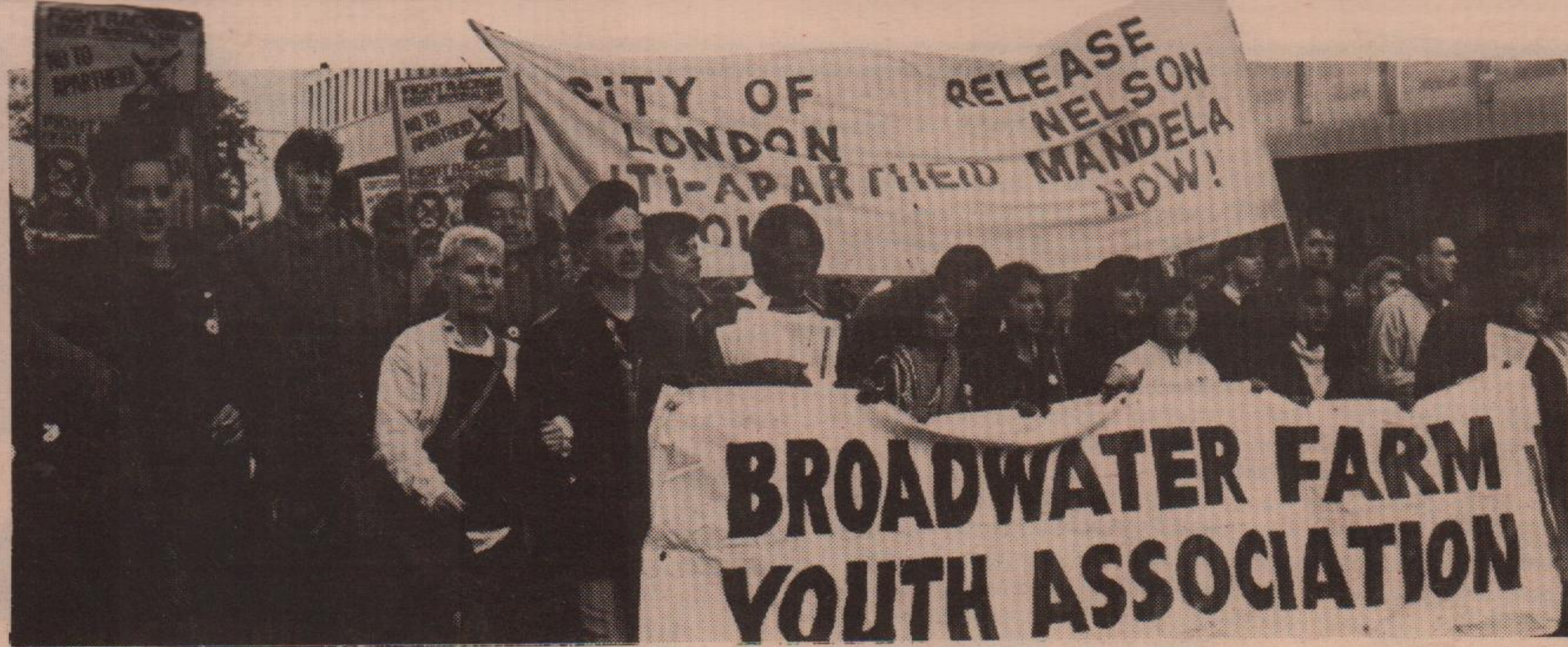


## JOIN THE RCG!

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism—Join the RCG!  
A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggling peoples of Ireland, South Africa, Palestine, Central America. Help us do this—Join the RCG!  
A movement must be built here in Britain which stands with the oppressed fighting racism, repression and poverty. Help us build this movement—Join the RCG!  
A movement must be built which challenges and defeats the treachery of the opportunist leaders of Britain's Labour and trade union movement—Join the RCG!  
Help us build a revolutionary anti-imperialist alternative. Work with us in our anti-racist, Irish solidarity, anti-apartheid and other struggles—Join the RCG!  
I wish to join/receive more information about the RCG

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Tel. \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX



DAVE STEWART

## 100,000 'troublemakers'

On 2 November 100,000 people came out on to the streets of London on the March Against Apartheid called by the AAM. The mood was one of militancy and anger at Britain's continuing role as the major protector of apartheid South Africa. Demonstrators were soon given an object lesson in how far the British state will go to prevent effective challenge here.

As the demonstrators gathered in Trafalgar Square from the three different assembly points, police began making violent sorties into the crowds. A few small groups had been lobbing missiles in the direction of police lines in front of the heavily-guarded embassy, but the police target was quite simply anyone in the crowd they could get their hands on. 114 arrests were made altogether, many more people were violently snatched, some taken to Charing Cross underground and punched and kicked before being let go. Photographers were threatened with arrest, some had their cameras seized and equipment damaged.

