

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

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Hundreds of black miners wreck the bosses' memorial service

South African miners on the march

Murder down the mines

On 1 October 600,000 South African workers supported the Day of Action called by the National Union of Mineworkers to mourn the 177 miners killed in the Kinross disaster on 16 September. 325,000 miners went on strike, costing the mining houses at least £2.5 million in lost profits. The Day of Action was the latest display of strength and militancy by the NUM and was the workers' answer to the mine-owners attempt to portray the deaths as an 'accident'. In reality the miners were murdered by apartheid and the relentless drive for profits.

On 16 September at the Kinross mine in Eastern Transvaal 177 miners, only five of them white, were killed when a welding accident ignited polyurethane foam which had been used to prevent corrosion of steel tunnel supports. Poisonous fumes filled a large area of the mine. Questions were immediately raised about the lack of fire-extinguishers and the safety procedure. Gencor refused to answer questions on the grounds that a judicial enquiry was to be held which made the details of the disaster *sub-judice* - in itself a lie. Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the NUM, was prevented from seeing the dead or seriously ill miners at the hospital. The press was prevented from seeing the miners involved and a team of mine safety experts from West Germany, Britain and Sweden were denied access.

But despite the attempts to cover up, it soon became clear that the miners had been murdered. Polyurethane foam was banned from British coal mines twenty years ago, and from US mines, 6 years ago. There were no fire extinguishers at

the scene and the fire caused panic amongst the miners who literally had to run for their lives.

The South African mine owners have always argued that the high accident rate in the gold mines is a result of the in-built dangers associated with deep mining - South African gold mines are the deepest in the world. But in fact, the accident rate has not improved over the past 40 years, despite increased mechanisation and vastly increased profits. Half a million people are employed in the gold mining sector and productivity has increased by 15% since 1977 (33% in coal mines). Accidents, however, are only reportable if a miner is incapacitated for 14 days: in the USA the reporting time is one shift, in Britain 3 hours. Black miners still die at a rate of 5:2 compared with white miners. They have always been treated as expendable cheap labour, kept in hostels on the mine compound, guarded by private armies employed by the mine owners.

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Broadwater Farm Anniversary

British state takes revenge

On Thursday 2 October 19 year-old Simon MacMinn was given seven years youth custody for throwing some stones and stealing two cans of coke during the 6 October rising at Broadwater Farm estate last year. The viciousness of the sentence shows the determination of the British ruling class to exact revenge on those who dared to rise up against the 'right' of the Metropolitan Police to kill black mothers in their own home. The people avenged the death of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett. Now the state is using its judicial machinery to terrorise the black community, and those white people who stand with them, into submission to police violence.

Simon MacMinn's trial was the second of some 55 trials for affray, riot and, in the case of six defendants, murder, 61 men and youths, most of them black, await trial at the Old Bailey.

In the first trial, of 18 year-old Gary Potter, the methods being used by the Metropolitan Police against the people of Tottenham were clearly exposed. Gary Potter was interrogated whilst wearing an ill-fitting plastic boiler suit, all his clothes having been taken away; he was hit; he was told that his mother, who was dying of cancer, would be arrested; he was told he would be charged with murder; he was promised a quick release if he would admit to throwing stones. So Gary Potter 'confessed'.

However, he refused to incriminate others and therefore, instead of being released and charged with threatening behaviour, as promised, he was held and charged with affray. In the trial it was revealed that the main police officer involved in his arrest and interrogation, Detective Constable Rex Sergeant, had a proven history of violence against suspects.

In March this year, Southwark County Court awarded young black man, Derek Pascall, £3,500 damages (including £1,000 exemplary damages) for being assaulted by the police to extract a false 'confession'. They found that he had been punched, kicked, threatened and tortured: burned with cigarettes. They

also found that notes of a 'confession' in a cell had been fabricated. DC Sergeant was one of the two officers involved in assaulting Derek Pascall, and it was he who fabricated the notes.

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Iranian family faces deportation

Rahim Mashadimirza, his wife Djamileh and their 2 year old son Ronad are under threat of deportation to Iran. The family came to Britain in November 1985 for medical treatment. After their arrival they learnt that a leading opponent of the Khomeini regime they had harboured in Iran had been imprisoned and tortured. The penalty for harbouring opponents of Khomeini is death without trial; before execution, little children are tortured in front of their parents to make them talk.

The family applied for political asylum in Britain, yet on 15 September they received a removal notice from the Home Office (posted second class!) stating that they must leave the country on 18 September. The following describes how RCG members and supporters of the family organised to force the Home Office to postpone the deportation and reconsider their case.

The RCG learnt of the removal notice from Kamran, Rahim's brother and himself a member of the RCG (Kamran is also fighting for political asylum in this country - see FRFI 62). It was to be the beginning of a hectic week which involved over 1,000 miles travelling, hundreds of phone calls, letters and meetings. It was a week in which we used all our experience and contacts, especially those built up through the campaign for Viraj Mendis.

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Mass hunger strike by Tamils

News has reached us that 182 Tamil prisoners are on hunger strike in Sri Lanka's notorious torture jails. One prisoner has already died. On 4 September groups of prisoners held in Welikade prison and Boosnam army camp launched the hunger strike in protest against detention without trial, torture and a starvation diet. As we go to press 26 prisoners are reported to be in a serious condition. Forty one of the protestors are women. In July 1983 53 Tamil prisoners were massacred during a pogrom against the Tamil communities.

The British press, conforming with the Sri Lankan government's wishes, has suppressed news of the hunger strike. On 30 September members of the RCG and supporters of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign joined a picket of the Sri Lankan High Commission in London called by supporters of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in solidarity with the hunger strikers. Marches and demonstrations condemning this latest atrocity from the Jayewardene regime have swept across the liberated areas of Tamil Eelam.

Over 4000 Tamils are estimated to be held in detention without trial in prisons and army camps within Sri Lankan territory. Some have been kept for more

than three years, but the majority were taken captive in 1985 during Special Task Force swoops on villages in the east led by Israeli Mossad and ex-SAS troops. These swoops, previously deployed in Vietnam, depend upon rounding-up whole communities of people, especially youth, and the use of torture to try and target guerrilla leaders. Among those who are reported to have joined the hunger strike is the Roman Catholic priest Father Singaray. Cited by Amnesty International as a 'prisoner of conscience', Father Singaray was jailed by Jayewardene for attempting to protect Tamil guerrillas from the Sri Lankan armed forces.

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Iranian family faces deportation

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We discussed the legal possibilities, all of which seemed slim, and the MP's secretary was getting a blank response from the Home Office on our request that the flight be postponed.

The family had to decide quickly on the question of a campaign and widespread publicity as perhaps their best protection. So on 17 September we convened a press conference, but by bad luck it was the same day as the death of Pat Phoenix of 'Coronation Street' and all available journalists were covering that. But nevertheless we heard later that day that the flight had been delayed until 23 September. This was, however, a mixed blessing. Although it gave us a little more time, the re-arranged flight was direct to Tehran (instead of via Frankfurt), preventing any possibility of a fresh application for asylum in West Germany. The reasons for this postponement can only be speculation, but it is interesting to note that Thatcher was in Germany at that time, and Rahim's case could have caused the Home Office considerable embarrassment.

On Thursday 18 September we broke the publicity barrier. The family's campaign was widely reported on local radio, TV and the front page of the *Manchester Evening News*. The phones started ringing with offers of support and the family couldn't walk around their estate in Salford without local people asking how they could help.

We now had to get new evidence to the Home Office in 4 days flat. By Tuesday morning, 23 September, through the work of many people, the Home Office had received letters from Dr Roger Owen, Director of St Anthony's College Middle East Centre and from the acting General Secretary of Amnesty International,

Larry Cox. Both confirmed, in Roger Owen's words, that Rahim 'will certainly run the very greatest of personal risks if he is sent home to Tehran'. The Home Office received other evidence and representations of a confidential nature, together with numerous letters of support for the family including one from the Bishop of Manchester, secured through the intervention of the Rev Paul Weller who has also given such magnificent support to Viraj Mendis. Many others were ringing up the Home Office, as well as ringing up Stan Orme MP, urging him to do his job of new representations to the Home Office. At mid-day, at the very same time as the family were due to report to Manchester airport, the Home Office agreed to postpone the removal notice and reconsider the case.

It was a great victory, and a press conference was hastily convened again, so that the news could be on TV that evening. Yet the family still live in fear - they can be detained at any time. Now even more public pressure is needed to win the family's right to stay in this country. The decision on their case is of crucial importance not only to the family, but also to Kamran, and to many other Iranians, more and more of whom are having applications for political asylum turned down.

Within 3 days of this decision the Mirza Family Support Campaign, which incorporates Kamran's struggle, had been established and leaflets, press statements and petitions produced. These and further information are available from the campaign at c/o 584 Stockport Rd, Longsight, Manchester M12 or tel c/o VMDC 061 234 3168.

Chris Procter

Judge justifies CND tapping

CND lost its case against the government in the High Court on 2 September. They alleged that the government had not had proper excuse to issue the warrant for the tap on CPGB member, and leading CNDer, John Cox's phone, and that the phone tap was a 'fishing expedition' by MI5 in order to gather information. CND also alleged that information gained on Joan Ruddock and John Cox was used by the government for party political purposes.

Mr Justice Taylor ruled that although it was indeed true that John Cox's phone had been tapped, and

that he accepted ex-MI5 officer Cathy Massiter's evidence that he was not considered a security risk, there was no proof that the government had had anything other than proper considerations in warranting this tap. Proper considerations are those of 'national security' - and while the government may well have used the information against an opposition party, Judge Taylor felt that the two purposes (national security and the re-election of the Tories) were 'not necessarily mutually exclusive or severable'. There you have it - national security is not the protection of people's rights but of the right of the ruling class to stay in power.

Costs were awarded against CND. Maggie Mellon

Miners ban on overtime

Haslam's (new Chairman of the NCB) announcement on the outstanding wages question remarkably was billed as a 'compromise'. Our claim ran from November '85 to the present time; his 'compromise' was to pay our money from 1 September 1986 and all the remaining £500 or so of back money would be paid without our consent into the Board's pension fund, heavily deficient owing to our strike. It is an act of robbery equal to anything the old and evil coal owners used to practise.

If this gesture was meant to calm things, boy was he in for a surprise. South Wales was already operating an overtime ban (albeit a mild one), the Durham Area had just computed an overtime ballot and was awaiting the result, and the Durham Mechanics, which is rapidly becoming the vanguard of the union, has approved a strike vote for one day strikes. The first of these has already taken place.

The council meeting in Yorkshire (15 September) saw an agenda of which you could be proud: calls for an overtime ban from Hatfield, Armthorpe, Silverwood, Woolley and Carcroft workshops. This was quite a refutation of Area leaders who had bleated throughout that there was no belly for a fight in the men. Woolley is a North Yorkshire branch known for its moderation; Carcroft is a surface installation with many low paid workers who depend on overtime for a living wage. To hear calls for an overtime ban from there showed the depth of feeling in the coalfield. More than this, there were also calls for one day strikes from Askern and South Kirkby.

The platform puffed and huffed but wouldn't accept the spirit of the resolutions. They were able to get away with arguing that the resolutions were premature since the full NEC was to meet the Board on 23 September. The NEC has agreed since then to continue talks with the Board. Failure to reach an agreement may well result in a national ballot for an overtime ban. On this basis the Yorkshire Area council has agreed to hang fire and await the outcome of the NEC talks. Whichever way it goes, the Yorkshire leadership is now committed to reconvening the council meeting to report back and to make a decision on the demand for a Yorkshire-wide overtime ban.

The coalfields, it seems, are again starting to boil.

Doncaster miner

Nirex protestors lose legal battle

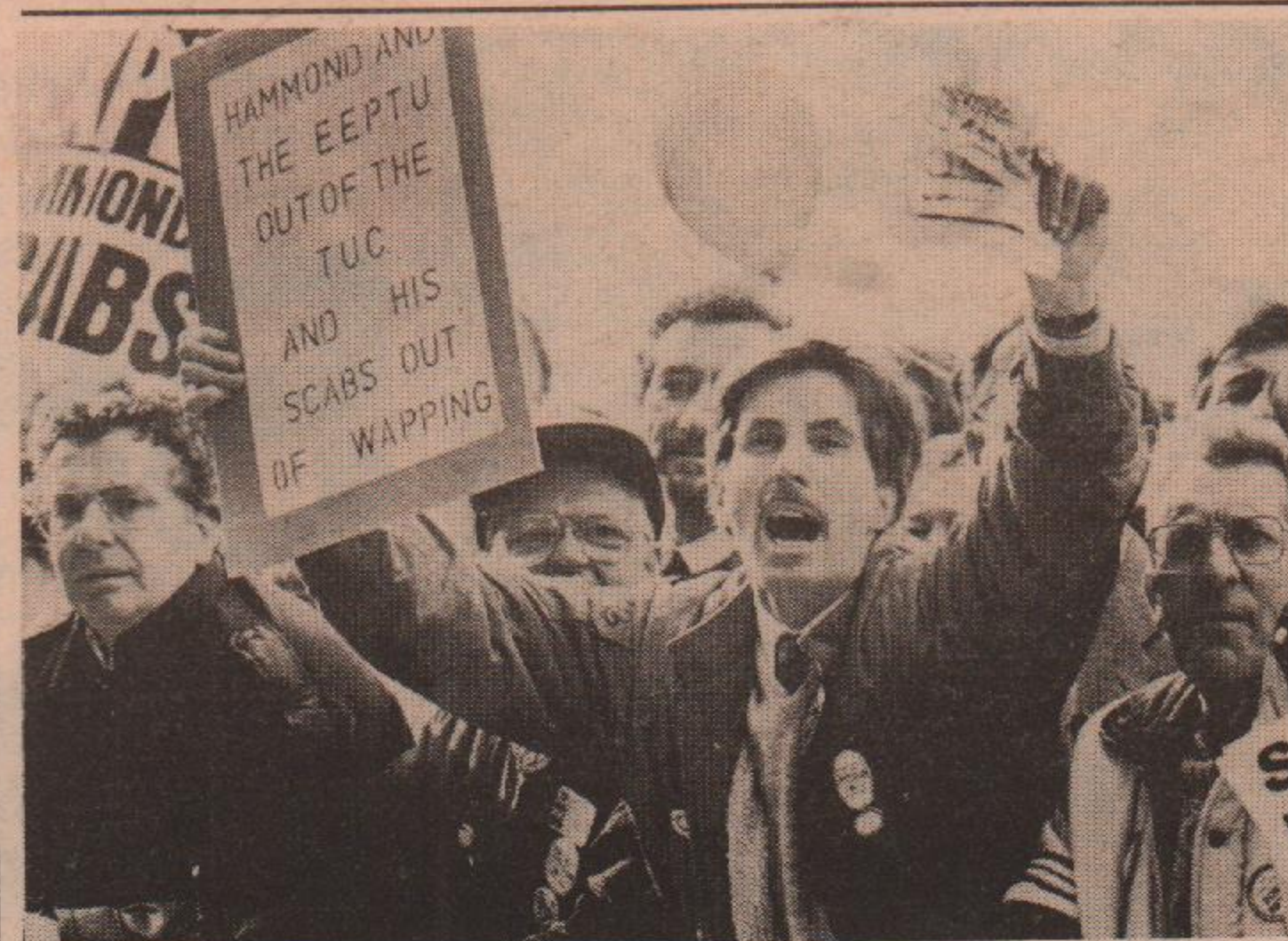
Nirex, the government nuclear waste dumping agency, aided by hundreds of police and a High Court writ, managed to gain access to four prospective dumping sites this month, after protestors had successfully kept them out for weeks.

On 12 September, the High Court granted a blanket injunction banning protestors from three out of four sites. This in effect made all protest illegal. Humberside activists are attempting to challenge this in the High Court, calling for any bans to be made specific.

Over a week earlier, Nirex had gained access to the site at Elstow in Bedfordshire, only to be prevented from starting work the next day by the occupation of the warehouse where drilling machinery is stored. On 16 September contractors and

Stalker's revenge

Since the reinstatement of John Stalker last month, Yorkshire Chief Constable Colin Sampson's report has been increasingly exposed as a work of fiction. The crude distortions in the report were designed no doubt to convince the Greater Manchester Police Authority that Stalker must have been guilty of something. However this attempt failed and has indeed backfired for Sampson and his masters. Those who believe that Stalker was suspended in order to prevent his too-enthusiastic investigations into the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy have begun to subject the Sampson report to close scrutiny.



Printers no to final offer

Rupert Murdoch has issued yet another 'final' offer to Wapping strikers: redundancy payments increased to £58 million and a 'Plant Council' dominated by EETPU and NUJ scabs, non-unionists and management. The offer includes this choice clause:

'In relation to Wapping and Glasgow, none of the four print production unions will at this stage be recognised to any extent for the purposes of collective bargaining.'

This is the offer that Brenda Dean is urging SOGAT members to accept. This is the offer that the AEU says it is prepared to accept even if the other unions reject it.

On 9 September the NUJ disciplinary panel finally heard the case against four of the News International NUJ scabs. One of these characters told me, in the hearing, that one reason for his decision to scab was the fact that he could not live on the £150 a week strike pay. The panel found all four guilty and recommended that they be suspended for 12 months. The NEC overturned this and reduced the 'punishment' to a censure 'in the severest terms'. Vincent Hanna even proposed that the four be acquitted. This decision amounts to an endorsement of scabbing. It renders the NEC's decision to proceed against the 500 other NUJ scabs meaningless.

On 25 September thousands of printworkers packed a rally in London's Central Hall and rejected Murdoch's 'final' offer. On the demonstrations at Wapping, one of the favourite chants is 'Rupert Mur-

doch, Rupert Murdoch, Stick your money up your arse.' Unfortunately, the sacked workers still involved in the dispute are becoming increasingly isolated. Many of the sacked workers have found other jobs. The TUC has refused to act decisively against the scab EETPU. The NUJ has refused to act against NUJ scabs. The leadership of SOGAT and AEU are determined to end the dispute as soon as possible.

Like the Silentnight strikers and others, the printworkers will get pity from the organised Labour and trade union movement: they will not get any significant solidarity action. Neither the defence of jobs nor the defence of basic trade union rights will be allowed to interfere with Kin- nock's lust for power.

Terry O'Halloran
(NUJ London Freelance Branch)

Sampson dismissed the existence of any connection between the RUC and the allegations against Stalker. In fact, the press have discovered such a link in the person of a now dead police informer called David Bertlestein. Bertlestein, the source of the original allegations against Stalker, was at the same time working as an informer for the RUC. Aside from failing to detect this rather obvious connection, Sampson's report also contains many items which have subsequently been denied by those involved:

* Sampson alleged that a former Manchester Chief Superintendent McGourlay backed up some of Bertlestein's allegations. McGourlay denies this.

* Sampson alleged that Tory MP, Cecil Franks, backed charges of bringing the police into disrepute. Franks calls this 'a travesty of the truth'.

* Another serving Manchester police officer, Chief Superintendent Arthur Roberts also categorically denies remarks attributed to him in the report.

* Sampson claimed that a Manchester businessman, Gerald Wareing, informed on Stalker for attending parties with criminals. He denies this.

* Stalker has publicly said that there are 'seriously damaging material inaccuracies in the report.'

As a result of these and other continuing revelations the Stalker affair is refusing to die. MPs, the SDP, Liberal and Labour Conferences and others are calling for a judicial inquiry into these matters. Also in the light of the affair, Amnesty International has called for the setting up of a judicial inquiry into RUC shoot-to-kill operations. All of this presents the government with a tricky problem: when Sampson finally does produce his report into the shoot-to-kill operations (a task he took over when Stalker was suspended) who on earth will now believe a whitewash? On the other hand, how can the Army/RUC/MI5/British government tolerate even part of the truth about their murderous policies emerging?

And whilst they wrestle with that problem, Manchester Chief Constable Anderton faces difficulties of his own. Kevin Taylor, whose association with Stalker was used as a pretext for alleging misconduct by Stalker, has issued a summons against Anderton. Taylor is applying to court to obtain documents relating to the warrant used to raid his home in May. It was shortly after this raid that Stalker was suspended. Taylor claims that neither the raid nor the police investigation into him have been explained by the Manchester police.

Maxine Williams

More public order powers

The concerted police-media attack on the Peace Convoy has now borne its poisoned fruit in the shape of a government amendment for the Public Order Bill which is expected to become law during the next Parliamentary session.

The amendment creates an offence of criminal trespass defined as applying to anyone who occupies, or intends to occupy property for more than 48 hours. The wording means that these new police powers can be applied to Peace Convoy and other travellers, homeless people occupying empty buildings, workers occupying factories or students occupying colleges. It will be an arrestable criminal offence.

The latest addition to the already iniquitous Public Order Bill must be opposed. CAPR are calling an 'illegal' march to take place the Saturday after the Bill becomes law. FRFI urges everyone to support the CAPR campaign.

Terry O'Halloran
● CAPR's address is Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Rd, London, N4

Overseas investments soar

Thatcher's Britain is a divided nation. The rich and powerful have prospered. The poor and unemployed have been driven into deeper poverty. This is dramatically confirmed by recently published statistics.

The September issue of the *Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin* shows us that Britain is very rich. It has net external assets (what the world owes Britain) of £80.4bn, or about £1,500 for every man, woman and child in this country. Britain, in fact, has the highest per capita investments abroad of any nation in the world. But the wealth in this country is very unevenly divided. Recent statistics from the Inland Revenue show that the richest one per cent of the adult population own some 21 per cent of the total (marketable) wealth. The richest 10 per cent have 52 per cent and a half of the population owns 93 per cent of the total wealth. Which means that the poorest half of the adult population, nearly 22 million people, owns only 7 per cent of the total wealth, one third of the amount held by the richest one per cent.

Thatcher's economic policies are widening these divisions. While the large corporations and the parasitic banks are reaping the massive profits from Britain's investments abroad, unemployment continues to rise and in August officially totalled 3.28 million. The real figure is very much higher given the 16 changes the government has made in the method of calculating the figure, and on the old basis would be 3.83 million. Unemployment has increased by an average of 13,000 a month since the end of last year, the sharpest upward trend since 1983. Hundreds of thousands of people are being forced into poverty burdened with debts they cannot pay. In the year ending 31 March 1986, 102,714 households in England and Wales had electricity cut off for failing to pay bills, a rise of 13 per cent on 1984-5. Gas disconnections rose by 12 per cent to reach 36,948 in 1985-6. County court proceedings for debt reached 2 million in 1985 and the number of homes repossessed by Building Societies increased by 54 per cent in 1985. For millions of people Thatcher's Britain is becoming a very threatening place.

Crisis looms

Thatcher's economic policy has accelerated the decline in Britain's industrial base, particularly manufacturing industry. The effects of this decline on the living standards of the working class, however, have been cushioned by the massive earnings from investments abroad and the profits from North Sea oil. For those who have a job, earnings have increased by 7 1/2 per cent in the year ending June 1986. The dramatic collapse of oil prices this year however demonstrates the vulnerability of the British economy. Balance of payments problems, with the inevitable run on the pound - a sterling crisis - are not far away. The profits from North Sea oil companies reached their peak at the end of 1984. They can now be expected to fall rapidly. Latest statistics show

		1983	1985	First half 1986
		(£ million)		
Gross trading profits (incl. North Sea oil)	1	40,978	58,889	27,229
North Sea oil profits	2	15,673	18,364	4,693
2 as a percentage of 1		38.25%	31.2%	17.24%

this is beginning to happen. North Sea oil profits have fallen from a peak of 38.25 per cent of the gross trading profits of companies in 1983 to 17.24 per cent in the last six months. And the full impact of the oil price collapse is still to be felt. It is almost certainly the case that the rapid rise of company profitability (excl. North Sea oil) will now slow

down. Even with a real rate of return of 8 1/2 per cent, the highest level since 1973, investment in British industry is not expected to rise by more than 3 per cent while oil and gas investment is expected to plunge by more than 12 per cent. Unemployment will continue to rise.

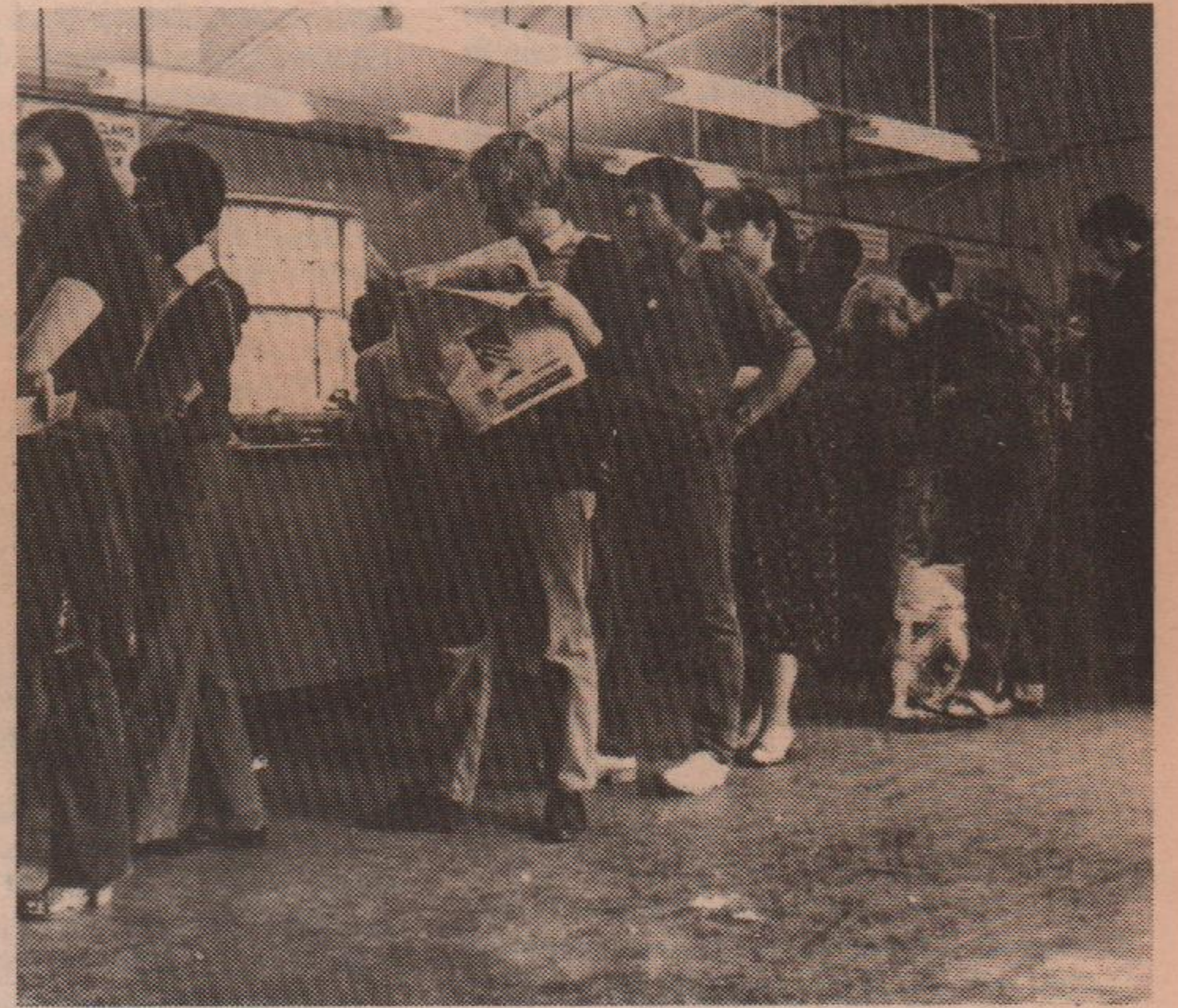
The capitalist class clearly have little confidence in British capitalism's economic prospects. That is why they are massively investing abroad.

Last year alone saw a dramatic rise of nearly 65 per cent as overseas investment (direct and portfolio) increased from £15,507m to £25,527m in 1985 (the figure for 1979 was £6,798m). Total direct investment abroad (stock) has reached £76.7bn an increase of 144 per cent on the 1979 figure of £31.4bn. Portfolio investment abroad (in shares and securities) is even larger at £100.6bn, an increase of 718 per cent on the 1979 figure of £12.3bn. To this must

	Gross domestic fixed capital formation (£m)		
	Total Private Sector	Manufacturing	Private investment overseas (£m)
1980	29,395	6,481	8,156
1984	41,423	7,071	15,507
1985	47,430	7,701	25,527

In 1985 private investment overseas was at a level equal to 54 per cent of total private sector fixed investment in Britain and more than 3.3 times that of manufacturing investment. The figures for 1980 were 28 per cent of total private sector investment and 1 1/4 times that of manufacturing. In five years private investment

be added the lending overseas by UK banks of £371.4bn in 1985, an increase of 194 per cent on the 1979 amount of £126.4bn. Total overseas assets (including government and public assets) last year amounted to £594.96bn, an increase of 200 per cent on the 1979 amount of £197.7bn.



overseas has more than trebled in size. This is the other side of the massive job-losses in manufacturing industry.

Oil exports and the overseas earnings of the imperialist banks and 'the City' are crucial for the balance of payments current account. There was a deficit on visible trade (export and imports of goods) of £2,111m in 1985. This was made up of a surplus of £8,163m on oil trade and a massive deficit of £10,274m on other visible trade. The invisibles surplus (tourism, shipping, finance, profits from abroad etc) was £5,713m, giving an overall surplus of £3,602bn for 1985. The dramatic fall in the oil price will ensure that this surplus is rapidly wiped out. Already the National Institute for Economic and Social Research is forecasting a small deficit for 1986 followed by a massive deficit of nearly £6,000m in 1987. The Tories' economic policy is in tatters. Over the next 2 years a run on the pound is likely as the balance of payments goes into the red. The

Britain's overseas liabilities (what is owed to residents from other countries) were £514.5bn. So the net external assets of Britain amounted to £80.4bn in 1985 a small decrease on 1984 mainly due to the higher value of sterling against the dollar. Since 1979 these net assets have increased nearly seven fold - net external assets in 1979 were £12.0bn. The net income they generated in 1985 was £3.4bn - a sizeable contribution to the balance of payments.

Britain is now the number two creditor nation having been overtaken by Japan towards the end of last year. Japan's net overseas assets in 1985 were \$129.8bn, an increase of 74 per cent on 1984. Britain's are now in the region of \$117.0bn (current exchange rate). The USA has a net deficit on its overseas account of \$107.4bn, the first time since 1919 that such a deficit has been recorded. However in terms of gross external assets the USA still leads the way with \$914bn followed by Britain with \$857bn (current rate) with Japan third with \$437.7bn.

The problem for the Thatcher government (or any future Labour government if elected) is that the income generated by these assets is not sufficient to compensate for the run down of North Sea oil revenues and the growing deterioration in the balance of visible trade that has followed the run down of manufacturing industry. That is why the Tory government, and any Labour government which follows it, will inevitably be forced to increase its assault on the living standards of broader and broader sections of the working class.

David Reed



Anger at Thatcher's visit to Norway

Timed to coincide with a massive NATO exercise, Thatcher's visit to Norway was intended as a public relations stunt. The stunt failed. Seen quite rightly by the people of Norway as a pillar of reaction, Thatcher was greeted by hostile demonstrations wherever she went. This reception by the people of Norway due to her support for apartheid, nuclear power, the occupation of the Six Counties of Ireland, her attacks on the miners and printworkers in Britain, puts to shame the tame activities of the British left and labour movement. The following is a report of the Oslo demonstration from an FRFI reader.

A large number of people were there to receive her - about 2,000 altogether - young working class people, people out of work, homeless, punks etc, all of them enraged over what she has done to destroy the organisations of the British working class, over her support for the racist Botha regime in Pretoria, and over her continuation of Britain's colonial policy in the north of Ireland. 500 demonstrators (among them Danny Morrison of Sinn Fein who managed to give a brief speech) pushed past the feeble police protection surrounding Akershus castle and shouted their rage at Thatcher and her cronies.

It was an absolutely peaceful protest, but the police responded with a savagery that would have earned them the approval of their British colleagues: driving police cars at full

speed into the crowds, using dogs (a lot of people received wounds from bites), attacking on horseback and beating people indiscriminately with horsewhips, and generally creating chaos and confusion. As if this was not enough, they sprayed the retreating crowds with tear gas, an extremely dangerous procedure in a place with narrow gangways and steep walls. Luckily no one was seriously hurt, but the result was that the government banquet was delayed, and the 'honoured' guests had to pass through clouds of tear gas to get in, giving them a taste of their own medicine.

Of course the press has tried to make the impression that the demonstrators were criminals and no-gooders with nothing better to do than upsetting foreign guests (actual-

ly, Thatcher was reported as asking for a stiff whiskey before the ordeal of entering the castle). According to Thatcher, it had been very interesting to discuss various matters like acid rain (pollution from Britain has a devastating effect on lakes in Norway), South Africa (the possibility of a UN embargo) and related matters with her social democratic hosts, but she 'had not changed her mind' over these issues.

A similar reception was given to Eric Hammond, general secretary of the EETPU, when he visited Oslo last week. He was met by demonstrations organised by printers and lift repair men, who wanted nothing to do with the man who organised the scab workforce for newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch. They acted in full solidarity with the sacked printers in London. Hammond was supposed to make a speech to the annual meeting of the Norwegian Electricians' Union (NEFK), but then was asked to abstain. He accepted this on the condition that no other foreign speaker would appear at the meeting but this demand was rejected. He then left Oslo in anger, saying 'We don't feel at home here'.

Egil Hjelmervik

The Tories' new junior Health Minister, Edwina Currie, has justified her recent promotion with a brilliant analysis of ill-health and poverty. The poor, she explains, are ignorant and don't look after themselves.

In a speech at Newcastle, Currie criticised a report commissioned by the North Regional Health Authority, which showed how poverty in the area caused premature death, sickness, and low birth weight. She didn't think the problem had 'anything to do with poverty', but felt that 'advanced societies' (like the South of England) paid more attention to health. Currie further held the consumption of potato crisps particularly responsible.

Currie's attempt to blame the poor for their ill-health shows her contempt for the truth and for the victims of Tory policy. The North East, where she launched her attack, has the worst unemployment in England. Nearly 500 more people a week are made redundant. Ten hospitals in the region have closed since 1979,

Poor health nothing to do with poverty

and Newcastle Health Authority itself was under-funded by £3.5m in 1986. While Currie sneers at the dietary habits of the poor, her government has cut school meals, and obstructed reports on nutritional standards.

The Tory government has done its best to cover up the evidence linking poverty with disease and death. The Black report of 1980, which showed clear class differences in health, and this year's survey on occupational mortality by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS), which showed how far these differences had widened, were both all but suppressed. And when the government released figures showing that

16 million now live in poverty, it did so as a written answer given one hour after parliament had adjourned for the summer. The role of questioner in this conspiracy to deceive was taken by - Edwina Currie MP.

Currie's ravings, while reminiscent of Keith Joseph's strictures on the overbreeding of the lower orders, should not, however, be lightly dismissed. It is possible that Currie's leaders will ditch her for someone whose lies are more subtly advanced. If so, her only offence will have been to express in public the ideology to which the ruling class adheres in private.

Dave Burton



Miners on the march

POPPERFOTO

NEWS ROUND-UP

This month in South Africa

● **Soweto burials:** On 4 September thousands of people defied security forces to take part in mass funerals for the victims of the massacre of more than 22 people in Soweto on 25 August. The murders resulted from an attempt by police to evict tenants who have been on rent strike since September 1984. Township police, hired by the stooge councillors, were let loose to terrorise and kill. But the people fought back and on the weekend of 30 August the councillors were forced to flee their homes taking their belongings with them. They have taken up residence in a 'coloured' area of Johannesburg.

The regime exerted all its powers to prevent mass funerals of the victims. New regulations were issued under the Emergency powers preventing press from going 'within sight of unrest, restricted gatherings or security actions'. Relatives of the dead and undertakers were forced to sign 'agreements' not to take part in mass funerals. Twelve bodies were snatched by the police and secretly buried without their families' knowledge. Nevertheless thousands defied the terror by staying away from work and attending mass funerals for the remaining victims.

On 23 September the people showed their anger and determination. A bomb exploded at the home of Del Kevan, the white woman in charge of housing in Soweto. She is nicknamed the 'Iron Lady of Soweto'. It is now estimated that the number on rent boycott has risen to two thirds of all Soweto residents.

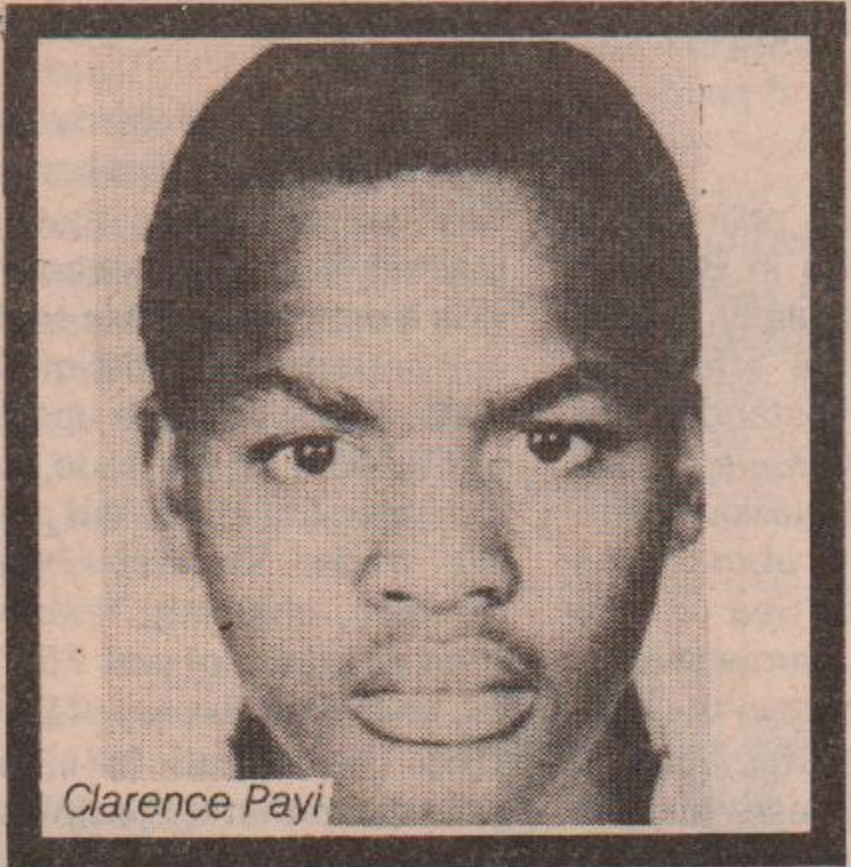
● **School strikes:** At the start of the new term in Soweto, students staged a mass walk out in protest at the presence of the army in schools and the continued detentions. Most of the schools were empty after the walk-out. The students are continuing strikes throughout South Africa despite intimidation. Twenty schools

have been closed by authorities in the Eastern Cape because of boycotts in July when students refused to carry identity cards. In the last month 13 more schools have been closed down.

● **Unemployment:** Researchers at Witwatersrand University have published their own figures for unemployment in South Africa which are 12 times higher than the official figures. The most recent government figures claim that 519,000 people are out of work. The privately-funded researchers estimate that the real figure is more than 6 million and that up to 5.9 million of them are black.

● **ANC freedom fighters hanged:** On 9 September the regime added fresh blood to its hands by judicially murdering three young freedom fighters: Andrew Zondo, Siphon Xulu and Clarence Payi. Andrew Zondo refused to appeal to State President Botha for a stay of execution or to give evidence against other captured freedom fighters. *Hamba Kahle, Comrades.*

RCG members took part in the all-night vigil outside the South African Embassy on the eve of their murders.



Clarence Payi

Thatcher isolated as Reagan's veto fails

On 16 September Mrs Thatcher's government once again contemptuously dismissed calls for sanctions from South Africa's black majority. At the EEC Foreign Ministers meeting in Brussels the EEC reneged on its promises as a result of the intervention of Britain and West Germany. Three months before, in June, the EEC sent Sir Geoffrey Howe on a doomed mission to South Africa, promising that a package of sanctions would be introduced if he failed. Three months later, swiftly moving the goal posts, the package of sanctions was slashed by two-thirds of its cash value through the simple omission of coal. In stark contrast, on 2 October the US Congress overturned the Presidential veto on its own sanctions package, becoming the first Western government to introduce effective sanctions against the apartheid regime.

The EEC debacle was orchestrated by the British government which has made no secret of its opposition to sanctions - on at least three previous occasions, in the EEC and Commonwealth, Thatcher has been instrumental in relieving the pressure on South Africa. At the Brussels meeting, Britain, in the perverse shape of Sir Geoffrey Howe, relied on West Germany and Portugal to block the inclusion of coal in the package, reducing its cash value from an estimated £1.24 bn to £319m. Britain claimed impartiality as the chair in its current EEC Presidential capacity. But the outcome was the result of careful arrangements between Britain and West Germany. At the same time as the Foreign Ministers meeting, Thatcher, happy to throw an extra spanner in the works, met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and issued a carefully timed statement condemning all sanctions:

'I do not believe that sanctions will help to bring apartheid to an end. They may however cause poverty, unemployment and starvation among many black South Africans, which is why Dr Kohl and I recoil from many of the suggestions put forward with regard to sanctions.'

● **Torture:** The regime has been ruthlessly torturing detainees. Their methods have been exposed by some detainees in court. Detainee Dion Zitha of Kwamushu said 'a uniformed policeman put a car tyre around my neck. He put papers into the tyre and poured petrol onto my head then gave me matches and

While Thatcher re-coiled, coal shares soared on the Johannesburg stock exchange. The coal share index rose 160 points to 1,461 as the industry rubbed its hands with glee. Sir Geoffrey 'half-a-crumb-is-better-than-none' Howe issued a statement calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and an end to the State of Emergency, secure in the knowledge that the EEC will ensure that no practical consequences follow this wind-baggery.

The EEC did agree to ban imports of iron, steel and 'gold coins' and to a ban on investments. But West Germany immediately signalled its concern that the investment ban should be 'strictly restricted' to new projects and not affect fresh money going to existing projects. Similarly weeks of delay are expected on the issue of gold coin imports, which have been reduced to a trickle over the last year anyway.

On 2 October the US Congress decision to overturn President Reagan's veto on its own sanctions package, left Thatcher even more isolated in her support for apartheid. In an overwhelming vote of 78 to 21 the Republican-controlled Senate implemented punitive measures against the South African

told me to set myself alight'. Others give details of assaults in which they had been kicked, punched subjected to electric shocks, smothered, and had their genitals squeezed. In another incident, a student who had been 'on the run' since the State of Emergency was arrested in his parents home, taken outside, and shot dead by the security police. The Bureau of Information claimed this was not an 'unrest-related incident'. In the Orange Free State, one of 'South Africa's ten most wanted men', alleged ANC member, Jacob Mahlangu was murdered by police who claimed that while handcuffed and shackled in custody, Jacob had seized a pistol and shot at detectives. He was then shot down by police. There can be no doubt that hundreds of other killings and incidents of brutality have gone unreported, due to the renewed censorship under the State of Emergency.

● **Youth Camps:** During September, news began to emerge about camps set up by the regime for young ex-detainees

economy. The vote is considered to be a severe set-back for Reagan's foreign policy and it was the first veto to be overturned in six years. The package includes blocks on coal, steel and textiles imports, bans on new investment and bans on flights to and from South Africa.

President Reagan's attempts to swing the Senators in his favour were considerably hampered by the heavy-footed antics of South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha. Not noted for his smooth diplomacy, Pik Botha and his ally arch-rightwinger Senator Jesse Helms, angered the Senate by issuing threats to conservative representatives of farming states: 'The moment that you override President Reagan's veto, South Africa will ban US grain exports'. This bullying interference made Ambassador Worrall's distribution of leaflets to the British Liberal and SDP conference delegates' bedrooms in the dead of night look like pussy footing. Nevertheless the considerable pressure of black people in the USA made sure that the Senators took a principled stand. The measures will be welcomed by all who oppose apartheid.

During September, another summit took place which received far less press attention. At the Non-Aligned Summit in Harare President Oliver Tambo said 'You don't end apartheid by saying you abhor it'. The issues are now very clear. A movement must be built in Britain which will implement sanctions. The AAM in Britain can no longer perpetuate the illusion that Mrs Thatcher will impose sanctions - apartheid is the life-blood of the British economy. Four times she has served apartheid and manoeuvred to give President Botha more time. She should not be given another chance.

Carol Brickley

'preparing them for re-entry into the community'. In reality the camps are being used to intimidate youth to become police informers. Young detainees are given the choice of continued imprisonment or release into the camps. The camps were set up by 'Joint Management Committees' (JMCs). It soon became clear that these committees are part of the national security network of committees which provides information to the government on security questions and forms an undercover governing system in case of emergency. The committees are formed from army, police and civil service and it is these committees which are now implicated in attempts to break the rent boycotts and the dissemination of false propaganda in the name of anti-apartheid groups. There is also a strong link between the JMCs and the township stooge councils especially in relation to recruitment of township police and vigilante gangs.

Dave Hunter

Murder down the mines

continued from page 1

One mine company alone, Gold Fields of South Africa, employs a security force of 5,000 and 774 guard dogs (increased by 14% in the last year) which is available on hire to other mines.

Apartheid is deeply embedded in the mining industry. A colour bar operates which prevents black workers taking on skilled jobs. Production bonuses are paid only to whites and the basic wage for blacks is R340-390 (£100-£112) a month compared to R2100 for whites. Black people are not represented on mine safety committees and there are no pensions for them - in the words of Derek Keys, Chair of Gencor, 'Blacks have only recently become career-minded.' The results of this cynical inhuman-

ity are that the families of the dead miners at Kinross can expect to receive as little as £2,400 - the statutory 2 years' pay - as compensation.

Gencor, the owner of Kinross, is the only major mining company dominated by Afrikaner shareholders and executives. It has a reputation for tough tactics and the NUM has described it as the 'enemy company'. Derek Keys, on his appointment as chair, described the company's approach as not being 'a winner'. The Kinross disaster has confirmed this, especially since, last year, the Kinross mine lost 2 stars in the five star safety rating system.

Gold mining is crucial to the South African economy. In 1985 minerals accounted for 80 per cent of all exports and gold alone was 46% of the total. Since the imperialists depend on South Africa for gold - the other major gold mining country is the USSR - it is unlikely ever to come under threat of sanctions. Whilst South African mining ex-

ecutives insist that the slump in Kruggerand sales has been a 'minor irritant' they are also certain that the gold industry is safe: 'The last plane out of here will be Union Bank of Switzerland's Swissair jet.'

But the mining giants are now being forced to reckon with the NUM. In the first quarter of 1986 there were 38 strikes in the industry compared with 16 in the whole of 1985, and this year's pay claim negotiations have been deadlocked. The NUM has also established a reputation for challenging the bosses on safety issues. In 1983 after a methane explosion at Hlobane mine in Natal, the routine inquest proceedings took on a new character when the NUM turned up with barristers and proved that the explosion was the result of negligence by the owners who had covered-up the discovery of methane only two days before the disaster. Subsequently the mine management were fined a derisory R500 (£250 at the time). The NUM has now

issued a Programme of Rights for miners which includes the right to refuse to work in unsafe conditions: 'The bosses must keep no secrets from the workers who are getting killed; it is the workers who are getting killed - not the bosses.'

On 22 September 400 miners marched on a bogus and hypocritical memorial service for the murdered Kinross miners, organised by the mine management. 3,000 black miners joined the breakaway, leaving the white bosses occupying the front row of seats in an empty stadium: 'We will not pray with the whites. They have never prayed with us.' Carrying looped rubber hoses round their necks to signify 'necklaces', the black miners marched to Kinross No2 shaft for their own ceremony, leaving behind wrecked refreshment tents for the mine bosses. At another memorial service, Winnie Mandela described black miners as the 'golden key to freedom': 'The moment you stop dig-

ging their gold is the moment we will be free'.

This set the tone for the national Day of Action on 1 October. It was a powerful demonstration of the growing strength of the NUM which has committed itself to the fight against apartheid and is a major affiliate to the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). While the South African mining industry may have nothing to fear from the self-interested imperialist nations, the NUM is all set to prove itself a mighty opponent. In the words of Cyril Ramaphosa:

'Management should take heed that the NUM is prepared to take up any issue, be it wages, political, safety - it can mobilise workers around virtually any issue... It makes one confident.'