### No to Racism! No to Apartheid

The anti-racist contingent, mobilised by City AA and FRFI, was headed by the banner of the Broadwater Farm Youth

Association as it swept out of Hyde Park and along the streets to Whitehall and the square. Bollards on the road were thrown aside by marchers, every Barclays Bank was greeted by prolonged booing and chanting, marchers from other parts of the demonstration joined the contingent. The youth and anger of those behind the FRFI, City AA, Broadwater Farm and other banners had its own momentum: when the march slowed or halted songs and chanting were accompanied by claps, bangs, whistles and even jumping on the spot!

Earlier, marchers at the Hyde Park assembly point heard Dolly Kiffin of the Broadwater Farm Youth Association, who explained the history of the struggle for black people's rights on the Farm, and the constant police harassment they faced. Prolonged cheers greeted her defence of the youth: 'the police came in

to kill the youth, but the youth whipped the police!' Rebecca Johnston of Greenham praised City AA's Surround the Embassy event on 19 October, attacking police for their vicious assault on it. 'Direct action against the embassy is just as important as our direct action against nuclear bases'.

At the Tower Hill assembly point, guest speaker David Kitson emphasised the importance of black people's struggles here, in particular the local Justice for the Pryces Campaign.

The scenes at the end of the demonstration would have been no surprise to the significant number of black people and their organisations who were present—they were a surprise to those who have still not got the message that the British state is a racist state and that British police will trample brutally on anyone opposing that racism.

### Police given free hand

Before the march the AAM met with police who targetted three groups as potential 'troublemakers': City AA, Class War and the Notting Hill steel

*continued on page 5*

## One struggle! One fight!

*The struggle of the black masses in South Africa against apartheid has awakened solidarity throughout the world. And it is the people who themselves suffer oppression and exploitation, that identify most strongly with the freedom struggle in South Africa. Nowhere is this clearer than in Ireland. Having endured decades of British imperialist rule the Irish people know only too well the meaning of repression... and of resistance. They, like the black people of South Africa, have seen children shot in the streets, internment, censorship, torture and murder. They recognise that they and the black masses of South Africa face a common enemy and have responded enthusiastically to the call for increased solidarity action against apartheid. The Irish AAM has doubled in size since last year when Prime Minister Garrett FitzGerald and other bourgeois politicians resigned from the AAM in protest over the movement's principled refusal to bow to reactionary demands for the expulsion of Sinn Fein. The magnificent struggle of the Dunnes workers shows that in Ireland the boycott campaign means action, not just words.*

*The connection goes further than this. Many Irish people closely identify their own movement, Sinn Fein, with the leading force in the South African liberation struggle, the ANC. It is a comparison which Gerry Adams drew at this year's Ard Fheis. The comparison, which seems obvious enough to anti-imperialists, must unnerve the British Labour Party. How can they explain their 'support' for one movement, the ANC and simultaneously their hatred of the other, Sinn Fein? Posing as the friends of the South African masses is more difficult when attention is drawn to Labour's record on Ireland—introducing British troops, the PTA, torture etc.*

*The links between the two liberation struggles were best expressed in a moving Editorial on the judicial murder of Benjamin Moloise in An Phoblacht/Republican News. To the Irish people he was a son of the struggle and he reminded them of their own son—Bobby Sands, murdered by British imperialism in 1981.*

*'Tell the world—freedom is at hand'. Stirring words that strike a chord in the heart of every Irish republican and in everyone who knows what it is to suf-*

*fer oppression... These words were spoken by Malesela Benjamin Moloise, African National Congress activist and poet, as his mother paid her last painful farewell to a son she would never see again. The cruel, brutal South African regime that had sentenced her son to death allowed her just 20 minutes with him on the eve of his death by hanging.*

*'... The next day the authorities carrying out the judicial murder of Benjamin Moloise refused to allow Mrs Moloise access to her son, and callously informed her that his body would remain the 'property of the state'.*

*'... Benjamin Moloise, aged 28, ANC activist and poet, reminded us instantly of Bobby Sands, aged 27, IRA Volunteer and poet. Both made the ultimate sacrifice for their people, for a dream of freedom, leaving a legacy of courage and determination that will sustain both our peoples through the hard years ahead.*

*'The callous treatment of Benjamin Moloise's mother by the racist regime has its parallel with the treatment meted out to the families of Irish republican prisoners in both the occupied six counties and the twenty-six-county state.*

*'We remember with bitterness the British treatment of Bobby Sands' mother and family, and how each of the hunger-strikers' families were put through the treadmill of both British and Leinster House cruelty.*

*'... Just as the South African regime denies families the custody of bodies of those they have murdered, so too do the British and their servants in Leinster House... Frank Stagg's body was hijacked by the gardai, after his death on hunger-strike in 1976. The gardai stole the body, sealed off the church, occupied the graveyard, dug the grave, buried the body and poured cement over it to cover their crime—depths of cruelty which even the South African regime would find hard to match.*