Indeed, it does.

Carol Brickley

Anti-Apartheid Movement AGM

Resisting the challenge

Over the last year the people of South Africa have withstood a wave of terror unequalled even in apartheid's terrible history. But the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain has reached an impasse. Because of the unswerving resistance of black people in South Africa, a wave of anger at apartheid's atrocities has swept the world. The British public are more aware than ever of apartheid and what it represents, but the AAM cannot claim to be leading a mass solidarity movement taking action against Britain's support for the South African regime. Thatcher has remained intransigent on the question of sanctions. Nothing that the AAM has done over the last year has shifted Thatcher one inch. The liberation fighters of South Africa have issued a call to action against apartheid. In every respect the AAM is resisting that challenge. In the weeks before the Movement's AGM, anti-apartheid activists must review the Movement's strategy and its proposals for a new structure.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement claims that there is now a broad-based 'anti-apartheid front' in Britain due to 'the accelerated tempo of our Movement's activities'. But where is this 'accelerated tempo'? Many more organisations have affiliated to the AAM over the last year - especially constituency Labour Parties - but this requires no more than paying the fee. It does not, necessarily, mean any more action against apartheid. And in fact the growth in membership of the AAM exists mostly on paper. The truth of this is demonstrated by examining the Movement's activities over the last year in relation to its stated

priorities (Political Report Oct 85-Sept 86) for the coming year:

- **A special focus on Namibia:** there has been no focus on Namibia. The AAM National Committee (July 86) has done its best to block the attempt to set up local Namibia Support Groups, largely because it will be unable to control their activities. Once again the 'special focus' will result in almost no activity.

- **Intensification of the campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all Namibian and South African political prisoners:** The campaign on political prisoners

consists of an annual cycle ride - usually supported by about 30 people. The national Free Nelson Mandela Campaign has organised no events and no money has been collected on the Nelson Mandela petition. There is no campaign to intensify.

- **The nationwide mobilisation of the people of Britain to impose 'People's Sanctions':** This year the AAM was presented with its best opportunity to drive home the campaign for sanctions when black commonwealth nations boycotted the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh. Instead AAM Chair Bob Hughes signed a letter calling for an end to the boycott for the sake of Scotland and the AAM never issued any clear call to boycott the Games. The boycotting nations and every AAM campaigner were left stranded on an issue which is supposed to be a point of principle for the AAM.

- **The expansion of all-round campaigning.** On 28 June the AAM national demonstration was supported by 100,000 people. It takes an extraordinary contempt for its membership for the AAM to lead its best activists and supporters through empty streets to a pop festival in Clapham Common. By the time most of the demonstrators reached Clapham the political speeches were over and the music was underway. This

march achieved precisely nothing for the campaign against apartheid, on the contrary the total financial loss for this ill-conceived apolitical fiasco was £42,000.

In fact the nature of the AAM's campaigning activities is entirely reflected in its financial state. Despite a dramatic growth in membership and affiliations the movement is financially bankrupt. A movement which was campaigning on the streets of Britain, with public opinion in its favour, would have no financial problems whatsoever.

Most significant of all is the total absence of any concrete proposals on how the AAM's programme is to be put into practice. This is nothing new. There has always been a fundamental division between the AAM's claims and its practice. For the last 25 years the AAM has relied, not on an active membership, but on the pressure it can exert behind the scenes in government circles to modify policy. For the last 7 years, the AAM has thought it could force a change in Tory policy. Even up to the August Commonwealth mini-summit the AAM leadership thought Thatcher would be obliged to introduce sanctions and that was why they thought the Commonwealth Games boycott was unnecessary.

Thatcher has proved them wrong. But instead of turning to its active membership, the AAM is now set to pin all its hopes on the election of a Labour government. We've been there before - there is no possibility of Neil Kinnock honouring his promises any more than any previous Labour leader. The British state, led by Thatcher or Kinnock, is wedded to the continued exploitation and oppression of South Africa's black masses. Undoubtedly Kinnock would prefer an end to apartheid and a moder-

ate capitalism in South Africa, but the black masses want more than that - they want power. This is a fundamental contradiction. What will force Thatcher to her knees, and what will ensure that the Labour Party honours its promises? That is the question which faces AAM members who, first and foremost, support the aspirations of black people in South Africa, rather than the aspirations of Neil Kinnock.

There is an alternative to the AAM leadership's betrayal. It lies in the direction of building an active movement out on the streets, using the energy and commitment of its members to introduce a people's boycott of South African goods. Trade union branches, students, churches, would all follow that lead. City of London Anti-Apartheid Group is building that movement. Its non stop picket outside the South African Embassy is not only enraging the South African racists, it is getting the message about apartheid to thousands of people, raising thousands of pounds to send to aid the struggle in South Africa and proving to be an inspiration for other activists around the country. Compared with the AAM's actual achievement this year - financial bankruptcy - this is progress indeed.

1987 must be a turning point for the AAM. Its leadership, in the face of acute struggle in South Africa and Thatcher's intransigence, has chosen *not* to turn to its active membership. On the contrary, constitutional proposals to be put to the AGM on 10 January, threaten to reduce the rank and file membership's power to influence the AAM's direction to nothing. If the AAM National Committee's proposals are accepted:

- Future AGMs will not be open to individual members.
- Local groups will only be allowed 1 delegate per 50 members.
- Affiliated groups - who only need the price of affiliation - will in fact hold the power. What is being established is the equivalent of a block vote. There are at present 800 affiliated organisations which will be allowed, depending on membership, up to five delegates.
- Members will now have to pay to attend their own AGM.

These moves are coupled with the introduction of local group constitutions which put all the power in the hands of a committee which is only obliged to call a general members meeting every 3 months. Already such committees are overturning decisions made by the general meetings which deviate from the leadership's political standpoint. The aim of the AAM leadership is to use the AGM to adopt a structure which will permanently prevent anyone loosening the grip of their dead hand on the movement.

The AAM leadership's proposals are part and parcel of a political strategy. What started with their expulsion of City Group in 1985 developed at last year's AGM when they opposed the motion on 'no debate with apartheid's representatives' in order to protect Bob Hughes MP who had been doing precisely that. They are now manufacturing a cover-up for his and the Scottish Committee's scabbing on the Games boycott and introducing structures to silence the membership. When it comes to the choice between Neil Kinnock's and their own political careers, and the demands of the black masses in South Africa, it is clear they will choose their own petty interests. This year's AGM will be the last chance to choose the alternative of a mass campaigning solidarity movement which is open and democratic. FRFI calls on all AAM members to attend the AGM to decide the future of the Movement.

Carol Brickley and Andy Higginbottom

Anti-Apartheid Movement
Annual General Meeting
10/11 January 1977
The Camden Centre, Bidborough Street,
London WC1
Attendance for individual members in membership 3 months prior to the AGM.
Motions in by 12 noon, 23 October;
amendments by 5pm Friday 5 December.
Final date for registration Monday 1
December. All correspondence to AAM,
13 Mandela St, London NW1 0DW.

In the courts police suffer defeat after defeat

City AA has proven eleven times in the last two weeks that the police charges against picketers are so spurious that even Bow Street Magistrates' Court throw them out.

City AA Convenor, Carol Brickley appeared on 29 September in an historic test-case on the issue of illegal street collection for which countless picketers have been reported and, in some cases, arrested. The police have used the 'illegal collection' charge as their main method of harassing picketers. Carol won because the court recognised the picket as an 'open-air street-meeting' in the vicinity of which money may lawfully be collected. The crest-fallen police are now considering an appeal because they are concerned that the public is donating too much money. Thousands of pounds have already been sent directly to support the struggle in South Africa.

Norma Kitson was acquitted of assaulting the notorious Inspector Perry. Perry and three other officers gave evidence but could not agree on how she had assaulted him nor on the sequence of events. Norma gave evidence about Perry's hostility to the picket which was apparent when he himself appeared in the witness-box. Illogically, the magistrate went on to convict Lionel of obstructing Norma's arrest.

Virman and James were both acquitted of threatening words and behaviour. John lost his initial trial but won the appeal and £400 costs. Ann won her highway obstruction case against racist Rhodesian PC A692. Trumped-up charges of police obstruction against Lorna, Theo and Nick and highway obstruction against Lorna and Hugh were all dropped, although no costs were awarded, even to Theo who had travelled from Holland to appear in court! At the beginning of September Terry O'Halloran was found not guilty of highway obstruction.

The noise of the picket continues to provoke the Embassy staff into setting the police on us. The entire Horns of Jericho band had their names and addresses taken following a complaint from the racists who said the music was disturbing their work. This complaint was registered at ten past five when the Embassy was shut!

City AA knows from experience that if you challenge apartheid you also confront the racist British state and its machinery. 74 arrests have been made on the Non-Stop Picket and 34 charges have been heard in court so far. Of these we have won 21. We will continue to defend ourselves and our rights.
Nicky Rensten



David Kitson and Sharon Atkin

FRFI PHOTO

154 days and nights Rally calls for action

The 550-strong City AA rally on Friday 19 September pointed the way to a new and powerful movement against apartheid and British collaboration.

Celebrating the 154th day of City Group's Non-Stop Picket, hundreds of new people listened to an impressive platform of 21 speakers with liberation songs from the City Singers. The main speaker of the evening, David Kitson, was flanked by: Carol Brickley (Convenor of City AA); Karen Geron (Dunnes Stores Strikers); David Reed (Revolutionary Communist Group); Dave Douglass and Billy Hetherington (both leading NUM members); Viraj Mendis; Peter Gibson (Chair of London Bus Company); Sharon Atkin (PPC Nottingham East LP); Ted Knight; Sarah Hipperson (Greenham); Dr Maire O'Shea; and many picketers.

The rally, chaired by Norma Kitson, was both a powerful focus for all those wanting to take action against apartheid and a challenge to the national AAM's refusal to mount a serious campaign against Thatcher's determined support for the Botha regime. As Carol Brickley said:

'City AA has taken up the challenge which faces all progressive forces in Britain. We are out on the streets campaigning. Thousands more could be active against apartheid if they were given a lead. Join us in giving that lead!'

Speaker after speaker contrasted City AA's tremendous work to the AAM's criminal passivity. David Reed pointed out that as the struggle in South Africa has intensified the AAM has retreated. During City AA's 1982 86 day Non-Stop Picket, Bob Hughes, Roy Hattersley, CPGB and others had joined City AA's platform. Where are they to be seen today? he asked, pointing out that the AAM as well as the LP and TUC have refused to take any real action against apartheid.

David Kitson's message was simple and clear. The youth of South Africa have sustained the struggle there for over two years, and it is the youth in City Group who have followed that lead by organising the Non-Stop Picket. He said the future belongs to the youth of City Group and the youth of Broadwater Farm. He called for direct action against British collaboration with apartheid.

The rally proved that diverse political forces can be united in effective action against apartheid; that an effective movement can and must be built. It stood in contrast to the AAM's powerless pleas, pop festivals and resolution mongering.

The rally ended with a magnificent torchlit march to the picket applauded and joined by many bystanders. The message of the evening was clear: City Group means business and they mean to go on picketing the Embassy until Nelson Mandela is free.

Simone



On 16 September Simone was arrested by PC A906, Gordon Oliver, and violently dragged to the gates of the Embassy. PC A906 pinned Simone against the Embassy gates, pressed his body against her and proceeded to rotate his groin into her. As Simone protested he groped at the rest of her body. In custody PC A464 twice came into Simone's cell and called her a dirty cunt and slag, took off his jacket, unbuttoned his shirt, drew an imaginary gun and told Simone he was going to shoot her because she was a disgusting lesbian slut.

The next day I was arrested twice. I was thrown violently onto the floor of the police van by Sgt A33, Colin Stroud, who lowered his body on top of me. While in the van A33 sat on me and bounced up and down on my back while the other officers pulled, grabbed and groped at my body. In the station I was thrown into a room with four male officers and yet again knocked about and groped.

Cat, who was arrested at the same time, was also thrown violently around in the van. We were both called 'dirty lesbians' and 'nigger lovers'. Cat in her cell was pushed about and subjected to more abuse from A464. Cannon Row police are guilty of sexual assault.

City AA called a picket to protest against these disgusting police thugs. Demanding the sacking of the officers involved, 100 people joined in, including the RCG, Kings Cross Women's Centre, Black Women's Wages for Housework, Women Against Rape, WRP (Workers Press) and picketers. The police tried to pen the demonstration on the far side of Cannon Row. We defied this marching single file up and down outside the police station for an hour, chanting and singing.
Amanda Collins

FIGHT DEPORTATIONS

Viraj Mendis must stay

With all legal appeals exhausted, the fight to stop the deportation of FRFI supporter Viraj Mendis to Sri Lanka has reached its final stage. At the end of October, Bob Litherland, Viraj's MP, will meet Immigration Minister David Waddington to try to get the deportation order revoked. He will confront Waddington with fresh evidence on the kind of fate Viraj, as a Sinhala communist, would face at the hands of the Jayewardene regime if deported.

To build up pressure on the Home Office, the VMDC last month campaigned intensively across the country. Saturday 6 September was its national Day of Action which included events in many cities and a demonstration in London. In addition Viraj addressed 9 meetings in London, Leeds, Manchester, Bradford, Leicester, as well as a fringe meeting at the TUC Conference. But its major impact was made at the Labour Party Conference where Viraj spoke at 5 fringe meetings organised by the LP Black Sections, the Labour Committee on Ireland, the campaign against immigration controls, Amnesty International and the VMDC's own meeting. The latter was chaired by Valerie Vaz and alongside Viraj speakers included FRFI, Keith Vaz (who had brought up Viraj's case in the Conference), Kamran Mashadimirza and Jeremy Corbyn MP. All pledged their support for Viraj and commended the new VMDC pamphlet (of which 100 were sold during the Conference). Jeremy Corbyn not only called for a future Labour government to invite Viraj to the House of Commons, but demanded that it also issue an amnesty against deportation for all those currently living in Britain.

Paul Boateng's pledge

Most significantly, the VMDC during the week succeeded in getting 90 MPs and Prospective Parliamentary Candidates (PPCs) to sign the Pledge made by Paul Boateng at a VMDC meeting in

Brent. There he promised to 'issue an invitation within one month of the next General Election to Viraj Mendis to speak to a meeting in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, wherever he may be.' The Labour Party front bench either refused to sign (as in the case of Alf Dubbs and Gerald Kaufman) or claimed not to know enough! Speaking at an NCCL fringe meeting, Alf Dubbs, Shadow Race Minister, publicly argued that we should support people's civil liberties regardless of whether they were in a party to the left of the LP. But privately he told the VMDC that no future Home Office minister would sign the Pledge and criticised Viraj's involvement with the RCG. Amazingly he gave five different reasons for refusing to sign on the five occasions he was asked. Despite their alleged commitment to repeal the 1971 Immigration Act, it was clear that they have little intention of changing the racist laws or allowing Viraj to stay.

Support us in our work

To all supporters of Viraj's right to stay we make a special appeal. Help us put as much pressure as possible on the Home Office.

- Ask your MP to sign the pledge. Ask your MP to write to Waddington. This includes Tory MPs. One of them has already written. Leave no stone unturned.
- Write a letter yourself to Waddington c/o Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1. Please send us a



NEW PAMPHLET

available from Larkin Publications
75p + 30p p&p

Public Meeting VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY!

Tuesday 21 October, 7.30pm

Islington Central Library
Fieldway Crescent
(off Holloway Road, nearest tube
Highbury and Islington)
Speakers: Viraj Mendis, FRFI, Dr
R W Bradnock (chair of Foreign
Affairs Committee - Liberal
Party) Others invited, plus video

copy of your letter. Ask your friends to write letters.

- Visit your local community centre, youth associations, trade unions, churches, mosques and synagogues and ask them to write to Waddington.
- Buy and sell the new VMDC pamphlet.

For more information, Pledge forms, leaflets, stickers, badges and pamphlets write to VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL or phone 061-234-3168.

Viraj, Alex and Chris

Racist visa restrictions

In September the Home Office announced the imposition of severe restrictions on visitors to Britain from five black countries: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana. For the first time, they will have to obtain visas before coming to Britain. White Commonwealth visitors have been and continue to be, excluded from such a requirement.

These racist restrictions are yet another attack on thousands of black people trying to join their families and relatives in Britain. They are already subjected to the humiliating 'primary purpose' rule, to blood tests and virginity tests by ISU officials who scarcely conceal their delight in scrawling 'send him back' on their papers. Black families are now to be broken up by the simple refusal to issue visas. This is 'justice' in racist Britain.

Charine James

Family fights for family rights

The campaign to prevent the deportation of 2 year old Khuram Azad because he was an adopted son ended in victory. This will inspire many other families facing similar threats to fight back. Mr and Mrs Choudhury from London are one such family fighting to keep their adopted son, Minar, in Britain. The couple, unable to have a child of their own, went to Bangladesh where they adopted 3 year old Minar. His mother had died and his father was finding it difficult to look after him. Minar's natural father agreed to transfer responsibility to the Choudhurys. Adoption documents were signed as required by law in Bangladesh. When Mrs Choudhury was told she would have to wait 2 years before the British High Commission would clear Minar's right to come to Britain, she travelled with him back home on a temporary admission document. Now the Home Office want to deport the young boy and split up yet another family.

A campaign has been formed to fight for the unity of this family. For more information contact the Campaign to Keep Minar with Mum and Dad, c/o North Lewisham Law Centre, 28 Deptford High St, Deptford SE8.

Turkish Cypriot family faces deportation

Nilgun and Mustafa Palu and their daughter Lutfiye came to Britain as refugees in 1978. Their son Sami was born here and Lutfiye is in her third year at primary school. The Home Office has refused to grant the family the right to remain in the country. Deportation back to Cyprus would mean great hardship for the family. They lost everything in the military partitioning of Cyprus and their one-time home is now in the Greek sector. The Palu family would be homeless and their children who speak very little Turkish would have their lives destroyed. If you want to help contact SADCAMP at 01-732-3731.

Black families divided

Perhaps the most vicious consequence of the racist immigration laws is the breaking up of families. One such family facing deportation and separation is the Djin family from Wembley in London. Lydia Djin and her husband, Ben, have lived in Britain for nearly 8 years. They met her in love, and married. They now have three young sons, and Lydia is six months pregnant with her fourth child. The youngest child, two year old Ebenezer, is a severe asthmatic and requires regular hospital treatment and Lydia herself has health problems.

Because of the difficulties in Ghana and lack of medical care, Lydia says that she and her husband are deported she will leave behind her children who are British citizens. They will then have to be taken into care. In an interview she said 'I have lived here long enough not to be thrown out just like that... We love our boys, we are a happy family. Why do they want to separate us?'

If ever there was a case for showing compassion this is it. Yet despite pleas from Brent Council, Paul Boateng, Ken Livingstone and local church leaders, the Home Office refuses to allow the family to remain. In a recent letter to Mr and Mrs Djin, David Waddington said 'the presence of children born here cannot confer on the parents any entitlement to remain. The children are British citizens and they of course have the right to remain here. I have already said they will be offered the opportunity to accompany their parents at public expense in order to preserve the family unity.'

What touching concern for family unity! What hypocrisy, Mr Waddington! Jan Ali

Police wage war in St Pauls

'It was just like South Africa. They took young children and old men - anyone, even those on the pavement'. A youth who saw his 65 year old father being dragged away described the police attack on St Pauls on 11 September. 600 police were used in the largest operation ever mounted by Avon and Somerset police to raid the Black and White cafe and four other buildings in St Pauls, supposedly looking for drugs. Coachloads of police in riot gear were on standby from the Gloucestershire, Devon and Cornwall forces and the police presence remained for three days. 80 arrests were made and 18 people charged.

The police, hiding in unmarked lorries and a furniture van, rushed out with truncheons flying. They brutalised and racially abused scores of people. Kuomba Balogan, chair of the St Pauls Community Association, was dragged on his stomach to a police coach while one of the officers told him, 'we'll show you whose England this is'. Local residents described the police 'marching up and down the streets all afternoon just like legionnaires' shouting 'come on monkeys, come on gorillas'.

A local solicitor, Mr Roy Douglas, has accused the police of making arbitrary arrests and 'driving a coach and horses through the Police and Criminal Evidence Act' after the arrests had been made. He said that many juveniles 'were held for more than six hours without being allowed to see an appropriate adult' and defence solicitors 'had to wait ages to see a senior officer to find out what was going on.'

One 15 year old, arrested on his way home from school, was stripped and

anally searched by police. Local people did not know where arrested friends and relatives were being held and the police forcibly took photographs and fingerprints of some of those detained.

For two days and nights the black youth of St Pauls fought back against this massive police attack. By 8.15 on the first night, over 200 youth, armed with petrol bombs, bricks, stones and scaffolding poles had organised resistance to the attack. Running battles were kept up throughout the night with the police in the City Road and Grosvenor Square. Police vans and a landrover were smashed up and a Sun journalist was hit on the head and prevented from going into the area. On 12 September, the youth erected barricades to prevent police from making more arrests, and police vans were heavily stoned and petrol bombed. 30 police were injured and 13 needed hospital treatment.

Bristol Labour councillors have condemned the police attack and are calling for a public inquiry. Mr Ron Thomas,



Police brutally arrest black youth in St Pauls

an Avon County councillor said, 'this is one of the most deliberate acts of provocation which the police have mounted in any city in Britain'. The Reverend Richard Barrett, a Methodist minister in St Pauls said that 'it felt like an occupation, an invasion'. Local people have angrily compared the assault with a previous drugs raid in the white, middle class area of Bristol, Clifton, when few police were used and three people arrested.

This latest police attack, described by eye-witnesses as a military operation, was in response to the community's attempt to make St Pauls a no-go area to the police and their brutal harassment. As Jagun Akinshegun, secretary of the St Pauls Community Association said, 'The raid had nothing to do with crime. The police wanted to show they ruled St Pauls', but the youth showed too that they will resist.

Alexa Byrne

Broadwater: One Year on

continued from page 1

The selection of such a thug and liar to investigate the Broadwater Farm cases indicates that Scotland Yard, headed by Kenneth Newman, has decided to sanction any methods against the people of Tottenham.

The jury failed to reach a verdict in Gary Potter's trial. He now faces yet more months of fear awaiting a retrial. He now knows, too, what sentence to expect if convicted.

Simon MacMinn, like Gary Potter, told the Old Bailey that his alleged 'confessions' were 'concocted and fabricated'. Unfortunately, in his case, the jury believed the police. He now faces seven years of the inhuman regime of the youth custody centre - for throwing stones and stealing soft drinks. The judge, Neil Denison, also presided over the Gary Potter trial and therefore knew the methods being used by the police. Nonetheless he had no qualms in giving Simon MacMinn what he himself des-

cribed as a 'heavy' sentence to 'reflect public horror' and 'to deter others'.

Indeed, the whole purpose of this judicial process is to deter the oppressed, to make them submit to state violence and police racism.

The media have given their usual assistance to this process. They said not a word about the revelations of DC Sergeant's depredations against suspects. But they opened Simon MacMinn's trial with lurid, prejudicial and irrelevant coverage about the death of PC Blacklock although Simon MacMinn was not charged with Blacklock's death. Nor did the media see fit to compare the seven years given to Simon MacMinn with the nine months given to PC Alexander Marshall Wood convicted in the same week of beating a suspect so badly that blood spurted from his mouth and splattered the walls and floor of the police station.

The people of the community are organising against this onslaught. There will be an all-night vigil of Tottenham police station to mark the anniversary of the killing of Mrs Jarrett and the rising. On 10 January next year there will be a march through central London to protest against the police and court frame-ups and to mark the opening of the murder trials on 14 January.

FRFI calls for maximum support for these events, organised by the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign. Let those who spent the first week of October at the Labour Party Conference claiming to defend the rights of black people mobilise within and outside the Labour Party for a massive turnout on the January march. Only a powerful public campaign can halt the grisly process of state revenge. The time has passed for words and promises; action must be taken now if our youth are to be defended.

Terry O'Halloran

CUBA - Castro deepens revolution

In a series of speeches and analyses made this year Cuban President Fidel Castro has launched a 'strategic counter-offensive' aimed at strengthening the socialist revolution against the revival of capitalist and petty-bourgeois tendencies within Cuban society. Neither history nor geography have afforded Cuba the luxury of resting upon its revolutionary laurels. Its relative underdevelopment and close proximity to the United States have demanded heightened vigilance, greater efforts, and the firming of principles from the Cuban communists.

The current historical epoch is marked by the life and death struggle between imperialism and socialism. Since the Russian Revolution in 1917, imperialism has relentlessly conspired to destroy the socialist states. Any weakness in the revolution becomes a potentially lethal weapon in the hands of the imperialists. Today, the reactionary US and British ruling classes are leading their own counter-offensive, attempting to reverse the gains achieved in Asia, Africa and Latin America since the Vietnamese victory in 1975, and to throw the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries onto the defensive.

In particular, imperialism's huge military expenditure forces the socialist countries to drain the resources avail-

production and confront communist values with the values of the market place. The Soviet Union, China, Cuba and Vietnam have all been confronted with the problem of needing to raise productivity in both their agricultural and industrial sectors while retaining the alliance of the peasantry with the working class. Strategies used have ranged from encouraged peasant commodity production, combined with material incentives, as in the Soviet Union during the New Economic Policy (NEP) period, to forced collectivisation combined with the elimination of income differences, as in the Soviet Union 1928 and in China during the Cultural Revolution. Both methods run the risk of raising a peasant-based opposition.



President Fidel Castro speaking at the 1986 Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. This both exacerbates the problems of underdevelopment inherited by the socialist states, and increases the menace posed by defects in socialist organisation and by those who abuse the socialist system. As Castro puts it,

'All those who look for privileges and cushy jobs, who divert resources, who seek to protect money they haven't earned by the sweat of their brow, engaging in rackets and schemes, they are doing the mercenaries work'.

Marxists do not pretend that socialist revolution will usher in Utopia. As Marx pointed out, communists will have to build communist society 'not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is, therefore, in every respect economically, morally, and intellectually still stamped with the birth-marks of the old-society from whose womb it comes.' Socialism must be built with the material to hand, not only the productive forces but with the human material that actually exists. It has not only had to contend with underdevelopment, but with the habits, traditions and attitudes of the past which it inherited.

Capitalism can only be vanquished by socialism overcoming economic backwardness and generating a higher level of productivity. Small-scale production and scarcity remain the seed-beds of capitalism and an egoistic mentality. They act as a drag upon socialist

When economic development is divorced from political direction the revolution itself is imperilled.

'This is a long struggle, and I think it has to do not only with our Revolution, for it's clear that such things have happened elsewhere. It has been proven. Privileges here, demoralisation there, and the time comes when the demoralised and confused masses fall prey to anyone with a swan song, to any demagogue, to any pseudo-revolutionary, to any pseudodemocrat. Ours is a genuine, legitimate, homegrown revolution, like the Soviet Revolution where they built socialism under very difficult conditions. It is a really legitimate revolution and we can't let it fall apart'.

The Street vendors' movement

The 1963 Agrarian Reform Law set the limit on private land-ownership at 67 hectares. In a concession to the peasantry the Cuban government allowed the establishment of a free peasant market where produce could be traded for profits at free market prices. These markets also attracted small scale manufacturers who were allowed to work on their own. The effect of these reforms was to

'create a different mentality, a different spirit, which manifested itself in the growth of a 'street vendors' movement'.

The free peasant market became a vehicle for private accumulation at the expense of social wealth and the national economic plan. Peasant farmers would sell 10% of their produce to the state and the rest on the free peasant market. In this way, for instance, a farmer selling cloves of garlic for one peso each could make 50,000 pesos from one hectare of land, (the wage of a Cuban doctor is 5-6000 pesos a year!). Those who worked alone defied the law, bought machinery, hired labour, and acquired materials from state enterprises to make goods, like brooms, which were in short supply and sold them at a profit. Cooperative employees were seduced by the easy money to be made serving these 'new industrialists'. 'The result was that a series of measures that had been taken whereby Cooperative farmers could produce and sell, made it possible for them to earn 50,000 pesos without having to produce a single broom, simply by acting as the sales agents for these new industrialists who produced brooms'. The peasant free market had entered into competition with the socialist cooperatives, and had done so through the conditions encouraged by the economic reforms.

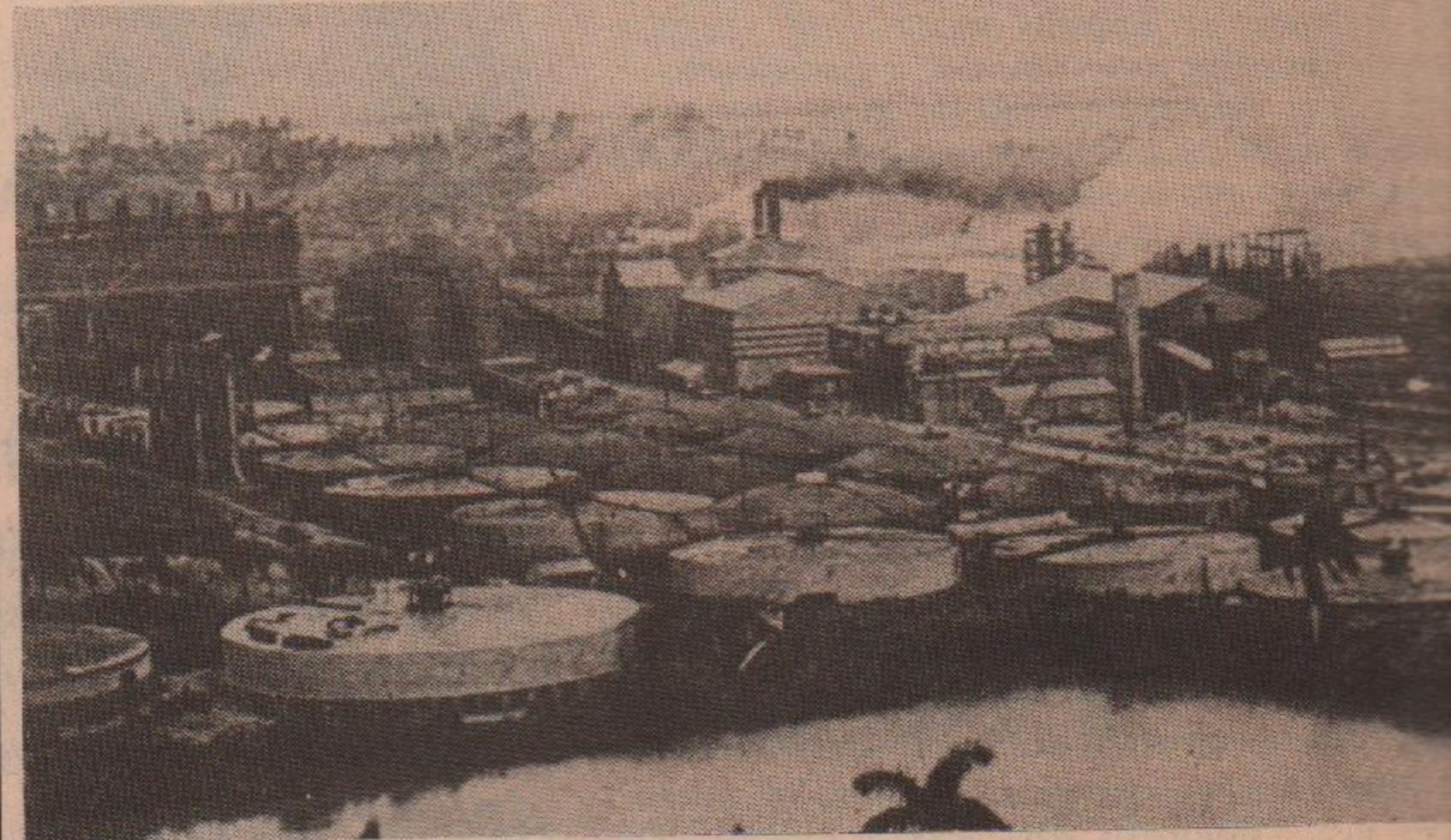
The Cuban experience

Cuba has had to confront similar problems. In his speeches, President Castro identifies the peasant free market and the misapplication of material incentives as key sources for the regeneration of capitalist tendencies. This process has led 'to the creation of a wealthy class in Cuba, as large or larger than the bourgeoisie which the Revolution expropriated.' Critically, these tendencies showed the potential to infect the whole of society, including state and party organs. President Castro, leader of the most vibrant and vigorous revolution of our times, emphasises the importance of keeping politics at the forefront of the revolution.

'The Revolution doesn't mean economic development alone. It also means defending an ideology, our homeland and a whole series of values that must be promoted amidst very difficult conditions.'

As private wealth accumulated through the peasant free market so the radius of the power of the street vendors' movement expanded to influence other sections of society. Resources were diverted from their planned destination. 'We also found that a very large number of state enterprises throughout the country were involved in these irregularities committed by the peasants. A free trade mentality had sprung up, and the cooperatives were selling to enterprises they had no right to sell to. They were also going into town, setting up stands and stalls and selling to people. There was a bit of everything - real chaos.'

Along with the prosperity of the free peasant market spread an atmosphere in which crime and delinquency reappeared, 'There was an increase in the crime rate, but what concerned us most was



Cuba's developing industrial sector

the increase in the ambition for money, the spirit of profit that was invading our working class. This really was a source of deep concern, because if there is one thing we must keep pure it is our working class because it is our vanguard.'

Material incentives versus consciousness

Material incentives do not in themselves conflict with the socialist principle 'From each according to their ability, to each according to their work'. However, Castro reminds us, 'Marx himself said that this formula does not go beyond the narrow limits of bourgeois right,' which, in practice, is a right of inequality: workers being differently endowed with skills, family commitments etc. From his examination of Cuban work norms and bonuses Fidel Castro concluded that the principle was being abused 'because when you start paying out money that is not related to work, you're violating the socialist formula'. This resulted in the payment of excessively high salaries.

Castro likened the use of material incentives to the treatment of workers as mercenaries. He recollected Che Guevara's arguments. Guevara greatly distrusted material incentives as a means of managing a socialist economy, and envisaged their disappearance:

'We do not negate the objective need for material incentives, but we are reluctant to use them as a fundamental element. We believe that in economics such a lever becomes an end in itself and then begins to impose its own force on the relationships among men. We should not forget that material incentives come from capitalism and are destined to die under socialism.'

'How are we going to make them die? 'Little by little, through gradual increases in consumer goods for the people, which will make this type of incentive unnecessary - we are told. We see in this answer a very rigid mechanism. Consumer goods, that is the watchword and the great moulder, in the end of consciousness, according to the defenders of the other system. We believe that direct material incentives and consciousness are contradictory terms.' (Che Guevara, *On the Budgetary System of Finance*, 1964)

The construction of socialism is the self-emancipation of the working class. While feudalism depended upon brute force and ignorance to discipline its labour force and capitalism upon the threat of unemployment and hunger, the communist organisation of labour rests upon the free and conscious discipline of workers themselves.

President Castro makes political education of the workforce central to socialist construction, 'Among the

workers our work is based mainly on material incentives, and this leads to corruption. I was worried, because while the sector of intellectual workers could acquire greater political development, the working class vanguard might become politically underdeveloped, and this is what I'd seen everywhere.'

The narrow economic outlook which places output as an end in itself, manifests itself in the pricing policies of state enterprises, whereby one would increase its profits at the expense of another's efficiency. 'No matter how important profits might be, enterprises must think first of the country and society. When an enterprise thinks of its own interests it starts to become a two-bit capitalist enterprise... Therefore, if we have

alternative but to have enterprises do cost-accounting even though it resembles a capitalist mechanism, we will have a list of moral and revolutionary principles which a socialist enterprise must respect and which define what can and can't be done'.

In this respect, Castro considers, an enterprise that would seek to improve equipment, because it is cheaper than Cuban produce, even at the expense of valuable foreign exchange reserves thereby placing its individual interests ahead of those of the country and revolution. He also condemns those managers who would cheat and bend law in order to achieve production quotas. 'Worker consciousness is more important than meeting any plan. If I were an enterprise and had to choose between safeguarding worker consciousness between acting honestly and meeting the plan, no matter what the consequences, you can rest assured that I would protect worker consciousness and act honestly.'

Revolutionary measures

The achievements of the Cuban revolution are renowned: a Third World country without beggars or poverty, literacy rate higher than that of the USA, a health service to compare with any in the world and the most sustained economic growth in Latin America and the Caribbean. Yet President Castro has launched this penetrating self-critique of the revolution's progress. In Cuba today the motto of the student youth is 'each new generation will be more revolutionary than the previous one'. Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba are ensuring that for as long as imperialism exists it will have to confront the sons and daughters of a generation that defeated it at El Giron, who turned back the apartheid army in Angola, who resisted cannon fire and jets with hand-guns in Grenada and who give their lives selflessly for the oppressed of the world in Nicaragua. The revolution goes forward continually rekindles its principles imperialism will drive it into retreat.

The peasant free market was eliminated in May, wage rates are under examination, new norms are being implemented, profits have been confiscated from some enterprises, and the Committee for finance has ordered an internal audit which should increase workers' control over resources in warehouses. These are only the preliminary measures. Earlier this year the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba was revitalised with new members taken from the youth, black people and women. Following Fidel Castro's example they are taking Cuba forward to be in the vanguard of world revolution as we step onto the threshold of the twenty first century.

Trevor Rayne

BIOGRAPHY AND WRITINGS

5 March: Born in Zamość, south-eastern Poland.

Goes into exile in Switzerland, because of political activities.

1892 March: in opposition to the Polish Socialist Party (founded end 1892) instrumental in forming the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland – Luxemburg defines her position on the national question, as regarding movement for the national liberation of Poland as archaic.

1893 Publishes *The Industrial Development of Poland* – seeks to give economic arguments to show that economic developments have rendered the demand for Polish independence outdated.

1894 First major published work, *Reform or Revolution*, a critique of Eduard Bernstein's *Evolutionary Socialism*. Strongly influenced by Fabians, an English middle-class socialist group, Bernstein used 'Marxist' arguments to show that capitalism need no longer be overthrown by revolution and could be peacefully transformed into socialism.

1895 Participates in various SPD Congresses and the Congress of the Socialist International (1896).

1896 August: found guilty of 'sedition', simply for saying to the German Emperor that 'a man who talks about the security and good living of the German workers has no idea of the real facts' – receives 6 weeks of a 3 month sentence.

1898 December: leaves for Warsaw to take part in the growing revolutionary movement, inspired by the First Russian Revolution (began 22 January 1917).

1900 4 March: arrested along with Leo Jogiches.

1901 April – 8 July: imprisoned under harsh conditions in the notorious Pavilion X of the Warsaw Citadel, for 'dangerous' political prisoners.

1902 18-24 August: Second International Stuttgart Congress: wins conference to her position (supported by Lenin) that: '...our agitation in case of war is not only aimed at ending that war, but at hastening that war to hasten the general collapse of the capitalist rule.'

1903 February: breaks with Kautsky over the suffrage movement.

1904 Publishes *The Accumulation of Capital*, an attempt to analyse the latest developments in capitalism, and to show the economic necessity of militarism and war.

1905 4 August: war breaks out.

1906 18 February: arrested for organising demonstrations against the war.

1907 10 April: writes *The Junius pamphlet, The Basis of Social Democracy*, praised by Lenin for being '...decidedly opposed to the imperialist and...decidedly in favour of revolutionary war...' (emphasis in original CW 22 p318).

1908 6-9 April: Founding Congress of the Independent Socialist Party (USPD). Luxemburg's Spartacus League joins, while maintaining an independent organisation, in the hope of winning over the USPD to a revolutionary position.

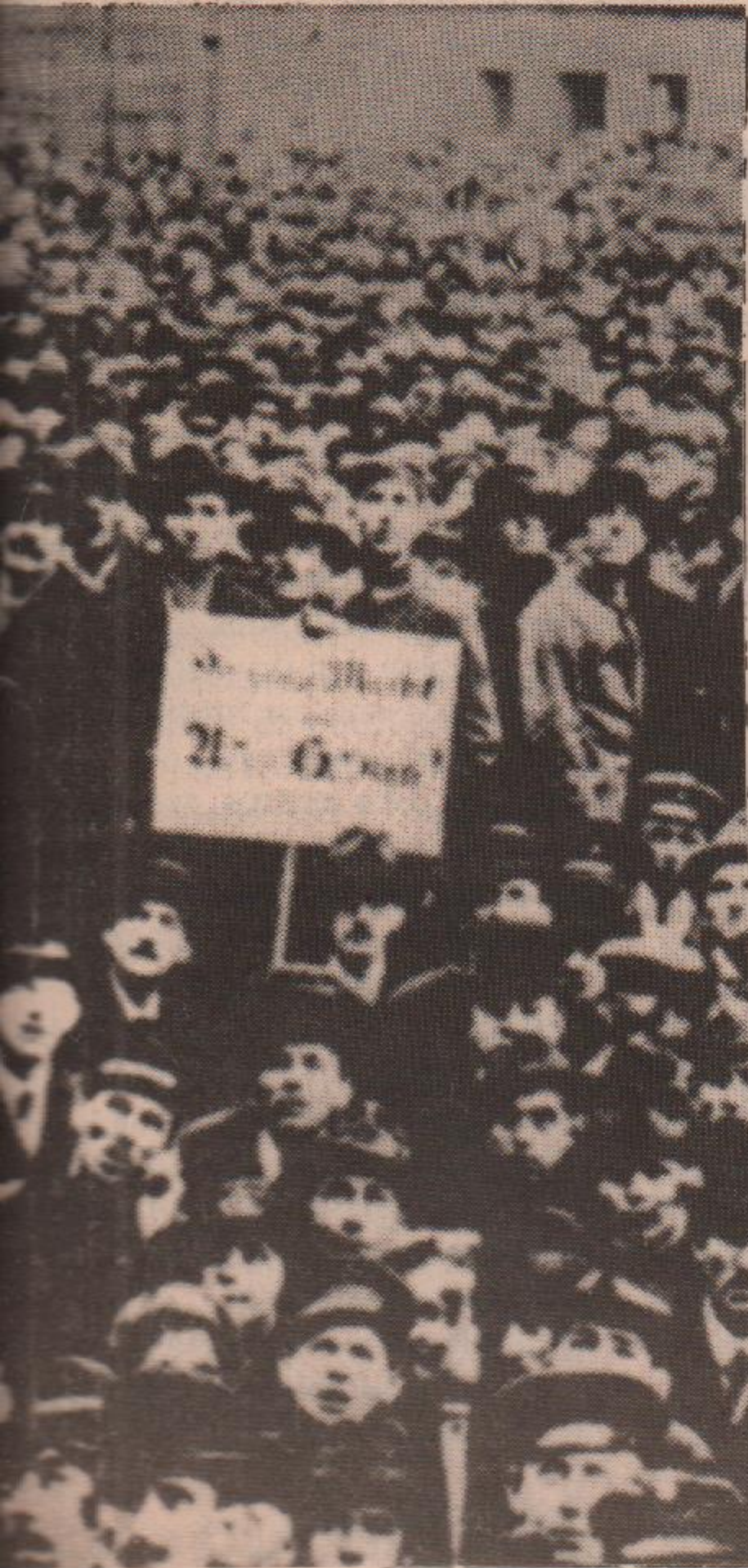
1909 September: writes a critical review of the Russian Revolution, not published until after her death.

1910 November: released from prison.

1911 December-1 January: Founding Congress of the KPD (German Communist Party) for which she writes the programme.

1912 15 January: arrested and murdered by SPD-gated Freikorps after the January uprising.

After her death Lenin wrote that, in spite of her mistakes, '...she will be dear to the memory of Communists in the whole world...her biography and the complete edition of her works... will be a useful lesson in the education of many generations of Communists.' (quoted by Nettl, p793)



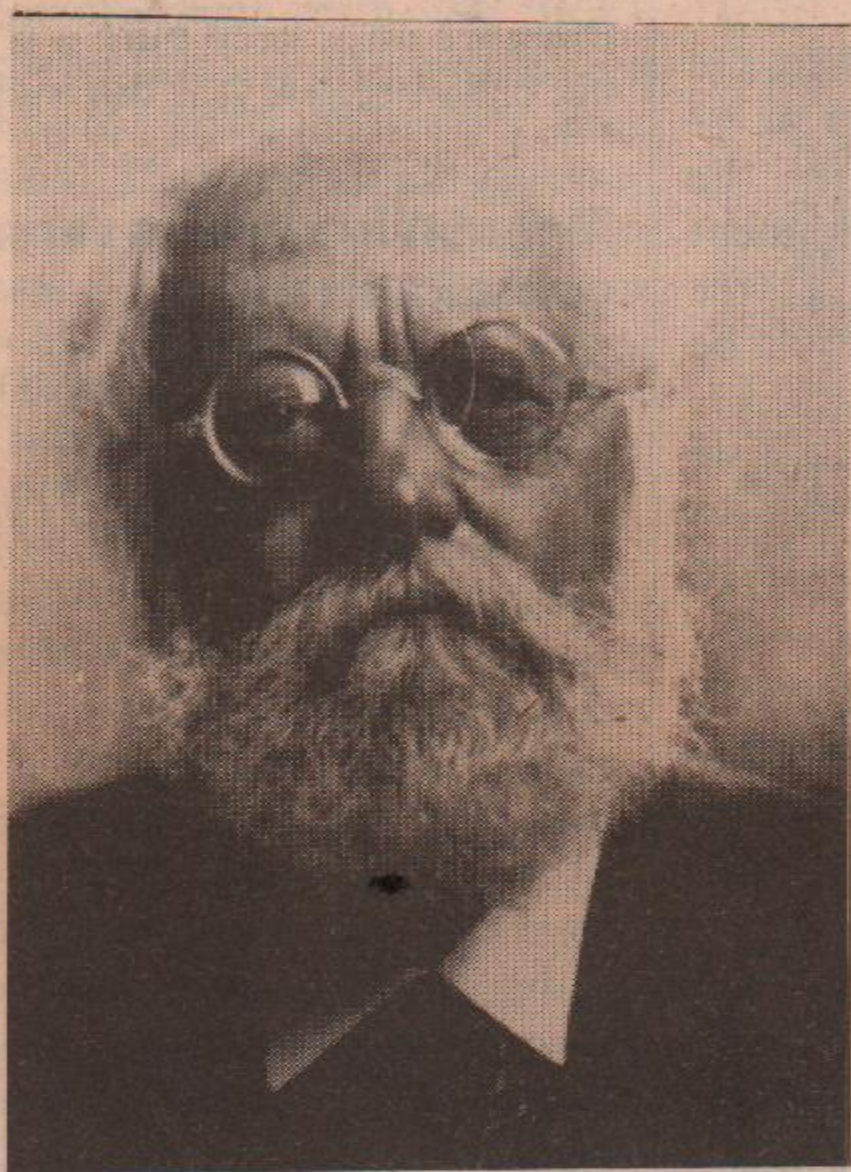
BLOODY ROSA

'Rosa Luxemburg was right. She realised long ago that Kautsky was a time-serving theorist, serving the majority of the party, serving opportunism in short.'

(Lenin, letter to Shlyapnikov 17 October 1914)

Margarethe von Trotta's film Rosa has sparked off considerable press coverage of the life of German Communist Rosa Luxemburg. Nicknamed 'Bloody Rosa', Luxemburg was murdered in 1919, along with her comrade Karl Liebknecht, by right wing troops hired by the German Social Democratic Party.

Here we print a political account of Luxemburg's opposition to social democracy, an extract from the Spartacus League programme, and two differing views of von Trotta's attempt to remove 'Bloody' from Rosa's reputation.



Below left Berlin 1919 a demonstration of the Berlin Soviet calling for 'All power to the Soviets'.
Above left Karl Kautsky **centre** Rosa Luxemburg **right** Leo Jogiches



Karl Kautsky appears more often in von Trotta's film than any of Luxemburg's opponents: skulking behind pillars as the SPD (German Socialist Party) votes to support an imperialist war... nervously disagreeing with Rosa when she insists that the SPD must conduct a militant struggle for democratic demands... derided by Rosa for his 'dry, schoolmasterly' manner. Who was he, this object of her revolutionary scorn?