*'... States such as South Africa and the occupied six-county Orange state can only rule through terror and cruelty, can only survive with the apparatus of repression and oppression, and can only be sustained with the open assistance and collaboration of countries like Britain and the USA, and with the connivance of institutions such as in Leinster*

*House.*

*'... The racist regime will remain in power whilst Britain, the USA and other powers continue to support it. The Orange state and British rule in Ireland can only be sustained whilst Leinster House continues its slavish and subservient role in the destiny of our country.*

*'Describing her son the night before his execution, Mamike Moloise declared:*

*'He is strong, stronger than I have ever seen him.'*

*'In similar circumstances, Bobby Sands' sister Marcella used similar words:*

*'When I see the courage and strength that he has shown, it gives me strength to carry on.'*

*'Benjamin Moloise and Bobby Sands have left us a legacy—the knowledge that we are right, that we are strong, with the strength that comes from years of struggle and sacrifice.*

*'Let us salute their memory by securing that legacy.'*

## STOP PRESS

Over 1000 people marched through Birmingham on Saturday 9 November in support of Dr Maire O'Shea. There were over 60 banners, representing many organisations including ASTMS (Maire's own union), FRFI, ISM from London, Leeds and Manchester, Indian Workers Association, Troops Out Movement, City AA group, Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign, Gays and Lesbians against Apartheid Imperialism and Racism and the Labour Committee on Ireland. Under the slogans 'Maire O'Shea is Innocent! Drop the charges now!', the march demonstrated the strength of feeling behind the campaign and also against the PTA.

At the rally, the platform included speakers from the Irish in Britain Representation Group, local councillors, Women Against Pit Closures, Greenham Common, Jeremy Corbyn MP and the Indian Workers Association. Speaking for the ISM, Tony Sheridan emphasised the injustice of British imperialism and the racist and oppressive nature of the PTA. He called for united action against the PTA.

A Day of Action has been called for the first day of Maire O'Shea's trial, 14 January.  
Lucy and Sarah

## VIRAJ MENDIS FRFI comrade under threat of deportation

Build a mass picket for Viraj Mendis's appeal  
Monday 2 December, 10am  
Thanet House, 231 The Strand, London WC2  
All welcome; bring your banners and megaphones  
See page four of this issue

## It's Waddington who needs flogging

David Waddington, Minister of deportations failed to finish a speech at Manchester University Student's Union on 8 November when he declared that immigration controls would never be removed. 400 students, including supporters of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign packed the hall, the vast majority, to express their opposition to Waddington and the racist immigration controls he operates. Angry students leapt onto the platform spitting at him and punching him. When Waddington demanded the 'democratic right' to speak to the small minority of Conservative students in the hall he was drowned out by chants of 'Racist! Racist! Racist!' and 'Deport Waddington'. With spittle running down his face, this racist tried to continue speaking but was eventually forced to abandon the platform.

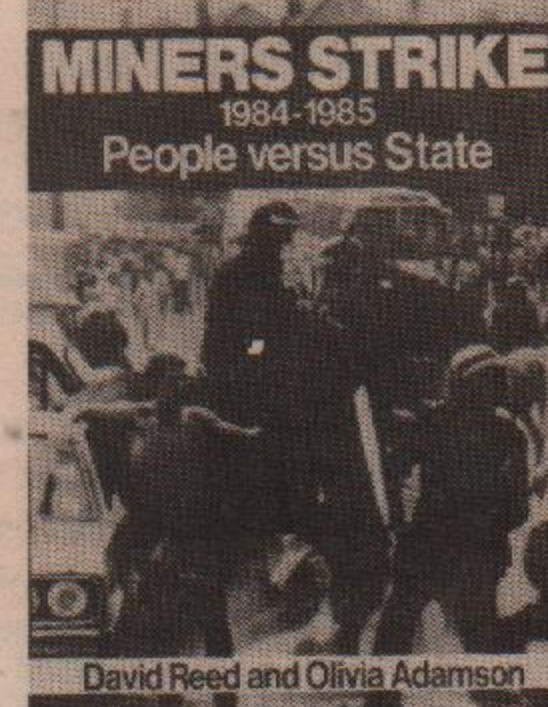
The students knew what sort of democracy Waddington represents—democracy for the racists, for the wealthy and privileged. It is none other than Waddington who only recently tried to justify removing MPs' rights to intervene in deportation cases. Manchester University students had learnt about democracy British style earlier this year when Leon Brittan then Home Secretary came to speak at the same place (See News pages of this issue).

Waddington has called on parents to put the students involved over their knees and flog them. He is also demanding their expulsion, denouncing them for opposing 'free speech' and 'democracy'. Coming from the representative of a government which deports 50 black people every week and which is undermining democratic rights wholesale, the only respectable reply to such hypocrisy is building a movement to defend the students and to smash all immigration controls.

Karen and Eddie

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