Karl Kautsky (1854-1938) had by 1909 established himself as the leading Marxist theorist of the Second International. His authority was acknowledged by all trends of socialist opinion, including that of Lenin. The highpoint of his revolutionary theory was *The Road to Power* (1909), in which, recognising the approach of imperialist war and the imminence of massive revolutionary struggles, he called for an alliance between the socialist movement in the west and national liberation movements in the east.

But as Rosa cries out in the film: 'his Marxism gives up just when a revolutionary situation is at hand'. From 1909 the threat of imperialist war increasingly became a reality – and Kautsky moved in the opposite direction from the rising revolutionary movement.

The movement began with a struggle for a basic democratic demand, the right to vote. Government proposals (of 4 February 1910) for electoral 'reform'



soldiers. Election of all superiors by the troops, subject to recall at any time. Repeal of military justice.

5. Removal of officers and re-enlisted soldiers from all soldiers' councils.
6. Replacement of all political organs and authorities of the former regime by delegates of the workers' and soldiers' councils.
7. Installation of a revolutionary tribunal before which the main parties guilty of the war and its prolongation – the two Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Tirpitz and their fellow criminals, as well as all conspirators of the counter-revolution – shall appear for sentencing.
8. Immediate seizure of all foodstuffs in order to ensure that the people is supplied with food.

relative and executive power.

5. Provisional meeting of the Central Council at least once every three months – the delegates being elected anew for each meeting – to provide a permanent control of the activity of the Executive Council and to establish active contact between the mass of the workers' and soldiers' councils throughout the nation and their supreme organ of government. Right of the local workers' and soldiers' councils to recall and replace their representatives in the Central Committee in the event that these representatives fail to act on behalf of those electing them. Right of the Executive Council to appoint and dismiss the people's deputies as well as the central national authorities and civil servants.
6. Abolition of all class discrimination, orders and titles. Complete legal and social equality of the sexes.
7. Decisive social legislation. Shortening of working hours in order to regulate unemployment, taking into account the physical debilitation of the labour force by the world war; maximum six-hour working day.
8. Immediate thoroughgoing transformation of the food-distribution, housing, health and educational systems in the spirit and significance of the proletarian revolution.

amount to be fixed by the Central Council of the Workers and Soldiers.

3. Expropriation of the property of all large- and medium-scale agricultural operations. Formation of socialist agricultural co-operatives under a unified central direction throughout the nation; small rural operations shall remain the property of their owners until they voluntarily join the socialist co-operatives.
4. Expropriation by the republic of all banks, mines, foundries and all large-scale operations in trade and industry.
5. Confiscation of all fortunes above and beyond a certain amount to be fixed by the Central Council.
6. Takeover of all public transport by the republic.
7. Election of firm and factory councils in all operations. These councils, in agreement with the workers' councils, shall order the internal affairs of the firm or factory, regulate working conditions, control production and ultimately assume the management of the operation.
8. Appointment of a central strike commission which, in constant co-operation with the firm and factory councils, shall guarantee the nascent strike movement throughout the nation a uniform management, a socialist course and the most vigorous support by the political power of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

From the Spartacus League programme

In order to enable the proletariat to fulfil these tasks, the Spartacus League demands:

I. As immediate measures to secure the revolution:

1. Disarmament of the entire police force, of all officers and non-proletarian soldiers; disarming all members of the ruling classes.
2. Seizure of all stores of weapons and munitions, as well as of all armaments firms, by the workers' and soldiers' councils.
3. The arming of the entire adult male proletarian population as a workers' militia. Formation of a Red Guard with the workers as the active part of the militia for the permanent protection of the revolution against counter-revolutionary attacks and intrigues.
4. Abolition of the officers' and non-commissioned officers' power of command. Replacement of the blind obedience of the military with voluntary discipline of the

II. In the political and social sphere:

1. Abolition of all individual states; creation of a unified German socialist republic.
2. Elimination of all parliaments and municipal councils and the assumption of their functions by workers' and soldiers' councils and by their committees and organs.
3. Election of workers' councils in all Germany by the whole adult labour force of both sexes in the city and country, according to firm or factory. Election of soldiers' councils by the troops, but excluding the officers and re-enlisted soldiers. Right of the workers and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time.
4. Election of delegates of the workers' and soldiers' councils throughout the nation to the Central Council of Workers and Soldiers, which shall elect the Executive Council as the supreme organ of legis-

III. Immediate economic demands:

1. Confiscation of all dynastic property and rents on behalf of the general public.
2. Annulment of the national debt and other public debts, and of all war loans, excepting for subscriptions of a certain

IV. International tasks:

Immediate establishment of relations with our brother parties abroad in order to place the socialist revolution on an international footing, and to arrange and secure peace by means of the international fraternalism and revolutionary rising of the proletariat of the world.

actually weighted the system slightly more in favour of certain sections of the middle class. Demonstrations, supported by political strikes, broke out almost immediately.

Rosa called on the SPD to spread the movement by revolutionary means and to agitate for a republic – Kautsky censored her articles, refusing to publish anything on agitation for a republic. He feebly argued that ‘...our agitation must escalate not towards the mass strike, but towards the coming Reichstag elections.’ (quoted from: *Karl Kautsky: Selected Political Writings* trans Patrick Goode 1983 p71)

A terrific crisis was ripening in the SPD. Its resolutions and its own Congress (Frankfurt 1913) still called for mass action, including a general strike, in the event of war being declared. In practice it made no attempt to prepare for this situation, and as the labour aristocracy increasingly consolidated its hold over the organisation of the SPD, it became increasingly opportunist.

Thus its right-wing leaders, echoed by Kautsky, spoke of the unlikelihood of war, saying that there had been 40 years of peace. In the film, we hear Rosa’s reply: what about the wars outside Europe during this period? – a reference to colonial wars, such as that in German South-West Africa (now Namibia) in 1907.

When war was declared (4 August 1914) only 1 out of 110 SPD deputies, Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919), voted against it. Immediately Rosa and her comrades sent telegrams to 300 supposedly ‘left-wing’ officials of the SPD – they received one reply in support (from Clara Zetkin). She immediately formed the Spartacus League which attempted to carry out propaganda against the war, not of a pacifist character, as the film suggests, but anti-imperialist. It was Kautsky not Luxemburg who opposed the war from a pacifist position: *his* writings were never censored and he was never imprisoned.

Rosa was imprisoned on 18 February 1915, for organising meetings against the war. She was held in prison for 25 out of the remaining 27 months of the war. There she wrote a devastating cri-

tique of the SPD for *Die Internationale*, arguing that the services the SPD ‘... is rendering to the German war leaders are immeasurable’ because the trade unions ‘shelved their battle for higher wages’ and ‘the Social-Democratic press... uses its daily papers and weekly and monthly periodicals to propagate the war as a national cause and the cause of the proletariat’. In particular she attacked Kautsky for arguing ‘that international socialism was much concerned with the question of doing something against the outbreak of war, but not with doing something after it had broken out’.

She supported Liebknecht’s May Day 1916 demonstration in Berlin. His message ‘Down with the government, down with the war’ rang out across Europe. Along with the Easter Rising in Dublin (24 April) it was a signal of a growing movement against imperialism. The March 1917 Revolution in Russia overthrew the Tsar, undercutting one of the central excuses given by the SPD for supporting the war – that it was a democratic war against Tsarism.

In these circumstances, the SPD began to split up. On 6-9 April 1917 a breakaway group formed the Independent Socialist Party (USPD). Kautsky voted against the formation of a new group but went along with the USPD in an attempt to reconcile it to the old party. Rosa recognised quite clearly that neither Kautsky nor the new party were determined upon a sharp break with the old opportunism: she criticised their ‘... sentimental longing... to return to the party as it was before the war...’ as ‘... one of the most childish Utopias to which this terrible war has given birth.’ (Nettl p657)

With the defeat of the German armies, and with the example of the successful Russian Revolution before them, German workers and soldiers carried out a general strike in Berlin on 9 November 1918, bringing to power a new government with Friedrich Ebert (SPD) as President and an executive of 3 SPD and 3 USPD delegates. Reluctantly forced by mass pressure to declare a republic, Ebert conspired with a leading member of the German General Staff,



1919 Street fighting in Berlin during the Spartacus Rising

Groener, to have troops ready to use against the socialist left. Just to make certain, at the end of December a leading SPD official, Noske, formed the *Freikorps*, a para-military force led by extreme right-wing officers.

A premature insurrection provoked by the SPD began in Berlin on 6 January 1919 – despite misgivings Rosa supported it whole-heartedly. It failed – and in the ensuing repression hundreds of workers in Berlin alone were killed by Noske’s forces. Leaders of an SPD regiment put a price on the heads of Rosa and Karl, and the hunt was on. They were murdered by *Freikorps* forces on 15 January. With SPD connivance, the courts declared that martial law was in force and the murderers were either acquitted or given derisory sentences. On 10 March Rosa’s life-long comrade, Leo Jogiches (Tyszko) was imprisoned and shot in the back while in prison. Shortly afterwards, his murderer was promoted! In a period when the capitalist order in Germany was on the brink of overthrow, the SPD had proved a better defender of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself, while its ‘critics’ such as Kautsky obliged with their silence.

Patrick Newman

This article is based on the most informative biography, P Nettel’s *Rosa Luxemburg* (2 vols Oxford 1966) and the best English-language selection of her writings, *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* (Pathfinder 1970).

In order to present the character, the film uses the wonderful material in Rosa’s love letters to Jogiches, and in her letters to friends, many of them written from prison. These reflect her choices and her sorrows. Despite her deep unhappiness in her relationship with fellow revolutionary Leo Jogiches – he would neither commit himself nor go, until she had to sever the relationship: despite seemingly always being torn between finding personal happiness and the work which she chose and wanted to do more, Rosa Luxemburg lived and fought and died a revolutionary.

In 1986, when the ‘new realism’ of the well-off socialists is dragging every working class principle in the gutter, the film celebrates the life and personality of one communist who would not go in the gutter. That is relevant for us. Von Trotta makes a central theme of an important conflict for many women who want to *do* as well as to *be*. She poses relations between men and women as a problem even within the revolutionary movement.

And it is very interesting to know that Rosa Luxemburg, the revolutionary, was human enough to balk at Jogiches, who could write her a letter ‘composed of six sheets covered with debates about the Party and not one word about ordinary life’. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote back to him, it made her feel ‘quite faint’. That she loved ‘ordinary life’ so much and yet chose another life is surely something worth saying.

Von Trotta’s *Rosa* is human, strong and convincing; more so than the ‘Bloody Rosa’ of German Social Democratic (and fascist) mythology. If the men in the film seem a bit cardboard – well, for once it’s a film about a powerful woman and not a powerful man.

Maggie Mellon

The Red and the Green

Perhaps the key to the profound disagreement I have with Margarethe von Trotta’s portrayal of Rosa Luxemburg lies in the following:

‘In her research for the film, von Trotta read over 2,000 of Luxemburg’s letters. “Sometimes I read a letter and found her warm-hearted and loveable and felt myself drawn to her. Then in another she would be polemical and so self-opinionated that I felt remote from her. Then I read another and she was wonderful again.”’ *Guardian* 18 August 1986.

Margarethe von Trotta’s film is one-sided – deliberately so. Her ‘obsession’ with Rosa Luxemburg’s life is rooted in the fact that Luxemburg ‘never gave up being a woman’. Judging by the film, for von Trotta, being a woman is to be ‘warm-hearted’ and ‘loveable’. At great length we witness her love of nature, animals, flowers, children – ‘I’m closer to the titmouse than my comrades’. All the men in the film certainly come across as more despicable than titmice: Bernstein and Kautsky, the betrayers, boorish and pompous; Jogiches (co-incidentally a major figure in the Polish underground) her unfaithful lover; Liebknecht, single-minded, ultra-left; and the one worker (male or otherwise) who gets a line to speak, asks an idiotic question.

But there is more at work in this film than merely the representation of Rosa Luxemburg as a ‘woman’ – whatever the definition of ‘woman’ may be. Von Trotta has taken on the self-appointed task of rehabilitating ‘Bloody Rosa’ as a woman and a pacifist *not* as a communist living in a period of our history which witnessed the fundamental division between social democracy and communism. Of course the film takes account of the historical background – it can scarcely fail to do so – but the history is robbed of its most profound lessons.

The German Social Democratic Party was not just the collection of well-dressed, bought-off, be-suited men which von Trotta very adequately portrays. The *social force* behind the SPD and the Second International, which Rosa Luxemburg called a ‘stinking corpse’, was a vast and powerful trade union movement wedded to constitutionalism – the precursor of every such trade union movement in the imperialist nations today. Bernstein and Kautsky were the front men for the labour aristocracy which led millions to slaughter in the First World War. In von Trotta’s film they are merely patronising men.

And the film is denuded of the social force which opposed the Second International. After the 1905 revolution, the Bolsheviks are written out of the script. It would certainly be difficult to portray Lenin as a green pacifist – had he been a woman, perhaps von Trotta would have given it a try.

Rosa Luxemburg wasn’t just a nature-loving woman, she was a communist revolutionary. She wasn’t a pacifist, she was fighting for power alongside other communists. When the First World War was declared Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin stood at the head of a mass working class women’s move-

ment which opposed the war. Zetkin – portrayed in the film as the mother of Rosa’s young lover – edited the Party’s paper for women *Die Gleichheit* until she was sacked for being too revolutionary. The uprising which led to the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht was not von Trotta’s isolated ultra-left adventure, it was led by the working class against the SPD, and soviets were already being formed in many regions of Germany.



Luxemburg and Liebknecht in Rosa

Is it a good film? Even though I cannot judge the poetic qualities of the script (badly mauled by the subtitles apparently), I have to conclude that it isn’t. It’s pleasant to see a film about a revolutionary for a change. But a good film requires more. It needs to have integrity for its subject as well as be entertaining, stimulating etc. This film is about Margarethe von Trotta masquerading as Rosa Luxemburg in the early years of this century. Von Trotta would have done better to choose as her subject one of the bourgeois feminists who abounded at the time, loathed by Rosa Luxemburg and her comrades.

Von Trotta believes that her film corrects ‘the image that West Germans have of Rosa Luxemburg as some kind of communist terrorist’. Yes, communists are human beings too – prey to all the same emotions and sentiments as anyone else. Redressing the balance of bourgeois propaganda that we are all ruthless, steely-eyed supporters of a grey monolith is a worthwhile task. But having watched the film, I prefer the ‘Red Rosa’ to the rehabilitated ‘Green Rosa’. Neil Kinnock, with the fresh blood of the striking miners on his hands, has just said ‘I would die for my country and what it stands for. I would never let my country die for me.’ Plenty of ‘Bloody Rosas’ will be needed to deal with today’s Bernsteins.

Carol Brickley

Powerful woman

If you go to see von Trotta’s *Rosa* expecting to see a documentary-style account of the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg and the times she lived in, you will doubtless be disappointed. *Rosa* is an account of that life which places emphasis on her personal sorrows and conflicts as well as her great achievements. It does not deal directly in documentary fashion with the great political issues of the time. Instead, it presents you with images – of the smugness of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) leadership, of Rosa and her comrades pitted against the slide into betrayal and opportunism, desperate to seize the new times and the new revolutionary opportunities.

Her political enemy, Bernstein, asks her for a dance – she refuses because she ‘can’t dance with you one night and polemicise against you tomorrow’. In other words she took her politics seriously and couldn’t stomach others not doing so. Kautsky, too, is never more a ‘renegade’ than when seen skulking behind a pillar rather than face her contempt for supporting the war.

These scenes strike home at more than the long dead Kautsky and Bernstein. They stimulate an interest in finding out what the issues at stake were, the actual terms of Luxemburg’s standpoint and *how* such a major split could have come about. The betrayal is still being perpetrated by our Kautskys and Bernsteins: the Kinnocks and Livingstones.

What side are you on? That of your imperialist ruling class or that of the working class at home and internationally? Rosa Luxemburg was unfailingly on the right side – and the film demonstrates this throughout. Despite von Trotta’s push to confuse her internationalism as a form of pacifism, there are striking proofs of the opposite which burst through to deny the opening description of her as a pacifist. The first speech she makes is celebrating the 1905 Russian revolution for the very fact that workers fought *instead of* suffering. Her last act is to support the

Spartacus rising in Germany at the end of the war, despite judging it to be premature.

But more than being on the right side, Rosa Luxemburg suffered to be this. She did not love Leo Jogiches or other men or friends more than her work in the revolutionary movement. Nor did she love animals more than the working class. But at times she most certainly wished she did. The film shows that she suffered for her choices, wondering if the sacrifices were worth it, and if she could bear them.

In the end, in the middle and in the beginning, she chose the cause of communism, of revolution. The film is in many ways about this choice, despite von Trotta not being clear about what exactly politically Rosa was choosing.

The final scenes show her in hiding from the security forces of the Social Democratic Party government newly in power at the end of the war. She and Liebknecht, the only SPD deputy to vote against war credits at the start of the war, are captured and murdered with the connivance of the SPD, their former ‘comrades’ – who early in the film are shown warning Rosa Luxemburg ‘jokingly’ that when they *did* win power they would have to hang her. Characteristically, she answered seriously that ‘We will see who does the hanging’.

Stalemate in Lebanon

The stalemate that has characterised Lebanese politics for the past months remains unbroken. None of the main forces contesting the political and military battlefield – the Syrians, the Israelis, the Phalangists, the bourgeois Muslim Amal or the Shiite fundamentalist Hizbollah – are yet strong enough to impose their designs on the country. The Lebanese and Palestinian secular democratic and left-wing movement, alone possessing a programme capable of resolving the fundamental questions confronting the Lebanese and Palestinian oppressed masses, remains grievously weakened following the Syrian inspired anti-Palestinian 'camp wars' in 1985 and spring 1986.

At the end of September, President Assad of Syria suffered yet another setback in his campaign to bring the pro-Zionist, Phalangist Lebanese Forces to heel. Led by Samir Geagea the Lebanese Forces are, at the moment, the main obstacle to Syrian efforts to bring together the country's bourgeois factions – primarily the Amal and the Phalangists – in order to impose a settlement capable of guaranteeing Lebanon against the democratic secular movement. The Syrian inspired coup attempt by Eli Hobeika's pro-Syrian Phalangist militia ended disastrously when Geagea militias assisted by the Lebanese army repulsed Hobeika's attempts to take control of Christian East Beirut. In the fiercest inter-Christian fighting for years, 65 people were killed and over 500 wounded. Geagea, representing the Phalangist petit-bourgeoisie stubbornly refusing to make any concessions to the Muslim bourgeoisie – a condition for any Syrian sponsored deal – remains for the moment master of East Beirut.



Meanwhile in South Lebanon on 23 and 25 September Israeli jets attacked Palestinian refugee camps for the 11th

time this year. Whilst causing severe damage they have failed to prevent the slow but certain process of Palestinian revolutionaries rearming and reorganising in South Lebanon. The Zionists are becoming increasingly desperate as their puppet South Lebanon Army (SLA) takes a battering from a combination of attacks from revolutionary forces and from the Shiite fundamentalists of Hizbollah. On 23 September the Zionists massed their forces on the Lebanese border and rushed in additional supplies to the SLA to prevent its collapse and the final disintegration of Zionist control over the so-called 'security zone'.

Following the Syrian sponsored attacks on Lebanese secular democratic forces, the Hizbollah have emerged as the most prominent force challenging continued Zionist occupation of Lebanese territory. While attacking the SLA, the Hizbollah has also launched a concerted campaign against the imperialist United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). In the past 6 weeks their main target, the French contingent, has suffered 4 deaths and over 33 wounded. Trying to steal the leadership in the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle, the Hizbollah are simultaneously attempting to undermine Amal's dominance in south Lebanon – a dominance secured in part by its collaboration with UNIFIL and particularly the French contingent. Hizbollah's political influence is, however, limited, both by its sectarian fundamentalist stand and its reactionary anti-communism which has led it to conduct assassination campaigns against Lebanese communists. Incapable of commanding the support of the broad popular forces, shown by a 50,000 strong demonstration in Sidon against its attacks on UNIFIL, the Hizbollah will become little more than an instrument of its financial masters in Iran or of the militarily more powerful Syrian backed forces in Lebanon.

Eddie Abrahams

Pinochet cornered

The 7 September grenade and machine gun attack on President Pinochet's motorcade underlined the mass opposition, spanning all sectors of society, that now exists to the military regime in Chile. It came after a sustained period of protest including a nationwide strike on 2 and 3 July, and mass demonstrations on 4 September calling for the immediate restoration of democracy. For the first time barricades were erected around the middle class districts of Santiago.

The core of the resistance and chief source of recruitment for the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, which carried out the attack, remain the shanty towns where up to 90 per cent of the youth are unemployed. During the peaks of the protests these districts have been virtually no-go areas for the state forces. However, when the barricades are removed armed police and soldiers storm in to arrest and torture the youth. Over 30 shanty towns have been invaded by Pinochet's troops this year alone. Following the 7 September attack Pinochet declared a state of siege including the power to arrest without a warrant, to expel suspects from the country, to ban public gatherings and impose press censorship.

Against this background of attrition the middle class continues to suffer a decline in its standards and can see no solution to its problems other than the removal of Pinochet. Chile's \$22 billion foreign debt is savaging the economy. Interest payments alone consume all of Chile's copper earnings. Unashamedly, Pinochet has been trading shares in Chilean companies to his creditors in exchange for a cut in debt repayments. About half of Chile's population are without full-time employment, average

per capita consumption is below its 1970 level, and the purchasing power of those in work has dropped by up to 15 per cent over the last 18 months.

With the unrest spreading and showing no signs of abating sections of the military have been hinting to Pinochet that it may soon be time for him to go. Into this context steps the US. It has been openly wooing the centre right opposition lead by the Christian Democrats and Democratic Alliance. The US ambition is to halt the radicalisation of opposition groups, and to select a suitable replacement for Pinochet when the time proves necessary.

Pinochet is backed into a corner. He has unleashed the death squads to kill as they did when he took power in 1973. Only this time he faces a working class not in retreat but moving forward. The question facing that movement is whether it will go on to drive Pinochet from the stage, or whether it will allow the US and its allies in the army and ruling class to shuffle him aside for other, less tainted, figures as they did with Duvalier in Haiti.

Trevor Rayne
Andy Price

Sri Lankan government conceals mass hunger strike

continued from page 1

Evidence presented in the 89 page report *Sri Lanka: "Disappearances"* published this September by Amnesty International, confirms the indiscriminate and brutal tactics of Jayewardene's army. The report details eye-witness accounts of the seizure and disappear-

ance of 272 people (271 Tamils, 1 Sinhalese) over the past 20 months. In one case some 100 Tamil men were taken from their villages never to be seen again. However, one detainee reports seeing about 100 Tamils being led away from an army camp in the same vicinity as the seizure and, on the same day, followed by some 100 shots, a huge fire which his army guard said was 'the Tamil army going up in flames'. Amnesty International also reports systematic torture, including beatings, burnings and hanging upside down for long periods.

Quick to stamp out any opposition to

his war emerging from within the Sinhalese population, Jayewardene has turned his repressive apparatus against the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League. The RCL give unconditional support to the Tamil people's right to self-determination. Two of its members, Brutan Perera and Vitan Peiris, have been detained by the Sri Lankan police. Perera had previously been detained along with two other RCL members for his campaigning work on the Tamil question. He was on bail when rearrested, and faces the possibility of very serious charges.

Meanwhile, Jayewardene's negotiations with the Tamil United Liberation Front (see *FRFI* 62) are stalemated, with Jayewardene refusing to accept even the unity of northern and eastern Tamil areas within the Sri Lankan state: a demand far short of national sovereignty which is the will of the Tamil masses.

On the war front Jayewardene's air-force continues its indiscriminate bombing raids. In September among the dead was a West German broadcaster from the Voice of Germany stationed in the Trincomalee district. When his colleague, who witnessed the raid, complained

to the Sri Lankan army it issued its usual denial of responsibility and blamed the 'terrorists'. Also in the east the Tamil Tigers brought down an enemy plane in what was the first reported use of an 'anti-aircraft weapon'.

With Jayewardene unable to either defeat or hoodwink the Tamil people he is resorting to even more barbarity. The voice of international protest must be raised in defence of the Tamil people, Jayewardene's crimes must be exposed, and his gangster hand must be stayed.

Trevor Rayne



UNDERSTANDING MARXISM

Marx's Critique of Political Economy

6 THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

Surplus value is the difference between the value of labour power and the value which the labour power creates in the labour process. It is produced once the working day is longer than the necessary time to produce the equivalent of the worker's means of subsistence. Surplus value can, therefore, be increased by lengthening the working day. This is *absolute surplus value*.

If the length of the working day is fixed, then surplus value can be increased by reducing the labour time necessary to produce the worker's means of subsistence, that is, by a fall in the value of labour power. The worker gets the same means of subsistence as before, but now it is produced in less time. Surplus value produced as a result of a reduction in necessary labour time or by a fall in the

value of labour power is called *relative surplus value*. Such a fall in the value of labour power is brought about by an increased productivity of labour in those industries which produce the worker's means of subsistence, or which provide the machinery and raw materials etc for such industries. Suppose the working day is eight hours divided equally between necessary and surplus labour time. If the productivity of labour now increases so that the equivalent of the worker's means of subsistence can be produced in three hours instead of four, the surplus labour time will be increased from four to five hours. The rate of exploitation, the ratio of surplus to necessary labour time, will have increased from 100 per cent to 167 per cent.

Capitalist production has as its aim and driving force the production of the greatest amount of surplus value. When capital accumulates it converts this surplus value into new capital. The accumulation of capital, therefore, not only maintains the existing capital but enlarges it. Accumulation of capital is both the reproduction and expansion of capital.

Continuous accumulation of capital would soon come up against the limits of the existing working population. The length of the normal working day has its physical and social limits. So under capitalist production a transition from the production of absolute surplus value (extension of the working day) to that of relative surplus value (decreasing the necessary part of the working day by an increase in the social productivity of labour) takes place. Together with this change, occurs, generally, an increase in the *intensity* of labour as the capitalist tries to obtain more value per unit of time (in-

creased expenditure of labour in a given time) from the same worker, so increasing the surplus value produced in a working day. However, the increase of the intensity of labour also has physical and social limits so that the main method for increasing surplus value under developed capitalist conditions is through increasing the social productivity of labour that is through technical change.

In general, therefore, accumulation of capital 'revolutionises out and out the technical processes of labour'.

Any change in technique involves a change in the composition of capital. This means a change in machinery or chemical process etc and/or a different organisation of work so as to get more out of labour. This leads to an increase in the mass of means of production (machinery, raw materials etc) per worker employed or a rise in the *technical composition of capital*. Increases in productivity involving a rise in the technical composition of capital in turn lead to changes in the *value composition of capital*, that is the ratio of *constant capital*, or value of the means of production, and *variable capital*, or value of labour power. Between the technical and value composition of capital there is a 'strict correlation'.

'The value composition, in so far as it is determined by its technical composition and mirrors the changes of the latter (is called) the *organic composition of capital*'.

The organic composition of capital will rise although not as fast as the technical composition of capital due to the increasing productivity of labour.

'As a result of this increasing pro-

ductivity of labour however, a part of the existing constant capital is continually depreciated in value, for its value depends not on the labour time it costs originally but on the labour time with which it can be reproduced and this is continually diminishing as the productivity of labour grows. Although, therefore, the value of the constant capital does not increase in proportion to its amount, it increases nevertheless because its amount increases even more rapidly than its value falls.'

In its relentless drive to increase surplus value, the accumulation of capital leads to a *rising organic composition of capital*. Constant capital continually grows in relation to variable capital.

The compulsion to increase the productivity of labour through an increase in the means of production per worker employed is expressed in reality through competition between capitalists and the need to reduce costs of production. The capitalist who is able to introduce a new technique first can derive extra surplus value (profits) until the new technique becomes more generally available. However, this is not its explanation, which Marx has deduced from the accumulation process of capital without reference to the competition between capitalists.

With the advance of accumulation and the rapid growth in the productivity of labour the proportion of constant to variable capital rapidly changes. If it was originally 1:1, it now became 2:1, 3:1, 4:1, 5:1, 7:1 etc so that as the capital increases, instead of 1/2 of its total value, only 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/7 etc is transformed into labour power and, on the other hand, 2/3, 3/4, 6/7 etc, into means of production. Since the demand for labour is not determined by

the amount of total capital but by its variable constituent alone, that demand falls progressively with the increase of the total capital. It falls relatively to the magnitude of the total capital, and at an accelerated rate as this magnitude increases. Although there will also be an increase of variable capital, with the growth of the total capital, it will be at an ever diminishing rate. An ever more rapid accumulation of capital is needed to absorb an additional number of workers, or given that the old capital is continually being replaced by more productive new capital, to keep even the same level of employment. In such a way the accumulation of capital constantly produces a relatively redundant population of workers, that is, a greater workforce than can be employed by it. Capitalism depends upon the constant transformation of a part of the working population 'into unemployed or half-employed hands'. Capital creates an industrial reserve army of labour.

'The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productivity of its labour, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital develop also the labour power at its disposal.'

The same causes which expand capital create unemployment. That, says Marx, is the *absolute general law of capitalist accumulation* which, while modified in its working by many circumstances, expresses the overriding trend in the production of wealth under the capitalist system.

David Reed



A women's militia of the NPA in training

Communist gains in the Philippines

The process of class polarisation in the Philippines, slackened briefly following the 'Aquino revolution' in February, has resumed and is accelerating in conditions more favourable for the working class and oppressed masses. The relatively democratic and open conditions created by the 22-25 February 'peoples power' movement is being used by the working class and oppressed to organise themselves to fight for their own interests. The Filipino Labour Ministry records 428 strikes so far this year, compared to 371 for the whole of 1985.

The revolutionary forces, primarily the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the National Democratic Front (NDF) and the New Peoples Army (NPA), have become the driving force in a confident and advancing movement. The International Herald Tribune comments that the communists 'have emerged as the only unified force with a clear, common goal.' With the CPP still illegal, Jose Sison and Barnabe Buscayno - both founder members of the CPP and NPA - established the Peoples Party in August shortly after their re-

lease from prison. The new party: 'will represent the interests of the masses' and 'fight for the redistribution of land' as well as for the 'ending of foreign imperialism, particularly from the United States.' Its task will be to:

'raise the consciousness of the Filipino people... and organise them not only for elections, but also for other forms of struggle that will occur in the days to come.'

The CPP has carried out a self-criticism of its decision to boycott the February

elections. Describing the boycott as a 'major political blunder' which isolated the party from the 22-25 February 'peoples power' movement, the CPP has readjusted its tactics. It is making a major drive along with the NDF to establish stronger and deeper roots among the urban masses.

However, it is in the countryside that the Filipino ruling class faces its most immediate danger. The NPA which controls one sixth of the country has used the seven months of the Aquino government to reorganise and rearm itself. It has also strengthened its position among the poorest peasantry and rural working class whose conditions have not changed since the 'Aquino revolution'. On the battlefield against the army, NPA fighters are killing nearly 20 soldiers a week. Filipino Chief of Staff General Ramos admits that the ratio of casualties between government troops and the NPA

is now one-to-one compared to the two-to-one in favour of the government under Marcos.

The NPA while consolidating and improving its positions has accepted negotiations and is even prepared to consider a ceasefire with the Aquino government. But it has made clear that it will not, under any circumstances, disarm. A CPP Political Committee member explained that:

'Even though Marcos is gone, party members, the NPA and the masses recognise that the struggle has to continue no matter who is in government, because the causes are still there, the seed of revolution remains and grows.'

All illusions and fantasies that Aquino could ease the class struggle and even exorcise the spectre of revolution, are fast vanishing. Reforms promised by the new President have remained promises lacking the economic means of transforming them into real reforms. Land, the critical demand of the oppressed masses, remains in the hands of a tiny minority. Aquino, their representative, has neither the desire nor the ability to confiscate this land and distribute it to the oppressed. With a \$26.3bn foreign debt to imperialist banks, annually extracting \$2.6bn in interest payments and with the collapse of sugar prices, neither Aquino nor the Filipino ruling class can consider reforms significant enough to reconcile the oppressed and exploited masses to capitalism and imperialism. The President's September visit to the US yielded nothing to help alleviate a rapidly deteriorating economic situation. Aquino was given a standing ovation on appearing at a joint Congressional meeting, but on leaving the country, the Senate voted to reject a request for an additional \$200m in aid. All she managed was to speed the transfer of some \$800m in loans from the IMF and World Bank. Needless to say they imposed conditions favourable to themselves and imperialist multinationals.

The gathering momentum of the mass movement led by organised communist

forces and the deepening economic crisis has precipitated bitter divisions and conflicts within Aquino's Cabinet. The sharpest conflict, between the President and her Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, centres on how to respond to the threat presented to imperialism and capitalism by the growing mass movement and its organised leadership - the CPP and NPA - in particular.

Enrile, a fascist and one time Marcos cabinet minister, has lost patience with Aquino's strategy of disarming the NPA by 'peaceful' means. Ever more insistently, in the face of the NPA's improving positions, Enrile is demanding a full scale military offensive. He is backed by strong factions in the Reagan Administration who have attacked Aquino for her 'lack of effectiveness in handling insurgencies by communists and other groups.' Terrified that the combination of economic crisis and revolutionary organisation may create an unstoppable anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist force, they want to halt the process by means of decisive war.

Amid rumours and speculation of a military coup, Aquino's position for the moment remains relatively secure. Given her still enormous popularity neither Enrile nor the US are prepared to risk a decisive move against her. Yet they are campaigning and plotting to undermine and destroy her strategy. On Tuesday 30 September, the army arrested Rodolfo Salas, chairperson of the CPP and commander of the NAP, just as speculation was mounting that a ceasefire agreement was imminent. The NPA has declared that it will break off negotiations unless Rodolfo Salas is released. If this happens, Aquino will suffer yet another setback and those in her camp calling for war will push forward with greater determination.

While this struggle within the government continues, the revolutionary forces are themselves continuing to organise and prepare for the decisive struggles of the future.

Eddie Abrahams

Recent months have witnessed mounting pressure against the US-backed regime of General Zia ul-Haq. Benazir Bhutto's return to Pakistan in April, after an exile of two years, was marked by mass demonstrations up and down the country: in Karachi nearly 2 million people gathered in the streets to welcome her; and within one month of her return over 10 per cent of the entire population had turned out to see her during her nationwide tour.

Four months of increasing tension culminated on Independence Day, 14 August, when, in defiance of a government ban, Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) called for mass rallies demanding Zia's removal and elections by the end of the year. Bhutto, along with all opposition leaders, was arrested, and in the ensuing protests in major cities scores were killed, hundreds wounded and at least 2,000 arrests were made with extreme violence by the police and armed members of the ruling Muslim League, representing the worst state repression since 1983 when 600 died in anti-government demonstrations. Although Bhutto was released after 25 days, the situation remains volatile.

In a country divided on ethnic and regional issues; where 34% of the population in 1982 was in absolute poverty, having suffered major famines (1950-6, 1960 and 1971-3); where life expectancy is 52 and only 16% are literate, the movement headed by Bhutto has given expression to the discontent of the masses.

Benazir has been welcomed back to Pakistan by many as the political heir to her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In his time Bhutto ruled as a tyrant, imprisoning political opponents and filling the upper ranks of the army with loyal officers. Yet it was precisely this strategy which led to Bhutto's downfall in 1977 when Zia staged the military coup which brought him to power. Zulfikar, the only elected leader in Pakistan's 39-year history, was subsequently hanged in 1979 after a show trial.

Zia, proclaiming a programme of 'Islamisation', has not only manipulated religious fervour and superstition as tools for preserving the social and

economic *status quo*, but has also used them as a blueprint for authoritarianism. After declaring himself President in 1979, Zia dissolved all political parties and banned political activity. With the suspension of the 1973 Constitution, there were no checks against unlawful arrest and detention and the use of torture to extract information. Pakistan has an appalling human rights record under both martial and fundamentalist Muslim Shari'ah law, inflicting cruel punishments and death sentences. In an effort to put up a facade of democracy Zia held elections in February 1985, when less than 25% of the electorate voted. The appointment of a 'civilian' Prime Minister was a further sham. Zia, realising that his pretences were fooling no-one, pulled a surprise by lifting martial law on 30 December, but Pakistan remains a country where the armed forces hold sway.

Benazir Bhutto's apparent popularity amongst the masses stems not from any of her own policies, but rather from the growing anti-Zia sentiment and the myth surrounding her father. Bhutto, herself Oxford-educated, is one of the largest landowners in the country. Her standpoint on domestic policy is quite clear:

'There is such a large gap between the rich and the poor. I want to bridge that gap by creating a strong middle class.'

The alternative 'People's Budget' announced by Bhutto in June offers nothing to the masses: no redistribution of land, no nationalisation, and more foreign loans. Bhutto has shown no determination to repeal the oppressive laws against women, introduced by Zia. Nor

PAKISTAN Zia's rule under threat



Benazir Bhutto

has she made any stand against the laws banning free trade unions and student activities. Rather, she seeks to gain favour with those who already have economic power:

'I want to deregulate and decentralise industrial development and give industrialists tax breaks, so that they will have faith in a stable PPP government.'

Yet the personality cult of Benazir Bhutto has made it difficult for the PPP to establish any kind of organised party structure. She, like her father, has run the PPP as a personal political appendage, refusing to have elections to party posts. The PPP is one party of eleven under the broad banner of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), an uneasy coalition of parties from the religious right to the revolutionary left, almost all of whom are suspicious of the PPP. In fact many parties of the MRD were actively engaged in bringing down Zulfikar's

PPP. Leaders of the other MRD parties now claim that Benazir Bhutto is trying to go it alone: she has not attended a single meeting of the MRD's Central Action Committee. Mistrust of Bhutto's intentions have led four left-wing parties to form the Awami National Party (ANP), which represents minority national interests in the provinces. As Bhutto continues to press for elections, the direction to be taken by the national democratic struggle will inevitably be challenged by the left.

Pakistan - a second Philippines?

Parallels between Pakistan and the Philippines can be drawn. In both cases corrupt dictators have been threatened by democratic movements led by women from the landed elite of their societies. Both Benazir Bhutto and Corazon Aquino have suffered personal ordeals - the judicial murder of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the assassination of Benigno Aquino.

However, capitalist development in Pakistan is far less advanced and the bourgeois democratic opposition is much weaker than it is in the Philippines. Moreover, Zia does not have to face a communist-led armed revolution, unlike Marcos. The threat to the regime comes not from those capable of wresting the most from Zia, but from bourgeois forces who do not wish to see a major shake-up of the existing social and economic situation.

It is unlikely that Washington will abandon its only outpost in the south of

Asia. With the Afghan revolution and the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979, Pakistan is viewed as a frontline state against communism and acts as a policeman for US imperialist interests in the middle east, where 30,000 Pakistani troops are stationed. Earlier this year Washington pledged \$4.2bn over the next 5 years to Pakistan (half of which is to go to new weapons systems), making Pakistan second only to Israel as a recipient of US aid. Pakistan acts as a conduit for CIA supplies to the Afghan Mujahideen, based in the North West Frontier Province, where 3 million Afghan refugees continue to place an enormous economic, social and political burden on the Zia regime.

Benazir Bhutto herself has publicly declared that she will continue to accept US aid if she comes to power. Whereas militant youth have been burning American flags at demonstrations, Bhutto has been urging only anti-Zia slogans, and professing non-violence. On the domestic front, Bhutto realises that she can only survive if she can sway the army over to her side. She has two crucial allies: General Tikka Khan, the 'Butcher of Bengal', responsible for thousands of deaths in the 1970s and highly-regarded in right-wing army circles; and Rao Rashid, an ex-Inspector General of Police currently in charge of Bhutto's security.

Bhutto is doing no more than putting herself forward to the Pakistani ruling class and to US imperialism as a credible and acceptable alternative to Zia.

Virman Man

Stop the deportation of Amanullah Khan



On Friday 3 October the High Court refused to issue a writ for habeas corpus in the case of Amanullah Khan, threatened with deportation on grounds of 'national security'.

Amanullah Khan, Chair of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), spent a year in prison on two explosives charges before being finally acquitted in the second of two trials on 19 September. Whilst in prison he had an operation for cancer in which two-thirds of his lung was removed.

Louise Christian, his solicitor, told FRFI what happened in court following Amanullah Khan's acquittal. The defence applied for his release into the body of the court. Instead he was pushed down the stairs to the cells. Louise Christian was refused access to him. He was then released into an empty courtroom and immediately arrested pending deportation on grounds of 'national security'.

The deportation order was dated 19 September and timed 4.23pm. The jury had returned its verdict at 4.20pm. The Home Office's account of its machinations changed as circumstances required.

First, while the jury was still considering its verdict, they said that no decision had been taken, the case would be reviewed in the light of the jury's verdict. After the verdict, pressed to explain how this 'review' could have happened in three minutes, they admitted the decision had been taken beforehand and the police authorised to fill in the time and date on the order if Mr Khan was acquitted. Finally the Home Office claimed that Douglas Hurd had made his decision on 24 July.

Having failed to secure a conviction against Amanullah Khan, the state has used its powers to deport in the 'national interest' in order to expel him from Britain. This power was last used in the 70s, by the Labour government, to expel Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball. Amanullah Khan has lived in Britain for 10 years. He is the respected leader of JKLF, which campaigns internationally for Kashmiri self-determination and is supported by most of the 200,000 Kashmiris living in Britain.

Amanullah Khan was one of six members of the JKLF who were arrested in September 1985. Other arrests took place in the run-up to Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Britain in October 1985. All the arrests took place under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The concerted attack on the Kashmiri community, and its political organisations, was carried out to cement relations between Britain and India. The use of the PTA only confirms that the PTA is a threat to the rights of everyone in Britain. The Kashmiris were paying the price of the failure of the movement in Britain to mobilise against this racist anti-Irish Act.

FRFI calls on all readers to send messages of support to Amanullah Khan and support his campaign against deportation.

Ken Hughes, Terry O'Halloran

Amanullah Khan, HMP Brixton, Jebb Avenue, London SW2

PRISONERS FIGHTBACK

Albany prisoners assaulted and abused

According to information received by FRFI, Albany prison officers are engaged in a campaign of assaults and intimidation against prisoners in the punishment block.

February: Michael Bailey was racially abused and then punched in the jaw for protesting.

Tommy Curliss blocked his cell door in protest against intimidation by prison officers. The door was forced and Tommy was attacked by several officers. He was thrown into a strip cell and beaten again. He was charged with assault. Medical evidence and prisoners' evidence confirms that he was assaulted. He wrote to local police who refused to intervene unless the Governor called them in.

David Esterphane, a black prisoner, was assaulted by several officers.

March: On 28 March Darrel Adams was severely beaten by a mob of officers - see inset. Two letters he wrote to his solicitor, Alastair Logan, were stopped. He has medical evidence to show that he was assaulted.

June: On 3 June Neil Harrison became the next victim of prison officers' violence. They refused to allow him a drink of water before putting him back in his cell. He protested. Between five and eight officers jumped him. He was punched several times, then taken to a strip cell where he was assaulted again. At a Governor's adjudication he was found guilty on five charges, including assault, and lost 77 days remission. He has medical evidence of the assaults and is taking civil action through the courts.

On 22 June Albert Baker voluntarily located himself in a strip cell in protest against intimidation and threats by prison officers. The intimidation against him grew worse after he gave evidence for Neil Harrison.

On 29 June Danny Williams was put in a strip cell after an incident on B wing. In the following week he suffered intense intimidation. He complained to Senior Officers but nothing was done. At one stage a group of officers rushed

into his cell, pinned him up against the wall and threatened him. He complained again and the next day a charge was fabricated against him. Like Albert Baker, he voluntarily put himself in a strip cell. After a promise from the Governor that the intimidation would cease, he came out. The intimidation continued.

July: David Esterphane was again assaulted and again thrown into a strip cell. He was subsequently transferred to Parkhurst hospital.

The attack on Darrel Adams

On 27 March Darrel Adams was put in the punishment block after being threatened on the wing.

On 28 March his trousers were taken away as he was rinsing them in the recess. He was followed back to his cell and attacked in the doorway. He was punched to the floor. His arms were wrenched up his back. Dazed and groggy, he was taken to a strip cell and beaten again. That day a bucket of disinfectant was thrown over him.

In a Governor's adjudication he was sentenced to 3 days loss of remission and 3 days solitary confinement.

On 30 March he was refused permission to attend church in order to prevent other prisoners seeing his injuries. Later that day he was called a 'little shit-cunt' and a 'wimp' while trying to complain. He was told he would never leave the island, Isle of Wight.

On 1 April he was charged with urinating against an exercise yard wall. He was sentenced to 14 days loss of remission; 14 days non-associated labour; 7 days loss of 'privileges'; and a £2 fine.

On 2 April he was found guilty of assault and sentenced to 14 days loss of remission; 14 days loss of 'privileges'; and a £2 fine. The total in punishments for nine days was: 31 days loss of remission; 21 days loss of 'privileges'; 14 days non-associated labour; 3 days solitary confinement; and £4 fines.

August: On 23 August Danny Williams was again assaulted and again thrown into a strip cell.

The information on these vicious assaults, racist abuse and intimidation has come from prisoners. They name one prison officer, Watkins, as being a ringleader in persecuting prisoners. As they point out, these events are known to the Governor, Ketteridge, who responds by finding prisoners guilty on trumped up charges.

Other information indicates that Albany, like Frankland, is installing a bare cell, graded punishment special unit. No doubt the outbreak of illegal

violence and persecution by prison officers is designed to provoke a reaction which will justify the use of this new unit.

It is clear that once again repression is being stepped up in Britain's already inhuman prisons. FRFI fully supports the demand of Albany prisoners for an outside investigation into the events in Albany punishment block. Only organised political exposure of these developments can help to prevent the Home Office from imposing modified control units throughout the prison system, and defend prisoners against the brutal violence of prison officers.

Terry O'Halloran

Frankland Special Unit

Following last month's exposure of the new special unit in Frankland (see FRFI 62) we have received further information about the regime in Frankland punishment block.

In the last week of August prison officers began illegally searching prisoners' cells whilst the prisoners were out on exercise. As the prisoners say, 'little things disappear' during these searches. Daily inspections of bolts, bars and walls are being carried out. Normally these happen once a month, if at all. The prisoners are being subjected to extra 'special' personal strip searches.

At 7am every day the alarm bells are 'tested'. This involves ringing 16 very loud bells three times each. During the night officers patrol every hour playing their walkie-talkie radios so that prisoners cannot sleep. During the day officers use cleaning machines, their boots and keys, food tins, doors to create as much noise as possible.

Stuart Blackstock was put in the pun-

ishment block just two days after arriving at Frankland. His 'offence' was that he was seen 'mixing with subversive prisoners' and was suspected of being involved in 'political subversion' aimed at disrupting the prison. He is now in a triangular 7ft by 5ft cell in Durham, reportedly, on hunger strike.

The deliberately provocative behaviour of the officers in Frankland is designed to force prisoners into a violent reaction. Then the prison authorities will discover that they 'need' the bare cell graded punishment special unit, a thinly-disguised reincarnation of the notorious control units, for 'violent' prisoners.

Terry O'Halloran



Male prison officers in Holloway.

Male prison officers are now to be employed in Holloway women's prison after 18 months of 'sensitive negotiations' between the Home Office and Prison Officers Association. The organisation Women in Prison told FRFI that it is totally opposed to the new policy and for obvious reasons. Even before this move, women in Holloway have been abused by male POs. Security guards and POs have been used 'in cases of disturbance' and at night, women in ground floor cells have been offered cigarettes by patrolling officers in exchange for sex.

Cases of brutality already recorded include a 16 year old who was given a black eye by a male PO who dragged her to the punishment block. In 1985 a teacher at Holloway saw 2 male POs holding a woman down in her cell by her

arms, legs and head.

The Home Office has stressed that 'the policy will carried out within the bounds of privacy and decency'. When has the Home Office ever concerned itself with the privacy and decency of both men and women in its jails?

In the US where male POs work in women's jails there have been cases of pregnancy amongst the women. Now the women in Holloway, already held in brutal, repressive conditions, will face the possibility of increased physical violence, sexual exploitation and rape. As one ex-Holloway prisoner said, 'the blokes brought in aren't exactly gentlemen'.

Britain - highest prison population in Europe

The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders has produced figures showing that more people

are imprisoned in Britain than in any other European country. 344.7 people out of 100,000 were imprisoned in 1984 compared with 312.9 in fascist-ruled Turkey which used to have the highest prison population. Twice as many people are jailed in Britain compared to France and West Germany, and more than 3 times as many as Portugal. Less than one in five of people imprisoned in this country have been convicted of violent crimes.

Bail rights denied to remand prisoners

While the Home Office is busy writing to the Council of Europe to challenge the accuracy of NACRO's figures above, it is facing a crisis of overcrowding in remand prisons. This is manifesting itself through the systematic denial of prisoners' basic right to appear in court and apply for bail. Prison governors in London jails are literally deciding for themselves whether a prisoner can appear in court - they blame staff shortages and the 'strain of running a prison to statutory requirements' for this.

Risley remand centre now holds more than 900 men in cells built for 511. In protest at the overcrowding, 14 prisoners began a week-long rooftop protest at Risley on the weekend of 27 September. All visits were stopped and

the governor cancelled all court appearances. 101 prisoners were prevented from appearing in court. Earlier in the month 8 prisoners were not produced in court.

Mr John Nichols, a London magistrate, has complained bitterly about the situation, calling it 'an absolute disgrace and scandal'. Two remand prisoners, Rolston Hughes in Wormwood Scrubs and Monica Grant in Holloway, were denied their right to apply for bail in front of Mr Nichols, because the prisons failed to produce them: Rolston Hughes on 7 successive occasions and Monica Grant on 3. Rolston's solicitor now does not know where his client is being held - possibly in an overspill wing at Pentonville - the failure to produce him in court has effectively allowed the prison system 'to lose' him.

The Home Office has had to admit to adopting a 'priority system' to deal with the problem. This means that a remand prisoner on a charge where bail has not been granted will not be permitted to appear in court to answer lesser charges and the courts no longer have the right to call prisoners in this situation.

Remand prisoners now make up 18% of the prison population, many are locked up for 23 hours a day in overcrowded cells and are held on minor charges.

Alexa Byrne

Irish economy the harsh reality

In 1984 the newly elected Fine Gael coalition in the Twenty Six Counties published its economic programme 'Building on Reality'. Just as James Connolly argued in 1914 that 'governments in capitalist society are but committees of the rich to manage the affairs of the capitalist class' so the coalition's reality was the need to rebuild profits no matter what it cost in terms of unemployment, emigration and poverty. Two years on, unemployment is nearly 25%, emigration is at its highest level since the 1950s and the economy is crippled by interest payments on the national debt. The crisis has reached such heights that the coalition is splitting up. Following the defection of some independents the government is now in a minority in the Dail and is looking increasingly vulnerable.

The government has reduced inflation, cut public spending and boosted profits by attacking the living standards of the working class and oppressed. The Twenty Six Counties is now the most profitable location in the world for US companies. Imperialism has devastated the economy by drawing billions in company profits and in interest paid to imperialist banks. In 1985 £1,316m of profit was repatriated from Ireland by foreign companies. The national debt was over £20bn. This year at least £22bn must be borrowed just to pay interest charges.

The economy creates vast profits for foreign capitalists and for the Irish ruling

class but cannot provide a future for the working class, especially the youth. 238,114 people were registered unemployed in August, nearly 25% of the workforce. Poverty and lack of jobs have forced 50,000 people, mainly youth, to emigrate this year. Cuts in benefits, health care, education and increases in rents and food prices have hit the poorest sections of Irish society. It is clear that only by defeating imperialism and the ruling class which collaborates with imperialism can the Irish working class defend itself.

Jim O'Rourke

Kinnock silent on Party fascist

Neil Kinnock finds no difficulty in expelling Militant supporters in Liverpool from the Labour Party and generally attacking the left. But when it comes to fascists in the Labour Party, Kinnock sings a different tune. In July this year, SLISC supporter Peter Flynn wrote to Kinnock about an outrageous and racist speech made by a Scottish Labour Councillor, Sam Campbell. We reprint Peter Flynn's letter and Kinnock's (belated) reply below. The Scottish Labour Party have since withdrawn the Labour whip from Campbell. But it says much about the Labour Party that such an arch-bigot should have achieved prominence in a local Labour Party. And Kinnock's non-reply says even more.

19 July 1986

Dear Mr Kinnock

At a recent Orange Order rally in Edinburgh it was stated by Councillor Sam Campbell that there must be no fraternising with 'the enemy': that Catholic schools should be closed because they are 'an insult to everything you and I stand for'; and that, because there is too much Catholic influence in the media, Scottish Protestants should withhold their television licence fees.

Councillor Campbell is the Labour Party's convenor for Midlothian District Council. He was a strong challenger at the recent election of the leadership of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities.

As you are pledged to oppose racism and religious bigotry I would like to know what action you intend to take against this outrageous statement. Will you expel Cllr Campbell and those who share his bigoted views, as you have fought for the expulsion of leading Militant members?

Views of the Orange Order of this kind have no place in any decent society. I hope you take firm and decisive action against this neo-Nazi. The Irish community await your response with interest, as do all Catholics in Britain.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely
Peter Flynn



18 September 1986

Dear Mr Flynn,

Mr Kinnock has asked me to apologise most sincerely for the extremely long delay in replying to your letter. I am afraid it was filed as having already been answered and only now has it been discovered that this was not the case.

Mr Kinnock has asked me to tell you that action concerning Mr Campbell is the responsibility of the District Council Labour Group. Should you wish to pursue this matter you should write directly to them.

Yours sincerely,
Christopher Child

Another trial - another tout

Yet another 'Irish Trial' at the Old Bailey, has three men facing conviction on conspiracy charges on the evidence of a small time crook.

Thomas Maguire is charged along with Patrick Magee (already convicted of the Brighton hotel bombing) and Patrick Murray. The evidence before the court, as in all 'conspiracy' charges rests mainly on the allegations of an informer: 50-year-old Irishman Raymond O'Connor, who lived with Maguire's mother in Blackpool and is

a self-confessed tout. O'Connor even admits to lying to police repeatedly because they were pushing him for 'results' - ie names - and to trying to implicate a man whom he only met on the ferry to Ireland. Other 'evidence' seems to consist of the usual 'coded messages' which may or may not have the significance placed on them by the prosecution. Remember that for the Maguire family, having weedkiller in the garden shed and sugar in the kitchen was 'evidence' of Auntie Annie's Bomb Factory.

The trial continues as we go to press. Supergrass trials have come to Britain. Maggie Mellon

UVF commander executed by IRA

After months of vicious sectarian attacks by loyalist murder gangs, the IRA struck at the organisers of loyalist terror by executing John Bingham on 14 September. Bingham was the operations officer of the UVF and his release from prison coincided with an upsurge of killings which had claimed 6 lives in North Belfast. His activities were well known to the British Army/RUC who, as is normal, allowed him to conduct his terror activities with impunity.

Bingham's execution was swiftly followed by calls for revenge by arch loyalist bigot George Seawright, a Belfast City councillor for whom Bingham acted as election agent. A wave of attacks followed this revenge call claiming the lives of two Catholics. Raymond Mooney was shot as he and a woman left a local Church hall. The woman was tied up and forced to watch as Mr Mooney was shot dead. Joseph Webb was shot dead when four gunmen burst into a pool hall. Other murder bids also took place. A man escaped when men fired several shots into a shop. In another incident a Catholic man in a car was flagged down by someone wearing RUC uniform. The man was kidnapped, forced to drive to an isolated spot and shot in the leg and arm as he fled from his captors.

Following these murders, the SDLP's Brian Feeney sought to blame the IRA, in particular the execution of Bingham, for inciting loyalist violence on a tit-for-tat basis. As is normal for the collaborationist SDLP, reality is turned upside down and the fightback of the oppressed is blamed for inciting further repression. As *An Phoblacht/Republican News* pointed out:

'There is absolutely no comparison between the disciplined actions of the IRA and the random terror tactics of loyalist murder gangs who need no motivation other than a person's religion to shoot and kill. Those who say otherwise not only ignore reality but they perform an invaluable service for their British masters who have long used the "warring factions" myth to justify their presence in Ireland.'

The Anglo-Irish Agreement whilst actually posing no threat to the loyalist ascendancy is perceived as a threat to the privileged position of loyalists. Hence the traditional loyalist response: to try to terrorise the nationalists into submission. Equally traditional has been the lack of action against the loyalists by the British government and its Army/police. Whilst loyalist terror groups roam the streets the Army has, for example, removed a permanent barrier in Springhill Avenue which at least used

to prevent loyalist assassins coming into the area in cars. Similarly, the Army has insisted on keeping open a 'security gate' in Donegall Road, a gate which residents believe would limit access to the area by loyalist assassins.

Often there is considerable overlap between the 'official' and 'unofficial' terror directed against the nationalists. In a recent notorious case a British soldier and a UDR man were convicted of the cold-blooded murder of a Catholic man, Edward Love, at Easter 1985. Whilst off duty they attacked him, shot him in the head and then, as he lay wounded, fired four more bullets into his body. In another case, 4 loyalists including 2 serving UDR men, kidnapped a young Catholic man on 11 July 1986. They beat him, stripped him naked, threatened him with a knife and a gun and pushed him naked into a bed of nettles.

On other occasions the Army act officially as murderers, as on 15 September when they shot dead an unarmed IRA volunteer Jim McKernan. He was shot in the back.

Alongside the murder campaign have



gone further Unionist plans to continue opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The Unionists have announced that more than 330 councillors will quit their seats in November, the first anniversary of the Agreement. Also planned is a large demonstration on 15 November. Politicians from both the DUP and OUP have recently issued threats of UDI, hoping no doubt to convince the British government that the Agreement endangers its rule in Ireland. It is unlikely that such a threat will be taken seriously by the government, knowing as they do that loyalist privilege depends on British rule in Ireland.

The Twenty Six Counties judiciary showed its attitude to loyalist violence when DUP leader Peter Robinson was rapidly 'sprung' from gaol on 2 October. A District Judge had ordered Robinson to find bail of IR£50,000 in cash or two Twenty Six Counties sureties of IR£25,000. This effectively meant that Robinson would remain in gaol until his trial on serious charges arising out of a loyalist riot in Clontibret. But fearing that loyalist wrath would descend on the South, the Dublin High Court obligingly reduced this and Robinson was freed. Such treatment stands in marked contrast to that given to Republicans who face gaol and extradition.

Meanwhile, a recent British government White Paper revealed the oppressed conditions of the nationalist people. The White Paper admits that Catholic unemployment is double that of Protestants; that while 72% of heavy industry employees are Protestants, only 12% are Catholics; that over 67% of professional and managerial sections are Protestant compared to 15.7% for Catholics. The Anglo-Irish Agreement may have promised action on 'equal opportunities' but the reality of discrimination and privilege remains unchanging.

Maxine Williams

LICENCE TO KILL

On 12 August 1984 the world witnessed the murder of 22 year old John Downes. Live TV coverage of the Belfast Anti-Internment rally showed RUC thugs viciously beating peaceful demonstrators and firing plastic bullets indiscriminately

into the seated crowd. RUC officer Nigel Hegarty was shown aiming and firing his plastic bullet gun at John Downes' chest from a distance of 1½-2 metres. Yet on 24 September 1986 Hegarty was acquitted of even the token manslaughter charge which had been brought because of public outcry at the time of the killing.

This verdict came as no surprise. As Gerry Downes, John's father said:

'The way the case was investigated and the way it was presented in court made the verdict a foregone conclusion.'

So confident were Hegarty's lawyers that they called no witnesses. They had every reason to be confident. Trial Judge Hutton ignored the fact that Hegarty broke even the RUC's own rules by firing a plastic bullet less than 20 metres from the victim and aiming it at the upper body. For Judge Hutton the fact that Downes had a stick in his hand was enough to excuse Hegarty who had acted 'almost instinctively to defend his comrades' from attack, said Judge Hutton. No matter that it was the heavily armed and protected RUC who violently attacked a crowd of unarmed men, women and children. No matter that their own rules were broken. In this, the first ever prosecution of an RUC officer for killing someone with a plastic bullet (and sixteen people have been murdered by these weapons) the only thing that mattered was that the forces of imperialist repression should be upheld.

This verdict has given the RUC/British Army thugs yet another licence to kill. Yet typically the feeble response of the SDLP's Seamus Mallon is merely that it has 'diminished respect for the process of law in Northern Ireland.'

Lucy Francis

Labour Party fringe meeting Guildford 4 campaign

Shadow Home Secretary, Gerald Kaufman, at an NCCL fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool, cited the Guildford 4, Birmingham 6 and the Maguire family as examples which proved that confessions could not be relied upon as evidence on which to base convictions. He referred to the forthcoming book by Robert Kee on the Guildford Four and Maguire family frame-ups as instrumental in the shaping of his opinions.

At another fringe meeting organised by the Labour Committee on Ireland, attended by ISM comrades from Manchester and London, there were excellent speeches by Chris Mullin (author of *Error of Judgement*), Lord Tony

**PUBLIC MEETING
SMASH THE FRAME UPS!
JUSTICE FOR THE IRISH!**

Friday 14 November 7.30pm
Camden Centre, Bidborough St,
London WC1 (Nr Kings Cross tube)
Called by Irish Solidarity Movement

Gifford and Alastair Logan, solicitor for the Guildford Four. Tony Sheridan made an appeal on behalf of the Free the Guildford Four Campaign for Labour Party members to support the campaign. Hundreds of leaflets, information packs, badges and posters, specially produced in time for the conference, were distributed by members of ISM, LCI and IBRG.

The next stages of the campaign include a national conference this December and demonstration on 11 April 1987.

Tony Sheridan

Unmonocled Mutineer

The Monocled Mutineer. William Allison and John Fairley. Quartet Books. £2.50 pbk. 199pp; BBC1 4 part series, directed by Alan Bleasdale.

For its realistic portrayal of the conditions endured by the soldiers, and the callousness and brutality of the British ruling class in uniform, Alan Bleasdale's film has already incurred the wrath of the Establishment. What they fear are further revelations about the truth – they reacted with similar frenzy to the Channel 4 series about Greece which dared to challenge the British lie of having saved Greece 'for democracy' (see *FRFI* 62, September 1986, Gerald Cameron 'Greece: the Hidden War').



Private Percy Toplis

After all, who knows what may come out now? Captain Jim Davies (aged 88) has come forward to say that the TV was true – the Bull Ring training camp at Etaples, France, really was brutal and degrading. This must have been doubly galling given that they had taken such good care to cover their tracks – the records concerning wartime executions are to be kept secret until 2017 (authors p 123), the papers of Percy Toplis himself (the monocled mutineer) were supposedly destroyed in a World War 2 air raid (p 152) and the official answer (given by a Labour government!) concerning other known sources is that it is 'not possible to trace' them (answer to 1978 parliamentary question, quoted by the authors p 198).

Hopefully the survivors of other mutinies in the British army this century may be encouraged to come forward: there were mutinies of Indian troops at Singapore (1915); English troops at Shoreham, Folkestone and Calais (December 1918 – January 1919 – described in Tom Wintringham, *Mutiny* 1936); Irish troops in India, June 1920; and of RAF men in Cairo 1946 (J G Ellis' letter to the *Guardian* 20 September 1986).

The first mutinies on the western front began among troops in the French army. On 3 May, having suffered heavy casualties in yet another badly organised offensive, planned mainly to elevate the prestige of General Nivelle, black troops from Senegal refused to go into the firing line (p 47). By June over 20,000 had deserted and over half the army was affected. One regiment mounted machine guns on its trucks, and attempted to reach the Schneider-Creusot armament works, with the apparent intention of blowing it up; some units threatened to march on Paris to overthrow the government – others, perhaps pressed by a greater sense of urgency, commandeered a train for the same purpose!

In many cases regiments elected councils to speak for them (Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory Verdun*

1965, vol 1 p 265).

The book does give something of this essential historical context, in addition reporting the massacres of Chinese and Egyptian forced labourers who, inspired by the mutiny at Etaples, went on strike (p 117-118).

The TV series has two crucial weaknesses. The first stems from Bleasdale's stated view of his works: 'They're all about victims' (interview in *New Statesman*). The mutineers are portrayed for the most part as a frenzied, disorganised rabble, whose main interest is shown as drink and rape. The officers discuss politics more than once, but the men are never shown as having the slightest interest in politics. No one is suggesting for a moment that they were as yet highly politicised, but they would certainly have known about the French mutiny and the Russian army. The only non-English soldier, a French deserter, is shown as a figure of fun.

The second turns round the over-concentration on the two leading characters, Percy Toplis and Charles Strange: the one a cynical, self-centred adventurer, the other a hopelessly ineffectual doctrinaire socialist. Both characterisations may contain elements of truth – but given that Bleasdale so consistently de-politicises the context in which they both operated, they too end up as caricatures.

Both weaknesses represent a failure of historical imagination – Bleasdale projects back onto an earlier period, a period of a rising revolutionary move-



ment and of revolutionary optimism, his own pessimistic outlook, derived from the undoubtedly souring experience of current Labour Party politics. The mutineers were not victims. They organised and fought back under the most difficult conditions imaginable – under army discipline, which meant the death sentence for offenders. The true heroes of the Etaples mutiny are unsung in Bleasdale's play – the unmonocled mutineers.

Patrick Newman

Communists and the South African revolution

In the last issue of *FRFI* we printed David Reed's analysis of the speech made by Joe Slovo, Chair of the South African Communist Party on its 65th anniversary. Some of our readers have raised questions about David Reed's article. Below we print two letters and David Reed's reply.

Dear Comrades,
The article by David Reed in the latest issue of *FRFI*, analysing a recent speech by ANC leader Joe Slovo, is a serious and dangerous departure from the paper's longstanding position that while solidarity movements in imperialist countries are best qualified to decide how to build support for national liberation struggles, those who lead the struggles know best how to wage them.

The heart of David's complaint seems to be that Slovo's speech 'did not go, in any serious sense, beyond the ANC's Freedom Charter'. It is unclear from this whether David regards the Freedom Charter as outdated or inadequate, a view held by scores of Trotskyist grouplets, but which I never expected to see in a communist newspaper – or whether he thinks Slovo as a leader of the South African CP as well as of the ANC, should have used the occasion to proclaim an explicit socialist programme.

It's worth noting that every victorious liberation movement in the world has, despite being led by Marxist-Leninists, won under slogans not of socialism but of revolutionary democracy (in which in South

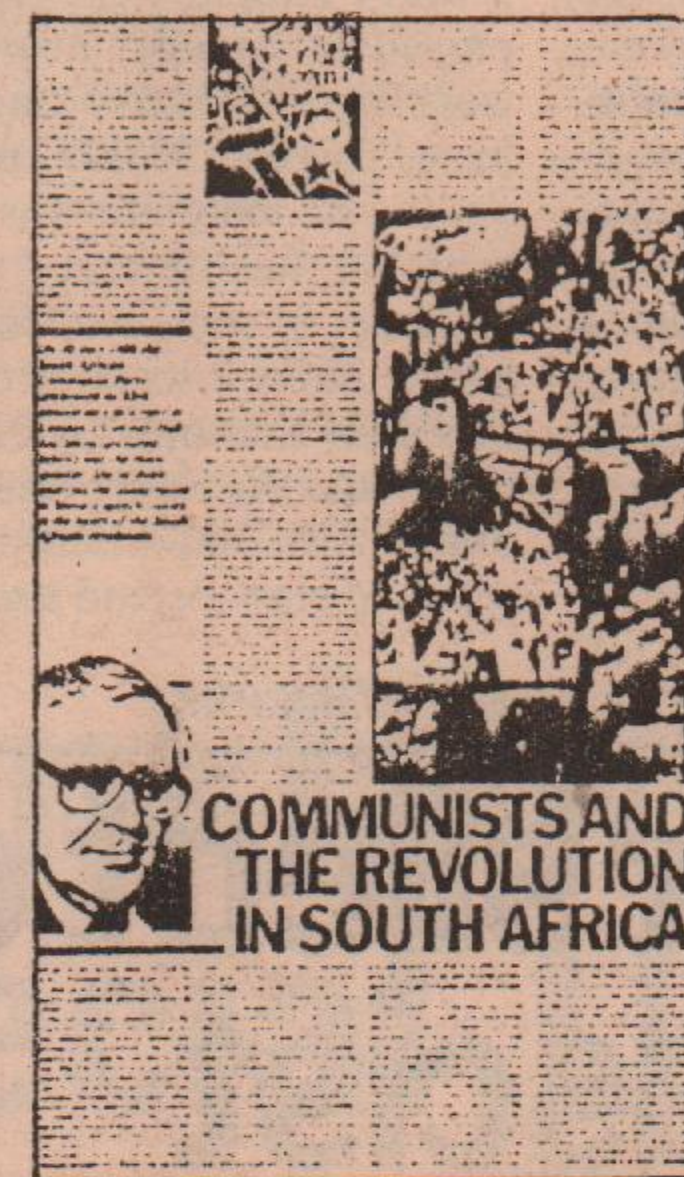
Africa, as elsewhere, the agrarian revolution is central). Why does *FRFI* have higher standards for the ANC and SACP than for the Vietnamese communists, let's say, or the Sandinistas in Nicaragua?

David claims that 'the SACP will attempt to contain the demands of the working class within the political limits already set by the ANC', and that 'the SACP is in fact laying before us the prospect of a peaceful road to socialism'. Neither is true. The Freedom Charter itself provides for extensive expropriation, and the victory of the democratic revolution would in itself open up a very uncomfortable period for the (overwhelmingly white) bourgeois class whose state apparatus will have been smashed. As for the 'peaceful road to socialism', this phrase isn't actually used by Slovo, and in any case he makes it clear that this is only possible 'within a truly democratic framework' – which obviously can only be created by the necessarily violent destruction of the apartheid state. The SACP isn't like the British CP!

By issuing a detailed denunciation of a central leader of the most advanced revolutionary struggle in the

world, *FRFI* does a disservice both to itself and to the struggling black masses of South Africa. Hopefully the error will be rectified in the next few issues.

Comradely
Mike Webber



Dear *FRFI*,
David Reed's criticisms of Joe Slovo's speech ('Communists and the Revolution in South Africa' *FRFI* September 1986 p10) seem to abandon *FRFI*'s principled position of not attempting to intervene in the affairs of national liberation movements. In relation to other such movements, notably the Popular Front (Zimbabwe) during 1977-1978 and Provisional Sinn Fein at various periods, *FRFI* has always argued that how such movements conduct the strategy of their anti-imperialist struggle is their business.

What, therefore, justifies the attack on Joe Slovo's position? Although he is the chair of the South African Communist Party, he is also, as the article acknowledges, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe and a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. David Reed cannot therefore avoid the fact that any criticism of Joe Slovo's 'Marxist' arguments, however justified theoretically, will be interpreted as a criticism of the liberation movement.

The article is also based on a misconception of the current situation in South Africa, when it claims that: 'The key issue for communists in the South African revolution is the relationship between the national democratic revolution to overthrow the racist apartheid state and the socialist revolution.' (p10).

Surely this is an attempt to leap forward over several stages of the revolutionary process. The author rightly says that 'neither can the national democratic revolution be completed nor its gains defended without going on to socialism'. (p11) – but in the South African revolution neither of these stages have yet been reached. At the present stage what is necessary is to organise to ensure the leading role of the working class within the national democratic revolution.

The criticisms of Joe Slovo's speech are politically damaging to *FRFI* and theoretically confused – will Comrade Reed retract them?

Yours,
Patrick Newman



David Reed's reply

Patrick Newman and Mike Webber appear to have invented a 'principled position' previously held by *FRFI* and which was departed from in my article on Joe Slovo's speech. There is no such position. Let me state what our position is. We give unconditional support to all forces in South Africa in their fight to destroy the racist apartheid state. This includes the ANC, SACP as well as the PAC etc.

What does this mean? It means we place no conditions on that support. It does not mean that we accept the programme, the political views, tactics etc of the different forces fighting for liberation. Or that we are duty bound not to criticise such a programme, tactics etc. What it means is that we do not insist they adopt a different programme, different tactics etc before offering our solidarity in their struggle to destroy the racist apartheid state.

In putting this 'principled position' into practice *FRFI* has placed, and still places, the most important emphasis on what our political tasks are in Britain in building solidarity for the struggle in South Africa. We believe that fighting British collaboration with apartheid is the most crucial and effective way of giving solidarity to the South African struggle. It is this task which the movement in Britain has failed to carry out. That is why we have not devoted space in *FRFI* to discussion, criticism etc of the programme and tactics of the different sections of the liberation movement.

In line with this position we have criticised liberation movements, or members of such movements, when they have intervened in the British movement in such a way as to block off the development of an effective anti-imperialist solidarity movement in this country. That is our right as a communist organisation in Britain. So why the criticism of Joe Slovo's speech now?

First, Joe Slovo gave his speech as a representative of the SACP to an audience mainly composed of people who would regard themselves as communists. He came to Britain to give this speech. The speech was concerned to outline, justify and defend the political role of the SACP in the South African liberation struggle. He pointed to the particular role the SACP has in that struggle. Therefore the argument that a criticism of his speech is an attack on the ANC as well as the SACP just does not hold water.

Second, the political standpoint of the SACP in relation to the South African revolution has consequences for the political movement in Britain. It determines what forces they work with. It explains their role in the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain. It points to the kind of political relations the SACP wishes to build with the Kinnock-led Labour Party. In short, it allows our readers to begin to understand the source of the hostility directed at the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and the RCG, and to the trend these organisations represent in the anti-apartheid move-

ment.

The SACP has made a very clear political choice about its political relations in Britain. The communist parties invited to join Joe Slovo on the platform further demonstrated this. They were the CPGB (Eurocommunist wing) and the Communist Party of Ireland. These two parties have an appalling record on another crucial liberation struggle against British imperialism – the struggle in Ireland. The CPGB has used every available opportunity to virulently attack the national liberation movement, the Republican Movement, in Ireland. It also attacks black youth when fighting back against the racist British police on the streets of Britain. The CPI played a central role in splitting the Republican Movement in 1969 supporting the official IRA, which has now become a pro-British imperialist rump called the Workers Party. The CPI's record over the last 17 years of the Irish struggle has been appalling. So you see the platform alone was a political statement, a political intervention in British politics on the Irish question and other issues.

Third, as the South African revolution will have such a crucial impact on revolutionary developments throughout the world, it should be expected that communists in Britain would join in the debate about that revolution. Debate, argument and political struggle amongst communists is vital if an effective Communist International is to be rebuilt. The

RCG has a right to be part of that process.

Having explained why the article was written I want to correct a number of inaccuracies in the letters. The ANC's Freedom Charter does not exist as merely a set of words. It is open to interpretation. How it is put into practice will depend on the balance of class forces and which class interests are dominant. The role of communists as the vanguard of the working class is crucial here. Nowhere did I suggest that the SACP should argue for an explicit socialist programme at this stage – this is the Trotskyist view which I rejected. My criticism of Slovo is twofold. He actually backtracks on the Freedom Charter (Mike Webber please note) when discussing the economic measures to be taken when the ANC-led liberation alliance has power. And by holding back the demands and aspirations of the working class he effectively denies the working class the leading political role in the revolutionary national struggle in South Africa. Communists, for example, will have to state precisely the role they see the new working class organisations, including the street and area committees, playing in the developing revolution in South Africa.

Finally the one thing my article and Slovo's speech share in common is the importance given to the relation between the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in South Africa. Patrick Newman should read Slovo's speech.

English animal lovers? English racists!

Dear Comrades
The extreme racism of the police, the RSPCA and the BBC was displayed during peak time TV in a recent BBC documentary about a Yorkshire RSPCA officer.

The officer was talking to a man suspected of maltreating his dog. The man was called Mr Singh and was black. He was talked to in a very patronising way and was treated terribly. Then the RSPCA man asked for a 'community relations' police officer to come to Mr Singh's house - was he expecting problems because he was black? Obvious covert racism by the RSPCA. But when the police officer arrived it got worse. The officer said to Mr Singh, 'Us English are animal lovers Mr Singh.' This was extreme racism displayed by a police officer who is meant to help prevent racism! The police took it that as Mr Singh was black he wasn't English! How do they know? Also, why shouldn't black or non-English people love animals?

But what has been said about this? Nothing about this overt racism have heard, or seen mentioned in any form in the media. Even the BBC used this patronising and racist phrase as the title for the documentary. Anybody who was unsure about the police being racist should have watched this.

Good luck to the Non-Stop Picket, the cold weather will soon be here, but will we be suffering as much as South Africa? I doubt it.

Yours for a successful fight against racism and imperialism.

Bob Richardson
Northants

Don't buy the Sun

Dear FRFI
Day and night a motley left-wing band are creating a bedlam of noise outside the South African embassy. So begins the leading article in the editorial of that despised scab newspaper - Sun.

Anyone doubting the effectiveness of the City Group Non-Stop Picket, is put at rest in the next line. They are making conditions intolerable inside the building. I replied to the article in a letter, like the one of which 'Class War' would have been proud. It didn't get printed. Strange that.

Of all the support City Group has earned, and is earning, don't be too set-up if you don't see a 'Sun Reads against Apartheid' banner on the picket. Viva City Group.

Andy
Glasgow

Luxury conditions for Daniloff

Dear FRFI
In a recent interview with Nick Daniloff, the CIA journalist/spy recently arrested in Moscow, he complained of prison conditions in Russia. His cell, he grumbled, measured only 3 paces by 5 and had an open toilet in the corner. I wish Mr Daniloff could sample our British prisons. Albany House is 2½ paces by 2½ paces and they have no toilets - prisoners urinate in buckets which have to be emptied in sluices. So much for our 'enlightened' prison system.

Thanks for sending in FRFI.
Neil Harrison
Wing, HMP Lewes

Empty promises for Kitsons

Dear FRFI
I have just been moved back to Wakefield prison. I got moved this earlier time. I am back down the back but not on punishment yet but will be in front of the governor tomorrow... Going back to FRFI it was a good one like you said it could be. I found the article about Norma Kitson by Carol Brickley 'Liberation Fighter' very interesting. The CPGB let both David and Norma down before and after David's release. All Ken Gill gave us empty promises. I am sure we all learn from Norma's book. It matters what happens the struggle won't end until victory.

John Schofield
Solitary confinement,
Wing, Wakefield Prison

Like old times

Dear FRFI
This letter is in response to your article in the September edition of FRFI. The 'Battle of Cable Street' emphasises the parallels between the anti-semitism of then and the anti-black of now. Mosley promising deliverance from 'Jew infested squalor'; William Joyce talking about the 'sub men of the East End ghettos', the Blackshirts parading the streets assaulting Jews. There is a picture of the police pulling down a barricade so that the fascists can continue their march. (Things haven't changed in that respect either!). There are some earlier quotes from those responsible for the first political organisation to rely on racist propaganda to get mass support - the British Brothers' League in 1900. Overcrowding, homelessness, high rents etc were all blamed on Jewish immigration. William Shaw, the League's founder, wrote that although 'the immigration of destitute foreigners affects all classes... the working man is the most directly concerned. Consequently it was to the working men of East London that I first appealed.' A supporter of the League was the (surprise, surprise)

Tory MP for Stepney, Major William Evans-Gorden. During a speech in parliament he claimed that '... it is only a matter of time before the population becomes entirely foreign... the rates are burdened with the education of thousands of children of foreign parents... these are the haunts of foreign prostitutes... the working classes know that new buildings are erected not for them but for strangers from abroad... a storm is brewing which, if it is allowed to burst, will have deplorable results.' (This is quoted at length in *Immigration and Race in British Politics*, P Foot, 1965, pp88-9).

Doesn't that remind you of another Tory? A certain person who said in 1964: 'I have set and always will set my face like flint against making any difference between one citizen of this country and another on grounds of his origin'. By 1968, old flint-face was making sparks by claiming English people, 'found themselves made strangers in their own country. They found their wives unable to find hospital beds in childbirth (can a bed get pregnant?), their children unable to obtain a school place, their homes and neighbours changed beyond recognition, their plans and prospects for the future defeated.'

British political pressure undermines Irish POW's case

Dear FRFI,
Just a note to say 'hello' and thank you for your card and the book you sent...

Little has changed in prison conditions. The Dutch are normally quite liberal in prison regimes, but I'm afraid British propaganda has worked them into some sort of security frenzy. I'm still in total solitary confinement 24 hours a day. I exercise in a sort of cage 9 steps by 3 steps on the roof (8 floors up), for 1 hour daily. Not only am I not allowed to speak with other prisoners but I'm not allowed even to pass them! If I go to exercise or a visit, the corridor is cleared. The visits are closed much as I experienced in English jails, with a screen between the visitors and myself from roof to floor and intercom communication. The conversations have been taped. Even with such restriction I'm still strip-searched before and also after visits! Even though there is no contact. It is of course a reflection on the Dutch police and government's attitude towards us.

I was also put 200 kms away from Brendan (furthest possible distance) so that we could be refused joint legal visits on 'practical' and 'security' grounds. Our cases, which are inextricably bound together have

been officially separated so that even in court we can only appear one at a time. The result is that we each hear a half of the overall case. I think perhaps that is the most worrying manifestation of British political pressure. Because it takes a full working day for my lawyer to travel for a visit, such visits have been extremely limited. Every possible obstacle seems to have been put in our path in trying to prepare a case, not least being the 9 months solitary confinement itself, from which we must go directly to a court and try to attempt an articulate defence...

It's good to see the publicity for the Birmingham 6 and the Guildford 4, though in honesty I'm not optimistic for them for the reasons put forward by Chris Mullin. The mass perjury involved would be a devastating blow to 'British justice'. Too many heads have to roll and they've known all along that those people were innocent of course. Still, there is hope if enough public support and lobbying is done. It would be good to see a victory for them. Doing 12 years as an active Republican is one thing, but 12 years for something you know nothing about is something else...

Thank you again for your thoughts and solidarity. Greetings to all the comrades. Keep up the good work.
Gerry Kelly (Irish Republican POW)
Huis Maastricht
Holland

Blow to Spanish ruling class

Dear FRFI
Congratulations on your articles and reports on the Basque people's struggle! The significance of the revolutionary socialist struggle is generally ignored by the 'left' press, no doubt because with the struggle of the Irish people it constantly gives an example for the poor workers and oppressed peoples of capitalist Europe.

To add to your report in FRFI 61 - the vote for Herri Batasuna in Euskadi was the third largest after the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Party) and the PNV (Basque bourgeois party). They got 17.4% of votes, a rise from 14.4% in the general election of 1982. In Guipuzcoa (one of the four provinces of Euskadi), HB got the second largest vote after the PNV, displacing the PSOE! HB gained 5 Spanish Parliamentary seats, 3 more than in 1982. Of course the parliamentary privileges were withdrawn from the deputies since they refuse to take their seats - a move aimed at restricting their freedom of speech.

Alongside the military success of ETA, these major advances are a severe blow to the ruling class' attempts to deny the Basques their historic rights.
Fraternally
Juan Martinez
Wimbledon

LETTERS

FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London, WC1N 3XX

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Why don't YOU decide this month to start helping us financially? Things happen every day which we read about in the paper: 40 fascists attack 3 black youths in Mitcham South London; 19 year old Simon MacMinn from Broadwater Farm is convicted in court to 7 years' youth custody; Kinnock declares that no member of Sinn Fein or anyone associated with them is welcome within a million miles of the Labour Party; apartheid ambassador Denis Worrall is allowed to spit his racist venom on TV. And what gets done about it all? We need to build a movement able to act and fight for the interests of the oppressed. For that we need a newspaper and we need money. This is where you can help us: either by joining one of our Supporter Groups and raising money collectively with them or by making a monthly or weekly pledge. Or send us your one-off donation

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Irish Centre, Murray St, NW1 (Camden tube)

1st Forum

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Friday 24 October, 7.30pm

(2nd Forum: Wednesday 5 December, 7.30pm Irish Centre)

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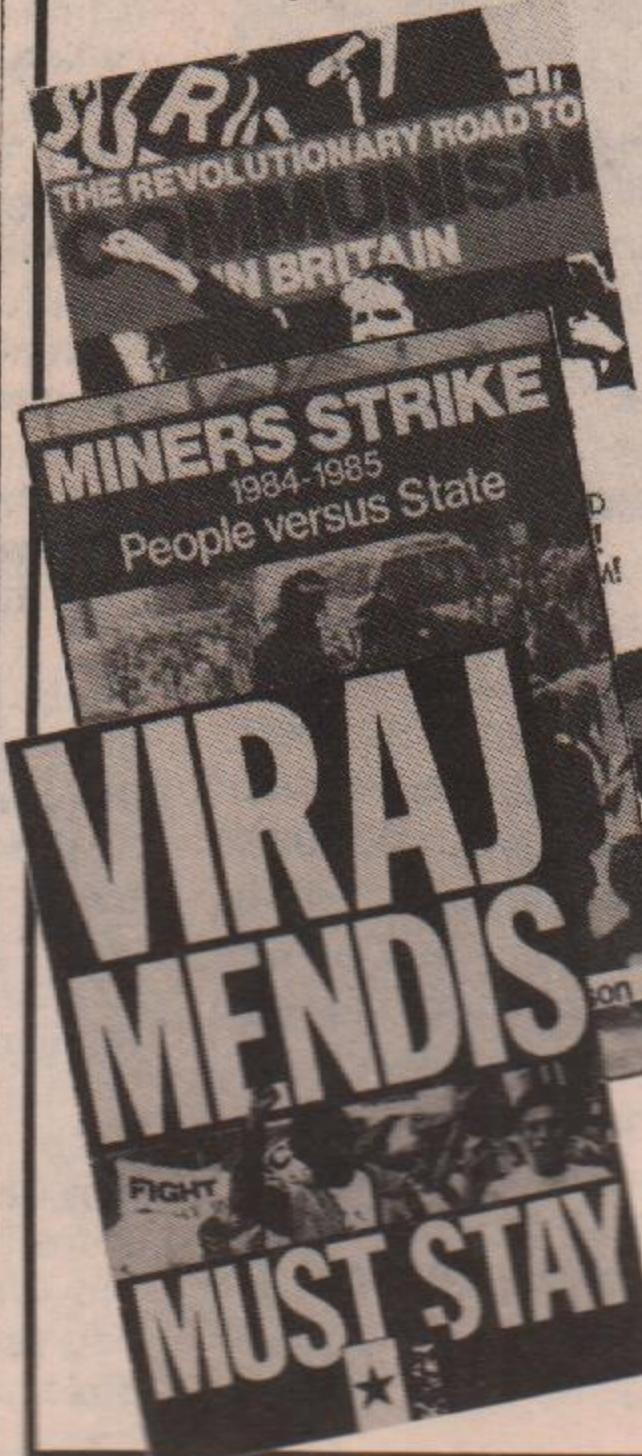
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Putting Kinnock first

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE 1986

Kinnock's political priorities were made clear right from the beginning. Exhibitors' stalls were granted to British Nuclear Fuels Ltd, Plesseys, Lockheed but denied to surcharged Lambeth councillors, Silentnight strikers and the Justice for Mineworkers campaign. Access to the conference was controlled throughout by the police.

- By 20:1 the conference rejected the appeal against expulsion of 8 Militant supporters. By 700,000 votes they upheld the expulsion of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally.
- By 4:1 they denied black members the right to organise.
- By 11:1 they rejected British withdrawal from Ireland.
- By a large majority they rejected a call to mobilise the labour movement to introduce economic sanctions against South Africa.
- By a massive majority they accepted an NEC motion on nuclear power which effectively removes any deadline on phasing out nuclear power stations.
- By 5:1 they rejected a call for the removal of *all* US bases.
- By 5:1 they supported the imperialist NATO war machine.
- By a massive majority they committed the next Labour government to 'tackling crime' as a 'major priority'.
- By a massive majority they agreed to sell off council houses.

On every significant issue the trade union block vote thudded into place to ensure Kinnock's control. Trade union officials control 91% of conference votes. They represent the more privileged section of the working class and Kinnock is their political expression. Kinnock's power derives from the support of this layer. The block vote is the mechanism that ensures that the interests of this layer dominate the internal proceedings of the Labour Party.

Whilst Kinnock has a real power base, this conference cruelly exposed the reality that the Labour left has no such base.

At the 500 strong *Labour Herald* fringe meeting speaker after speaker painted a picture of left advance. Diane Abbott said that the left was on 'an upturn'. Yet despite the impressive range of speakers and the passionate speeches, they could not prevent left-wingers being expelled from their party; or surcharged Lambeth councillors being abandoned by their party; or Eric Heffer being voted off the NEC. Even Arthur Scargill could not persuade his NUM delegation to oppose the expulsion of Militant supporters.

The fact is that the Labour left has no actual social force behind it which could allow it effectively to challenge Kinnock. As long as they remain caught within an internal Labour Party battle they cannot make progress. Nor is it any use to pretend that after Kinnock is elected, the new intake of left MPs will be able to control him. If Kinnock is powerful now, he will be a thousand times more powerful once he has the might of the British imperialist state behind him.

If the Labour left is to break out of its isolation, then it must recognise that Kinnock's 'realism' is not the only alternative. People are fighting right now for the interests of the working class and oppressed. City AA is leading the struggle now against apartheid and British collaboration in the teeth of opposition from the official movement. VMDC, and all the other anti-deportation campaigns, are fighting now against the racist immigration controls. Irish people, and their supporters are fighting

The Labour Party Conference, 29 September to 4 October, confirmed the complete control which Neil Kinnock, with the aid of the trade union leaders, has established over the Labour Party. He has created a party machine able to isolate and defeat any internal threat to his path to electoral power. The conference sharply exposed the dilemma facing the left in the Labour Party: how can they effectively oppose Kinnock's ruthless trampling on every interest of the working class and oppressed?

This page compiled by Olivia Adamson and Terry O'Halloran



South Africa

The Labour Party unanimously adopted a motion calling for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, the breaking of diplomatic links and support for trade unionists who boycott South African goods. Very good. We will see what effect this motion has on the actual behaviour of Kinnock, Healey and Bob Hughes. The conference rejected a motion calling for 'the mobilisation of the Labour movement to introduce economic sanctions'.

The dirty work on South Africa was done at the TUC Conference in Brighton in September. An USDAW amendment explicitly calling on trade unionists to refuse to handle South African goods was negotiated out of the composite put to the conference. Thus one significant concrete action which trade unionists should take against apartheid was buried in an evasively worded composite.

Peter Hain, prospective parliamentary candidate for Putney, said that Kinnock had an unequalled record on South Africa. The erstwhile organiser of the successful Stop the Seventy Four campaign must know that Kinnock has publicly opposed breaking diplomatic links with South Africa, and refused to put any *real* pressure on Thatcher to impose sanctions. Hain has obviously decided that his parliamentary career is more important than the demands of the South African black masses.

Ireland

The Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI) backed composite - against the Anglo-Irish Agreement and for British withdrawal - fell by 4,408,000 votes to 402,000.

Before the conference it was announced that the motion would not be on the agenda. Nadine Finch, LCI Chair, told *FRFI* that Kinnock was behind this move. Public exposure, however, forced the leadership to restore the motion to the agenda. Nadine Finch said she was 'cautiously optimistic' that the LCI was making progress.

In fact the LCI vote fell from 450,000 (1984 - the last time a card vote was taken) to 402,000 - a drop of over 10%. The motion was defeated by a ratio of 11:1 compared to 10:1 in 1984.

Black sections

Once again, as in 1984 and 1985, the Labour Party has rejected the demand for black sections. It fell by 1,222,000 votes to 5,205,000: a ratio of 4:1.

In the debate the usual claptrap about the Labour Party representing all 'oppressed people' (Muff Sourani, TASS, opposing black sections). Alan Sapper, ACTT, gave a revealing reason for supporting black sections: to halt the 'dangerous development of black people organising' outside the formally recognised structures.

The cynicism of the leadership was shown by the decision to use white Militant supporter and LPYS NEC representative, Frances Curran, to oppose the motion on behalf of the NEC. The expellers of Militant supporters used Militant to attack black people while Militant supporters were perfectly happy to protect their expellers against black people.

During the law and order debate, black delegate and member of the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, Martha Osamor, had to fight to be allowed to speak about the reality of police oppression for black people. This is the treatment black people can expect in the Labour Party. That party can never be anything but a graveyard for black people fighting for their rights.

Nuclear power

Arthur Scargill proposed a NUM motion calling for nuclear power to be phased out within the lifetime of a Labour government. The motion failed by 24,000 votes to get the two-thirds majority required to put it in the Labour manifesto. Kinnock's preferred option - to phase out nuclear power 'within decades' - easily got the majority required. Every delegate knew that in reality the NEC motion could mean 'never' as no Labour government is likely to remain in power for 'decades'.

In the debate Frank Cottam, GMBATU and a Sellfield worker, ranted about 'Arabs holding us to ransom' (with oil) and that 'not all the Arabs are in Arabia... there are Bedouins near Barnsley and Sheiks in Sheffield.' Britain should not be held to ransom by 'El Supremo' (Scargill) who had demanded increased coal production to compensate for the phase-out of nuclear power.

Joan Ruddock pleaded for the phase-out of nuclear power but has yet to explain why CND did not capitalise on the strength of feeling against nuclear power following the Chernobyl accident. The reason, of course, was that a mass movement on the streets would not have suited Kinnock's image in the lead-up to the next election.

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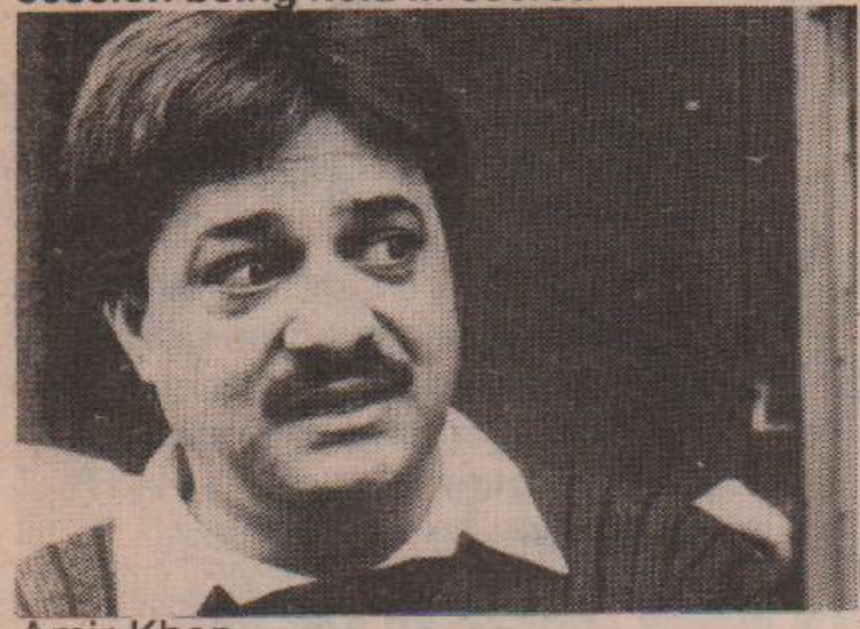
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Expulsions

The appeal of eight Liverpool Militant supporters, including Derek Hatton and Tony Mulhearn, expelled earlier this year by the Labour NEC, was decisively turned down by the conference in a secret session on Monday morning. The vote was 6,146,000 against Militant and 325,000 in favour. Thus Militant had failed to win the necessary support to avoid expulsion. It was notable, even at last year's conference, that almost the only time Kinnock's politics come to life is when he is engaged in viciously attacking the left in the party.

The eight Militant supporters turned down the admittedly derisory 5 minutes each they were allocated to address the conference, allowing Kinnock to make further cheap points about their lack of 'spine'. They had asked for their time to be aggregated in order to put their case. This was refused. They also objected to the session being held in secret.



Amir Khan

The conference also voted against reinstating Amir Khan and Kevin Scally of Ladywood CLP (Hattersley's constituency). Khan was expelled for attempting to form a black section and Scally for exposing corrupt recruitment practices in the constituency. The vote was 3.4m to 2.7m. The NEC, fearing a split, had already committed itself to 'reviewing their cases'. 'Confusion' over this point was held up by the left as the reason for conference's failure to support the two. In reality, once again, principle was submerged for the sake of unity with Kinnock.

While conducting a witchhunt against the left, the Labour Party has been content to have within its ranks the likes of Orange bigot Sam Campbell (see p13 this issue).